



NEO-DEVELOPMENTALISM AND PUBLIC HEALTH POLICIES IN BRAZIL (2003-2025): A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF ACADEMIC LITERATURE

Luís Fernando de Oliveira dos Santos¹

Renato Luis Pinto Miranda²

Maria Amélia Jundurian Corã³

Abstract: The discussion on new developmentalism in Brazil has occupied a prominent position in academic and political debates over recent decades, particularly due to the different interpretations regarding the role of the State in promoting economic and social development. In this context, the topic has also been addressed in studies focused on Public Health Policies, a field directly influenced by state strategies of financing, planning, and intervention. Accordingly, this study seeks to answer the following question: how does the discussion on new developmentalism in Brazil emerge in academic works on Public Health Policies published between 2003 and 2025? To address this question, a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) was conducted using the Harzing's Publish or Perish software to retrieve bibliographic records indexed in the Crossref and OpenAlex databases. After the selection of the studies, different theoretical perspectives of new developmentalism identified in the specialized literature were used as analytical references for examining publications related to Public Health Policies. The findings indicate that, although new developmentalism constitutes an important framework for understanding the political, economic, and institutional context of health policies in Brazil, its presence in the analyzed studies is fragmented and heterogeneous, and in most cases lacks a direct and systematic articulation with specific areas of the health sector.

Keywords: Neo-developmentalism; neoliberalism; public policies; health; Brazil.

Resumo: A discussão sobre o neodesenvolvimentismo no Brasil tem ocupado posição relevante nos debates acadêmicos e políticos das últimas décadas, especialmente em razão das diferentes interpretações acerca do papel do Estado na promoção do desenvolvimento econômico e social. Nesse contexto, o tema também passou a ser abordado em estudos voltados às Políticas Públicas de Saúde, campo diretamente influenciado pelas estratégias de financiamento, planejamento e intervenção estatal. Diante disso, esta pesquisa parte do seguinte questionamento: como a discussão sobre o neodesenvolvimentismo no Brasil emerge nos trabalhos acadêmicos acerca das Políticas Públicas de Saúde publicados entre 2003 e 2025? Para responder a essa questão, foi realizada uma Revisão Sistemática da Literatura (RSL), utilizando o software Harzing's Publish or Perish para o levantamento bibliográfico em bases indexadas pelos catálogos Crossref e OpenAlex. Após a seleção dos estudos, foram identificadas diferentes perspectivas teóricas do neodesenvolvimentismo presentes na literatura especializada, as quais serviram de referência para a análise dos trabalhos relacionados às Políticas Públicas de Saúde. Os resultados indicam

¹ Master's student in Political Science at the Graduate Program in Political Science of the Federal University of Alagoas (PPGCP/UFAL). Researcher at the Federal University of Alagoas (UFAL), Maceió - AL. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0976-3346>. Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/4804381867008368>. E-mail: luís.santos@ics.ufal.br.

² PhD in Administration from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). Associate Professor II at the Federal Fluminense University (UFF) and Permanent Faculty Member at the Federal University of Alagoas (UFAL), Niterói - RJ. Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/2967622725304029>. E-mail: renatolpm@id.uff.br.

³ PhD in Social Sciences from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC/SP). Professor in the Administration Program at the Federal University of Alagoas (UFAL), Arapiraca - AL. Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/7736920265405020>. E-mail: maria.cora@arapiraca.ufal.br.



que, embora o neodesenvolvimentismo constitua um importante referencial para compreender o contexto político, econômico e institucional das políticas de saúde no Brasil, sua presença nos estudos analisados ocorre de forma fragmentada, heterogênea e, na maior parte dos casos, sem articulação direta e sistemática com áreas específicas do setor da saúde.

Palavras-chave: Neodesenvolvimentismo; neoliberalismo; políticas públicas; saúde; Brasil.

1. Introduction

Over the last two decades, the debate on neo-developmentalism has become central to understanding the economic and political transformations that have occurred in Brazil. Beginning in the 2000s, especially with the revaluation of the State's role in promoting growth and implementing public policies, a body of ideas emerged seeking to articulate economic development and social inclusion, as well as macroeconomic discussions. However, scholarly production on this topic and its impacts on health policies in Brazil still lacks more systematic analyses.

The literature on this subject reveals that Brazilian neo-developmentalism has been the object of various interpretations. These range from normative approaches, which understand it as an attempt to resume classical developmentalism adapted to a globalized context (Bresser-Pereira, 2019, p. 03), to critical readings that denounce it as a form of state financialization and the maintenance of structural dependency (dependent capitalism). Despite this diversity, few studies examine how these theories influence and dialogue with public health policies in Brazil. Therefore, this research is justified by the absence of studies linking the debate on neo-developmentalism to public health policies in the country. Furthermore, neo-developmentalism fosters the expansion of welfare spending, state strengthening, and growth stimulation, directly impacting the financing and intergovernmental coordination of public health policies in Brazil. Consequently, the implementation of this model altered the relationship between the Federal Government, states, and municipalities, particularly through the expansion of federal programs and conditional transfers, which influenced subnational autonomy and the implementation capacity of the Unified Health System (SUS).

Given the interdependence of these elements, this investigation aims to conduct a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) mapping the intersection between neo-developmentalism approaches and academic production on public health policies in Brazil between 2003 and 2025. The guiding question driving this investigation is: how does the discussion on neo-developmentalism in Brazil emerge in works on public health policies published in the last two



decades? To answer this research question, a systematic literature review protocol was adopted and operationalized using the Harzing's Publish or Perish software (version 8.18). The Crossref and OpenAlex databases were selected due to their compatibility with the tool employed and the availability of bibliographic metadata and citation indicators required for the study.

The results allowed us to understand not only the state of the art on the topic but also to highlight some of the limits and potentials of Brazilian scientific production. It was found that while most studies establish a dialogue with neo-developmentalism, they do so without deepening the analysis of the connections between public health policies and the economic context of recent administrations. This finding reinforces the need to further understand the interdependence of these dialogues.

The article is structured around the reconstruction of the debate on developmentalism and neo-developmentalism in Brazil, followed by a systematization of the contributions of some of its key exponents—such as Bresser-Pereira, Reinaldo Gonçalves, Mollo and Fonseca, and Moraes and Saad-Filho—grounded in the theoretical framework. Methodologically, a qualitative and bibliographic approach based on a Systematic Literature Review was adopted to map academic production on public health policies within the neo-developmental context. The analysis links the studies across different theoretical perspectives, identifying overlaps and limitations in the dialogue between political economy and health policies. Finally, the results highlight the predominance of broad and cross-cutting analyses, as well as a scarcity of works systematically linking the macroeconomic context to public health policies.

2. Developmentalism, neo-developmentalism, and some theoretical implications

According to Oliveira (2013), when speaking of "neo-developmentalism," it is assumed that an "old developmentalism" exists. In Brazil, there is a hypothesis that developmentalism was born as a political expression in 1928, during Getúlio Vargas's administration when he assumed the presidency of Rio Grande do Sul (Oliveira, 2013, p. 02). The developmentalist character of a government is considered "a more nationalist ideology which, even without dispensing with foreign capital, assigned an important role to the State in leveraging priority investments, demarcating restricted areas for national capital" (Fonseca, 2016, p. 120).

In this sense, although there is still confusion regarding the definition of developmentalism, Fonseca (2004, p. 227) characterizes it by the presence of a "hard core" consisting of the defense of industrialization, pro-growth interventionism, and nationalism. Based on this formulation, Oliveira (2013, p. 03) resumes the concept to discuss the place of developmentalism in the contemporary debate on neo-developmentalism in Brazil.



In an analysis on the theme conducted by Bielchowsky (1988), classical developmentalism spans the period from 1930 to 1964, a time of major transformations in Brazil starting with the implementation of an industrial system in which it was possible to debate development issues, especially associated with industrialization.

According to Oliveira (2013), the main theoretical currents that discussed the topic were classified into groups such as neoliberals, public sector developmentalists (nationalist and non-nationalist), private sector developmentalists, and socialists, specifically those associated with the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB). The author Bresser-Pereira (2006; 2012), in turn, uses terms such as "national developmentalism," "classical developmentalism," and "old developmentalism," expanding his analysis period to the framework of 1930 to 1980 (Oliveira, 2013, p. 03).

According to Oliveira (2013, p. 03), developmentalism, as defined by Bresser-Pereira, is "a set of political ideas and economic strategies that guided accelerated industrialization in Brazil and the coalition of classes identified with national development". In synthesis, developmentalism in Brazil was the economic and political theory that guided the Brazilian State between the 1930s and 1980s to adopt measures aimed at industrializing the country's economy, a process necessary to overcome economic backwardness and elevate it to the level of modern capitalist nations. At the end of the 1970s, within the context of the end of the military dictatorship, intellectuals and political leaders who had left the country returned with still very limited rights to produce political theory. In 1978, the term "neo-developmentalism" was seen for the first time. Authors such as Ruy Mauro Marini, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and José Serra debated the topic while teaching abroad, with Marini serving as a professor at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and the other two at Princeton University (USA).

Marini's texts addressed what the author called the "crisis of developmentalist thought," stating that this was a different movement than what was expected for the generation of that era. He also criticized the writings of Cardoso and Serra, claiming they defended a single path of capitalist development while ignoring dependent capitalism (Oliveira, 2013, p. 05). He further argued that the support for this critical formulation is grounded in reclaiming the developmentalist thesis, particularly regarding a distinct class fraction (the industrial bourgeoisie) that possesses supposed contradictions in relation to multinational economic groups and foreign interests, both in the market sphere and within the state apparatus.

Thus, Marini states that the proposition of these authors is a false attempt at class conciliation, an erroneous strategy insofar as it aims to establish an alliance between the working class and a supposed "bourgeois opposition" in defense of a "development" project. Therefore, the idea of conciliation between classes proves to be an illusory notion of a timid neo-developmentalism that will soon lose its inhibitions (Marini, 2008, p. 228).



Faced with the challenge of building a logical link between the theoretical formulation of heterodox economics intellectuals and the possible application of a corresponding economic model, Brito (2021, p. 12) admits that "there is, in fact, no concept of developmentalism (nor an ideal neo-developmentalism)" given the not always determining and strict relationship between such formulations and objective historical experience.

Assuming the principle that different intellectual strands claim developmentalist roots for themselves and can thus be considered heterodox (Mollo & Amado, 2015), the discussion of neo-developmentalism brings as a point of convergence the denial of three orthodox canons, namely: the view that money is neutral in the short and long run; the importance attributed to the loanable funds market, with the necessary existence of prior savings for the non-inflationary viability of investments; and the conception of state intervention and fiscal policy as destabilizing elements, incapable of stimulating actual growth (Paulani, 2017).

Although there is a relative consensus regarding these points of orthodox negation, the discussion on neo-developmentalism unfolds into two major currents of thought in Brazil: New Developmentalism and Social-developmentalism⁴. The first, spearheaded by Bresser-Pereira and his group, is characterized by a higher level of trust in the market and an economic model more oriented toward exports through the activation of private investment. The second, conversely, composed primarily of members from the institutes of economics at Unicamp and UFRJ, is characterized by defending state-oriented distributive development, whose income distribution and public investment policies (credit, even without backing from prior savings) are conceived as instruments capable of simultaneously stimulating production and consumption (Paulani, 2017). The conceptions of this second current are said to have been found at specific moments during the first Lula administrations and Dilma I (Brito, 2021).⁵

Thus, while developmentalism constitutes a tradition of Latin American economic thought aimed at overcoming underdevelopment through the structural transformation of the economy, neo-developmentalism, in turn, can be understood as an interpretation of the Brazilian experience that occurred during the first three mandates of the Workers' Party at the beginning of the century. Neo-developmentalism emerges, therefore, as an analytical category of a historical experience, studied especially by two contemporary theoretical schools: New Developmentalism and Social-developmentalism. For this reason, not infrequently, this analytical category and these theoretical

⁴ It is also worth mentioning the post-Keynesian New-Developmentalist current, introduced by the author and positioned by her as quite close to the Social-Developmentalists (Paulani, 2017).

⁵ For a more detailed breakdown of the distinctions between New Developmentalism and Social-developmentalism, see the synthesis table developed by Paulani (2017, p. 142), which presents these two currents under various lenses, such as: orientation; dynamic elements of aggregate demand; the role of the State; key variables of economic dynamics; monetary policy; fiscal policy; exchange rate policy; and employment and wage policy.



currents are taken as synonyms in a significant portion of the literature on the subject.

Consequently, this article will focus on the conceptions of authors with different perspectives on neo-developmentalism, such as Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira (2019), Reinaldo Gonçalves (2012), Maria de Lourdes Rollemberg Mollo and Pedro Cezar Dutra Fonseca (2013), and Lécio Moraes and Alfredo Saad-Filho (2011), seeking to identify the central dimensions and questions of the concept to establish connections with what has been addressed in the literature on public health policies.

In the temporal scope between 2003 and 2025, the aforementioned authors are taken as the core theoretical reference for defining neo-developmentalism, as their contributions are the most widely disseminated on the topic. Later works, especially those published after 2019, are incorporated as developments criticizing this conceptual framework in analyses of the Brazilian economic model, financialization, and social policies—including health—without establishing a new defining consensus. Thus, this SLR seeks to link the central dimensions proposed by these seminal authors with recent production discussing the implications of neo-developmentalism for the SUS and health policies in Brazil.

3. The theoretical debate on brazilian neo-developmentalism: convergences and divergences in the literature

Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira, an economist, former minister, and professor at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV), is one of the leading theorists of neo-developmentalism in Brazil. According to the author, new developmentalism represents a "second moment" of Latin American structuralism, reclaiming and updating the legacy of the 1950s and 1960s (Prebisch, Furtado), but now with a central focus on the macroeconomics of development. He argues that new developmentalism constitutes a systematic approach, based on post-Keynesian and structuralist models, which places the exchange rate, the fight against the "Dutch disease"⁶, and the critique of foreign exchange constraints at the core of developmental analysis and strategy.

Bresser-Pereira argues that while classical structuralism emphasized the need for industrialization through state intervention, new developmentalism incorporates a concern with macroeconomic mechanisms to sustain growth and international competitiveness in developing

⁶ The Dutch disease can be understood as a phenomenon in which the high availability of natural resources gives a country a strong advantage in exporting these goods, leading the economy to concentrate on them and neglect the industrial sector. This specialization in commodities tends to prevent the consolidation of a robust manufacturing sector or even cause its contraction, which ultimately hinders sustained economic development in the long run. For a better understanding, see Veríssimo and Xavier (2013, p. 83).



countries. Thus, this current does not merely seek state intervention; rather, it provides a national strategy for development based on learning from past Latin American experiences and dynamic Asian economies (Bresser-Pereira, 2019, p. 03).

A second key figure in studies on new developmentalism in Brazil is the professor and economist Reinaldo Gonçalves, who strongly criticizes the economic model, claiming it is a "disguised liberalism" that does nothing to alter the dependence of underdeveloped countries on the external market, thereby perpetuating structural inequalities. In his work *Novo Desenvolvimentismo e Liberalismo Enraizado* (2012), Gonçalves presents this theoretical perspective not as a rupture with neoliberalism, but rather as one of its internal transformations.

Considering Gonçalves's debate on the subject, it can be argued that although neo-developmentalism presents itself as an alternative to the Washington Consensus and the neoliberal policies of the 1990s, it maintains the same core principles of that paradigm at its essence. The guiding principle underlying this current is economic growth coupled with the reduction of social inequalities; however, the manner in which it attempts to achieve this objective reveals a strong continuity of liberal logic. The focus on macroeconomics, budgetary discipline, fiscal responsibility, a competitive exchange rate, and moderate interest rates shows that neo-developmentalism concentrates its emphasis on market efficiency and fiscal rationality—elements that are central to neoliberalism.

Gonçalves observes that, despite the discourse of the State as a regulator, the state's role in new developmentalism is limited, functioning more as a regulator and guarantor of stability than as a direct promoter of development. The proposals of this current, therefore, distance themselves from the old national-developmentalism, which valued public investment, the domestic market, and industrialization as paths to economic sovereignty. Consequently, by prioritizing export-oriented growth and international competitiveness, this emerging current reproduces the structural dependence of the Brazilian economy on the global market.

In this sense, Gonçalves interprets new developmentalism as a manifestation of what he calls "embedded liberalism" (*liberalismo enraizado*) —a model that attempts to reconcile the liberal logic of the market with certain social and institutional concessions. This "embedding" is linked to the attempt to bestow a social and national dimension upon a liberal project. The result, according to the author, is a proposal that maintains the same ideological core of neoliberalism, merely inserting a discourse of social justice and state efficiency. In synthesis, according to Reinaldo Gonçalves, new developmentalism is more of an update of liberalism than an alternative



to it (Gonçalves, 2012, p. 663).

In agreement with Bresser-Pereira, Maria de Lourdes Rollemberg Mollo and Pedro Cezar Dutra Fonseca (2013) acknowledge the merit of this attempt to resume national planning and the role of the State, but they criticize the author on three main aspects: i) an overreliance on exchange rate policy as a primary factor; ii) an emphasis on exports rather than the domestic market; and iii) an alignment with economic orthodoxy by defending moderate fiscal and monetary policies.

Although Mollo and Fonseca (2013) recognize the relevance of Bresser-Pereira and his theory, these authors argue that his proposal has significant limitations and internal contradictions that compromise its coherence as a national development strategy. According to them, the emphasis on maintaining the exchange rate reduces the macroeconomic debate, ignoring the need for a robust industrial policy and broader coordination among fiscal, monetary, and productive instruments.

Furthermore, they criticize the Bresserian conception of fiscal balance and domestic savings for being too close to an orthodox perspective, as it neglects the active role of public investment in generating savings and growth, in accordance with Keynesian foundations. Thus, Mollo and Fonseca maintain that the new developmentalism proposed by Bresser-Pereira is insufficient to promote a structural transformation of the Brazilian economy.

In addition to the critiques raised by the aforementioned authors, Lécio Morais and Alfredo Saad-Filho (2011), explicitly treating the terms "neo-developmentalism" and "new developmentalism" as synonyms, evaluate this "new economic policy proposal" as an alternative to neoliberalism, seeking to restore the role of the State as an inducer of economic growth without abandoning the foundations of capitalism. It is an attempt to build a third way between old developmentalism and orthodox neoliberalism, which is focused on monetary stability and deregulation. This proposal combines ideas from Keynesianism, which values the complementarity between State and market, and Cepalian neo-structuralism, which highlights the need for international competitiveness and social equity (Morais & Saad-Filho, 2011, p. 509-520).

Morais and Saad-Filho also emphasize the political dimension of neo-developmentalism. For them, development requires a national project capable of articulating State, market, and society around goals of sovereignty and social cohesion. However, in these authors' view, although this represents an advance compared to neoliberalism, neo-developmentalism remains a reformist project that maintains the structural limits of Latin American dependent capitalism. Thus, it configures itself merely as an attempt at modernization within the existing order, rather than a



project of structural transformation.

4. Methodology

Methodologically, this research is characterized as exploratory, as it seeks to map and understand the presence of the debate on neo-developmentalism in the academic production on public health policies in Brazil, identifying the main themes, approaches, and gaps in the literature from 2003 to 2025. Regarding its procedures, it is configured as bibliographical research, as it is based exclusively on secondary sources retrieved from scientific databases and organized through a systematic literature review protocol. A qualitative approach is adopted, prioritizing the interpretative analysis of the selected studies to understand how the concept of neo-developmentalism is mobilized in discussions on the Unified Health System (SUS) and public health policies, rather than relying on quantitative procedures such as meta-analyses or statistical tests.

The data collection was performed using Harzing's Publish or Perish software (version 8.18)⁷, a tool widely used in bibliometric studies for retrieving and organizing scientific metadata. The software enables the systematization of information such as authorship, journal, year of publication, number of citations, and other bibliometric indicators, contributing to transparency, the organization of the empirical base, and the replicability of the study.

The search strategy focused on the Crossref and OpenAlex databases, since, in the operational setup adopted, Publish or Perish returned results exclusively from these two sources. Thus, the delimitation of the corpus did not stem from a prior theoretical choice, but from a technical limitation observed during the record retrieval process. Although both are open-access platforms widely used for retrieving scientific metadata, it is recognized that the exclusive use of these databases may limit the scope of the review, as studies indexed solely in other databases—such as Scopus, Web of Science, or SciELO—might not have been retrieved.

The searches were conducted on October 28, 2025, considering publications spanning from 2003 to 2025. Publish or Perish was configured to retrieve up to 100 records per query in each database. To this end, the keywords used were: *neodesenvolvimentismo* (neo-developmentalism);

⁷ Available at: <https://harzing.com/resources/publish-or-perish>



neoliberalismo (neoliberalism); *políticas públicas* (public policies); *saúde* (health); *Brasil* (Brazil)⁸, allowing works published in Portuguese, English, and Spanish.

As a complementary strategy to refine the search, the number of citations was used as a proxy for academic relevance, seeking to prioritize studies with greater circulation in the specialized literature. However, due to observed differences in citation distribution between the databases consulted, distinct criteria were adopted. On Crossref, the retrieved records showed low variation in citation counts, reaching a maximum of seven citations. For this reason, a minimum threshold of one citation was established as a criterion, resulting in 17 eligible records, of which two were excluded due to the unavailability of the full text or broken access links, leaving 15 studies for the screening stage.

On OpenAlex, in turn, a wider range in citation distribution was observed, with records reaching up to 116 citations. Due to this characteristic, a minimum threshold of 20 citations was established, resulting in nine eligible studies. Thus, the adoption of different thresholds did not stem from differences in the quality of the studies, but from the bibliometric specificities of each database, preserving the discriminatory capacity of the citation indicator, which was used exclusively as a complementary prioritization criterion.

Table 1 – Search protocol of the systematic review

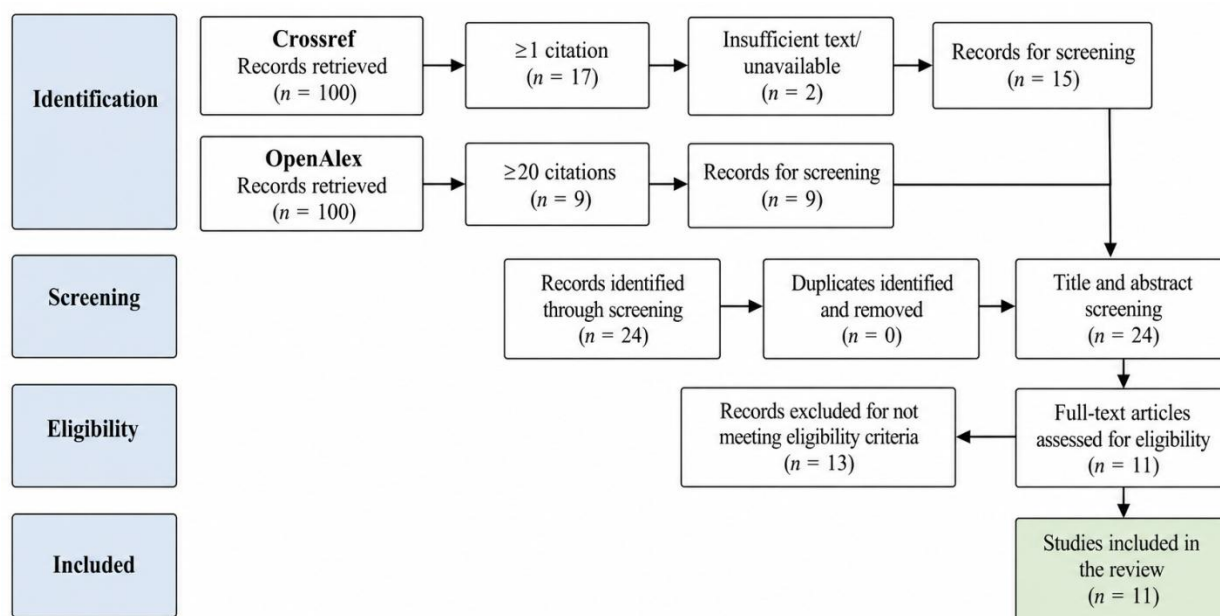
Criterion	Established Parameters
Keywords	Neo-developmentalism; neoliberalism; public policies; health; Brazil.
Research tool	Harzing's Publish or Perish 8.18
Search platform	Crossref and OpenAlex
Exclusion criteria	• Exclusion of papers that do not address Public Health Policies and neo-developmentalism in Brazil, focusing exclusively on clinical, epidemiological or biomedical aspects of health; • Research that does not refer to the Brazilian context; • Works that have not undergone blind peer review, such as books, book chapters, technical reports, essays, conference proceedings, preprints and working papers; • Texts without full-text access; • Studies that mention the theme peripherally, without developing a theoretical or empirical discussion on Public Health Policies and neo-developmentalism in Brazil; • Publications outside the defined temporal scope.
Temporal scope	2003-2025
Language	Portuguese, Spanish and English
Preferences	100 results per search
No. of citations	1 citation on Crossref 20 citation on OpenAlex
Search date	October 28, 2025.

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2026).

⁸ The keywords were selected based on the main thematic and analytical axes that guide the discussion developed in the article.

Based on the established search protocol, two independent queries were performed in Publish or Perish, one using the Crossref database and the other using OpenAlex. The retrieved records were subsequently compiled, checked for duplicates, and submitted to the screening and eligibility stages, as synthesized in Flowchart 1.

Flowchart 1 – Study selection process



Source: Elaborated by the authors (2026).

After consolidating the records from both databases, eligibility criteria were applied by reading the titles, abstracts, and, when necessary, the full texts. Peer-reviewed scientific articles published in Portuguese, English, or Spanish that addressed the relationship between neo-developmentalism, public health policies, and the Brazilian context were included. Studies lacking alignment with the research object, as well as documents that did not correspond to scientific articles, were excluded. Both national and international journals were considered, given the relevance of the Unified Health System (SUS) to national and international scientific production.

At the end of the selection process, the corpus was composed of 11 scientific articles. Analysis was conducted using the qualitative technique of document analysis, seeking to identify how the concept of neo-developmentalism is mobilized in the literature on public health policies in Brazil, as well as the convergences, divergences, and gaps present in this production.

5. Contributions of the articles to the debate on public health policies and neo-developmentalism in Brazil

The group of analyzed articles showed a certain variety in the discussion of transformations

in Brazilian public policies, ranging from the field of public health policies in Brazil to the impacts of the neo-developmental economic model that caused institutional changes in the State. From multifaceted approaches—such as economic, political, institutional, and social dimensions—the works share a convergent understanding that the neo-developmental economic model in Brazil and politico-institutional dynamics caused profound changes in the implementation of public policies in recent decades, particularly after the 1988 Constitution. Below, Table 2 presents a descriptive synthesis of the studies considering the following criteria: article title, publication period, main theme, document type, language, and the database where they were found.

Table 2 – Descriptive synthesis of the selected articles

No.	Article Title	Year	Main Theme	Document Type	Language	Database/Journal
1	“A transição da mortalidade por cânceres no Brasil e a tomada de decisão estratégica nas políticas públicas de saúde da mulher”	2016	Transition of mortality from female cancers and its implications for public health policies for women's health	Scientific article	Portuguese / English	<i>Revista de Políticas Públicas</i> , v.20, n.1, 2016
2	“Consequências do neodesenvolvimentismo brasileiro para as políticas públicas de crianças e adolescentes: reflexões sobre a implantação da Usina Hidrelétrica de Belo Monte”	2013	Socioeconomic and political impacts of the neo-developmental model on children and youth policies, focusing on Belo Monte	Scientific article	Portuguese / English	<i>Revista de Políticas Públicas</i> , v.17, n.2, jul./dez. 2013
3	“Fundos de pensão, capital estatal e neodesenvolvimentismo”	2014	Performance of pension funds and state capital within the context of Brazilian neo-developmentalism	Scientific article	Portuguese / English	<i>Revista de Políticas Públicas</i> , Número Especial, 2014
4	“Sobre os bastidores do processo de formulação de políticas públicas”	2013	Analysis of the internal processes and political factors that influence the formulation of public policies in Brazil	Scientific article	Portuguese	<i>Revista Políticas Públicas</i> . São Luiz. V. 17.
5	“Judicialização da Saúde no Brasil: categorização das fases decisórias a partir do Supremo Tribunal Federal e os impactos no Sistema Único de Saúde”	2021	Judicialization of health and the impacts of STF decisions on the Unified Health System (SUS)	Scientific article	Portuguese / English	Public Sciences & Policies, v.7, n.1, 2021
6	“A Constituição Cidadã e os 25 anos do Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS)”	2013	Reflection on the consolidation and challenges of the SUS, highlighting institutional advances and political and	Scientific article	Portuguese	<i>SciELO</i> (Scientific Electronic Library Online) <i>Cadernos de</i>



			financial limitations 25 years after the 1988 Constitution			<i>Saúde Pública (Cad. Saúde Pública)</i>
7	“O ‘social’ no interior do projeto neoliberal: transformações no papel do Estado e nas políticas públicas brasileiras”	2014	Critical analysis of changes in the conception of social policies within the neoliberal context and their effects on the State and citizenship	Scientific article	Portugues e	<i>Revista Serviço & Social Sociedade (Serv. Soc. Soc.), São Paulo</i>
8	“Ser Social, Estado, Democracia e Saúde”	2020	Theoretical-critical discussion on the relationship between democracy, the State, and public health policies, emphasizing tensions between universality and neoliberalism	Scientific article	Portugues e	<i>Revista Ser Social, UnB</i>
9	“Economia política e avaliação em políticas públicas no Brasil pós- 2014”	2021	Critical evaluation of the economicist trend in Brazilian public policies after 2014, emphasizing the risk of losing republican values in the evaluation process	Scientific article	Portugues e / English	<i>Cadernos de Saúde Coletiva, v.29 (esp.), 2021</i>
10	“Políticas públicas em saúde mental indígena no Brasil”	2019	Analysis of public policies for indigenous mental health in Brazil, their practical difficulties, and cultural challenges	Scientific article	Portugues e / English / French / Spanish	<i>TraHs – Números Especiais nº4, Université de Limoges</i>
11	“O contexto internacional e a retomada do debate sobre o desenvolvimento no Brasil”	2011	Analyzes how the post-2008 international scenario influenced the resumption of discussions on development in Brazil, highlighting tensions between State and market and the search for a new growth model	Scientific article	Portugues e	<i>Revista de Ciências Sociais, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 54, nº 4.</i>

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on research data (2026).

In the article *A transição da mortalidade por cânceres no Brasil e a tomada de decisão estratégica nas políticas públicas de saúde da mulher* (Guimarães et al., 2016), we identified a study on the epidemiological transition and its effects on policies geared toward women's health. The study reveals how demographic and epidemiological transformations, specifically the increase in mortality from female cancers, demand strategic state responses and planning in intersectoral public policies. The article provides evidence of the phenomenon studied, highlighting the importance of strategic health management.



The political dimension of public health policies is addressed from another perspective in *Judicialização da Saúde no Brasil: categorização das fases decisórias a partir do Supremo Tribunal Federal e os impactos no Sistema Único de Saúde* (Cunha & Farranha, 2021). This article discusses how the judicial branch has increasingly interfered in the definition of priorities and the allocation of public resources, shaping the phenomenon known as the judicialization of politics (or judicial activism), in line with what political scientist C. Neal Tate (1995) terms the global expansion of judicial power. Thus, both studies address public health, yet under complementary lenses: one emphasizes strategic planning, while the other focuses on the institutional and political effects of judicial activism.

Other articles broaden the debate surrounding the neo-developmental economic model in public policies. In the work *Consequências do neodesenvolvimentismo brasileiro para as políticas públicas de crianças e adolescentes: reflexões sobre a implantação da Usina Hidrelétrica de Belo Monte* (Oliveira, 2013), the focus falls on the contradictions between economic growth and social rights. The text demonstrates that there is a neo-developmental paradigm where large-scale infrastructure policies within a context of economic expansion can coexist with human rights violations and the dismantling of social protection policies. The case of Belo Monte is emblematic: development is portrayed as an instrument of exclusion, while state planning neglects socio-environmental and human impacts.

This critique of the neo-developmental economic model is reinforced by *Fundos de pensão, capital estatal e neodesenvolvimentismo* (Gomes, 2014), which analyzes the role of state capital and pension funds as economic policy instruments in this context. The author highlights the articulation between the State and the financial market in sustaining major investments, showing the risks of the public interest being captured by the logic of profitability. Both aforementioned studies demonstrate that although neo-developmentalism sought to revalue the role of the State, its practice resulted in tensions between economic growth, social justice, and democratic sustainability.

In the text *O contexto internacional e a retomada do debate sobre o desenvolvimento no Brasil* (Diniz, 2014), the author contributes to the discussion by situating Brazil within the post-2008 crisis scenario. He shows how the development debate was updated and subjected to external and internal pressures, emphasizing the new balance between State and market. This study serves as a backdrop to understand the transformations of public policies in the following decades, which were marked by the crisis of the neo-developmental consensus and the implementation of neoliberal policies.



The question of the State's role is taken up again in *O 'social' no interior do projeto neoliberal: transformações no papel do Estado e nas políticas públicas brasileiras* (Pfeifer, 2016). The article presents a critique of the neoliberal configuration of social policies, arguing that the emphasis on efficiency and budgetary constraints compromises the guarantee of social rights. This perspective aligns with *Ser Social, Estado, Democracia e Saúde* (Mendes & Carnut, 2017), which discusses the tensions between democracy and neoliberalism, specifically in the area of health. Both texts converge on the argument that the Brazilian State has been undergoing a process of democratic retrenchment, where the discourse of economic rationality replaces the commitment to equality and citizenship.

These transformations are also manifest in the analysis of *Economia política e avaliação em políticas públicas no Brasil pós-2014* (Jannuzzi, 2021). The article points to a growing economist trend in the implementation of public policies, in which technical and cost criteria override the discussion of republican values and social justice. This represents an important shift: public policy, formerly seen as an instrument of social transformation, began to be conceived as a mechanism of fiscal adjustment and administrative efficiency. In this sense, there is also a complete devaluation of planning.

Following the same perspective, the text *A Constituição Cidadã e aos 25 anos do Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS)* (Paim, 2013) examines the advances and challenges of the SUS since 1988, highlighting the contradictions between the constitutional ideal of universality and the limits imposed by austerity policies. The article links the public funding crisis to the growing judicialization of health, linking the dimensions of law, politics, and economics.

Finally, *Políticas públicas em saúde mental indígena no Brasil* (Ways, Bento & Quadros, 2019) broadens the discussion by addressing the relationship between health, culture, and human rights. The text shows how the formulation of public policies must incorporate cultural diversity and traditional knowledge, highlighting the challenges of applying a universal model to differing cultural contexts. This analysis connects to the others by revealing the State's limitations in dealing with complex social demands, especially in contexts of vulnerability and inequality.

6. Results of the systematic review: analysis of the studies according to theoretical perspectives on neo-developmentalism

This SLR seeks to understand how the retrieved literature on Public Health Policies addresses the theme of neo-developmentalism within its discussions. The four aforementioned perspectives were considered sufficient to help us explore the topic, as they point to four distinct lenses on neo-

developmentalism in Brazil. To this end, simplified comparative tables were created to systematize the retrieved literature according to the four seminal perspectives: Bresser-Pereira (2019), Gonçalves (2012), Mollo and Fonseca (2013), and Moraes and Saad-Filho (2011).

These four approaches offer distinct and, at times, contrasting readings of the meaning, limits, and contradictions of neo-developmentalism in the country, allowing for a comparative analysis of academic production on health policies. To systematize this relationship, the tables below synthesize the results obtained by grouping the analyzed units, enabling a comparative visualization of the main characteristics, trends, and distinctions among the selected articles, as well as their relationship according to the following classifications: “**Strong**,” “**Moderate**” “**Moderate/Strong**”, and “**Weak or No Relationship**”⁹. This approach contributes to a more systematic interpretation of the data and a deeper analysis of the phenomenon under study.

Table 3 – Selected texts and the perspective of Bresser-Pereira (2019)

Text	Central Object of the Text in Public Policies	Relationship with the Neo-developmental Perspective
“Consequências do neodesenvolvimentismo brasileiro para as políticas públicas de crianças e adolescentes”	Analyzes the impacts of economic growth strategies and state expansion on social policies for childhood and adolescence, with	Strong – Dialogues directly with Bresser-Pereira by articulating economic development, the role of the State, and social inclusion—core elements of New Developmentalism.

⁹Based on the framework for literature systematization and analytical organization proposed by Grant and Booth (2009), this study developed an analytical typology designed to identify the varying levels of theoretical convergence between the analyzed works and the four selected perspectives of neodevelopmentalism. To this end, the categories “**Strong**,” “**Moderate/Strong**,” “**Moderate**,” and “**Weak or No Relationship**” were established to classify the intensity of the conceptual, analytical, and thematic dialogue present in each text regarding the theoretical approaches under investigation. The construction of these categories aimed to organize and synthesize the review findings, enabling the identification of distinct degrees of convergence between the arguments mobilized by the authors and the core assumptions of each theoretical perspective. The criteria adopted for this classification are presented below:

- **Strong:** Indicates that the text establishes a direct and substantive dialogue with the analyzed theoretical perspective. This occurs when the work mobilizes concepts, elements, critiques, or fundamentals found within the theoretical approach in question. Generally, these texts explicitly or deeply incorporate the economic and political logic characteristic of that theoretical current.
- **Moderate/Strong:** An intermediate category used when the text demonstrates elements that bring it significantly close to the theoretical perspective, without configuring full alignment. Typically, the text mobilizes relevant concepts or makes convergent critiques but does not develop the argument systematically enough to be classified as “Strong”.
- **Moderate:** Characterizes texts whose relationship with the theoretical perspective is indirect or partial. In these cases, the work addresses themes or problems connected to the approach analyzed—such as the role of the State, productive structure, inequality, the labor market, dependency, or macroeconomic policy—but without adopting that perspective's core analytical foundations. The approximation is thematic, but not necessarily conceptual.
- **Weak or No Relationship:** Encompasses texts that do not dialogue with the analyzed theoretical perspective or do so only tangentially. This includes works whose focus is predominantly sector-specific, technical, institutional, or epidemiological, lacking substantive articulation with the debate on development, macroeconomics, dependency, or the State.



	attention to social and environmental effects.	
“Fundos de pensão, capital estatal e neodesenvolvimentismo”	Examines the role of pension funds and state capital as instruments for financing productive investment and public policies in Brazil.	Strong – Approaches the core of Bresserian theory by emphasizing the State as an inducer of development and an articulator of long-term investment.
“O “social” no interior do projeto neoliberal”	Discusses the configuration and limits of social policies under neoliberal hegemony, focusing on the subordination of the social dimension to market logic.	Moderate/Strong – Relates indirectly to New Developmentalism by criticizing neoliberalism, the central theoretical adversary of Bresser-Pereira's proposal.
“Economia política e avaliação em políticas públicas no Brasil pós-2014”	Analyzes the macroeconomic inflection and its effects on the formulation, financing, and evaluation of public policies after the exhaustion of the developmentalist cycle.	Strong – Converges with Bresser-Pereira's structuralist reading regarding the collapse of the neo-developmental cycle and the shift in the macroeconomic regime.
“O contexto internacional e a retomada do debate sobre o desenvolvimento no Brasil”	Examines the international scenario and the resurgence of the developmentalist debate in Brazil, focusing on national development strategies.	Strong – Direct dialogue with New Developmentalism, especially in defending an autonomous national project and the State as a strategic agent.
“Ser Social, Estado, Democracia e Saúde”	Discusses the relationship between the State, democracy, and the implementation of health policies as social rights.	Moderate – Converges partially with Bresser-Pereira by defending a strong and democratic State, although without an explicit focus on the macroeconomics of development.
Other texts from the health literature	Analyze public health policies from epidemiological, legal, institutional, or historical perspectives, focusing on the SUS, management, and specific sectoral policies.	Weak or None – Do not dialogue directly with neo-developmentalism, as they do not address development, macroeconomics, or a national project.

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on research data (2026).

In light of Bresser-Pereira (2019), Table 3 demonstrates that a significant portion of the works dialogues directly with the assumptions of neo-developmentalism, particularly those emphasizing the strategic role of the State in coordinating development, financing productive investment, and sustaining social policies. Texts such as *Fundos de pensão, capital estatal e neodesenvolvimentismo* and *O contexto internacional e a retomada do debate sobre o desenvolvimento no Brasil* converge with the Bresserian reading by highlighting the centrality of a national development project and the critique of orthodox neoliberalism. However, even in studies with strong alignment with this framework, it is noted that the relationship with public health policies appears indirectly, subordinated to the macroeconomic and institutional debate.

Table 4 – Selected texts and the perspective of Reinaldo Gonçalves (2012)

Work	Central Object of the Text in Public Policies	Relationship with the Thought of Reinaldo Gonçalves (2012)
“Consequências do neodesenvolvimentismo brasileiro para as políticas públicas de crianças e adolescentes”	Analyzes the social, distributive, and environmental effects of neo-developmental strategies on public policies for childhood and adolescence.	Strong – Converges with Gonçalves by criticizing the contradictory, exclusionary, and socially unequal character of neo-developmentalism.



“Fundos de pensão, capital estatal e neodesenvolvimentismo”	Examines the role of pension funds and state capital in the financing structure of public policies and productive investment.	Strong – Dialogues directly with Gonçalves's critique of financialization and the use of the State as an agent subordinated to the logic of capital.
“O “social” no interior do projeto neoliberal”	Analyzes the selective incorporation of social policies within the neoliberal project and its structural limits.	Strong – Approaches Gonçalves's notion of "embedded liberalism" by showing the instrumentalization of the social dimension to legitimize the neoliberal order.
“Economia política e avaliação em políticas públicas no Brasil pós-2014”	Discusses the crisis of the economic model and its effects on the State's capacity to formulate, finance, and evaluate public policies.	Moderate/Strong – Converges with Gonçalves's critique of the structural fragility of the State and the low autonomy of public policies in the post-neo-developmental period.
“O contexto internacional e a retomada do debate sobre o desenvolvimento no Brasil”	Analyzes the debate on development based on the international scenario and theoretical alternatives to neoliberalism.	Moderate – Although it dialogues with developmentalism, it adopts a less critical reading than that of Gonçalves, who emphasizes structural dependence and the model's limitations.
Other texts from the literature	Address specific sectoral public policies (health, judicialization, management, formulation, and implementation) from institutional or normative perspectives.	Weak or None – Do not problematize neo-developmentalism or the structural dependence of the State, which are core axes of Gonçalves's critique.

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on research data (2026).

When analyzed through the critical lens of Reinaldo Gonçalves (2012), the literature reveals the internal contradictions of neo-developmentalism with greater clarity. Gonçalves questions the State's capacity to promote autonomous development within a context of structural dependency and financialization—an argument that converges with texts analyzing the social, environmental, and distributive impacts of the model, such as *Consequências do neodesenvolvimentismo brasileiro para as políticas públicas de crianças e adolescentes*. In this interpretation, public policies appear tensioned between the formal expansion of rights and the structural limits imposed by Brazil's subordinate insertion into the global economy, which helps explain the fragility and discontinuity of social policies, including those in the health sector.

Table 5 – Selected texts and the perspective of Mollo and Fonseca (2013)

Work	Central Object of the Text in Public Policies	Relationship with the Thought of Mollo and Fonseca (2013)
“Consequências do neodesenvolvimentismo brasileiro para as políticas públicas de crianças e adolescentes”	Analyzes the social, distributive, and structural effects of recent developmentalist policies on public policies for childhood and adolescence.	Strong – Converges with the critical analysis of Mollo and Fonseca by highlighting persistent inequalities and the structural limits of dependent development.
“Fundos de pensão, capital estatal e neodesenvolvimentismo”	Examines the role of the State, national capital, and public funds in financing development and public policies.	Moderate/Strong – Dialogues with Mollo and Fonseca's reflection on the developmentalist State, its historical contradictions, and its limited capacity to promote economic autonomy.
“O “social” no interior do projeto neoliberal”	Analyzes the reconfiguration of social policies within the neoliberal context and its impacts on state capacity to promote development.	Strong - Aligns with the authors' critique regarding the loss of the State's centrality and the subordination of social policies to market logic.



“Economia política e avaliação em políticas públicas no Brasil pós-2014”	Discusses the institutional dismantling and the effects of the economic crisis on the formulation, financing, and evaluation of public policies.	Moderate/Strong - Converges with the historical-structural approach of Mollo and Fonseca by analyzing the weakening of the state's role following the neo-developmental cycle.
“O contexto internacional e a retomada do debate sobre o desenvolvimento no Brasil”	Examines the debate on development in light of the international context and the theoretical traditions of Latin American structuralism.	Strong – Approaches the Cepalian tradition and the historical-structural analysis of underdevelopment that underpins the work of Mollo and Fonseca.
Demais textos da literatura	Address specific sectoral public policies (health, judicialization, management, formulation, and implementation) from technical or institutional perspectives.	Weak or None – Do not dialogue directly with the theoretical debate on developmentalism and dependency, which are central to Mollo and Fonseca.

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on research data (2026).

Table 5 presents the reading proposed by Mollo and Fonseca (2013), allowing for a deeper historical and structural understanding of these limitations. These authors, grounded in the Cepalian tradition (ECLAC/CEPAL), emphasize that Brazilian developmentalism—in both its classical and recent versions—did not break away from the foundations of economic dependency or the reproduction of inequalities. The analyzed texts that dialogue with this perspective tend to problematize the role of the State not only as an inducer of development, but as an actor permeated by historical and institutional contradictions. Works like *Economia política e avaliação em políticas públicas no Brasil pós-2014* highlight the emptying of state capacity after the neo-developmental cycle, reinforcing the idea that public policies remain vulnerable to macroeconomic and political inflections.

Table 6 – Selected texts and the perspective of Morais and Saad-Filho (2011)

Work	Central Object of the Text in Public Policies	Relationship with the Thought of Morais and Saad-Filho (2011)
“Consequências do neodesenvolvimentismo brasileiro para as políticas públicas de crianças e adolescentes”	Analyzes the social, territorial, and distributive impacts of neo-developmental policies on public policies for childhood and adolescence.	Strong - Converges with the critical analysis of Morais and Saad-Filho by demonstrating the contradiction between economic growth, the reproduction of inequalities, and social exclusion.
“Fundos de pensão, capital estatal e neodesenvolvimentismo”	Examines the articulation between the State, financial capital, and public funds in financing development and public policies.	Strong – Dialogues directly with the authors' critique of state financialization and the subordination of public policies to the logic of capital.
“O “social” no interior do projeto neoliberal”	Analyzes the selective incorporation of social policies into neoliberal rationality and its structural limits.	Moderate/Strong – Approaches Morais and Saad-Filho's reading by showing that the "social" aspect is incorporated without breaking away from structural dependency and inequalities.
“Economia política e avaliação em políticas públicas no Brasil pós-2014”	Discusses the crisis of the economic model and its effects on state capacity to formulate, finance, and evaluate public policies.	Strong – Aligns with Morais and Saad-Filho's critique regarding the internal limits of Brazilian dependent capitalism and the exhaustion of neo-developmentalism.



“O contexto internacional e a retomada do debate sobre o desenvolvimento no Brasil”	Examines the international determinants of development and attempts to resume the developmentalist debate.	Moderate/Strong – Dialogues partially by recognizing external dependence, although it adopts a less critical reading than that of the authors regarding the viability of developmentalism.
Other texts from the literature	Address specific sectoral public policies (health, judicialization, formulation, and implementation) from technical or institutional perspectives.	Weak or None – Do not discuss the economic and structural bases of neo-developmentalism criticized by Moraes and Saad-Filho.

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on research data (2026).

Finally, the approach of Moraes and Saad-Filho (2011) contributes to an even more critical reading of neo-developmentalism by situating it within the dynamics of Brazilian dependent capitalism. For these authors, the model reconciles economic growth with the maintenance of deep-seated structures of inequality and financialization, which limits its transformative potential. This interpretation dialogues strongly with texts analyzing the crisis of the model and its effects on public policies in the post-2014 period, showing that the "social" dimension incorporated into neo-developmentalism was insufficient to structurally alter the conditions of the reproduction of inequalities, including in the field of health.

In tandem, the analysis of the literature demonstrates that although neo-developmentalism is an important framework for understanding the political and economic context of public health policies, it appears in a fragmented manner and is rarely linked directly to the sector. Most texts privilege the macro-structural dimension of development, whereas health policies are analyzed in a sectoral, institutional, or normative manner. This gap reinforces the relevance of the present study in proposing a more systematic approximation between the neo-developmental debate and the analysis of public health policies in contemporary Brazil.

In view of this mapping of public health policies in Brazil and considering the debate on neo-developmentalism in the country over the last 22 years, as well as a close analysis of academic production, we can identify major gaps. First, in-depth studies on public health policies that consider the economic character of neo-developmental governments are underdeveloped. What exists in the literature are broad analyses of the neo-developmental model and its cross-cutting impact across various social and economic areas, highlighting the central role of the State. There are also significant studies addressing specific areas; however, an in-depth approach for each isolated public policy is often lacking.

Thus, when it comes to thorough analyses that systematically and extractively consider the link between public health policies and the economic nature of neo-developmental governments,



research is less frequent. Significant studies accompany specific areas such as health, education, social assistance, judicialization, etc. However, more meticulous examinations of each public policy in isolation are needed to fill the recognized gaps in the field of Social Sciences.

7. Concluding remarks

The analysis of articles on Public Health Policies based on the different theoretical perspectives of neo-developmentalism formulated by Bresser-Pereira (2019), Reinaldo Gonçalves (2012), Mollo and Fonseca (2013), and Moraes and Saad-Filho (2011) revealed that there is, to a certain extent, diversity in the academic field, which is nevertheless marked by significant gaps.

It was observed that the studies dialogue with neo-developmental formulations, specifically regarding the role of the State as an agent responsible for economic growth and an articulator of social policies. However, the findings also point to critical approaches that problematize the contradictions of this model, above all its tendency toward financialization, structural dependency, and the subordination of policies to market logic.

The tables constructed to demonstrate the relationship between the articles and theories of neo-developmentalism show that the works with greater alignment with Bresser-Pereira's thought emphasize the centrality of the State and the need for a national development strategy. Conversely, studies related to Gonçalves and Moraes and Saad-Filho converge toward a more incisive structural critique, denouncing the contradictory nature of the neo-developmental project. Meanwhile, the texts aligned with Mollo and Fonseca occupy an intermediate position, combining elements of continuity and rupture, particularly regarding the limitations of the Brazilian State in promoting autonomous development through its policies.

Specifically regarding public health policies, the review showed that the majority of production concentrates on institutional, sectoral, and legal analyses, addressing themes such as judicialization, strategic planning, epidemiology, and SUS management. However, research integrating the economic and structural dimensions of neo-developmentalism into the formulation and execution of health policies remains scarce. Consequently, a clear disconnect was found between macroeconomic studies and analyses of specific sectoral public policies.

The results suggest the need for future investigations that empirically examine how different conceptions of neo-developmentalism influenced the formulation, financing, and implementation of public health policies across distinct Brazilian territorial contexts. Future research should seek to systematically link the economic and institutional determinants of



development with public health policies, thereby contributing to a deeper debate on the role of the State and the challenges of promoting social justice and combating persistent inequalities.

References

BIELSCHOWSKY, Ricardo. *Pensamento econômico brasileiro: o ciclo ideológico do desenvolvimentismo*. 2. ed. Rio de Janeiro: IPEA/INPES, 1988.

BRESSER-PEREIRA, Luiz Carlos. Novo desenvolvimentismo: um segundo momento do estruturalismo latino-americano. *Revista de Economia Política*, São Paulo, v. 39, n. 2, p. 221-246, abr./jun. 2019. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/0101-31572019-3001>.

BRITO, Leonardo Leonidas de. Subdesenvolvimento e dependência: a crítica ao neodesenvolvimentismo no Brasil recente (2004-2016). *Cadernos do Desenvolvimento*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 16, n. 29, p. 9-38, maio/ago. 2021.

CUNHA, Jarbas Ricardo Almeida; FARRANHA, Ana Cláudia. Judicialização da saúde no Brasil: categorização das fases decisórias a partir do Supremo Tribunal Federal e os impactos no Sistema Único de Saúde. *Public Sciences & Policies*, Brasília, v. 7, n. 1, p. 37-57, 2021.

DINIZ, Eli. O contexto internacional e a retomada do debate sobre desenvolvimento no Brasil contemporâneo (2000/2010). *Revista de Políticas Públicas*, São Luís, v. 18, n. 2, p. 331-347, jul./dez. 2014.

FONSECA, Pedro Cezar Dutra. Gênese e precursores do desenvolvimentismo no Brasil. *Pesquisa & Debate*, São Paulo, v. 15, n. 2 (26), p. 225-256, 2004.

FONSECA, Pedro Cezar Dutra. O projeto desenvolvimentista no Brasil: histórico e desafios da atualidade. *Cadernos do Desenvolvimento*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 11, n. 19, p. 117-128, jul./dez. 2016.

GARCIA, Danielle do Valle. Sobre os bastidores do processo de formulação de políticas públicas: considerações acerca da saúde bucal no Brasil. *Revista de Administração Pública*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 44, n. 6, p. 1365-1388, nov./dez. 2010.

GOMES, José Menezes. Fundos de pensão, capital estatal e neodesenvolvimentismo. *Revista de Políticas Públicas*, São Luís, v. 18, n. esp., p. 89-108, 2014.

GONÇALVES, Reinaldo. Novo desenvolvimentismo e liberalismo enraizado. *Serviço Social & Sociedade*, São Paulo, n. 112, p. 637-671, out./dez. 2012.

GUIMARÃES, Raphael Mendonça; MUZI, Camila Drumond; TEIXEIRA, Moema de Poli; PINHEIRO, Sonoe Sugahara. A transição da mortalidade por cânceres no Brasil e a tomada de decisão estratégica nas políticas públicas de saúde da mulher. *Revista de Políticas Públicas*, São Luís, v. 20, n. 1, p. 237-256, 2016.

JANNUZZI, Paulo de Martino. Economia política e avaliação em políticas públicas no Brasil pós-2014. *Cadernos de Saúde Coletiva*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 29, n. esp., p. 1-9, 2021.



MARINI, Ruy Mauro. *Subdesenvolvimento e revolução*. 6. ed. Florianópolis: Insular, 2008.

MENDES, Áquilas; CARNUT, Leonardo. Ser social, Estado, democracia e saúde. *Revista Ser Social*, Brasília, v. 22, n. 47, p. 143-166, 2020.

MOLLO, Maria de Lourdes Rollemberg; AMADO, Adriana Moreira. O debate desenvolvimentista no Brasil: tomando partido. *Economia e Sociedade*, Campinas, v. 24, n. 1 (53), p. 1-28, abr. 2015. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-3533.2015v24n1art1>.

MOLLO, Maria de Lourdes Rollemberg; FONSECA, Pedro Cezar Dutra. Desenvolvimentismo e novo-desenvolvimentismo: raízes teóricas e precisões conceituais. *Economia e Sociedade*, Campinas, v. 22, n. 1 (47), p. 741-772, abr. 2013.

MORAIS, Lécio; SAAD-FILHO, Alfredo. Da economia política à política econômica: o novo-desenvolvimentismo e o governo Lula. *Revista de Economia Política*, São Paulo, v. 31, n. 4 (124), p. 507-527, out./dez. 2011.

OLIVEIRA, Assis da Costa. Consequências do neodesenvolvimentismo brasileiro para as políticas públicas de crianças e adolescentes: reflexões sobre a implantação da Usina Hidrelétrica de Belo Monte. *Revista de Políticas Públicas*, São Luís, v. 17, n. 2, p. 299-318, jul./dez. 2013.

OLIVEIRA, Raphael Rodrigues de. "Novo-desenvolvimentismo" no Brasil: gênese, ascensão e queda. In: ENCONTRO NACIONAL DE ECONOMIA POLÍTICA, 23., 2018, Niterói. *Anais [...]*. Niterói: Sociedade Brasileira de Economia Política, 2018.

PAIM, Jairnilson Silva. A Constituição cidadã e os 25 anos do Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS). *Revista Ser Social*, Brasília, v. 15, n. 34, p. 33-52, jul./dez. 2013.

PAULANI, Leda Maria. A experiência brasileira entre 2003 e 2014: neodesenvolvimentismo? *Cadernos do Desenvolvimento*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 12, n. 20, p. 135-155, jan./jun. 2017.

PEREIRA, Luiz Carlos Bresser. Financiamento para o subdesenvolvimento: o Brasil e o segundo consenso de Washington. In: CASTRO, Ana Célia (org.). *Desenvolvimento em debate*. Rio de Janeiro: Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social; Mauad, 2002. v. 2, p. 359-398. Disponível em: <https://web.bndes.gov.br/bib/jspui/handle/1408/11919>. Acesso em: 5 ago. 2026.

PFEIFER, Mariana. O social no interior do projeto neodesenvolvimentista. *Revista Katálysis*, Florianópolis, v. 19, n. 1, p. 92-101, jan./jun. 2016.

VERÍSSIMO, Michele Polline; XAVIER, Clésio Lourenço. Taxa de câmbio, exportações e crescimento: uma investigação sobre a hipótese de doença holandesa no Brasil. *Revista de Economia Política*, São Paulo, v. 33, n. 1, p. 63-81, jan./mar. 2013.

WAYHS, Ana Clara Dorneles; BENTO, Beatriz do Amaral Rezende; QUADROS, Fátima Alice de Aguiar. Políticas públicas em saúde mental indígena no Brasil. *TraHs – Travaux et Recherches dans les Amériques du Sud*, Limoges, n. 4, n. esp., p. 1-15, 2019.