



Inequalities and Political Struggles for a Universal Health System in Brazil

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Brazil

- Population: 207,660,929 (2017);
- High-middle income country;
- ▶ 33.4% of population and 38.1% of Latin America's GDP (2017);
- Presidential republic since 1889 (periods of authoritarian rule);
- ▶ 20th century: State-led industrialization
- ▶ Federation: 26 states, a Federal District and 5570 municipalities;
- Demographic, epidemiological and social transitions;
- ▶ The world's 10th most unequal country (UNDP, 2017)



Focus

- The struggle to build a Universal Health System (mid-1980s to 2018):
 - ✓ Relations between international and national contexts;
 - ✓ Nature of democracy and of governmental priorities in the economic and social areas;
 - ✓ Interaction between agendas and actors involved in health policies.



Background





- Health policy's trajectory:
 - ▶ Public Health since the late 19th century
 - √ State-building process;
 - ✓ Focus on control of specific diseases.
 - ▶ Social Insurance employment-based pensions and healthcare
 - √ 1930s 1970s: gradual expansion for urban formal workers;
 - ✓ Since the 1960s: State incentives to private providers and companies.
- ▶ Late 1970s early 1980s:
 - Criticism: Fragmented health system, limited and unequal coverage, ineffective health care, expanding private sector
 - Alternative proposals and local experiences



Democracy, Political Struggles and Health Policy

Three moments since the mid-1980s:

- Democratic transition and Health System Reform (1985-1989)
- Political struggles over a universal health system SUS in the democratic period (1990-2015)
- Political crisis, democratic instability and threats to SUS (2016-2018)



Democratic Transition and Health Reform (1985-1989)

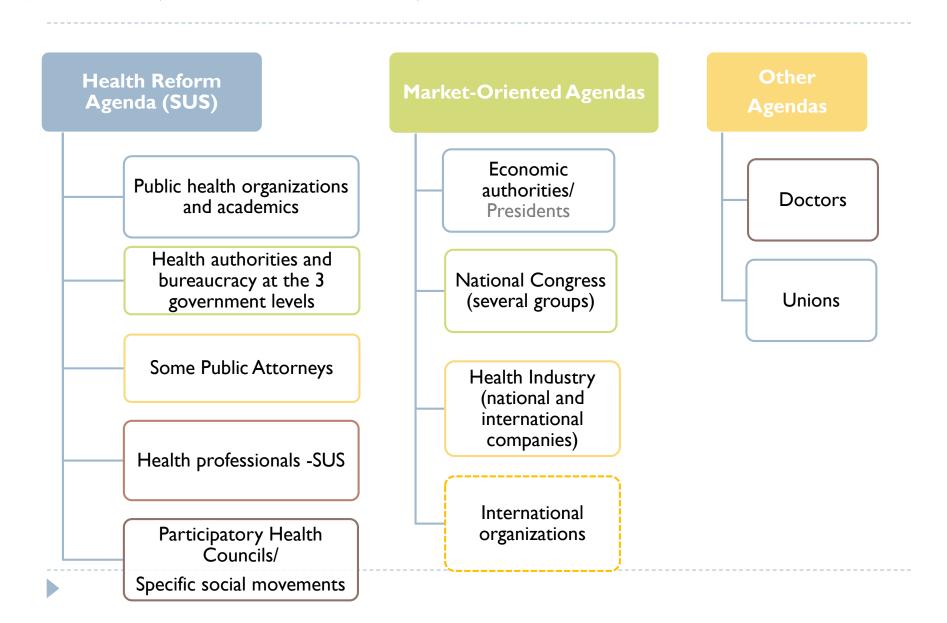
- ▶ Economic crisis and democratization
- Unlike other Latin American countries, neoliberal reforms were NOT adopted;
- Public health sector actors, academics, social movements, legislators.

Constitution of 1988:

- Expansion of social rights.
- Social Security universal: pensions, social welfare, health.
- ▶ Health as a right of citizenship and duty of the State.
- Unified Health System (SUS) public, universal and comprehensive.



Political struggles over SUS in the democratic period (1990 to 2015)

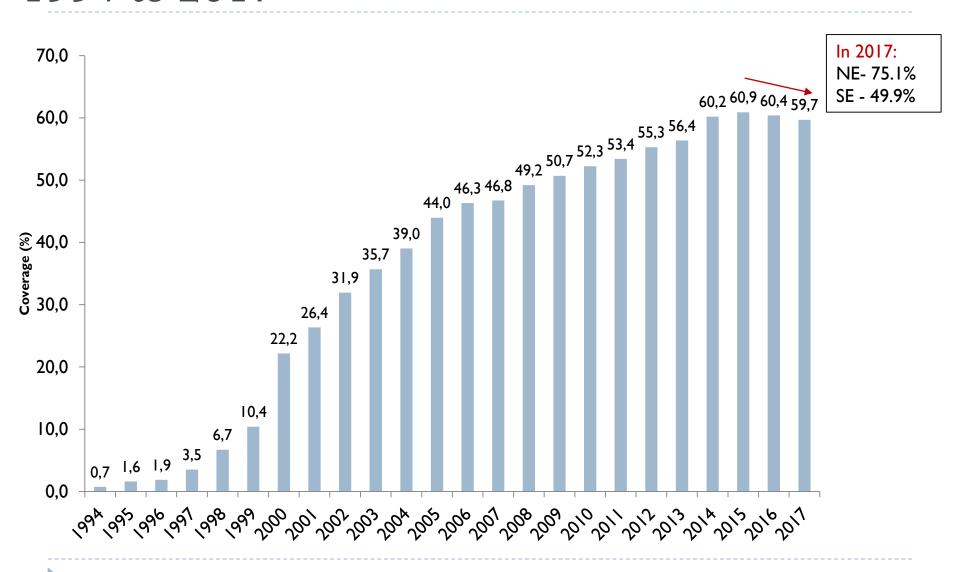


Political crisis, democratic instability and threats to SUS (2016-2018)

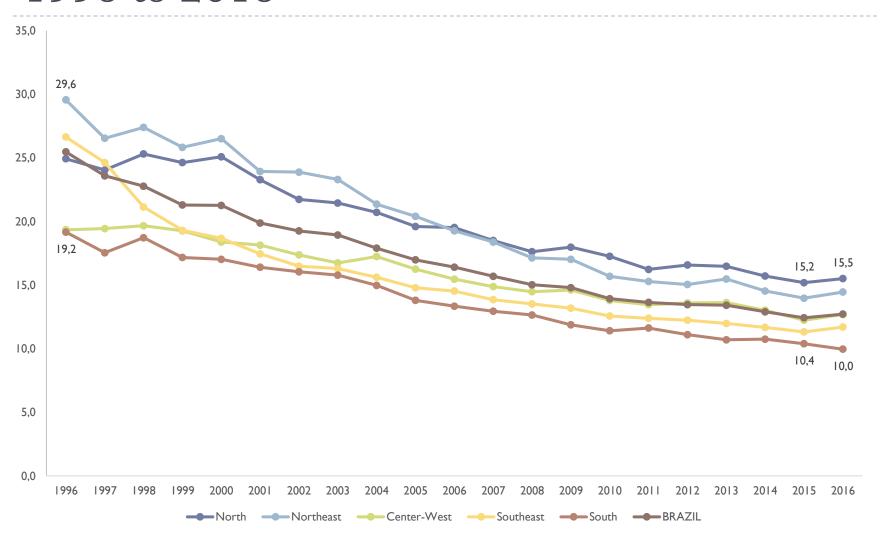
- ▶ Political context: of the 2014 presidential election
 - √ "Car Wash" corruption investigations
- Rousseff's (PT) reelection: strong opposition and political instability;
- 2016 Impeachment on charges of budgetary maneuvers
 - ✓ The anti-Rousseff coalition: Congress, Judiciary, economic elites and the media;
- Temer government: neoliberal reforms, "austerity";
 - ✓ Constitutional Amendment 95/2016 'freezes' social expenditures for 20 years.
 - ✓ Temer's Ist Minister of Health ties to private insurance corporations
 - ✓ Proposal of low-cost, state-subsidized private health plans for low-income people.
- ▶ 2018, November 28th President Elect Bolsonaro
 - √ Former military, extreme-right congressman



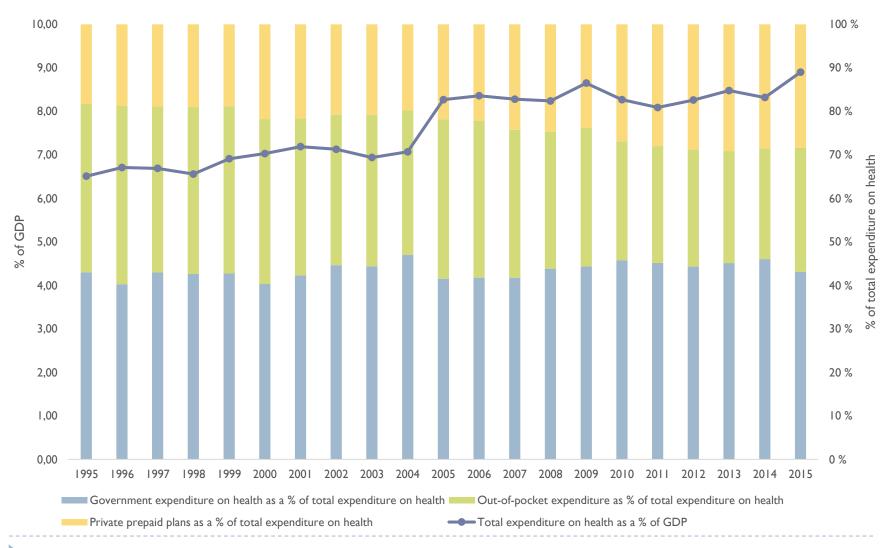
Coverage (%) of Family Health Strategy - Brazil, 1994 to 2017



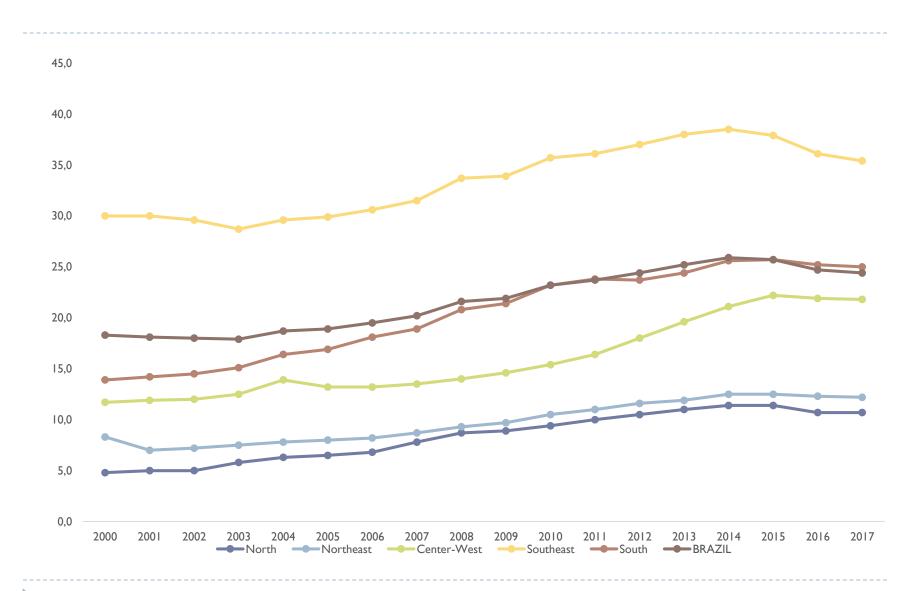
Infant mortality rates – Brazil and its regions, 1996 to 2016



Health expenditures as % of GDP and public-private participation. Brazil, 1995-2015



Coverage (%) of private health plans or insurance. Brazil and its regions, 2000-2017



Final Remarks: democracy and SUS

- Democracy has been essential to ensure:
 - Universal right to healthcare;
 - Institutional reforms and social participation;
 - Expansion of comprehensive policies and of public services' coverage;
 - Improvements in health outcomes and some reduction in health inequalities.
- Insufficient public funding and the strength of the private sector have been the main obstacles to reduce health inequalities:
 - Previous historical trajectory;
 - Increases in private provision in health care, subsidized by the State, parallel to the expansion of public services;
 - International and national health companies: new business' and lobbying to expand markets and profits;
 - Persistent regional and social inequalities.



Thank You!

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