ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES OF STRATEGIES TO REDUCE FRAGMENTATION IN POOLING

Dimensions	Political economy factors	Strategies used by reform teams	Examp
Interest group politics	Advocates for reform are not well organized and too weak to adopt and implement pooling reform	Build coalitions for reform favouring political leaders and other supporting civic groups, professional associations, labour unions to influence the design of reform proposals, garner public support and support implementation	Mexico, Korea – –
		Solidify the legitimacy of the pooling reform by showing public support for its technical aspects	
		Mobilize public support by linking the reforms to the broader social and political context	
		Enable a public policy making process that will allow participation of supporting interest groups in the adoption and implementation of the pooling reform	
	Opposing interest groups organize against consolidation of pools	Undermine legitimacy or replace opposing workers with those from labour unions in support of the consolidation	
Bureaucratic politics	Internal opposition from within the Ministry of Health	Settle interdepartmental conflicts in support of a single, unified view/message within the Ministry of Health	Mexico, Turkey, Ghana
	Existing social security institutions or line ministries block consolidation of revenue pools due to concerns over reduction in resources to their own institutions Lack of clear delineation of	Use favourable personal relationships with the Head of the Cabinet and other key Ministries and relevant institutions to garner support and block opposition's ability to influence the Legislature	
		Directly involve leaders from across other bureaucratic agencies to link reform with other policy priorities and to enable broad-based ownership of reform plans	
		Support the policy development process by drawing in on the knowledge of the domestic and international technical experts	
		Create a new independent agency with new rules and regulations	
		Mobilize support from healthcare providers who is in favour of the new agency	
	responsibilities across government agencies, as consolidating pools requires redefinition of responsibilities	Form an intergovernmental task force before the pooling reforms are discussed in the Legislature to coordinate reform related policy matters	
Budget politics	The Ministry of Finance controls the government budget and has the capacity to block consolidation of pools due to concerns over increased budgetary pressures and the expectation of rising costs	Use technical analyses (e.g. budget projections, best practice examples from comparator countries) to ease budgetary concerns	Mexico Japan, Turkey
		Use societal/party values to highlight the normative importance of undertaking the reforms despite budgetary concerns	
		Build a reform team comprised of experts with strong technical knowledge, political skills and favourable personal relations with the heads of influential technical and political institutions, as well as politicians	
		Enable a public policy making process that will allow participation of interest groups in the design of the reform	
Leadership politics	Minister of Health is too weak to address opposition from within the ruling political party to pooling reform	Engage the top-level political leadership's influence to enforce strict party discipline among party members in support of the reform	Mexico Turkey. Korea
		Position the reform as a central policy issue to garner votes and political support by directly tying policy with individual benefits	
	Resistance from the opposition parties to the ruling party's vision for the consolidation of pools	Use the President's election campaign platform to increase public visibility of health policy reforms	
		Use the party values/ideology/President's personal values (e.g. social solidarity) to inform the underlying approach to pooling reform	
		Sequence health reforms such that easily implementable-high visibility changes are adopted in the earlier reform stages to garner public support	
		Incorporate supporting interest groups into the policy development process by using their technical expertise and influence in the public sphere	
		Exert strong political will of the top-level politicians, including the President or the Prime Minister, to pass the pooling reform agenda	
		Use party majority in the Legislature to pass laws	
Beneficiary politics	General public is disengaged from the highly technical pooling reform	Use the President's election campaign platform to increase public visibility of health policy reforms	Ghana, Korea
		Reframe the public debate on the pooling reform as a crucial component of good governance, modernization of the nation, and benefits to individuals	
		Set up hot lines for citizens to address questions, concerns and complaints	
		Direct engagement with public through ministerial forums and town halls	
		Highlight pooling reform as a political priority in the political manifesto and in the government's political agenda	
		Use favourable media coverage to mobilize support for the proposed pooling reforms from among the most disadvantaged groups of the population	
	Opposition parties garner public support for their vision of the pooling reforms	Rapidly pass reforms in the Legislature before the new election cycle to pre-empt the efforts of the opposition	
		Use media coverage to create a negative perception of the opposing political actors in the eye of	
External actor politics	The existing pooling arrangements are perceived as the legacy of external actors	the public Collaborate with international organizations with high technical expertise to demonstrate the deleterious impact of the existing pooling arrangements on health service utilization and financial risk protection	Ghana, Turkey –
		Use funding from international organizations to pilot different models of revenue pooling to determine which one works better given the country context	
	International organizations favour a different model of pooling reforms compared to the reform team	Facilitate an open dialogue with various international organizations that can contribute to the design, financing and development of the reform plans	

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