

1 ABSTRACT

2 Empirical analysis of the connections between research and health policymaking is scarce in middle-
3 income countries. In this study, we focused on a national multidrug-resistant tuberculosis (MDR-TB)
4 healthcare provider training program in China as a case study to examine the role that research
5 plays in influencing health policy. We specifically focused on the factors that influence research
6 uptake within the complex Chinese policy making process. Qualitative data were collected from 34
7 participants working at multilateral organizations, funding agencies, academia, government agencies
8 and hospitals through 14 in-depth interviews and two focus group discussions with ten participants
9 each. Themes were derived inductively from data and grouped based on the “RAPID” framework
10 developed by the Overseas Development Institute. We further classified how actors derive their
11 power to influence policy decisions following the six sources of power identified by Sriram et al. We
12 found that research uptake by policymakers in China is influenced by perceived importance of the
13 health issues addressed in the research, relevance of the research to policymakers’ information
14 needs and government’s priorities, the research quality, and the composition of the research team.
15 Our analysis identified that international donors are influential in the tuberculosis (TB) policy process
16 through their financial power. Furthermore, the dual roles of two government agencies as both
17 evidence providers and actors who have the power to influence policy decisions through their
18 technical expertise make them natural intermediaries in the TB policy process. We concluded that
19 resolving the conflict of interests between researchers and policymakers, as suggested in the “two-
20 communities theory”, is not enough to improve evidence use by policymakers. Strategies such as
21 framing research to accommodate the fast-changing policy environment and making alliances with
22 key policy actors can be effective to improve communication of research findings into the policy
23 process, particularly in countries undergoing rapid economic and political development.

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INTRODUCTION

Recognizing the important role of research in setting priorities and informing resource allocation decisions particularly in resource-constraint settings (Cordero et al., 2008; Syed et al., 2008), donors and researchers have increasingly called for using research evidence to inform health policy decisions (Uneke et al., 2015). However, a literature review identified that the level of using research to inform health policies in low and middle-income countries (LMICs) is not optimal and that existing evidence does not always provide information that is critical or accessible to policymakers (Hawkins & Parkhursk, 2016; Weiss, 1979). Common barriers influencing research uptake within the policymaking process still exist, including lack of timeliness in presenting study results, few communication channels, different conceptions of risk, and mutual mistrust between policymakers and researchers (Innvaer, Vist, Trommald, & Oxman, 2002; Lavis et al., 2005). Most empirical analysis of the connections between the use of research evidence and the adoption of policies has been conducted in high or low-income countries (Burriss, Parkhurst, Adu-Sarkodie, & Mayaud, 2011; Hutchinson et al., 2011; Tulloch et al., 2011). In middle-income countries, studies examining the public policy process showed how international donors and think tanks influenced the policymaking process (Fischer & Plehwe, 2017; Handlin, 2015; Pérez-Escamilla et al.; Tran et al., 2017).

Both international and domestic researchers have attempted to illustrate the health policymaking process in China by documenting and accounting the context and the process of how new policies are formulated and translated into practice (He, 2018; Kornreich, Vertinsky, & Potter, 2012; Korolev, 2014; Y. Liu & Rao, 2006; Tang, Brix, & Bekedam, 2014). As described in one study, the national policymaking process in China follows three steps (Y. Liu & Rao, 2006). First, the State Council commissions relevant ministries to draft policy documents in line with the national priorities. A national agency usually serves as the coordinator (Y. Liu & Rao, 2006). Second, several rounds of meetings for discussing the details of the policy drafts are held before the policies are finalized (Y.

52 Liu & Rao, 2006). Third, once an agreement is achieved, the new policies are announced through
53 public conferences. (Y. Liu & Rao, 2006) In the health policymaking process, we have seen that
54 research conducted by universities, national agencies or think tanks played critical roles in shaping
55 the national priorities and influencing the formulation of policy drafts (He, 2018; Kornreich et al.,
56 2012; Tang et al., 2014). By adopting this evidence-based approach, the policymakers in China have
57 strengthened the health system by addressing some of the pressing issues, such as using an
58 innovative financing scheme to provide health insurance for rural population and developing a
59 national system to supply affordable essential medicines (Y. Liu & Rao, 2006; Tang et al., 2014).
60 Additionally, researchers shared the lessons drawn from their successful experiences of translating
61 research into policy and practice, such as undertaking policy relevant studies and conducting timely
62 research dissemination (He, 2018; Y. Liu & Rao, 2006; Tang et al., 2014).

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64 However, only limited studies examined the research-policy links from the perspectives of the users
65 - policymakers. To our knowledge, only two qualitative studies focusing on investigating
66 policymakers' opinions on the facilitators and barriers that influence research uptake in the
67 policymaking process have been conducted in China (D. Liu, Yuan, Wang, Liu, & Zhou, 2007; Wang,
68 He, Zhu, & Zhu, 2011). We found that in these two studies, policymakers, who are mostly
69 administrative officials working in the provincial and local bureaucratic system, are too narrowly
70 defined. As there is a growing body of literature unveiling the black box of China's policymaking
71 process, it is widely accepted that policymaking in China is shifting from a centralized policymaking
72 process dominated by political and administrative elites to a more open and pluralistic model
73 influenced by a variety of actors, such as experts, the media, and international organizations (Ma &
74 Lin, 2012).

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76 In this study, we focused on a national multidrug-resistant tuberculosis (MDR-TB) healthcare
77 provider (HCP) training program in China as a case study to explore the factors that influence

78 research uptake in the policy setting using a widely-accepted analysis framework. Furthermore, from
79 shared experiences and lessons provided by Chinese policy actors, we developed practical strategies
80 to facilitate and strengthen research uptake in the health policymaking process.

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82 To understand the role that research plays in influencing policy, researchers have proposed various
83 frameworks and models. For example, Weiss in 1979 postulated six models of research utilization
84 (Weiss, 1979). In that same year, Caplan proposed the two-communities theory to elucidate the
85 fundamental reasons for the lack of research use in the policy process (Caplan, 1979). The two-
86 communities theory emphasizes the idea that being two separate communities, researchers and
87 policymakers operate in different cultures; have conflicting values; engage in different activities;
88 have different attitudes to research; and they have different priorities and accountability
89 mechanisms (Caplan, 1979).

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91 More recent studies have suggested that previous theories often overlooked the complex
92 environment where research is conducted and how policy decisions are made (Bowen & Zwi, 2005;
93 de Goede, Putters, & van Oers, 2012). As emphasized by Bowen and Zwi, because policymaking
94 context is usually fast-changing, considering how research evidence fits into context is critical to
95 understand its uptake (Bowen & Zwi, 2005). Additionally, several studies supported the idea that
96 knowledge generated from research is highly context sensitive, and that the application of this
97 knowledge in another context can change its value (Bal, Bijker, & Hendriks, 2004; Lin & Gibson,
98 2003). Furthermore, since 2000, researchers have called for a social network approach to studying
99 research use in the policymaking process since the boundaries of researchers and policy makers are
100 considered fluid and have become more blurred in recent years (Davies, Nutley, & Smith, 2000;
101 Hanney, Gonzalez-Block, Buxton, & Kogan, 2003).

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105 **METHODS**

106 To achieve our study objectives, we used the Chinese TB policymakers' perception of the usefulness
107 of evidence from training evaluations for making resource allocation decisions as a case study to
108 identify factors that influence research uptake in the health policymaking process in China.
109 Therefore, we adopted the instrumental case study approach, which seeks to gain a broader
110 understanding of a phenomenon through a particular case and generates findings transferrable to
111 other contexts (Stake, 1995).

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113 **The case study setting: making investment decisions on a national HCP training program in China**

114 China ranks the second highest country with MDR-TB - caused by bacteria resistant to two of the
115 most powerful anti-tuberculosis (TB) drugs, isoniazid and rifampicin – with an estimated of 73,000
116 incident cases in 2016 (WHO, 2017). Lack of skilled HCPs in peripheral areas and inadequate service
117 quality are the major challenges for China to reduce both TB and MDR-TB epidemics (Comolet,
118 Rakotomalala, & Rajaonarioa, 1998; Johansson & Winkvist, 2002). The centralization of MDR-TB
119 services causes both physical and financial barriers for rural patients to access MDR-TB care (Li et al.,
120 2012; Long, Smith, Zhang, Tang, & Garner, 2011). Therefore, innovate service delivery models that
121 aim to decentralize TB/MDR-TB services have been designed and piloted in several provinces since
122 the 2000s (Zou, Wei, Walley, Yin, & Sun, 2012).

123

124 Since China adopted the DOTS strategy in the 1990s, the China CDC has collaborated with
125 international funders and NGOs closely. As a result of the increasing domestic funding for TB over
126 the years, TB diagnosis (including X-ray examination and sputum smear tests) and the first-line TB
127 drugs are provided free of charge at the TB dispensaries and designated hospitals under the national
128 TB control and prevention strategy. However, there is no designated funding for MDR-TB diagnosis
129 and treatment from the national government. This gap was filled by several interventional programs

130 funded by international donors, such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Global Fund
131 to Fight AIDS, TB and malaria, since 2006. Today there remains a shortfall of funding to sustain MDR-
132 TB control activities and MDR-TB control is still relying on funding from international donors.

133

134 In 2015, the National Center for TB control of the Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention
135 (NCTB), the national Clinical Center for TB control of the China CDC (CCTB), and the Lilly MDR-TB
136 Partnership collaboratively initiated a training program targeting TB HCP particularly in peripheral
137 healthcare centers and hospitals. The aim of the program was to standardize MDR-TB diagnosis and
138 improve case management by HCPs in China. This national training program was critical to the
139 successful reform of the service delivery system because a shortage of well-trained HCPs at lower
140 level facilities might hinder the possibility of decentralizing MDR-TB services. To inform decisions on
141 nationwide implementation of the training program, pilot sites were established in six provinces
142 across China. In each province, clinical doctors, nurses, and local CDC staff who were involved in
143 delivering care to MDR-TB patients in local CDCs and TB designated hospitals were included in the
144 training program. As the program and the funding from the donor ended in 2017, a decision needs
145 to be made by the policymakers in China whether the program could be sustained and even scaled
146 up to other provinces using internal funding from the National Health and Family Planning
147 Commission (NHFPC). To provide evidence for the policymakers to make this decision, a policy-
148 relevant evaluation of the pilot training program was needed.

149

150 **Data collection**

151 Data was collected from three main sources: semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions
152 with key policy actors, and a review of government documents. In this study, we define policy actors
153 broadly as decision-makers who directly authorize and inform health policy or program formulation,
154 resource allocation and individuals or groups who have knowledge, indirect influence or are affected

155 by policymaking making processes (Khan, Meghani, Liverani, Roychowdhury, & Parkhurst, 2018;
156 Shannon, 2003).

157

158 In 2016 and 2017, we conducted a qualitative study with policy actors of the MDR-TB HCP training
159 program. We also included some interviewees who are external to the program but could provide
160 information on the contextual factors that shape the policy process. A purposive sampling approach
161 was used to identify key policy actors. A total of 34 participants were recruited and participated in
162 the study, including international actors based in multilateral organizations, funding agencies, and
163 the academic sector and national actors, such as directors of provincial and national CDCs in China,
164 high-level representatives of the CCTB, and senior staff at tertiary hospitals leading HCP training
165 programs. A detailed description of study participants is shown in Table 1. Participants were
166 contacted and recruited through conference calls and email. Oral consent to participate in the study
167 was obtained prior to the study. We conducted fourteen face-to-face semi-structured in-depth
168 interviews (IDIs) and two focus group discussions (FGDs) with ten participants each. Topics covered
169 in the IDIs and FGDs included: contextual factors affecting the policy process, limitations of current
170 training evaluation approaches, information needed to determine if a training program is successful,
171 factors policy actors consider important when presented with an evaluation report, how
172 policymakers and researchers interact, and how policy actors weigh different sources of information.
173 The majority of interviews were conducted in Chinese by SW, and four interviews were conducted
174 by HL-Q in English. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed into Chinese and English.

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176 In addition to the interviews and FGDs, we reviewed documents from government websites
177 pertaining to the national MDR-TB HCP training program, roles and responsibilities of the involved
178 agencies as a way of triangulation for and complementary to the data from IDIs and FGDs.

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180 The research was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the National University of Singapore
181 and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Information sheets that summarized the
182 objectives and methods of the research and consent forms were provided to the participants.
183 Participants were informed of the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses. To ensure
184 confidentiality, participants were de-identified and numbered during transcription.

185

186 **Conceptual framework**

187 During data analysis, we reviewed frameworks from literature and searched for the appropriate one
188 that we could use to group the emerging codes and subthemes emerged. We first identified
189 frameworks that focus on the on the dynamic relationships between actors involved in research use
190 and the policy formulation process. For example, the research utilization framework proposed by
191 Kim et al. is a four-phase model that illustrates the process of translating research evidence into
192 policies and practices (Kim et al., 2018). Different from other more theoretical models, this
193 framework is particularly useful in real-world settings with its emphasis on evidence use throughout
194 program cycles. Another notable framework is the knowledge translation model developed from a
195 systematic literature review by Orem et al., which identified eight groups of factors facilitating
196 research evidence use in the policy process, such as strengthening institutional capacity for
197 knowledge translation, setting priorities at pre-research stage, political and economic context (Orem
198 et al., 2012). Employing a qualitative approach to engage inputs from policymakers in Uganda, the
199 authors further refined this framework to fit low-income settings, where external donors had strong
200 influences on the health policy development and implementation.

201

202 Compared to the above-mentioned models and frameworks for explaining and facilitating research
203 use in the policy process, the four-dimensional model developed by the Overseas Development
204 Institute (ODI) resonated with our data. The Research and Policy in Developing countries (RAPID)
205 framework emphasizes the relationship and communication channels between researchers and

206 policy actors as key components, as well as the nature of the evidence and the contextual factors
207 influencing such interactions (Crewe & Young, 2002). It was based on 50 case studies examining how
208 research evidence was taken up and influenced policy decisions (Burris et al., 2011), and widely
209 applied in the empirical analysis of the research-policy links in LMICs (Crichton & Theobald, 2011;
210 Hutchinson et al., 2011; Tulloch et al., 2011). With its simplicity and validated applicability in low-
211 and middle-income settings, the framework provides a general scaffold for researchers to develop a
212 wide range of pathways of research adoption in different policy contexts and facilitates the
213 comparison of studies conducted in different countries.

214

215 The RAPID framework highlights that the factors that influence research uptake by policy actors can
216 be summarized in four dimensions: external environment, political context, evidence, and links
217 (Start & Holvland, 2004). External environment describes the global socio-economic trends, or the
218 influence exerted by international actors on the policy process (Start & Holvland, 2004). Political
219 context refers to the environment under which research and policymaking are shaped (Court, 2006;
220 Crewe & Young, 2002). Examples of policy context include organizational pressures, social and
221 cultural context, and whether a policy is implemented thoroughly in practice (Crichton & Theobald,
222 2011). The nature of evidence, such as credibility and the way it is communicated to policy actors,
223 also determines the usefulness of the research findings. Finally, the “links” in the RAPID framework
224 refers to the relationship and communication channels between researchers and policymakers
225 which are also critical components of the research-policy interface (Crewe & Young, 2002). To
226 understand “links”, researchers need to examine, for example, who are the actors making policy
227 decisions; what power do they have to influence policies; and if there are intermediaries or
228 “knowledge brokers” between decision-makers and evidence providers (Start & Holvland, 2004). In
229 this context, policy networks are sets of relatively stable relationships formed by actors who share
230 common interests or exchange resources to achieve a common policy outcome (Börzel, 1997). Based
231 on our understanding of the policy actors’ responsibilities in the training program and the TB control

232 system, we further classify how actors derive their power to influence policy decisions following the
233 six sources of power identified by Sriram et al (2018). These include technical expertise, bureaucratic
234 power, political power, financial power, network and access, and personal attributes (Sriram et al.,
235 2018).

236

237 **Analysis**

238 All interviews and FGDs were conducted in Chinese by the first author, and transcripts were
239 translated into English by the first author (a native Chinese speaker). To reduce error in translation,
240 the first author consulted another Chinese native speaker on terms and sentences that the first
241 author was not sure how to translate. Data from documentation was also translated into English and
242 used to supplement the data from interviews and FGDs.

243

244 Data from IDIs and FGDs was analyzed using a mix of inductive and deductive approaches.

245 Translated transcripts were imported into NVIVO 11 Software and coded inductively line by line by
246 two researchers independently. Codes were compared and further merged into subthemes using an
247 iterative process. The subthemes which were identified inductively were further grouped into the
248 four themes of the RAPID framework. Policy actors' roles and their sources of power in making
249 decisions on TB programs and policies were synthesized based on information from all data sources.

250 For IDIs, each excerpt includes the interviewee's ID number and his/her occupation so that extracts
251 from the same individual can be linked. For FGDs, quotes are identified by the focus group number
252 and participants' ID number. In this study, saturation was defined according to the concept of the
253 priori theoretical saturation that pre-determined theoretical categories are adequately represented
254 and exemplified by lower-level codes and themes derived from the data (Saunders et al., 2018). We
255 believe the four constructs of the RAPID framework were adequately represented by our data
256 including rich descriptions of each of its components and subthemes.

257

258 **RESULTS**

259 The findings are presented according to the four themes of the RAPID framework in the following
260 order: external environment, political context, evidence and links. We inductively identified several
261 subthemes for each main theme. In the first theme, external environment, we describe the influence
262 of international donors on priority setting. Subthemes related to political context included the
263 government prioritization of health issues and the governments' perception of the urgency to
264 address the health issue. Relevance to policy actors' information needs, credibility perceived by
265 policy actors, and the composition of research team were identified as key evidence subthemes.
266 Finally, subthemes related to links involved the distinct roles and responsibilities of policy actors and
267 the links, power relations, and networks of the policy actors involved in the training program.

268

269 **External environment**

270 *Influence of international donors on priority setting*

271 The priorities in the TB prevention strategy were determined by the national government, but
272 influenced by international donors. One international policy actor mentioned that funding from
273 international donors for communicable diseases is decreasing in Asia and that it is common that
274 countries with rapid economic growth will eventually lose funding from donors. However, most of
275 the international policymakers acknowledged that China still receives a large amount of funding
276 from international organizations despite its rapid economic growth. One of the reasons for this, as
277 one participant surmised, could be that it would be easier to implement pilot programs or
278 experimental reforms using foreign loans or funding than using domestic resources. Another reason,
279 as pointed out by one Chinese policy actor, was that due to the heavy TB burden in China,
280 particularly with the emergence of more complicated subtypes of TB, resources solely from the
281 national government could hardly sustain comprehensive control programs to tackle the health
282 issues at national scale.

283

284 Therefore, financial support from international donors was still considered relevant in determining
285 the types and scale of health programs to be implemented in China, through which donors directly
286 influenced the issues to be prioritized. The policy actors we interviewed acknowledged that since the
287 1990s, the NCTB started partnership with donors such as the World Bank, the Global Fund and the
288 Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, who provided both financial and technical support in TB control
289 at national scale. For example, the World Bank project built infrastructure for TB prevention and
290 control covering county-level CDCs, community and village health centers, provided free diagnosis
291 and drugs for TB patients, and offered stipend for transportation to TB designated health centers
292 (Kong, Zhang, Wang, & Jiang, 2011). The project was highly praised by the Chinese government
293 because it facilitated improvement of DOTS coverage, case detection, and established a country-
294 specific model of case management that was later deployed nationwide (Finance Department of
295 Henan Province; Kong et al., 2011). Apart from their direct influence through funding disease-
296 specific programs, international donors often indirectly shaped the evidence base to inform future
297 policies or agenda setting through producing evidence from their funded programs. For example,
298 one policy actor commented that if evidence showed that the programs funded by the donors were
299 effective, the national government would be more willing to invest in similar programs:

300 *“The NHFPC and Ministry of Finance (MOF) saw the effectiveness of investment, then they*
301 *decided to allocate more funds for TB control. And the funding has increased gradually each*
302 *year. [...] Because of the impact of the international programs, the Chinese government was*
303 *able to understand that you have to invest money so that the work can be done. And it*
304 *further promoted the implementation of TB interventions and programs.” – IDI 2, CCTB*
305 *official*

306

307 However, as commented by a few international policy actors, the influence of international donors
308 was much less in China than in other developing countries, because donors were working in a
309 unified way, thus exerting more leverage with local governments, in low-income countries.

310 *“In very low-income countries, you find the donors work together because they have the*
311 *opportunity to really have an impact on the government. If they line up together, they can*
312 *have a huge impact on the government. In China, there’s no donor coordination. It’s really*
313 *falling off because they’re becoming richer and they’re starting to play off the donors.” – IDI*
314 *14, Academia*

315 International donors are strongly influential in setting priorities in TB control in China through either
316 funding the health interventions of their interest or shaping evidence base to inform future policies.

317

318 **Political context**

319 *Alignment with government priority*

320 Several policy actors described the important role of political context in shaping their attitudes
321 towards research evidence. They emphasized that the relevance of the research presented - in our
322 case study, results from evaluation studies - depended on whether the health intervention was in
323 line with government’s priorities. According to a description given by one interviewee, a
324 commitment to tackle TB and reach 90% DOTS coverage was made by the Minister of Health at the
325 Ministerial Conference on Tuberculosis and Sustainable Development in 2000. Because of increased
326 political commitment, TB control became a priority and was included in the national five-year and
327 ten-year plan issued by the state council of China since then. As a consequence, the funding for TB
328 control from the national government increased each year. In 2011, the state council announced the
329 “five-year plan for the national TB prevention and control”, in which the government highlighted
330 work priorities for TB control and announced targets to be reached at the end of 2015. Most policy
331 actors from the NCTB and CCTB confirmed that strengthening human capacity for TB control was
332 one of the government’s interests and priorities in the “five-year plan” (State Council of China,
333 2011). As a result, HCP training programs were conducted throughout the years, although the
334 coverage of the programs varied depending on the availability of the funding allocated annually. The

335 next quote highlights how training programs remain a priority as it is part of a broader policy
336 supported by the government:

337 *“One of the key programs is the training program. [...] So no matter how much you are*
338 *funded, the training will be part of the overall TB control intervention, but its proportion will*
339 *not change much. If the scale of the TB control intervention is increased with more funding,*
340 *the investment in training will not change much.” – IDI 2, CCTB official*

341

342 *Importance and urgency on the need to address the health issue*

343 The value of research perceived by policy actors is influenced by the urgency of the health issues
344 that the research aims to address. All policy actors we interviewed acknowledged that training HCPs
345 was a critical factor for ultimately reducing MDR-TB epidemics in China. They emphasized that
346 doctors from peripheral health facilities, particularly in less developed regions in China, were in need
347 of systematic training to provide quality MDR-TB services, which would also facilitate achieving the
348 TB prevention targets at the endpoint of the “five-year plan”. Therefore, the policy actors were
349 interested to know whether the program effectively improved trainees’ knowledge and skills on
350 MDR-TB diagnosis and treatment. The next quote summarizes the sentiment of several interviewees
351 where they regarded training as a key priority due to the need to standardize MDR-TB diagnosis,
352 treatment and management:

353 *“Especially, HCPs need training for standardized MDR-TB diagnosis, treatment and*
354 *management. The HCPs in eastern provinces, which are highly developed, can learn and*
355 *apply the latest knowledge and techniques quickly. But in the western provinces, if you don’t*
356 *invest resources and funding for them to conduct training, they don’t even have the facilities*
357 *or equipment..” – IDI 10, NCTB official*

358

359 With only limited resources available, TB interventions often face competition with interventions for
360 other infectious diseases, such as HIV and Hepatitis B, for government funding. To ensure solutions

361 are proposed and resources are allocated to address the TB epidemics in China, political
362 commitment by the national government is critical. Without political commitment to tackle health
363 issues, policymakers will have little interest in investing resources or obtaining research evidence to
364 inform policy.

365

366 **Evidence**

367 *Relevance to policy actors' information needs*

368 One of the major determinants of the usefulness of research evidence was whether research
369 findings addressed policy actors' information needs. For example, when evaluating a training
370 program, most policy actors we interviewed found that the assessment of the four basic outcome
371 levels suggested in the Kirkpatrick Model did not provide enough information that they were
372 interested. As a classic framework for training evaluation, the Kirkpatrick model defines that the
373 effectiveness of a training program can be assessed by four indicators: trainees' affective reaction to
374 the program, their knowledge improvement, on-the-job behavior change after training, and the
375 organizational impact of the training program (Kirkpatrick, 2006). Thus, evaluation based solely on
376 this framework was perceived less useful when determining the future of the training program. Even
377 though no consensus on the optimal indicators and approach to evaluate effectiveness, most policy
378 actors in both FGDs agreed that they were interested in information that would help them
379 determine the sustainability and scalability of the training program, including the cost-effectiveness
380 of running the training program, the willingness of international donors to invest in the program in
381 long-term, and whether the program could be easily applicable to other settings. The next quotes
382 highlight the several areas that interviewees mention as being crucial for policymakers:

383 *"In order to persuade the government to invest, we probably do a cost-effectiveness analysis*
384 *to show how much we invest and input, which would impress the policymakers."* – FGD
385 *group A, ID4*

386 *“We need to know if the program is applicable to other settings. If this program targets the*
387 *issues in only one or two provinces, then it is not worth scaling-up.” – FGD group B, ID4*

388

389 *Credibility perceived by policy actors*

390 In addition to the relevance of the research to policy actors, we also found that the scientific quality
391 of research would influence its perceived credibility and thus determine whether the results would
392 be useful in the policymaking process. In our scenario, most policy actors were concerned with the
393 design and validity of the evaluation approach, including whether the indicators used were able to
394 reflect measured outcomes objectively, whether the methods were validated and whether
395 confounders were taken into consideration. The next quote illustrates policy actors’ concerns about
396 the credibility of the research:

397 *We think this outcome indicator [case detection] is important, but we are not sure if this*
398 *indicator is able to reflect the results of this training objectively, which is the problem. – FGD*
399 *group B, ID 8*

400

401 *Composition of research team*

402 Apart from the scientific quality of the research, most policy actors were interested in who
403 conducted the research. Several policy actors mentioned that although local researchers might be
404 familiar with the local system, culture and language, they were concerned that the close
405 relationships between researchers and the local managers of training programs would cause bias in
406 the assessment. Most policy actors suggested that international researchers were able to conduct
407 more objective studies compared to local researchers since they held no conflict of interests. In
408 addition, specific respondents highlighted that the reputation and international impact of
409 international researchers would raise the credibility of the evaluation results (FGD Group A, ID1 and
410 ID7). However, some participants were also concerned that international researchers were limited
411 by their knowledge of local culture and language, which would impede the progress of the

412 evaluation. Therefore, as quoted below, a consensus was made across interviews and FGDs that a
413 mix of international and local researchers in the research team would be ideal.

414 *“A collaboration will be better, because the methodology used for evaluation by*
415 *international researchers would be more robust, even though the process (of evaluation)*
416 *might be complex. Researchers in China are more familiar with the local context.” – FGD,*
417 *Group B, ID7*

418

419 ***Links, networks, and power relations***

420 *Roles and responsibilities of policy actors and their major sources of power*

421 Examining the identities and responsibilities of actors involved in making health policy decisions is
422 important to understand how policy change occurs and how information is transferred in the
423 process. In our analysis, we identified key policy actors involved in the HCP training program and
424 they shared their views on their roles in this training program and TB control system (table 2).

425

426 Policy actors such as international donors, NHFPC, MOF, TB experts, NCTB and CCTB played
427 important roles in making decisions on the training program and TB policies. Both NCTB and CCTB
428 are operated under the China CDC system. As the head of the regional CDC network, the NCTB is
429 responsible for the public health aspects of TB control; while the CCTB, also the headquarter of the
430 Chinese Medical Association TB division, is responsible for the clinical aspect.

431

432 As described by one Chinese policy actor, it was usually the NHFPC who initiated policymaking and
433 were responsible for organizing meetings with relevant agencies to discuss policy details and draft
434 documents. The national TB prevention plans (such as the “five-year plan”), in which work priorities
435 and targets were established, was drafted and developed by the NHFPC with input from TB experts
436 in reputable research institutions, NCTB and CCTB. Identified themselves as “consultant of NHFPC”,
437 participants from both the NCTB and CCTB were involved in conducting TB related research and

438 national surveys, and collecting research evidence to justify policy advocacies. As discussed
439 previously, because of the limited resources and funding provided by the national MOF, the NCTB
440 and CCTB established collaboration with international donors, who provided additional funding for
441 TB programs across the country. For these collaborated TB programs (such as the Lilly MDR-TB HCP
442 training program), the NCTB and CCTB took the leading role in designing and planning the programs.
443 Additionally, both agencies were responsible for supervising and evaluating the programs during and
444 at the end of implementation.

445

446 Even though not directly involved in the decision-making process, senior staff at TB designated
447 hospitals reported that they were able to raise issues encountered during the implementation of TB
448 programs or policies to TB experts and officials from NCTB or CCTB during workshops or conferences
449 so that their opinions could pass to higher level decision-makers. However, grassroots doctors who
450 were responsible for frontline clinical work and research were not reported to be involved in the
451 decision-making process and had not yet seen any influence over decisions on the HCP training
452 programs or other TB policies.

453

454 *Policy actors' major sources of power*

455 The power of policy actors derives from difference sources, such as resources, knowledge or
456 personal attributes (Sriram et al., 2018). We listed the major sources of power for each actor in table
457 2. As the two major funding sources for TB control activities, international donors and MOF draw
458 power from their ability to mobilize financial resources. The power of the NHCF on setting national
459 policy priorities and TB control strategies derives from its authority in the bureaucratic and
460 administrative system through which health policies are formulated and implemented. With their
461 ability to produce information and in-depth knowledge and experiences of clinical and epidemic TB
462 control, the NCTB, CCTB, experts and provincial CDCs exert power on TB programs and policies
463 through their technical expertise. Additionally, NCTB and CCTB have the bureaucratic power granted

464 by their position in the administrative system as they have the authority to design and implement TB
465 programs and policies. However, the roles of TB designated hospitals and grassroots doctors in the
466 decision-making process are not comprehensively discussed based on the available data in our
467 study, thus, their sources of power cannot be clearly accounted for.

468

469 *Links between policy actors involved in the training program*

470 The structure of the policy actors involved in the TB policymaking process in China is shown in figure
471 1. Determined by their positions and power in the health system, the MOF and NHFPC are the top-
472 level policymakers, setting the policy priorities and leading the development of national TB control
473 strategies. Having both technical and bureaucratic power in the TB control system, the TB experts,
474 NCTB and CCTB are the high-level policy actors who work closely with the top-level policymakers, as
475 they play advisory roles to the top-level policymakers and are responsible for drafting policy
476 documents and national guidelines. The top- and high-level policy actors are directly involved and
477 most influential in the TB policymaking process. The lower-level policy actors include provincial
478 CDCs, TB designated hospitals and TB doctors, as their major roles is providing TB related services
479 and implementing the policies and programs formulated by the higher-level policy actors. Although
480 the lower-level policy actors are not always involved in the decision-making process directly, they
481 can indirectly influence the TB policies through their technical power, thus having relatively less
482 impact on the policymaking process. As external policy actors, international donors do not directly
483 participate in the policymaking process in China, but can exert influences through their connections
484 with the higher-level policy actors and financial power.

485

486 The NCTB and CCTB are in the center of the policy network linking the other actors who are involved
487 in making decisions on TB programs and policies, as one of the officials from CCTB described their
488 position in the national TB control system as such:

489 *“We are working from the upper level. We work with MOH (now known as NHFPC) and also*
490 *work with the provincial, prefecture and county level TB hospitals. And of course, we have a*
491 *lot of communication with the CDC system.” – IDI 4, CCTB official*

492 Leaders in the two agencies are influential in formulating TB policies and programs through their
493 roles as advisers to higher level policymakers in the NHFPC. They are also informed on the progress
494 of t frontline TB control work and the progress of TB research through their networks with
495 universities and TB designated hospitals. Furthermore, both agencies had direct contact with
496 international donors, thus connecting the donors with the NHFPC and MOF.

497

498 **DISCUSSION**

499 Our study identified the critical roles of the NCTB and CCTB in making decisions on TB policies and
500 programs around two key areas. Firstly, as both producers and users of research evidence, the two
501 agencies have power and influence in the TB policy process through their technical expertise.

502 Secondly, having connections with other policy actors, the NCTB and CCTB hold a central position of
503 disseminating information within the TB control system. Additionally, we found that international
504 donors have a strong influence on setting TB control priorities in China, which in turn will influence
505 domestic policymakers’ perception of the value of the research because policymakers are interested
506 in studies that address government priorities. Table 3 summarizes the major findings of our study
507 according to the four elements of the RAPID framework and we made our recommendations to
508 improve research use based on these findings.

509

510 The two-communities theory explains why research is not used in the policy process by attributing
511 non-utilization to the differences in culture between researchers and policymakers (Caplan, 1979).
512 However, as criticized by Wingens, since the theory focuses on the differences of researchers’ and
513 policymakers’ practice, it fails to capture the intrinsic differences in functionality of “research” and
514 “policy” (Wingens, 1990). Thus, even though the theory still holds true to some extent, its

515 generalizability is limited. For example, one of the central arguments of the theory is that
516 researchers and policymakers are two distinct homogenous groups; however, our study suggested
517 that the identities of “researcher” and “policymaker” are sometimes not mutually exclusive. As
518 indicated in our study, key member from the NCTB or CCTB are both “researchers” and
519 “policymakers”: they have the power of making decisions on TB control strategies conferred by their
520 technical capacity and institutional position in the health system, but are also involved in conducting
521 research, providing important evidence for making decisions for higher-level policymakers.

522

523 Mirroring the roles of the epistemic community, the two government agencies, the CCTB and NCTB,
524 have the expertise and authoritative claim to knowledge about TB prevention and control. They can
525 influence higher-level policymakers either by directly providing information of policymakers’ needs
526 or illuminating the importance of an issue from which the policymakers can deduce their interests
527 and needs. Even though government agencies are important sources of research information (Sorian
528 & Baugh, 2002), their how to engage them to facilitate research uptake by policymakers are not
529 sufficiently examined and discussed in current literature. The use of knowledge brokers, who are
530 usually hired externally by research institutions for facilitating interactions between decision-makers
531 and researchers, was seen in several developed countries and LMICs (Knight & Lyall, 2013; Mc
532 Sween-Cadieux, Dagenais, Somé, & Ridde, 2019). Compare to knowledge brokers, staff from the two
533 agencies have the following advantages as natural intermediaries. Firstly, through years of working
534 in the TB control system with people from NHFPC, lower level CDCs, hospitals and even international
535 donors, both agencies already built personal and formal communication channels to circulate
536 information to colleagues and partners. Secondly, although the use of knowledge brokers was
537 piloted and proved to be successful in a number of research institutions in UK and Canada (Dagenais,
538 Laurendeau, & Briand-Lamarche, 2015; Lightowler & Knight, 2013), the sustainability of knowledge
539 brokers roles is still challenging due to ambiguity in their professional boundaries, career pathways,
540 recruitment criteria and management (Chew, Armstrong, & Martin, 2013). Therefore, we

541 recommend that without the immediate availability of knowledge brokers, partnership can be
542 established with natural intermediaries, for example, staff from the NCTB or CCTB in our context, to
543 facilitate the dissemination of research findings. Specifically, as summarized in table 3, researchers
544 can engage officials from the NCTB or CCTB in designing and conducting research projects.
545 Interacting and building personal relationships with TB experts or officials from the two agencies are
546 also helpful to increase the use of research by policy actors.

547

548

549 Our study supports findings from previous studies that the perceived value of research to
550 policymakers is determined by whether the research addresses a health issue that is in line with
551 government priorities (Burris et al., 2011; Crichton & Theobald, 2011; Hutchinson et al., 2011). In our
552 case study, we found that similar to other aid-dependent countries, international donors are
553 strongly influential in setting priorities and agenda in TB control in China through funding the health
554 interventions of donors' interests or shaping evidence base to inform future policies, even though its
555 perceived influence is less in China and middle-income countries than in low-income countries (Khan
556 et al., 2018). Today TB (particularly MDR-TB) control in China is still largely relying on funding from
557 international donors. Since China is gradually acknowledged as one of the emerging economic power
558 globally and is expected to step up and take the ownership of national disease control by increasing
559 its spending on TB, how it will influence donors' resource allocation decisions in China in the future
560 is still unknown. However, we cannot discard the possibility that if foreign aid declines, policymakers
561 will likely need to reset the TB control priorities since there will be less influence from international
562 donors but a large funding gap for disease control activities. If this is the case, the government needs
563 to make two decisions. For the short-term, if no imminent investment in MDR-TB control from either
564 the national government or international donors is committed, the policymakers need to carefully
565 determine what interventions are essential and where to use the very limited available resources to
566 achieve the optimal outcomes. For the long-term, in line with the ongoing comprehensive health

567 system reform that emphasizes the leading role of government in funding and supervision, an
568 innovative financing mechanism that utilizes domestic sources (for example, health insurance
569 schemes, central and local public health funding) needs to be established to support sustainable,
570 affordable and quality MDR-TB services. To accommodate to the fast-changing policy context, we
571 recommend researchers to conduct a rapid assessment of the policy context as suggested in table 3.
572 Furthermore, the private corporate actors are seen to exert influence on the public sector in several
573 LMICs through corporate policy entrepreneurship, a processes in which “private sector organizations
574 undertake a set of strategies that result in innovate activities in the public arena”. One example is
575 the adoption of mobile healthcare payment innovation by the public hospital systems in China.
576 Therefore, drawing on lessons learned from policy entrepreneurs, health researchers may seek
577 opportunities for policy influence proactively, instead of waiting passively for their research to be
578 discovered by policymakers.

579

580

581 Consistent with previous studies, our findings indicated that perceived relevance was one factor for
582 research use in policy decisions and that the scientific quality of research will influence its credibility
583 perceived by policy actors (Crichton & Theobald, 2011; Innvaer et al., 2002; Lavis et al., 2005).

584 Contrary to one study which showed that the perceived quality was largely determined by the
585 reputation of the researchers and the journal where the study was published (Trostle, Bronfman, &
586 Langer, 1999), our study found that the policy actors in China are more interested in the validity of
587 the study design and the interpretation of the results. Furthermore, although it is found in previous
588 studies that research results too complex and technical to be understood by policy actors are
589 unlikely to be used in policymaking process (Poot et al., 2018; Sorian & Baugh, 2002), the ability of
590 policy actors to interpret results was not discussed in our study. This is probably because all the
591 participants in our study have medical backgrounds and are specialized in TB control, they tend to
592 assess the usefulness of research evidence from a technical perspective. In summary (shown in table

593 3), well-designed studies that target policy actors' information gap are more likely to be used in the
594 policymaking process. To further increase the perceived credibility, we recommend that study
595 results need to be critically interpreted and justified.

596

597 Our study has a number of limitations. First, we acknowledge that different systems are deployed
598 for the management of infectious diseases and non-communicable diseases. Thus, key stakeholders
599 involved in making policy decisions on non-communicable diseases may be different and need to be
600 examined in futures studies. Second, as acknowledged by other researchers, one of the challenges
601 to conduct policy analysis is to obtain access to domestic policy elites (Walt et al., 2008). In our case,
602 we were unable to include some of the higher-level actors involved in making decisions on TB
603 policies, such as officials from NHFPC or MOF. Therefore, their views on research evidence and their
604 roles in the TB policy process are not comprehensively examined. Third, since our study is a case
605 study of a national HCP training program, the topic guide used in the IDIs and FGDs was designed
606 with an emphasis on the specific program. However, based on the definition of the priori thematic
607 saturation (Saunders et al., 2018), we believe we achieved saturation since the four constructs of the
608 RAPID framework were adequately represented by our data. Finally, although, in this study, we
609 investigated factors influencing research uptake by health policymakers in China, unfortunately, we
610 were not yet updated whether the HCP training program was sustained or scaled-up. To broaden the
611 scope of our study, a network or stakeholder analysis could be conducted in future to systematically
612 examine all the key players involved in the TB policy process in China.

613

614 **CONCLUSION**

615 This case study of policy actors' perception on using evaluation evidence to make resource allocation
616 decisions on a national MDR-TB HCP training program in China highlighted areas that could be
617 targeted to improve research use in the health policymaking process in the Chinese context. The
618 usefulness of research is determined by its context – whether it addresses a national priority that is

619 shaped and set by not only local policymakers but also international donors – and its scientific quality.
620 For researchers, apart from improving the relevance and robustness of research studies, it is
621 important to assess the policy context and frame the research scope to align with government
622 priorities. Furthermore, we highlighted the dual roles of two agencies in the TB policy process in
623 China as they are both evidence providers and actors who have the power to influence policy
624 decisions through their technical expertise. Without the immediate availability of knowledge
625 brokers, making alliances with existing key actors is an effective way to improve communication of
626 research findings into the policy process.

627

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