

## *Chile: Regime of Explicit Health Guarantees (Plan AUGE)*<sup>1</sup>

### *Context*

1. Chile has long experience implementing various social policy approaches, ranging from welfare and universalistic reforms to a market-oriented system and social protection strategy (Castiglioni 2005; Raczynski 1994, 2000a, 2000b). Its social policy responses to the economic crises have been informed by a broad rights perspective, which has guided the conceptualization of many of its social programs (Abel and Lewis 2002; Filgueira and Lombardi 1995). Few of the social policies conceived with a rights perspective, however, have developed the institutional, programmatic and financial mechanisms to ensure the full protection of the entitlements that these rights imply. It is only recently that the notion of social guarantee has been introduced in Chile as a way to operationalize a rights-based perspective and translate its basic principles into the design, implementation, and evaluation of social programs.

2. Chile stands out in the region for having one of the few practical experiences in this line: the Regime of Explicit Health Guarantees (*Régimen de Garantías Explícitas en Salud*, RGES), also known as Plan AUGE, a curative health program that has been conceived and implemented within a social guarantee framework. This program has been operationalized through an explicit sub-set of guarantees to access, quality, opportunity, and redress and enforcement mechanisms. Although the RGES still faces some challenges, it is a clear case of a social guarantee program that can be used to illustrate some key implementation issues.

3. No other program in Chile has achieved the level of technical development required to be considered a social guarantee program. Most programs in other sectors have only partial characteristics of social guarantees, and have not yet developed the procedures and mechanisms needed to operationalize the notion of guarantees.

### *The Health System in Chile: Background*

4. Prior to 1980, the Chilean health system was fundamentally public, financed through the social security and public funds. After the health reform in 1981, risk insurance was introduced and market mechanisms regulated the level of protection, as in any other insurance market. Since then, a dual system has emerged, where workers “could be affiliated either with the public health system through the National Health Fund (FONASA), whose distribution rationale favors solidarity, or with private health insurance institutions (*Instituciones de Salud Provisional*, ISAPRES) that, in spite of the obligatory nature of the insurance, operate under the logic of

---

<sup>1</sup> Taken from: World Bank. 2008. “Realizing Rights through Social Guarantees: An Analysis of New Approaches to Social Policy in Latin America and South Africa” Social Development Department, Report No. 40047 – GLB. This summary was adapted from the original report, *Garantías sociales para la superación de la pobreza*. (unpublished), prepared by the National Foundation for Overcoming Poverty, Chile (FUNASUPO) and Alberto Hurtado University, Chile. 2007. The original report was commissioned as part of a wider research project on Rights, Guarantees and Social Policy. Summaries of all case studies and related documents from this project are available at <http://go.worldbank.org/P2LXPQU1Z0>.

private insurance, which is associated with individual risk” (Sojo 2006; see also Hernandez et al. 2005, p. 21, and Drago 2006, p. 27).

5. FONASA offers a universal health plan to its beneficiaries. Given its resource constraints, however, the public system has been unable to ensure timely and quality services. On the other hand, the private system discriminates by financial means, forcing many members to seek attention in the public system when their health plan (based on income) does not cover a particular service or health condition. In the private system, the level of protection is derived, on the one hand, from the amount of monthly contribution or premium, and on the other hand, by the medical risks associated with each individual (as estimated by their age, sex, family medical history, etc.). There is no minimum standard, and the law allows the exclusion of preexisting health conditions. Therefore, two people paying the same premium, but with different risk levels, receive different coverage and benefits.

6. This situation was criticized, in the 1990s, by civil society organizations, political parties, and professional associations in the health sector, all of which called for structural reforms that would address the needs of the population more adequately (FUNASUPO 1999, p. 33). The main criticisms included:

- The lack of a coherent and consensus-based state policy dealing with health issues;
- The structural segmentation of the health system, resulting in low-income and/or high-risk populations being treated mainly in the public system, while the high-income and/or low-risk population was treated in the private system;
- The health system’s failure to account for changes in the demographic and epidemiologic profile of the population, leaving out health conditions linked to the changing lifestyles and aging of the population (see Morales 2005);
- The increasing polarization of health outcomes, with greater and faster rates of improvement among the top quintiles than among poorer sections of the population, which also had a higher prevalence of contagious diseases<sup>2</sup>;
- The lack of coverage of certain health conditions for an important segment of ISAPRE’s beneficiaries. For example, women of childbearing age were required to either pay higher premium rates or opt for health plans without pregnancy-related coverage; elderly people had lower benefits and coverage unless they opted for higher premiums; and expenses related to HIV/AIDS were also not covered by the private system;

---

<sup>2</sup> Figueroa (1998) notes that “the morbidity and the mortality for tuberculosis respond very directly to the socio-economic determinants. The reality shows us that in health service areas where the rate of indigence is 8.5 percent of the population and that of poverty [is] 20.1 percent, the rates of mortality by tuberculosis rise to 5.5 per hundred thousand habitants, the rates of the morbidity for all the forms of tuberculosis are 56.6 percent per hundred thousand and of pulmonary bacillus tuberculosis, 31 per hundred thousand. On the other hand, in the health services where the rate of indigence is 3.4 percent and of poverty, 10 percent, the rates of mortality only reach 2.9 per hundred thousand, the rates of total morbidity 26.2 per hundred thousand and the rate of morbidity per pulmonary bacillus tuberculosis is only 10.8 per hundred thousand. In other words, where there is more poverty, the mortality of tuberculosis is double and the morbidity is triple compared to where there is less poverty.”

- The over-allocation of resources to healthy and young individuals in the private system, which was resulting in superfluous use of existing resources;
- The under-investment in preventive medicine and health promotion;
- High beneficiary co-payments for services;
- Referral problems in the public sector (primary network versus hospitals), as well as between the public and private sector (lack of entry mechanisms that would allow someone from the public sector to receive services in the private network);
- The lack of modernization of public sector hospitals and health clinics, and long delays in improving the quantity and quality of services available, despite significant increases in the sector's budget;
- The persistence of labor issues, resulting in frequent strikes by health workers.

### *Opening the Door for Reform*

7. It was clear that to address these institutional, regulatory, and demographic problems, the country would have to move away from the dual health system and toward a coordinated mixed system with modern and effective state regulation. The new system would have to protect the health policy goals and objectives of the country in light of the current social context (including beneficiaries' growing awareness of their rights) and the health profile of the population.

8. Early in his term, President Ricardo Lagos established an inter-ministerial committee to study and propose changes to the health system. The committee, which included representatives of the Medical Doctors Professional Association, health workers unions, and private health providers, identified four main challenges – the progressive aging of the population, the increasing cost of health services, the inequalities in the health status of different socio-economic strata, and a health gap among social groups – which would need to be addressed by changing both the composition and quality of services and the mechanisms for their delivery. Based on these challenges, the inter-ministerial committee identified four health sector objectives for the decade 2000-2010: (a) improving existing health indicators; (b) addressing the new demands derived from aging and the changing health profile of the population; (c) closing health gaps and inequalities across socio-economic groups; and (d) improving the scope, access to, and quality of services according to the expectation of the population (Aguilera et al. 2002, p. 3).

9. In 2002 the inter-ministerial committee proposed legislation designed to achieve these objectives.<sup>3</sup> From the beginning of the technical-political debate about the legislation, two strong and conflicting positions emerged regarding the content of the reforms and the way they should move forward. The legislation was rejected by the Medical Doctors Association, which in turn

---

<sup>3</sup> The bills included Regime of Guarantees in Health (Plan AUGE); Modification of the Law 2726 of 1979 (Structure of the System); the Institutions of Health Provision (ISAPRE); and Financing of the Fiscal Expenditure Represented by the Plan AUGE.

mobilized health workers and caused significant disruption in the health system for about six months. The President stepped in to support the reform, and his involvement resulted in a series of accords with health workers, including projects on a “new institutional structure” and “status of public employees.” The new vision was based on the belief that the public and private health sectors could be coordinated and could operate under a common system of rules, to achieve an optimal allocation of existing resources.

10. The reforms in the public system easily found support in the Senate. The proposed reforms to the ISAPRES were modified due to the rejection of the proposal to create a Solidarity Fund that would transfer funds from private affiliates. Thus, the terms of reform left no absolute winners or losers, but were acceptable to multiple stakeholders. Ultimately, all reform projects were approved in both the Senate and the Congress by large majorities.

11. The passage of the reforms can be attributed to: (a) the consistent and energetic role of the Executive Power; (b) the use of communication campaigns to counteract political opposition to the reforms; (c) the use of human rights rhetoric in the discussion of the reforms; (d) the Senate’s effort to mediate the conflicting interests of stakeholders and make acceptable modifications; (e) the Government’s intervention to mitigate the opposition of health professionals by confronting them directly with the demands made by citizens; and (f) the emergence of mediating actors, such as civil society organizations that managed to involve all political actors in a broader and less politicized discussion” (Drago 2006, p. 54).

#### *Implementing the Reform with Explicit Guarantees*

12. The new legal framework on health, passed between 2003 and 2004,<sup>4</sup> was of great significance from both a social policy and a judicial perspective, as it was the first example in the country and Latin American region of the legal installment of a rights-based social guarantee that incorporates and defines the principles of access, quality, opportunity, and financial protection. This framework promoted new mechanisms and mobilized new funding sources for health, which were agreed upon by the majority parties in Parliament; it also established responsible institutions such as the Office of the Superintendent for Health, a new ministerial-level health sub-secretariat, and local consultative councils. Most significantly, the framework included the Regime of Explicit Health Guarantees (AUGE), which guarantees a certain set of services for all users.<sup>5</sup> It prioritizes health problems based on the epidemiological danger they present and the feasibility of solutions; defines the medical response for each disease and condition; and emphasizes prevention, early examination of symptoms, and primary care. In addition, the Regime defines a maximum waiting period for receiving services at each stage (the sub-guarantee of “opportunity”); the set of activities, procedures, and technologies necessary for treating the medical condition (sub-guarantee of “quality”); and the maximum that a family can spend per year on health (sub-guarantee of “financial protection”). These maximums differ depending on the family’s income, thus protecting the principles of equity, inclusion, and redistribution.

---

<sup>4</sup> Laws N° 19.882 and 19.888, both approved in 2003, regulate, respectively, (i) the new personnel policy for public employees, and (ii) the financing of the health reform.

<sup>5</sup> The General Regime on Explicit Guarantees was established by Law 19.966. A list of 40 diseases and health conditions, and guaranteed services relating to those conditions, was established by Supreme Decree 228, issued by the Ministry of Health and the Treasury in 2005.

13. To determine the medical conditions included in AUGE, health professionals ranked all major health problems according to their frequency, seriousness, and cost of treatment. The principal ranking criterion was the number of years of healthy life lost (*Años de Vida Saludable Perdidos*, AVISA), which combines early mortality with the disability that the disease can cause to those who survive it. Mental health conditions, and conditions that generate partial disability and therefore a significant decline in the quality of life, were also considered priorities.

14. Once the priorities for the health regime were defined according to the indicator of years of healthy life lost, the possibility of affecting the outcomes of the condition through medical treatment was assessed, together with the feasibility of guaranteeing such treatment to all citizens, regardless of their geographic residence and socio-economic status. The latter necessitated a comprehensive analysis of the existing public and private health infrastructure. In addition, the process considered citizens' demands for attention to certain diseases, such as cystic fibrosis. As a result of this process of prioritization, 56 health conditions, accounting for approximately 70 percent of AVISA, were identified.

15. Various mechanisms were discussed for funding the new regime. Ultimately, Law 19.888 stipulated that resources will be derived from: (a) a temporary increase in the consumer tax from 18 to 19 percent between October 1, 2003 and October 1, 2007 (although President Bachelet has extended the tax increase for a longer period)<sup>6</sup>; (b) the tobacco tax; (c) customs revenues; and (d) sale of the state's minority shares in public health enterprises. As additional sources of funding, the reform also considered pre-existing FONASA funds, potential increases in co-payments, budget increases from economic growth, and potential reallocations of resources from other sectors.

16. To mitigate fiscal pressures, the reform was implemented at stages, and considered the progressive addition of medical conditions to the list of priority diseases. The new Health Superintendency absorbed the functions of the previous Superintendent of ISAPRES, and was also placed in charge of the FONASA budget regarding the treatment and services of the guaranteed list of conditions. Thus, this new institution is the first body to supervise public and private funds together.

17. A bill on the "Rights of the Person in the Health System," which included the rights to information, respectful treatment, and similar provisions, was briefly supported in Parliament, yet ultimately not codified in law. The bill was controversial because of its provisions on euthanasia, a living will, and the possibility of refusing therapeutic treatment.

18. Table 2 summarizes the guarantees in the health sector that have existed since the adoption of AUGE.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 2. Explicit Social Guarantees in Health Provision – the AUGE Scheme in Chile**

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that the one percent increase in the consumer tax constitutes regressive financing and raises serious questions of equity, given that it raises the cost of food and other basic items.

<sup>7</sup> The annex summarizes the legal, institutional, programmatic, and financial dimensions of the guarantees for AUGE and the other cases. In this table and in the other case studies, health services refer mainly to treatment, recovery, and rehabilitation, unless otherwise noted.

<b>Health</b>	
<b>Access</b>	
<i>Are the beneficiaries and services clearly defined?</i>	Yes, for the 40 diseases listed in the Plan AUGE. The Plan defines explicitly all sub-guarantees of access, quality, opportunity and financial protection, explained above (paragraph 39).
<i>Are there institutional procedures for monitoring access?</i>	The procedures for monitoring access are not sufficiently developed, even though there are ways, in which compliance with access requirements can be verified.
<i>Are there legal or institutional mechanisms that ensure non-discrimination in the access to services?</i>	There are no specific mechanisms. However, access is defined as universal, so it includes the principle of non-discrimination. Furthermore, all individuals, regardless of age, sex, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, etc., have access to the same redress mechanisms.  Only illegal immigrants and citizens without identity documents cannot access the services.
<i>Are services guaranteed for the amount of time needed?</i>	Even though there is no explicit guarantee on continuous provision, the Law on AUGE stipulates that treatment services should be provided for the time necessary for the recovery of health. Only for some services is the duration of treatment defined more precisely.
<i>Is there a maximum waiting period for receiving the service?</i>	Yes. The maximum waiting period is specified for all services related to the 40 priority diseases/conditions.
<i>If service is unavailable within this waiting period, is there a guaranteed alternative (in the same time period)?</i>	Yes, an alternative provider is assigned for the priority diseases and conditions defined in AUGE.
<b>Financial Protection</b>	
<i>Do beneficiaries need to contribute to the cost of service?</i>	Yes. The maximum required payments are explicitly defined for each of the 40 medical conditions.
<i>Are services accessible to beneficiaries who cannot contribute to the cost?</i>	Yes, and this is stated explicitly for the 40 priority conditions.
<i>Is this information effectively communicated to the public?</i>	In general, the population knows of the existence of Plan AUGE, mainly from the media, but not all details associated with its services. Health workers inform patients about service options on a case-by-case basis, but there are problems with communicating service options to the public.
<b>Quality</b>	
<i>Are there clear quality standards?</i>	No, because the systems for quality certification, accreditation, and compliance with quality standards have not yet been implemented. The regime considers the establishment of explicit standards, but this guarantee is not yet functional.
<i>Are programs being evaluated on a regular basis?</i>	AUGE considers procedures for accreditation, certification, evaluation, and budgeting, but they are not yet operational and are not codified in written rules. User evaluations have been collected.

<i>Are the standards and evaluation results effectively communicated to the public?</i>	Evaluation results are communicated through the internet and occasionally through the mass media. Information on quality standards is not communicated.
<b>Mechanisms of Redress and Enforcement</b>	
<i>Are there mechanisms allowing citizens to claim adequate provision of the services guaranteed?</i>	Yes. There are institutions, mechanisms, and procedures for claiming the access, quality, opportunity, and financial protection entitlements stipulated in AUGE. Maximum waiting periods for the resolution of claims are also specified.
<b>Participation and Continual Revision</b>	
<i>Do civil, parent, or other community organizations have a concrete role in the design, implementation, and monitoring of the program?</i>	There are no clearly established mechanisms of social accountability and/or social monitoring of the program. In the case of public providers of primary health care, there are some mechanisms of participation.  In addition, periodic public opinion surveys, conducted at the request of the Superintendent of Health, provide an opportunity for beneficiaries to voice their views.
<i>Which law or institution guarantees citizens' involvement?</i>	There is no specific law to guarantee or regulate citizens' involvement.
<i>Are there mechanisms that allow for continual improvement of services?</i>	Yes. There are institutions, mechanisms, and procedures to revise and modernize services in view of changes in the health/epidemiological profile of the population, the availability of resources, and technological advances, among other criteria.

## Results

19. The study found that AUGE has been beneficial to all socio-economic groups, and has been used by more than 3.2 million people (19.6 percent of the population). Lower-income groups (A and B in FONASA) have used the system more (75 percent) than higher-income groups (24.2 percent). ISAPRE subscribers have used AUGE mostly for high-cost treatments; and the middle-income stratum (with incomes between 300,000 and one million pesos) have used it the most (53.3 percent), compared to 24.5 percent of subscribers with incomes higher than 1 million, and 22.2 percent of those with incomes less than 300,000 pesos. Savings from using AUGE reach up to 500,000 pesos per year for diabetes patients and up to one million pesos for patients with severe depression (*Superintendencia de Salud, Chile 2005*).

20. To date, the National Budget Office (*Dirección de Presupuestos de la Nación*)<sup>8</sup> has not conducted a nationwide evaluation that would allow us to estimate the extent to which the objectives of the guarantees regime have been met, given that the regime is relatively recent. However, studies conducted in 2006 by the Initiative for Equity in Health and the Ministry of Health (see, e.g., Barrio 2006) show that despite achievements in maternal and infant health, there have been alarming increases in smoking, obesity, and suicide. While AUGE can be expected to

<sup>8</sup> The National Budget Office, a part of the Treasury, is responsible for allocating resources to ministries and services. It conducts evaluations of spending (and spending controls) for the regular provision of services.

have some impact on reducing these problems, it has yet to have a discernible impact on the mortality rate.

21. Recent surveys of public opinion of the new health system, carried out for the Superintendency of Health,<sup>9</sup> had more positive results. The surveys found that:

- A large percentage of the population is still not aware of the guarantees included in the AUGE. Only 48 percent of respondents were aware of at least one of the explicit guarantees, and 29 percent knew of the existence of all four guarantees;
- About 80 percent of respondents did not know which diseases are listed in the guarantees regime; and 45 percent said that their physicians did not recommend the use of the guarantees regime, even though they are obliged to do so by law. This constitutes an important obstacle to citizens exercising their right to health care;
- Despite the obstacles mentioned above, 69 percent of interviewees said that health care in the country had improved greatly (21 percent) or somewhat (48 percent) since AUGE's introduction;
- About 39 percent said their health was more protected than before the introduction of AUGE, and 51 percent said it was protected neither more or less. Only 5 percent felt they were protected less than previously;
- According to the survey, the most valued guarantee is access (ranked first by 34 percent), followed by opportunity (23 percent), quality (21 percent), and financial protection (18 percent). Access was ranked first in each socio-economic group;
- Twenty-eight percent of the respondents replied that at least one member of their household has been diagnosed with one of the 40 medical conditions covered by AUGE. The most frequently mentioned were primary arterial hypertension, type 1 diabetes mellitus, depression among adults (15 or older), moderate or severe asthma, and type 2 diabetes mellitus. Of these 28 percent, only 50 percent (14 percent of the total sample) decided to use the services of AUGE<sup>10</sup>. Sixty-four percent of those who were eligible but did not take advantage of the new regime pointed lack of information as the reason. This constitutes an important breach of the right to health;
- Out of the portion of the population who did use AUGE services, 42 percent noticed a difference between the quality of services covered by the regime and those that are not covered. On a scale of 1 to 7 (where 7 represents the highest quality), AUGE services were generally assessed at 5.9 in terms of quality of professionals and personnel, 6.1 in infrastructure, and 6 in terms of hospital/clinic equipment.

---

<sup>9</sup> *DataVoz* (2007). The study was conducted by the consulting firm *DataVoz*. The final results are based on interviews with 1,304 persons in their households. The study used a method of sampling and probability, with a level of precision  $\pm 3,0$  percent considering maximum variance; 95 percent level of trust; and an estimated error of 1.2. The sample of 1,304 respondents comprised subscribers and other contributors to FONASA and ISAPRES, and Group A beneficiaries of the Health Fund.

<sup>10</sup> Services under AUGE can be provided either in the same same health facilities or different ones, as assigned. The difference is that services under the Plan AUGE are subject to very specific standards and regulations for access, quality, redress, etc.



Subscribers to FONASA gave higher evaluations than did ISAPRE subscribers in two of the three categories. In the third category (equipment), their evaluations were the same;

- In terms of the areas of highest satisfaction with AUGE, both FONASA and ISAPRES subscribers pointed out that the new regime resulted in faster and higher-quality services (60 percent and 59 percent respectively). FONASA clients also mentioned the higher level of personal attention to patients (30 percent), and ISAPRES clients mentioned the reduction in costs (20 percent).

22. These results indicate that AUGE has had some important preliminary impacts on access, efficiency, and people's perceptions of the health system – a satisfactory result given that the regime has only been in force since 2005. From a rights-based perspective, what makes AUGE a rights-based regime – apart from the universal guarantees of access, quality, opportunity, and financial protection – is the presence of an administrative mechanism that allows for the redress and enforcement of health entitlements if and when these guarantees are not being fulfilled (see Box 4)

#### **Box 4. Mechanisms for Redress in Health Provision in Chile – Role of the Superintendent of Health**

A survey initiated by the Office of the Superintendent of Health in 2007 analyzes the opinion of AUGE users regarding mechanisms for redress, which are regarded as secondary guarantees that seek to enforce the primary guarantees and correct any violations (Government of Chile 2007). The survey found that:

- For the most part, citizens who have used AUGE have been informed of its mechanisms for redress through the mass media. Five out of ten learned of the redress mechanisms through “general knowledge”; two out of ten learned about it from a health worker, and one out of ten learned from a friend, parent, or acquaintance. Only 48 percent of interviewed persons who have used a redress mechanism consider that sufficient information is available on the system of redress.
- In terms of the waiting period for resolving claims, half of the respondents said they were informed of how long the redress process would take. Thirty-one percent noted that their claims took longer than one and a half months. These results were consistent with the 51-day average set by the Superintendence of Health. The average waiting period for resolving arbitration cases was 74 days, and for administrative cases it was 48 days.
- Fifty-seven percent noted that their cases were delayed beyond the 51-day limit to an average of 99 days. Of the cases that were delayed, arbitration cases took an average of 117 days to resolve. For middle and low-income respondents, the average was 121 days; while for higher-income interviewees, it was 88 days. This gap sheds light on possible inequities in the attention to and resolution of claims on the part of the Superintendence staff.
- Forty-eight percent of respondents considered that the delay in the resolution of their cases was reasonable; 44 percent thought that it was too long, and 6 percent considered the waiting period short. This marks an improvement in perceptions from an earlier survey of August-September 2006.
- Fewer than half of respondents (38 percent) said they had been told how to check on the status of

their claims. The system is designed to allow citizens to check on their claims by telephone and internet. The lack of guidance in this respect diminishes the system's effectiveness.

- There are observable differences in the evaluations of different segments of the redress system: citizens who had arbitration cases gave better evaluations than those who used administrative channels for redress.
- A positive aspect of the system is the capacity of the Superintendent of Health's office to communicate with claimants. Nine out of ten respondents indicated that the letter they received about the result of their claim was easy to understand; eight out of ten indicated that it was clear on the steps to be followed to make the resolution effective; seven out of ten said that the letter contained solid arguments supporting the decision
- Six out of ten respondents were satisfied with the resolution of their claims, while four out of ten were not satisfied. Claimants in arbitration cases, men, seniors, high-income claimants, and ISAPRES affiliates were more likely to be satisfied with the results. This issue deserves further research, as it could indicate certain discriminatory practices toward young people, women, and middle and low-income groups. Regardless of the outcome, seven out of ten respondents thought that it was worthwhile to have made the claim, and only three out of ten reported it was not.

### *Conclusions and Lessons*

23. Chile has developed a comprehensive rights-based system (with both access/quality and redress/enforcement dimensions) that avoids solely judicial protections of health rights. Rather than introducing more services for the poor, this system integrates the poor into a universal system; i.e., those who require the most support are enabled to access goods and services on equal terms with the rest of the population. In the first public opinion survey, 42 percent of respondents believed that AUGE benefited mainly public system (FONASA) subscribers, and only 32 percent considered it to be of benefit to the entire population. Two years later, 53 percent of interviewees were convinced that the explicit guarantees regime works in favor of both public and private users, while only 31 percent held that it is primarily a program for the benefit of FONASA users (DataVoz, 2007). Further analysis of AUGE's functioning will provide more specific information about which groups are benefiting most from the program, as well as possible areas of discrimination.

24. In the words of the former Minister of Health, Osvaldo Artaza, a key actor in the approval of the guarantees regime, "A health system based merely on purchasing power or targeted and paternalist assistance programs generates inequity, inefficiency and quality discrepancies. On the contrary, a system that is able to offer universal (basic and modern) services in priority areas, defined through cost-benefit analysis, can promote greatly the sustainable exercise of the human right to health....The guarantee of the right to health, similar to other social guarantees, has meaning only in a democratic society. Democracy is increasingly conceived not only as a political but also a social and economic system that allows simultaneously for growth and equity, for economic development and quality of life...." (Artaza, 2002).