

Strained Mercy

Quality of Medical Care in Delhi

The quality of medical care is a potentially important determinant of health outcomes, but remains an understudied area. The limited research that exists defines quality either on the basis of drug availability or facility characteristics, but little is known about how provider quality affects the provision of health care. We address this gap through a survey in Delhi with two related components. We evaluate 'competence' (what providers know) through vignettes and practice (what providers do) through direct clinical observation. Overall quality, as measured by the competence necessary to recognise and handle common and dangerous conditions, is quite low albeit with tremendous variation. While there is some correlation with simple observed characteristics, there is still an enormous amount of variation within such categories. Further, even when providers know what to do they often don't do it in practice. This appears to be true in both the public and private sectors but for very different, and systematic, reasons. The study has important policy implications for our understanding of how market failures and failures of regulation in the health sector affect the poor.

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I Introduction

For all its acknowledged importance, the quality of medical care in India is not well understood. Many studies of the demand for medical services identify quality as a major determinant of facility selection and use, and that such use should contribute to improvements in health status. However, quality of care is not clearly defined beyond easily observable facility characteristics such as the availability of medicines or functioning equipment [Collier, Dercon and Mackinnon 2003; Lavy and Germain 1994].¹ What is less well understood, but has greater relevance for both the use and outcomes of services, is the quality of the actual advice given in clinical settings. Medicine can be bought over the counter and is not specific to particular facilities or providers. But good advice from a provider with knowledge and experience is a service that patients cannot easily obtain by themselves.²

While clearly important, it is understandable why the clinical quality of medical advice is not well studied. It is not easy to define what should be measured and even with a clear definition, measurement is hard to implement in practice. Our paper addresses this gap and presents results of research on different dimensions of quality as applied to medical caregivers in Delhi. We distinguish between quality measured as "What do medical care providers know?" and as "What do medical care providers do?" We refer to the first as "competence" and the second as "practice". The wedge between competence and practice – the relation between what they know and what they do – then raises important theoretical and empirical questions related to the structure of the health care market.³

To answer these questions, we analyse two types of data collected from more than 200 medical care providers in seven neighbourhoods of the city.⁴ The first, on provider competence,

is based on a set of 'vignettes', or five hypothetical cases presented to providers who were asked what they would do in each circumstance – what questions they would ask, what examinations they would perform, and what treatments they would recommend. The second, on provider practice, was based on direct observation of their interactions with patients. Interviewers sat with providers during their clinical session for a whole day noting the number of patients, their complaints, their questions, examinations performed, and the treatments (including specific drug names). In both the public and the private sector, prices charged were recorded as well.⁵ We then studied the relationship between the two sets of answers to see whether they were consistent and, if not, what other factors could explain performance.

The analysis was motivated by several concerns. The first was to see if there were major differences in competence and practice along several dimensions of provider characteristics such as their training and qualifications, their location in poorer or more affluent neighbourhoods and whether they were in the public or private sector. The second concern, related to the problem of public and private sectors, was whether practice deviated from competence according to the different incentives for performance – doctors on salary have different motivations than those receiving a fee for service. The third concern was about the general ability to diagnose and deal with a spectrum of diseases ranging from common problems such as diarrhoea to life-threatening conditions such as tuberculosis. Finally, we were interested in the over-use of medications, particularly of antibiotics, since it is a widely acknowledged problem in the country.

The results are depressing in at least two ways. First, overall quality as measured by the competence necessary to recognise and handle common and dangerous conditions is quite low, although it varies from very good to unimaginably low. Further, while there is some correlation with simple observed

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