

## Chapter 5: Universal Health Coverage and Socioeconomic Actions in TB

### SUMMARY

New strategies focusing on socioeconomic actions are required to achieve the 90-(90)-90 targets and end TB. Ministries and agencies across government, beyond the ministries of health and the public health sector, must collaborate in order to have maximum impact on the TB epidemic. Universal health coverage (UHC) must be at the heart of such strategies, with the goal of making TB programmes high-quality, accessible and affordable. People affected by TB need the support of social protection policies and programs to help them recover from sickness and manage any disability or loss of function that results from TB without suffering catastrophic financial loss or other avoidable hardships.

### PRIORITY ACTIONS

#### Governments:

- Fulfill commitments made in the UN political declaration on UHC, including the commitment to strengthen efforts to address TB by advancing comprehensive approaches and integrated service delivery, ensuring no one is left behind.
- Implement nonmedical interventions in parallel to medical services, including social protection, poverty alleviation and urban regeneration strategies.
- Assess barriers to accessing TB services and to address them in national UHC agendas. Ensure TB services are included within social benefit packages.
- To create a multisectoral response at the national level, consider establishing a national TB coordination council, similar to a national AIDS board.
- Implement patient cost surveys to understand the drivers of TB patient costs, and use the findings to improve financial and social protection policies.

#### Advocates:

- Equip parliamentarians and decision-makers with evidence showing how focusing on TB will also improve performance in tackling other national priorities including other UN Sustainable Development Goals.
- Engage and enroll new potential allies outside of the traditional TB community, including those working in social welfare, labour, housing and urban regeneration, agriculture and other relevant sectors.

#### Health programs:

- Ensure health care staff treating people with TB understand social protection policies and the associated programmes for which people with TB are eligible.
- In the course of pursuing UHC, ensure the right balance of integrating TB care into primary healthcare and maintaining specialized TB managerial functions.

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- Ensure operational research is used to guide and improve the implementation of social protection programs.

Researchers:

- Strengthen the body of evidence showing the links between socioeconomic actions and progress made against TB.

Even though free TB diagnosis and treatment are at the heart of global TB efforts, individuals and families affected by TB often still struggle with other associated costs. Those costs can even be catastrophic. When the costs become too great, it creates a powerful disincentive that prevents people from accessing TB care. On a population level, the high costs associated with TB suppresses access to care, creating a barrier that stands in the way of ending the disease.

Ending TB requires a holistic approach that incorporates a broad range of medical and nonmedical interventions carried out across a range of sectors. Compared with older approaches to “controlling” TB, the End TB Strategy has increased the focus on poverty alleviation and social protection as critical pieces of a holistic, multisectoral effort. Combined with urban regeneration, these interventions have the potential to enhance prevention, improve access to care, and prevent TB-related catastrophic costs.

Implementing these measures will require greater involvement with the private sector, civil society and community health workers. However, the need for nonmedical *interventions* means that a greater range of nonmedical *actors* must be engaged. Planning and investing to end TB is not solely the task of health ministries, but also of other ministries and government agencies, including those responsible for social welfare, finance, labour, housing and urban regeneration, agriculture and others. Engaging finance ministries, with national TB programmes and advocates from across sectors participating strategically in national budget process, is crucial to seeing more resources flow toward a multisectoral TB response.

### **Improving medical services: Universal Health Coverage**

TB and UHC efforts go hand in hand, as roughly 40 percent of people with TB do not have access to appropriate treatment as of 2018. In fact, given the huge global burden of TB, combined with the potential to strengthen health systems by building on health infrastructure originally established for the purposes of delivering TB care, expanding TB efforts provides an important pathway toward UHC. At the same time, the global push towards achieving UHC provides an opportunity for TB services to scale up, become more affordable and accessible, and improve in quality. For these reasons, social protection and UHC are core components of the End TB Strategy. Pillar Two of the strategy seeks to ensure that health and social sector policies work jointly to address the social determinants of TB.

After years of neglect, UHC is now high on political agendas again. In September 2019, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) convened the High Level Meeting on Universal Health Coverage. The political declaration endorsed by the UNGA reaffirmed the commitments made in the UN political declaration on ending TB. The declaration also committed to strengthen efforts to address TB by advancing comprehensive approaches and integrated service delivery, ensuring no one is left behind.

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102 **Box 5.1 Key TB Commitments in the United Nations Political Declaration on Universal**  
 103 **Health Coverage**

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 105 *Reaffirm the strong commitments made through the political declarations adopted at the*  
 106 *High-level Meetings on ending AIDS, on tackling antimicrobial resistance, **on ending***  
 107 ***tuberculosis**, and on the prevention and control of non-communicable diseases, as well as the*  
 108 *General Assembly resolutions entitled “Consolidating gains and accelerating efforts to*  
 109 *control and eliminate malaria in developing countries, particularly in Africa, by 2030”;*

110  
 111 *Strengthen efforts to address communicable diseases, including HIV/AIDS, **tuberculosis**,*  
 112 *malaria and hepatitis as part of universal health coverage and to ensure that the fragile*  
 113 *gains are sustained and expanded by advancing comprehensive approaches and integrated*  
 114 *service delivery and ensuring that no one is left behind;*

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116  
 117 It is critical that TB programmes seize the opportunity created by this high-level political  
 118 attention on both TB and UHC, and actively engage in efforts to secure greater access to TB  
 119 care through national efforts to achieve UHC. Depending on the country context, in order to  
 120 be part of the UHC and health insurance initiative, TB programmes may need to restructure  
 121 their budgets, service delivery mechanisms and data collection methods.

122  
 123 Health care financing has become a prominent aspect of global efforts towards UHC, and  
 124 health insurance schemes are increasingly being rolled out in many low-income countries.  
 125 However, many people at risk for TB lack health insurance coverage. UHC must therefore  
 126 not be limited to health care financing, but must also include the expansion of critical health  
 127 services. As discussed in Chapter 4, community health workers can help reach the “missed”  
 128 millions of people in need of TB care by reaching out to communities, tracing contacts of  
 129 people impacted by TB, and educating family members.

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133 **Box 5.2**

134 Universal health coverage (UHC) is defined as ensuring that all people can use the health  
 135 services they need, that these services are of sufficient quality to be effective, and that the use  
 136 of these services does not expose the user to financial hardship.<sup>1</sup> Sustainable Development  
 137 Goal 3 ensures healthy lives and promotes well-being for all at all ages. This goal focuses on  
 138 achieving UHC, which includes financial risk protection, access to quality essential health  
 139 care services, and access to safe, effective, quality, and affordable essential medicines and  
 140 vaccines for all.

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143 **Integrating TB into poverty alleviation and social protection activities**

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 145 There is an extensively documented, strong positive correlation between poverty and TB  
 146 across all age groups. A new review of children’s susceptibility to TB described the  
 147 relationship between paediatric TB and poverty as “overwhelming,” with poverty being the

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<sup>1</sup> What is universal coverage? Geneva: World Health Organization; 2019  
 ([http://www.who.int/health\\_financing/universal\\_coverage\\_definition/en/](http://www.who.int/health_financing/universal_coverage_definition/en/)).

148 leading factor that puts children at risk of being exposed to TB, being infected, developing  
 149 disease and experiencing poor outcomes.<sup>2</sup> A recent statistical modeling exercise conducted by  
 150 experts from WHO, the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine and other  
 151 universities found that ending extreme poverty and expanding social protection coverage  
 152 would result in a 84.3 percent reduction in TB incidence by 2035.<sup>3</sup>

153  
 154 In addition to the direct health costs of seeking TB care, many households also incur  
 155 significant related expenses, including costs for travel, food, and childcare, and loss of  
 156 income. These costs can be catastrophic for families, as their spending on health care can  
 157 exceed 40% of their disposable income.<sup>4</sup> Income loss accounts for, on average, 60% of the  
 158 costs incurred by people with TB, with 25% attributed to direct costs such as tests, medicines,  
 159 and hospitalization.<sup>5</sup> Addressing these costs is especially relevant in the fight against TB,  
 160 since the disease disproportionately affects families who are impoverished and malnourished.

161  
 162 Evidence shows how social protections, particularly those focused on treatment adherence,  
 163 can improve TB outcomes and operational results.<sup>6</sup> Many social protection programmes have  
 164 used conditional cash transfers to incentivize participation. This model has been employed to  
 165 improve public health in many low and middle-income countries, notably Brazil and more  
 166 recently India (see Box 5.3: India’s National Direct Cash Transfer Programme).

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169 **Box 5.2 What is social protection—and what have governments committed to do about**  
 170 **it?**

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172 Social protection can be understood as a set of public actions that address not only income  
 173 poverty and economic shocks, but also social vulnerability. Social protection takes into  
 174 account the interrelationship between exclusion and poverty. Through income or in-kind  
 175 support and programmes designed to increase access to services (such as health, education  
 176 and nutrition), social protection helps to realize the human rights of children and families.<sup>7</sup>

177

178 By endorsing the UN political declaration on UHC, governments have committed to:

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180 *[S]top the rise and reverse the trend of catastrophic out-of-pocket health expenditure by*  
 181 *providing measures to assure financial risk protection and eliminate impoverishment due to*  
 182 *health-related expenses by 2030, with special emphasis on the poor as well as those who are*  
 183 *vulnerable or in vulnerable situations.*<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Roy R, Whittaker E, Seddon J, Kampmann B. Children and *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*: a review of susceptibility and protection. *Lancet Infect Dis.* 2019;19(3):e96-e108.

<sup>3</sup> Carter D, Glaziou P, Lönnroth K, Siroka A, Floyd K, Weil D, Ravigliione M, Houben R, Boccia D. The impact of social protection and poverty elimination on global tuberculosis incidence: a statistical modelling analysis of Sustainable Development Goal 1. *Lancet Glob Health* 2018;6:e514-22.

<sup>4</sup> Xu K, Evans DB, Kawabata K. Household catastrophic health expenditure: a multicountry analysis. *Lancet.* 2003;362:111–7.

<sup>5</sup> Eliminating the financial hardship of TB. Geneva: World Health Organization; 2013 ([http://www.who.int/tb/publications/UHC\\_SP\\_factsheet.pdf](http://www.who.int/tb/publications/UHC_SP_factsheet.pdf)).

<sup>6</sup> Boccia D, Hargreaves J, Lonnroth K. Cash transfer and microfinance interventions for tuberculosis control: review of the impact evidence and policy implications. *Int J Tuberc Lung Dis.* 2011;15:S37–49.

<sup>7</sup> UNICEF. Social protection ([http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/index\\_socialprotection.html](http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/index_socialprotection.html)).

<sup>8</sup> United Nations. Universal health coverage: moving together to build a healthier world. 2019. Online: <https://www.un.org/pga/73/wp-content/uploads/sites/53/2019/07/FINAL-draft-UHC-Political-Declaration.pdf>

185 By endorsing the UN political declaration on the fight against tuberculosis, governments have  
186 committed to:

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188 • Provide **social protection** for children affected by tuberculosis as well as for their  
189 caregivers, particularly women and the elderly.

190 • Enable and pursue multisectoral collaboration that involves the **social protection**  
191 sector.

192 • Strengthen support and capacity-building in countries that have **social protection**  
193 systems with limited resources.

194 • Help developing countries raise domestic revenues and providing bilateral financial  
195 support towards achieving UHC and **social protection** strategies.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> United Nations. United to end tuberculosis: an urgent global response to a global epidemic. Resolution A/RES/73/3. Geneva: World Health Organization; 2018 (<https://www.who.int/tb/unhlmonTBDeclaration.pdf>)

197 Social protection efforts require support from health systems and other sectors. Nutritional  
 198 programmes should collaborate with the World Food Programme and national agencies  
 199 responsible for food and nutrition. Cash transfer programmes for the poor that often exist under  
 200 social welfare ministries need to be made accessible to people with TB. Additional operational  
 201 research can demonstrate impact and identify more effective means of implementing social  
 202 protection activities.<sup>10</sup>

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205 [SIDEBAR:] In order to maximize their collective efforts toward achieving the health-related  
 206 SDGs, in 2018 11 of the world’s largest international health and development agencies  
 207 developed a framework for collaboration. *The Global action plan for healthy lives and well-*  
 208 *being for all* is built on three strategic approaches: Align. Accelerate. Account. To learn more  
 209 about how the world’s health organizations are working together to accelerate progress toward  
 210 ending TB, go to: <https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/311667>

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212  
 213 In order to ensure the systematic implementation of social protection programmes, a clear  
 214 analysis that identifies the socioeconomic factors contributing to vulnerability in specific settings  
 215 is needed. For instance, in some regions, catastrophic costs may be primarily due to travel costs  
 216 and loss of income. In others, food security plays a major role in poor treatment outcomes.<sup>11</sup>

217  
 218 Countries are encouraged to undertake an assessment of barriers to accessing TB services and to  
 219 address them in their UHC agenda. WHO has developed a handbook for conducting TB patient  
 220 cost surveys that countries can use to assess the drivers of costs for TB patients and their  
 221 families.<sup>12</sup> Survey findings can then be used to improve financial and social protection policies  
 222 for families affected by TB. Health care staff treating people with TB should be aware of social  
 223 protection policies and programmes, such as disability grants, for which people with TB are  
 224 eligible. In addition, TB services should be prioritized within the social benefit packages that  
 225 exist within countries.

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 227 **Antimicrobial resistance and the global health security agenda**

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 229 The UN General Assembly, the G20, the G7, the BRICS, and the Asia-Pacific Economic  
 230 Cooperation bloc, as well as ministers from countries across South-East Asia and the African  
 231 Union have all issued communiqués identifying antimicrobial resistance (AMR) as a critical  
 232 threat to global health security and economic prosperity, pledging action in response. Drug-  
 233 resistant TB (DR-TB) alone causes almost one-third of all deaths from resistant pathogens,  
 234 making the effort to end TB the cornerstone of the response to AMR and a crucial piece of the  
 235 global health security agenda.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Lutge E, Lewin S, Volmink J. Economic support to improve tuberculosis treatment outcomes in South Africa: a pragmatic cluster-randomized controlled trial. *Trials*. 2013;14:154

<sup>11</sup> Tanimura T, Jaramillo E, Weil D. Financial burden for tuberculosis patients in low and middle income countries: a systematic review. *Eur Respir J*. 2014;43:1763–5.

<sup>12</sup> Tuberculosis patient cost surveys: a handbook. Geneva: World Health Organization; 2017 ([https://www.who.int/tb/publications/patient\\_cost\\_surveys/en/](https://www.who.int/tb/publications/patient_cost_surveys/en/))

<sup>13</sup> Tuberculosis—the cornerstone of the AMR threat. TB Europe Coalition; 2017 ([http://www.tbcoalition.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/AMR\\_brochure\\_spreads.pdf](http://www.tbcoalition.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/AMR_brochure_spreads.pdf))

236  
 237 Achieving universal access to TB care, while providing patients and families with the social  
 238 support they need to adhere to quality treatment and prevention, is essential to solving the AMR  
 239 challenge. Drug-resistant TB has a chance to develop any time a person with TB receives  
 240 inadequate, substandard, or incomplete treatment. Unfortunately, the living conditions common  
 241 in low-income settings—especially urban environments where communities lack access to  
 242 nutrition and quality healthcare—tend to make TB treatment adherence challenging, leading to  
 243 the emergence of drug-resistance.<sup>14</sup> Today, due to the vast numbers of people who have received  
 244 such care, the ongoing spread of resistant TB strains is responsible for most new cases of  
 245 multidrug-resistant (MDR-TB) and extensively drug-resistant TB (XDR-TB). The spread of  
 246 MDR-TB in particular has become so widespread that a significant burden of people living with  
 247 latent TB infection are actually living with latent MDR TB infection. A recent modeling exercise  
 248 estimates that three in every 1000 people globally carry a latent MDR TB infection, with the  
 249 prevalence around ten times higher among people younger than 15 years.<sup>15</sup>

250  
 251 Ensuring that every person affected by TB has access to the proper treatment and is supported to  
 252 complete that treatment is essential to ending TB and stopping the danger that TB drug-  
 253 resistance poses to global health security. Research and development of new tools for  
 254 diagnosing, preventing and treating TB is also critical and will be discussed in chapter 6.

### 255 256 **Improving the urban environment**

257  
 258 The majority of the world’s population growth is set to occur in urban areas over the coming  
 259 decades. In many low-income countries, and even in many middle-income ones, urban areas  
 260 have grown rapidly, but without much planning or resources. This has left the poorest to live in  
 261 slums. For an airborne disease such as TB that is fueled by overcrowding, poor ventilation,  
 262 inadequate sanitation, and undernutrition, this development trend has significant implications.

263  
 264 Urban development strategies that improve the physical environment and reduce overcrowding  
 265 therefore have the potential to make a significant impact in the fight against TB.<sup>16</sup> Well-located  
 266 health care facilities with respect to housing could enable better links to health services.  
 267 Improving urban living conditions would also greatly benefit efforts to tackle other diseases such  
 268 as diarrhoea and pneumonia, which are caused by overcrowding and poor water and sanitation.

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### 271 **Box 5.3: India’s National Direct Cash Transfer Programme**

272  
 273 BOX 5.3: India’s National Direct Cash Transfer Programme for TB

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<sup>14</sup> Lange C, Chesov D, Heycknedorf J, et al. Drug-resistant tuberculosis: an update on disease burden, diagnosis and treatment. *Respirology*. 2018;23:656-673.

<sup>15</sup> Knight GM, McQuaid CF, Dodd PJ, et al. Global burden of latent multidrug-resistant tuberculosis: trends and estimates based on mathematical modelling. *Lancet Infect Dis*. 2019;19:903-12.

<sup>16</sup> Hargreaves JR, Boccia D, Evans CA. The social determinants of tuberculosis: from evidence to action. *Amer J Public Health*. 2011;4:654-62.

275 After India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced that he was making TB a national  
276 priority, in March 2018 the government of India instituted a direct cash transfer system for  
277 people with TB. The cash transfer programme is one of several social-protection and patient-  
278 support measures included within the National Strategic Plan for TB Elimination in India 2017-  
279 2025. The programme called “Nikshay Poshan Yojana” (NPY) provides direct cash transfers of  
280 INR 500 (approximately 8 USD dollars) monthly to bank accounts owned by people with TB or  
281 their close family relatives, to be used for nutritional support.

282  
283 Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) is a mechanism that can enable targeted and transparent delivery  
284 of benefits to citizens through the use of technology. For TB, DBT has been implemented  
285 through four schemes within India’s national TB programme:

- 286
- 287 • NPY
- 288 • Honoraria to treatment supporters
- 289 • Transportation support to people with TB living in tribal areas
- 290 • Financial incentives for TB notification and successful treatment outcomes, provided to  
291 private health providers and those who make referrals for TB care
- 292

293 Once a person with TB is notified including his/her bank account details and unique identity  
294 number in NIKSHAY—the electronic online TB notification system—this is further linked to the  
295 Public Finance Management System (PFMS), which credits the funds to the designated bank  
296 account. The same approach is used for treatment supporters and for private providers.

297  
298 From April 2018 to March 2019 more than 1.5 million beneficiaries received financial benefits  
299 of more than US\$ 36 million through NPY, while treatment supporters, people with TB from  
300 tribal areas and private providers were collectively provided US\$ 3 million. Funding for these  
301 financial services is supported through India’s national TB budget, with funds provided through  
302 a loan from the World Bank.

303  
304 For more details see:

305 <https://tbcindia.gov.in/WriteReadData/India%20TB%20Report%202019.pdf>  
306 <https://tbcindia.gov.in/index1.php?lang=1&level=1&sublinkid=4802&lid=3316>

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### 308 309 **Creating an enabling environment: Political will and policymaking**

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311 Advocacy is key to raising the profile of TB across all relevant sectors. This approach requires a  
312 major shift in mindset both within and outside of the community of people working on TB.  
313 Engaging and enrolling allies from across sectors, and creating a broad-based, influential  
314 constituency that can help drive the response needed to end TB requires a major shift in mindset  
315 both within and outside of the community of people working on TB. TB is an urgent societal  
316 challenge, and the TB community cannot face it alone.

317  
318 When it comes to overseeing multisectoral policymaking for TB that also aligns with national  
319 UHC and AMR strategies, one way to ensure the better integration of TB with other programmes



320 could be for countries to set up a TB coordination council at the national level, similar to a  
321 national AIDS board, and to work closer with existing national health committees.

322  
323 NTP managers are not the best positioned to lead coordinated efforts across several departments  
324 and ministries. However, with adequate resources and high-level political support, NTP  
325 managers can effectively advise other programmes on how to incorporate TB into their activities.  
326 Political will needs to come from a consortium of ministers and high-ranking government  
327 officials, even when they need to be spurred to action by advocates, TB survivors and affected  
328 communities and their allies, and business and cultural leaders.

329  
330 The way the argument is framed is also key. Focusing on TB will also improve performance  
331 toward achieving other UN Sustainable Development Goals. And social protection interventions  
332 are likely to impact multiple diseases simultaneously, making their implementation more  
333 valuable and cost-effective.

334  
335 As TB risk factors are diverse, policy approaches should contain a mix of TB-specific  
336 approaches (i.e. interventions that directly reach people who have TB and aim to influence a  
337 particular TB indicator) and TB-sensitive approaches (i.e. interventions that reach people who  
338 are at risk for TB and can indirectly reduce their vulnerability, such as better housing and  
339 ventilation, or agricultural policies aimed at improving nutrition).

340  
341 Better data on the links between TB and socioeconomic actions should be collected in order to  
342 equip decision-makers and parliamentarians with the evidence to change policy and allocate  
343 resources for social protection. Addressing TB will require major systemic changes in regulatory  
344 capacity (to ensure the rational use of medicines and infection control, among other issues),  
345 health care financing (through improved health insurance schemes), and boosting the capacity of  
346 health care systems to ensure UHC.

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#### 349 **Box 5.4 Preserving the capacity to end TB: learning from history**

350  
351 In 2002, Raviglione and Pio analyzed the history of WHO policies and guidance going back to  
352 1948. They found that policy approaches shifted several times over decades from vertical, TB-  
353 specific approaches toward increasing integration of TB care within general outpatient services.  
354 The integration of managerial functions specific to TB followed, driven by the rationale that  
355 integration of these specialized functions (e.g., TB training, supervision, logistics and  
356 communication) would make their implementation more efficient and cost-effective. The health  
357 reform process of the 1980s led to further integration of what had previously been specialized  
358 functions of dedicated TB programs.

359  
360 As a result, national TB programmes were essentially dismantled in many countries. This led to a  
361 steep drop-off in TB expertise, weakened support for TB research and large resources gaps just  
362 as the HIV pandemic began driving a new epidemic of TB. The need for a urgent TB response  
363 led to the rebuilding of specialized TB functions and programs through the 1990s, and the  
364 international adoption of DOTS as the standard TB response strategy, followed by another era of  
365 integrated approaches at the turn of the millennium.

366  
367 In reviewing this history, the lessons that emerge are that neither vertical approaches nor  
368 excessive integration of TB functions are completely successful. Nor are specialized and  
369 integrated approaches mutually exclusive. Instead, the best chance of ending TB is through a  
370 mixed approach that continues to maintain specialized functions in some capacities (such as  
371 planning, training, disease monitoring, and assessment), integrates service delivery within  
372 primary healthcare, enrolls stakeholders from beyond the health sector in efforts to end TB, and  
373 relies on effective advocacy to keep TB properly high on national political and policy agendas.<sup>17</sup>

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### 377 **BOX 5.5 JAPAN: Expanding TB care as pathway to UHC**

378 [TK need to consult source material to fact check and strengthen this messaging.]

379

380 In 1961 Japan achieved universal health coverage (UHC). In the 1950's TB was the largest  
381 killer, popularly known as the "national disease." TB was so prevalent that more than 20 percent  
382 of total medical expenditures were allocated to TB.

383

384 In 1951, the national TB Prevention Act was enacted, after which the Ministry of Health and  
385 Welfare launched a massive campaign against TB, through public health system strengthening,  
386 which resulted in a 25 percent decline in the number of people with TB [TK fact check]. TB care  
387 was rapidly expanded through:

388

- 389 • Collectively engaging the national government, together with the private sector,  
390 community and individuals.
- 391 • Creating a dedicated TB budget within national health insurance programs, which was  
392 used to expand coverage of TB care and services.
- 393 • Engaging the participation of local authorities in the national TB campaign.

394

395 The infrastructure, systems and processes put in place during the course of Japan's TB campaign  
396 created opportunities for reaching universal health coverage in Japan.

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<sup>17</sup> Raviglione MC and Pio A. Evolution of WHO policies for tuberculosis control, 1948-2001. The Lancet. 2002;359:775-80.

