

1 **Title:** Form and functioning: Contextualising the start of the Global Financing
2 Facility policy processes in Burkina Faso

3 **Short running title:** Policy analysis of GFF in Burkina Faso

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29 **Word count (manuscript):**

30 4196

31 **Key words:** Burkina Faso, global financing facility, health financing, external financing, policy analysis

32

33 **Abstract**

34 **Background:** Burkina Faso joined the Global Financing Facility for Women, Children and Adolescents
35 (GFF) in 2017 to address persistent gaps in funding for reproductive, maternal, newborn, child, and
36 adolescent health and nutrition (RMNCAH-N). Few empirical papers deal with how global funding
37 mechanisms, and specifically GFF, support resource mobilisation for health nationally.

38 **Objective:** This study describes the policy processes of developing the GFF planning documents (the
39 Investment Case and Project Appraisal Document) in Burkina Faso.

40 **Methods:** We conducted an exploratory qualitative policy analysis. Data collection included document
41 review (N=74) and in-depth semi-structured interviews (N=23). Data were analysed based on the
42 components of the health policy triangle.

43 **Results:** There was strong national political support to RMNCAH-N interventions, and the process of
44 drawing up the investment case and the project appraisal documents was inclusive and multi-sectoral.
45 Despite high-level policy commitments, subsequent implementation of the World Bank project,
46 including the GFF contribution, was perceived by respondents as challenging, even after the project
47 restructuring process occurred. These challenges were due to ongoing policy fragmentation for
48 RMNCAH-N, navigation of differing procedures and perspectives between stakeholders in the setting
49 up of the work, overcoming misunderstandings about the nature of the GFF, and weak institutional
50 anchoring of the IC. Insecurity and political instability also contributed to observed delays and
51 difficulties in implementing the commitments agreed upon. To tackle these issues, transformational
52 and distributive leaderships should be promoted and made effective.

53 **Conclusions:** Few studies have examined national policy processes linked to the GFF or other global
54 health initiatives. This kind of research is needed to better understand the range of challenges in
55 aligning donor and national priorities encountered across diverse health systems contexts. This study
56 may stimulate others to ensure that the GFF and other global health initiatives respond to local needs
57 and policy environments for better implementation.

58

59 **Introduction**

60 Burkina Faso has made considerable progress in maternal and child health over the last thirty years,
61 even though targets 4 and 5 of the Millennium Development Goals were not met. Research on
62 reproductive, maternal, newborn, child, and adolescent health and nutrition (RMNCAH-N) details
63 multifaceted challenges and weaknesses, related for example to health care services users' level of
64 education and income (1–4), geographical access (5,6), provision of quality care (2,4,7), and socio-
65 cultural constraints such as ethnicity, gender disparities, marital status, and residence (1,5,8). It is
66 within this context, that in September 2017, Burkina Faso joined the Global Financing Facility for
67 Women, Children and Adolescents (GFF) to mobilize resources to address persistent gaps in RMNCAH-
68 N (9).

69 The GFF is meant to act as a catalyst for domestic and external funding sources to ensure adequate
70 funding for RMNCAH-N (10,11). While GFF contributors are varied (11,12) – hence the name 'GFF
71 Multi-donor Trust Fund', the GFF is hosted by the World Bank (WB). Specifically, it is functionally linked
72 in each country as a top up to the amount of funding available from the WB's International
73 Development Association and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (10). Beyond
74 funding, the GFF also seeks to better coordinate and streamline RMNCAH-N investments in recipient
75 countries (11,12), in the following ways: i) encourage the development of a government-led
76 sustainable multi-stakeholder engagement platform, ii) identify and support priority financing and
77 systems reforms, iii) help implement functional, real-time national data platforms, iv) support the
78 development of a prioritized and costed Investment Case (IC) (13).

79 Burkina Faso's participation in the GFF is consistent with its efforts to achieve Sustainable
80 Development Goals 2 and 3, targeting resources and attention to marginalised groups and RMNCAH-
81 N's priority interventions to yield greater impact and equity (14). As a new global funding mechanism
82 involving many national and international players with different histories and interests,
83 operationalizing the GFF is not without challenges (15), as is the case for prior global health initiatives
84 (16–18). This paper describes the policy processes that supported the development and restructuring
85 of the GFF planning documents, i.e. the IC and the Project Appraisal Document (PAD) in Burkina Faso.
86 Our objective is to inform future GFF processes and those of other global funding initiatives to ensure
87 further learning so that they deliver on their promises. The study was done as part of the "Countdown
88 GFF policy analysis collaboration" which examines the early days of the GFF through policy content
89 and country case studies (19).

90 **Methods**

91 We conducted a descriptive, exploratory qualitative case study. Case study methodology allows the
92 exploration and understanding of complex phenomena in their context (20). We adapted Walt and
93 Gilson’s health policy triangle to guide our work and made a preliminary analysis of our data (19),
94 which we then grouped into three main inductive themes: a strong focus on RMNCAH-N despite
95 fragmented policy; conflicting interests and misunderstandings; and a weak institutional base for the
96 IC.

97 **Study setting**

98 Burkina Faso is a low-income Sahelian country in West Africa with a size of about 274,200 km². Its
99 economy is fragile, relying largely on agriculture, which is subject to the vagaries of the climate, and
100 on exports of raw materials such as gold and cotton. Table 1 presents the country’s key demographic
101 and RMNCAH-N indicators.

102 **[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]**

103 Burkina Faso had a popular uprising on October 30, 2014, which ended the mandate of President
104 Blaise Compaoré, who had been in power for 27 years (21). Since then, the political and security
105 situation has deteriorated, with numerous terrorist attacks and many internally displaced people
106 (IDPs). As of July 2023, five presidents have succeeded Mr. Blaise Compaoré, and three military coups
107 have taken place. The deleterious political and social context has led to dysfunctions in the health
108 system, such as: frequent changes of Ministers and Secretaries General (a total of six Ministers and six
109 Secretaries General between 2014 and 2023); closure of several health facilities; health care workers
110 fleeing insecure zones; patient referral problems because of ambulance attacks; impairment of the
111 quality of care caused by inadequate supplies of drugs, equipment, and other inputs.

112 **Data collection and management**

113 We used two methods for data collection: document review and in-depth semi-structured interviews.
114 Data were collected from November 2022 to March 2023.

115 The document review included 74 documents in total, including official policy documents, grey
116 literature, scientific publications, and legal documents, as detailed in Table 2. Data extracted from
117 these documents informed the timeline, process and context of events, the identification of priorities
118 defined in the GFF documents, and the mapping of key stakeholders and their roles (19).

119 **[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]**

120 Stakeholder mapping identified an initial list of 70 actors involved at some point in the GFF document
121 development and implementation. They included individuals from the Ministry of Health (MOH), the

122 Ministry of Finance (MOF), the Ministry of Education, CSOs (Civil Society Organizations), NGOs (Non-
123 Governmental Organizations), the private health sector, and technical and financial partners. From
124 this initial list, 32 respondents were selected purposively, based on their level of involvement in the
125 process and the ability to locate them. Of these, 23 were interviewed inclusive of GFF and WB
126 personnel, government officials, civil society, and technical consultants (Table 3).

127 **[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]**

128 In-depth interviews were conducted in French, remotely or face-to-face depending on the
129 respondent's preference, using a semi-structured guide. After providing consent, each interview
130 lasted 45-60 minutes and covered the period from the start of the GFF in Burkina Faso in 2017 until
131 the restructuring of the PAD in 2021. The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim into
132 Microsoft Word.

133 **Data analysis**

134 The research team met weekly to reflect on the data collection and analysis process and co-developed
135 the analysis tools. Document review and interviews were coded in NVivo software based on
136 predefined themes. Two individuals did the coding separately (IK, OS) and then compared to ensure
137 intercoder reliability (22). Disagreements were discussed with two other members of the research
138 team (JAK and YK) to reach a consensus. Specific quotes identified to support the results were
139 translated to English by JAK.

140 **Positionality, reflexivity, and ethics consideration**

141 This study received ethical approval from Burkina Faso's Health Research Ethics Committee
142 (deliberation N° 2022-07-166). All respondents gave voluntary and informed consent to participate in
143 the study.

144 JAK worked as a short-term consultant for the WB from March 2017 to March 2019. In this capacity,
145 he assisted in the development and writing of the PAD and actively supported Burkina Faso's
146 involvement with the GFF and the initial stages of drafting the IC. This 'insider' position was an
147 advantage in accessing some respondents, certain grey literature, as well as reconstructing some facts
148 and understanding certain relatively complex WB and GFF procedures. To minimize biasing the
149 research, JAK did not participate in the interviews. Instead, he provided a critical eye in open
150 discussions with the other research team members once they had carried out the first analyses and
151 interpretations of the interview data. This allowed for a nuanced and less partisan perspective on the
152 various elements or events reported in the study.

153 The preliminary results of the study were presented to representatives of the MOH and the GFF for
154 review, and at the 15th World Congress of the International Health Economics Association (IHEA) in
155 July 2023. Feedback was received and incorporated.

156 The Countdown GFF policy analysis collaboration co-developed a “principles of an equitable
157 partnership” document to provide background on the collaboration, clarify roles and responsibilities,
158 and document ways of working, including data governance and authorship principles to strive for
159 equitable partnership in the collaboration (see Supplementary File 1 for more details).

160 **Results**

161 As mentioned earlier, the GFF engagement in Burkina Faso began in 2017 and development of the IC
162 and PAD started in that year. The PAD was finalised in June 2018 due to WB approval deadlines,
163 followed by the IC a year later. The PAD’s total budget was US\$ 110 million, of which US\$ 80 million
164 came from IDA, US\$ 20 million from the GFF Trust Fund and US\$ 10 million from the Power of Nutrition
165 Multi-Donor Trust Fund. The IC had a total planned budget of US\$ 1,818 million with an estimated
166 funding gap of 40% that was meant to be filled by mobilizing additional resources. The IC was
167 subsequently revised in 2020, and the PAD was also restructured in 2021 largely responding to needs
168 arising from the insecurity in the country (Supplementary File 2). Important milestones in the PAD and
169 IC development process in Burkina Faso and their alignment with the national policy environment are
170 presented in the timeline (Figure 1).

171 **[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]**

172 Three key themes emerged from the data analysis of the policy content, process, actors, and context
173 examined: the prioritisation of RMNCAH-N despite policy fragmentation; negotiating different
174 interests and misunderstandings; and the lack of institutional anchoring for the IC.

175 ***Strong political prioritization of RMNCAH-N was undercut by fragmentation in financing and*** 176 ***delivering on these goals***

177 Recognizing the importance of RMNCAH-N, Burkina Faso’s government endorsed international goals
178 for maternal and child health and supported these commitments with policy actions including a
179 payment waiver for antenatal care introduced in 2003, followed by a subsidy covering 80% of the
180 direct medical costs of emergency obstetric and neonatal care between 2006 and 2015 (23,24), and a
181 national user fees exemption policy for women and children under five from 2016 (25,26). As such,
182 Burkina Faso had strong political commitment to work with the GFF from its entry and even co-hosted
183 the GFF replenishment event in November 2018 (27).The replenishment was an opportunity for the

184 Head of State, democratically elected in 2015 after the popular uprising (21) to affirm Burkina Faso's
185 commitment to improving its health and nutrition status (27).

186 Nonetheless, before and after joining the GFF, Burkina Faso had a complex policy environment with a
187 long list of 'competing' policies, strategies, and plans related to RMNCAH-N, both within and outside
188 the health sector (see Box 1 for examples). A plethora of implementing agencies and 26 national and
189 international donors were working in the country using a variety of funding mechanisms according to
190 a mapping carried out in 2018 (28). The forecasted budget for RMNCAH-N in 2018 was USD\$ 195
191 million, of which only 28.44% came from the State (28).

192 **[INSERT BOX 1 HERE]**

193 ***Negotiating different interests and misunderstandings***

194 From the outset, the IC and PAD development processes were consultative, involving a range of
195 national and international actors (Table 4 and Figure 2), convened under the leadership of the MOH
196 (Family Welfare and Nutrition directorates) and the WB.

197 **[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]**

198 **[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]**

199 Unique to Burkina Faso, the GFF national focal point was a former General Secretary of MOH, with
200 good connections with key stakeholders. Even as General Secretary, he was perceived as more of a
201 technocrat than a politician and therefore caused limited polarisation, contrary to what might be
202 expected given the political connotations that the position can have. While interests and types of
203 power varied across stakeholders, the technical, financial power and seniority of certain actors carried
204 more weight than others. Indeed, the room for manoeuvre was sometimes limited because some
205 funders had their own preferences and influenced the definition of priorities.

206 *"Some donors have put a great deal of effort into defending certain areas. They formed, with the*
207 *support of the Ministry of Health departments, whose activities they financed, small advocacy*
208 *groups which tried to influence certain aspects to be retained."* A policymaker from the MOH
209 [KI-PM15]

210 For example, the WB team responsible for drawing up the PAD were pressed to finalise it by June
211 2018, so that it could be considered and examined by the WB's Board of Directors before the end of
212 the year [KI-D1]. The deadline was met by accelerating the consultation process with national
213 stakeholders and speedily deciding on priorities, even when each stakeholder was often concerned
214 with defending its own agenda.

215 *“There were two different teams who disagreed about how to operationalize strategic purchasing*
216 *[under component 1 of the PAD]: the team advocating for results-based financing and the team*
217 *backing free health care policy. The latter was opposed even to the concept of results-based*
218 *financing. The two parties couldn’t even talk without emotion.”* A former WB staff [KI-D1]

219 The IC was also initially meant to be concluded in 2018. An existing platform within the MOH, the
220 *Functional Team 7*, devised a roadmap in March 2018 with a dual purpose, namely ensuring that: i)
221 the IC is ready by the end of September 2018 so that the Head of State can prepare to co-chair the
222 conference on the replenishment of the GFF in Oslo on 5 and 6 November 2018 – this led to the
223 recruitment of the three consultants to support the process; ii) the government takes ownership of
224 the process – this prompted the setting up of four technical working groups (see Supplementary File
225 3 for more details on the GFF policy processes in Burkina Faso). However, the IC was released one year
226 after the PAD, in June 2019. Two main factors explained this delay. The first one was the multi-sectoral
227 approach adopted in drawing up the IC, which required time to establish contacts or to explain the
228 GFF to new actors:

229 *“The challenge was multi-sectorality. It required a lot of consultation with other actors, other*
230 *ministries. There were certain key players with whom we were already partners, but we realized*
231 *that there were other players with whom we didn’t have much contact, and who also needed to*
232 *be involved. So, it was still a challenge to get the other sectors involved, and that delayed certain*
233 *aspects a bit.”* A policymaker from the MOH [KI-PM6]

234 *“We started working with a list of stakeholders that was as broad as possible, but which grew as*
235 *more and more stakeholders were identified. There were at least thirty or forty participants, so*
236 *it was a bit tricky because not everyone had the same level of information about the GFF.”* A
237 policymaker from the MOH [KI-PM9]

238 The second one was the lack of understanding among certain players that not all the resources to
239 finance the IC were immediately available and that additional funds still had to be mobilized to fill the
240 funding gaps – even though ideally activities must be prioritized according to available funds. This had
241 a negative impact on their motivation and enthusiasm at a certain point in the process.

242 *“We thought that the GFF was additional funding that would be distributed between the various*
243 *entities, whether ministries, civil society, the private sector, etc. But it was only afterwards that*
244 *we realized that it wasn’t, that the GFF was merging with an existing funding mechanism to*
245 *stimulate prioritization at national level.”* An actor from the MOF [KI-PM1]

246 “A lot of the actors who came to the GFF thought they were going to get funding [...] So one day
247 when one of the actors realized it was only US\$20 million, he said he didn’t know why he was
248 going to all this trouble.” An actor from the MOF [KI-PM10]

249 **Implementation of the IC and PAD was not institutionally led or supported by all key stakeholders**

250 It was not decided from the outset which department of the MOH should be responsible for carrying
251 the IC forward. This created confusion about which authority within the MOH should coordinate and
252 monitor IC activities, delaying the processes and leading to continued bypassing of the mechanism.

253 “If you look at the journey of the investment case at the Ministry of Health, it says a lot. The
254 institutional anchoring was not well defined. We didn't know whether the investment case
255 should be steered by a directorate-general, i.e., the general secretariat, or by a technical
256 secretariat. There was a lot of uncertainty before it went to the Directorate General for Studies
257 and Sectoral Statistics.” A policymaker from the MOH [KI-13]

258 Subsequently, high turnover among leadership of MOH prevented sustained political attention to the
259 IC and its adoption by all stakeholders, especially those who were not part of the process from the
260 outset. As such, from a policy perspective the multiplicity of strategic documents continued and from
261 the financing side, some donors continued to fund RMNCAH-N activities directly via health districts,
262 NGOs and CSOs, without explicit reference to the IC.

263 “How is it that, after drawing up an investment case with so many players, there are still donors
264 approaching individual technical departments of the Ministry of Health to draw up yet more
265 documents? Was the misunderstanding only on the part of the Ministry of Health? Did the
266 donors misunderstand as well? Or did the donors just play a two-faced game, being there only
267 to applaud but knowing that they wouldn't use it?” A policymaker from the MOH [KI-PM8]

268 “I get the impression that there hasn't been a good take-up because not everyone knows what to
269 do with the investment case [...]. This can also be explained by staff turnover. When I ask my
270 colleagues what's in the revised investment case, they don't know. So, there's a real lack of
271 communication between departments. [...] We've always worked based on our strategic plan; it
272 was only recently, when we wanted to draw up the new plan, that we were told no, there's the
273 investment case, which is a document you must use.” A policymaker from the MOH [KI-PM5]

274 The implementation of the PAD also ran into challenges. As of February 2021, the disbursement rate
275 was 14% for the IDA funds and 30% for the GFF trust funds (29). Several factors led to poor
276 implementation. Firstly, administrative issues related to set up, recruitment and banking. Secondly,
277 the turnover at the MOH and the MOF, as well as at the WB, and changes in the MOH's organizational

278 chart, caused poor ownership of the project including agreements previously reached between
279 stakeholders. Thirdly, technical issues, notably the lack of consensus on how to implement strategic
280 health purchasing, which formed the bulk of the PAD's Component 1. As a result, a consensual
281 operations manual could not be drawn up. These difficulties led to a restructuring of the PAD in
282 November 2021, with its extension until June 2024.

283 **Discussion**

284 This study looks at the policy processes involved in developing Burkina Faso's GFF planning documents,
285 namely its IC and PAD. Our findings show some commendable aspects to these processes, in line with
286 the recommendations of the GFF secretariat, such as the use of an inclusive and multistakeholder
287 approach led by countries willing to invest more and efficiently in RMNCAH-N, and an evidence-based
288 prioritisation (11). However, our findings also highlighted factors mainly related to the context and
289 the process that led to problems in implementing the commitments made and that are important to
290 consider for Burkina Faso as it moves forward.

291 Implementing the GFF is not an easy task (15) – some challenges related to this endeavour, consistent
292 with our findings, have been pointed out by some authors critically reflecting on the GFF (10,12).
293 These, for example, include donors' dominance over the choice and funding of priority interventions,
294 the limited explicit use of the IC as a reference document to develop RMNCAH-N activities, and
295 mobilizing and coordinating resources from various national and international donors to ensure
296 effective funding of the IC. With regards to health policy in Burkina Faso specifically, Shearer et al. (30)
297 observed that the country, which is heavily dependent on foreign aid, is very susceptible to the ideas
298 of donors, which are sometimes driven by their own interests. All these factors hindered policy
299 ownership and are not new to the broader development financing landscape (31,32), raising the issue
300 of government leadership in determining and implementing public health policies (33–35).

301 Government leadership is a key input in the GFF logic model, which aims to be different from other
302 multilateral support initiatives by improving country ownership, donor coordination and
303 harmonisation, and by being participatory, inclusive, and results-oriented (36). An important process
304 outcome of this model would be for these features to be systematically pursued and to be present in
305 the way other policies are designed and formulated. This would enable the GFF investment to have a
306 measurable and sustained impact on national health policies. It could also demonstrate the initiative's
307 added value beyond the relatively small additional resources provided by the GFF Trust Fund, which
308 seem to be low in relation to the effort and workload required to develop the IC. However, other
309 initiatives similar to the GFF, which were also intended to bring about a paradigm shift in development

310 aid, have largely failed (37). There is, therefore, a need to continuously evaluate the implementation
311 of the GFF in target countries to identify bottlenecks, quickly find solutions and draw lessons. Success
312 would imply that the GFF model is well communicated and understood by all stakeholders, which in
313 BF did not always seem to be the case. For example, it is important for policy actors to distinguish
314 between the process of engaging them and trying to attract external aid and domestic resources, and
315 the Trust Fund itself, which is meant to be catalytic.

316 For the GFF to deliver on its promises, government leadership is crucial. But leadership itself is a multi-
317 faceted concept (38), and of growing interest in the health field (39–42). Chunharas and Davies (39)
318 “consider leadership as the ability to identify priorities, set a vision, and mobilize the actors and
319 resources needed to achieve them”. Several styles and levels of leadership have been described. For
320 example, we have transformational leadership, where leaders create a vision, act on intrinsic
321 motivation, and inspire subordinates or partners to go beyond expectations; versus transactional
322 leadership, where extrinsic motivation is heavily relied on to achieve stated objectives, without further
323 expectations (43,44). Also, leadership is not the prerogative of individuals alone, it can permeate the
324 entire health system operating at any level, the so-called distributed or interactive or collective
325 leadership as opposed to command-and-control leadership (39,42,45). The latter is easier to
326 implement, especially in contexts such as Burkina Faso, which are characterised by high political
327 instability and a high turnover of senior officials in the MOH, where each new leader brings a new
328 vision and direction, making it sometimes necessary to repeat the planning process several times to
329 adapt to political dynamics.

330 However, given the multiplicity of players and complexities within health systems, there is a need to
331 transition from the command-and-control leadership to the transformational and distributed or
332 interactive or collective leaderships. These types of leadership should be an intrinsic characteristic and
333 a routine within health organizations and health systems to be sustained over time. Such leaderships
334 seemed to have been lacking in Burkina Faso following the adoption of the GFF documents, resulting
335 in bottlenecks in the PAD's implementation and a relatively little consideration given to the IC. For
336 example, such leaderships from the MOH could have leveraged the strong national political support
337 for the GFF to maintain momentum in delivering activities and not letting it falter as witnessed. They
338 would have helped the GFF process to be more resilient and not suffer from the high turnover of
339 national and international players. Such leaderships would also have enabled administrative
340 bottlenecks and disputes between stakeholders in the PAD's preparation and implementation to be
341 anticipated and/or managed quickly, through the emergence of a shared vision and collective action.
342 They would have enabled all parties to reach the same understanding of some issues at stake and
343 prevent disappointments that demotivated some – for example, understanding that GFF is not

344 business as usual where money is readily made available to finance activities, but that ongoing efforts
345 to mobilize both domestic and external resources are needed. These efforts could be integrated into
346 a national health financing strategy to be developed, revised, or revitalized, which would help to
347 streamline resources and reduce the fragmented financing of RMNCAH-N. Finally, such leaderships
348 would also have to ensure at an early stage that the IC is properly anchored internally and genuinely
349 serves as a reference document for RMNCAH-N, thereby allowing donors alignment and preventing
350 plethora and fragmentation of policies and strategies as observed. Such leadership, however, may
351 need capacity building and imply availability of adequate resources (46,47), as well as technical,
352 political, diplomatic, anticipation, adaptability, and communication skills.(39,42,45).

353 Transformational leadership promotes organizational learning, which in turn improves organizational
354 performance (48,49). Such leadership is also recognised as essential for universal health coverage,
355 with the development of specific programmes to empower countries, although complex political and
356 technical challenges prevent rapid results (50). The ability of MOHs to become learning organisations,
357 where information sharing, dialogue and collaboration are crucial, could help break down silos and
358 foster the emergence of collective leadership.

359 One mechanism at the core of the GFF process, whose success also depends on strong leadership and
360 governance, is its inclusive and multi-sectoral approach (51,52). A multisectoral approach can be
361 defined as a “deliberate collaboration among various stakeholder groups (e.g., government, civil
362 society, and private sector) and sectors (e.g., health, environment, and economy) to jointly achieve a
363 policy outcome”(53). This approach is strongly recommended because it enables to harness the
364 different knowledge, expertise, standing, and resources from all these actors to account for the many
365 determinants of health to improve policy and ultimately health outcomes (53–55). The multi-sectoral
366 approach was effective and much appreciated by respondents, although subsequent results from the
367 PAD and the IC implementation revealed that it is not sufficient to trigger action and prevent
368 blockages. In short, to deal with all the complexities intrinsic to health policy implementation, strong
369 leadership and governance are key (52,55).

370 The fragile security situation and political instability have had a negative impact on the
371 implementation of the IC and PAD. Specifically, the security situation puts Burkina Faso on the list of
372 ‘Fragile and conflict-affected states’, with the risk that global actors (donors, NGOs, and humanitarian
373 actors in general) strongly influence the choice of priorities, especially as the country is still learning
374 to cope with these new challenges. The revision of the IC and the restructuring of the PAD have sought
375 to reflect the impact of the security crisis, but Burkina Faso certainly has much to learn from other
376 ‘Fragile and conflict-affected states’ about improving the resilience of its health system. The

377 experience to be gained concerns all health system building blocks and domains, covering aspects as
378 diverse as health financing (56–59), human resource for health (60–63), health services delivery (64–
379 66), health system governance (67–69), state building (70,71), and health system strengthening more
380 broadly (72,73), which still suffer from crises of this nature. The contribution of the GFF in this respect
381 is important and desirable, and further specific reflections on the subject are welcome.

382 The insecurity and political instability in Burkina Faso may lead to greater centralisation of decision-
383 making to ensure maximum control, and it is difficult to develop decentralized leadership in such a
384 context. However, for multisectoral initiatives, command-and-control leadership would lead to
385 bureaucracy and slower implementation. Therefore, even in such difficult situations, it is worth
386 reflecting on the conditions for successful distributed leadership. In the case of the GFF, this would
387 mean discussing the role that decentralized levels of government can play in the implementation
388 leadership model. A multi-layered and multi-level leadership model across cross-sectoral dynamics
389 may be required – an area that is largely unexplored or yet to be invented.

390 **Study strengths and limitations**

391 Being retrospective provided respondents the space to recall more directly on power and politics of
392 the processes without fear of retribution. However, this introduces limitations related to memory or
393 recall bias., as the negotiation process and the drafting of the GFF documents began in September
394 2017. Second, change in individual positionality and turnover affected the results: some identified
395 actors were no longer at their positions and could not be found or had left Burkina Faso. Some national
396 staff were recruited by donors, and this change of role and positionality may have introduced some
397 bias into the responses provided. To minimize these biases, we diversified the people interviewed and
398 strove to contact those we could. We also triangulated the interview data across respondents and
399 with the document review. The insider positionality of JAK in the document development process also
400 provided access to grey literature in the form of emails, meeting notes, etc. that were valuable for
401 contextualizing the findings.

402 **Conclusions**

403 The GFF is currently implemented in 36 countries, but exploratory studies like ours analyzing the
404 initiation and implementation of PADs and ICs have scarcely been carried out. Such studies are,
405 however, essential for identifying and understanding factors that helped or hindered these processes,
406 to take account of them in the future. Despite best intentions and extensive planning efforts,
407 implementing these two documents has been problematic in Burkina Faso’s context. Factors involved
408 in include policy fragmentation despite RMNCAH-N prioritization, the negotiation of different

409 interests and misunderstandings, and institutional anchoring within the government. To address these
410 challenges, we conclude that transformational and distributive leaderships are key to enabling further
411 implementation of GFF planning documents for such reforms to have impact.

412

413 **END MATTER**

414

415 ***Acknowledgements:***

416 We are grateful for the comments provided by those in the Ministry of Health and Global Financing
417 Facility who have provided comments on draft presentations, which were the basis of this paper: Peter
418 Hansen, Ida Kagoné, Nadine Tamboura, Mahamadi Tassebedo, and Pierre Yaméogo.

419

420 We are grateful to our colleagues in the Countdown GFF policy analysis collaboration with whom we
421 co-designed the data collection tools and analysis approach and who provided constructive feedback
422 on our preliminary results. We would specifically like to thank the following members for their input
423 on the manuscript: Joy Lawn, Mary Kinney, Peter Waiswa.

424

425 ***Author contributions:***

426 ASG, MBK, and JAK designed the study. JAK, OS, IK, and YK conducted the document review with
427 guidance from MK, MBK and ASG. OS and IK conducted interviews with key informants. JAK and OS
428 wrote the first draft of the paper, and all co-authors reviewed its successive versions with critical
429 inputs and comments. Final edits were made by ASG and MBK. All co-authors approved the final
430 version.

431

432 ***Disclosure statement***

433 The authors report no conflicts of interest.

434 The first author (JAK) of this paper worked as a short-term consultant for the WB from March 2017 to
435 March 2019 as an Africa Early Years Fellow. In this capacity, he assisted in the development and writing
436 of the PAD and actively supported the Burkina Faso's involvement with the GFF and the initial stages
437 of drafting the IC. AG has served on the GFF Results Advisory Group from its inception in 2021.

438

439 ***Ethics and consent***

440 This study has received ethical approval from Burkina Faso's Health Research Ethics Committee
441 (deliberation N° 2022-07-166). All key informants gave voluntary and informed consent to participate
442 in the study.

443

444 ***Funding information:***

445 Asha George is supported by the South African Research Chair's Initiative of the Department of Science
446 and Technology and National Research Foundation of South Africa (Grant No 82769), the South African

447 Medical Research Council. Any opinion, finding and conclusion or recommendation expressed in this
448 material is that of the author and the NRF does not accept any liability in this regard. All authors have
449 been supported in part for this work through the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Countdown to
450 2030 Grant (Grant Number INV-007594).

451

452 ***Paper Context***

453 This study describes the policy processes of developing the Global Financing Facility (GFF) planning
454 documents (Investment Case and Project Appraisal Document) in Burkina Faso. Using a qualitative
455 case study approach, it documents the initiation of this global health initiative, including how these
456 documents were developed and then implemented. The findings reveal a high-level of political
457 commitment to the GFF, but its implementation is hampered by policy fragmentation, competing
458 interests, weak institutional anchoring, and misunderstandings.

459

460 ***Data availability***

461 The datasets used and/or analysed in this study are available from the corresponding author on
462 reasonable request.

463

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