

# Brazilian Patient Organizations and Regenerative Medicine: Selective Comparisons with the Experience of the United Kingdom

Liliana Acero

*Received: 8 April 2021 Accepted: 2 May 2021 Published: 15 May 2021*

---

## Abstract

Patient organizations have become a privileged locus to mediate relations in health care between state and society. This study analyses the roles played in regenerative medicine by Brazilian disease-specific and rare disease patient organizations and draws comparisons with those of the United Kingdom. International public engagement, citizen science, and patient-centered medicine policies are briefly discussed as well as the organizing models of patient associations, the relations of 'biosociality', and the construction of alternative 'civicepistemologies' or tacit forms of knowing. Qualitative analysis is based on documentary information on the sector, secondary data from the organizations' websites and 18 online interviews with representatives of Brazilian patient organizations. These data show that diseasespecific organizations mainly support patients and contribute to their treatments 'an auxiliary operational model' and train members to become informed interlocutors 'an emancipatory model'. By contrast, most rare disease associations tend to form partnerships with researchers to reformulate treatments and impact public policy.

---

**Index terms**— patient organizations; rare disease; biosocialities; civic epistemologies; regenerative medicine; cellular therapy.

## 1 Introduction

In recent decades public interest in the social control of health activities has increased substantively, especially in relation to new cellular and genetic therapies that form part of regenerative medicine (RM) (Webster & Wyatt, 2020; Irwin et al., 2013). Patient associations have become a global privileged locus through which to mediate state-society relations in health care (e.g. Gowanet al., 2016). The role of these organizations has become more relevant in light of globalization and the effects of neoliberal policies in health implemented in the 1990s. These include the tertiarization of health care services and the monopolistic participation, enabled by more-restrictive intellectual property rights clauses, of the pharmaceutical industry in the market, leading to very high prices for medicines. This combination of economic and social factors has left large proportions of vulnerable populations unprotected with regard to health care, especially in emerging countries (Farmer, 2005). Consumer demands for new therapies and medicines -faced with a lack of 'solutions' to their critical health problems and in opposition to the hegemonic conventional values supported by science, medicine, and industry -has given rise to the increasing collective organization of consumers and the questioning of those previous forms of authority (Salter et al., 2015). These organizations have been able to develop their own forms of knowledge, access alternative treatments, and make political demands related to the redefinition of the rules, and values of conventional health supply models. Many are patient and family associations, that sometimes include activists; they act following 'evidence-based health' (Barbosa, 2015; Rabeharisoa et al., 2014).

Since the 1980s, new challenges to the established professions, changes in the epistemologies of the life sciences and biotechnology, and significant limitations in the perspectives of specialists in the design of therapies and medicines have produced a distrust of specialists, mainly in advanced countries. Different criteria have been

### 3 A) PUBLIC POLICIES REGARDING CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT IN SCIENCE AND HEALTH

---

44 applied in the definition of specialized knowledge, including experienced-based knowledge (Williams and Calnan,  
45 1996;Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons, 2001) and 'situated knowledges' according to age, sex, race, ethnic group,  
46 class, and sexual orientation (Haraway, 1988). Borkman (1976Borkman ( , 1997) ) was a pioneer in developing  
47 the concept of the 'experiential knowledge' of patients and he formulated an epistemological claim that patients'  
48 experiences on their own right generate knowledge. Different and sometimes controversial regulatory frameworks  
49 on health have given rise to a more pluralistic vision of knowledge, helped legitimize citizens' reflections and  
50 extend democratic participation in specialized I The present study analyzes the role of patient organizations in  
51 relation to RM in Brazil, and makes selective comparisons with that of patient organizations with a similar focus  
52 in the United Kingdom (UK), a global leader in RM. It intends to answer two interrelated questions:

53 ? How can the role of patient organizations in RM best be characterized in the UK and Brazil? What are  
54 their main differences in each context? ? What are the organizational models and main activities of the different  
55 type of Brazilian patient organizations? What is their level of involvement in RM?

56 II.

## 57 2 Theoretical Reflections

58 This section will discuss the main frameworks in place to promote citizen participation in health care policy  
59 making, mainly in the UK, and the involvement of patient associations.

### 60 3 a) Public policies regarding citizen engagement in science and 61 health

62 Different types of public policies to encourage the engagement of lay people in science and health care policy-  
63 making, including in RM, have been implemented in Europe and, up to a certain extent, in the US. They can be  
64 classified into three different types: public participation in science and health, citizen science, and patient-centered  
65 medicine.

66 The first type involves the strategies for citizen engagement designed by governments, such as citizen juries,  
67 public consultations, and consensus conferences and forums (Horst & Michael, 2011;Bussu et al., 2014; ??cGowan  
68 et al., 2016;Collins et al., 2017;Irwin et. al., 2013). In the UK, these were promoted as a governmental answer  
69 to increasing citizen distrust in science and medicine due to inadequate policies implemented to contain "mad  
70 cow disease" (bovine spongiform encephalopathy) transmitted to humans through the consumption of beef, as  
71 well as citizen resistance to the introduction of transgenics into local agriculture ??Irwin & Wynne, 2003;Van  
72 Zwanenberg & Millstone, 2005).

73 These policies implicitly criticized the 'deficit model' used to characterize levels of scientific knowledge among  
74 lay publics, a description that led to a 'top-down' model of participation whereby citizens were considered as  
75 passive recipients to be trained in new technologies by specialists (Wynne, 1995;Collins & Evans, 2002;Collins et  
76 al., 2017). The new engagement strategies have fostered active participation, the prioritization of dialogue, and  
77 the pursuit of the gradual democratization of scientific content through the promotion of 'bottom-up' participatory  
78 activities (Irwin et al., 2013). These policies have been usually implemented as group experiments or applied to  
79 small populations where new forms of governance are being tried out.

80 Academic reflection on these initiatives has found a number of problems: the limited range of people involved in  
81 the activities performed, difficulties in the articulation of the impacts of the case studies developed, an excessive  
82 focus on generating consensus among participants, and a lack of analysis of participants' body language and  
83 voice tones (Wynne, 1993;Collins et al., 2017;Stirling, 2008). Studies have also noted that these practices can  
84 sometimes be used to legitimize institutional perspectives or commercial decisions previously made. In this  
85 sense, these engagement strategies can contribute to preventing plural understandings of a certain issue, instead  
86 of facilitating the processes for which they were initially designed. Alternatively, the unintended consequences  
87 of these practices can include hard-to-manage social 'overflows' ??Callon et al., 2009). However, most academic  
88 studies do tend to emphasize the value of public engagement as a project of dialogical governance (Macnaghten  
89 & Chilvers, 2013), despite the drawbacks mentioned above.

90 In citizen science policies, the term 'citizen' refers to different types of individuals and organized social actors,  
91 including stakeholders, lay people, patients, consumers, interest groups, lobbies, and corporate groups. A good  
92 example of a citizen science endeavor is the online community, Patients Like Me. Participants share symptoms  
93 and experiences of a disease and self-management as well as the results of treatments. They use aggregate data  
94 to design new research trajectories (Wicks et al., 2018).

95 The European Group on Science and New Technology, in its Opinion<sup>29</sup> (2015), describes five different models  
96 of citizen science, according to the degree and manner of citizen participation in the scientific projects. These  
97 models are the contractual, contributive, collaborative, co-created, and collegial contribution types-where citizens  
98 and specialists design initiatives and subsequent functions in research projects vary substantively. 1

---

## 99 4 Research crowd sourcing

100 Moreover, citizens can engage in projects at two different stages: 'upstream', where they participate in research  
101 agenda formulation, priority setting, and decision making on funding. In 'downstream' involvement, lay citizens  
102 engage in the evaluation, access to and decisions on data production, analysis, and result dissemination.

103 2 also tends to be adopted by citizen science projects for the purposes of information gathering, image  
104 classification, systematic revision, and funding. Participants are recruited to obtain large quantities of data over  
105 long periods of time across different environments -an impossible task for an individual scientist or a small team  
106 ??Bonnie et al., 2009). Volunteers design protocols and develop capacities to formulate questions, collect and  
107 submit data, and contribute to online data processing and analysis ??Kobori et al., 2015). Biomedical innovations  
108 have received support from citizen science in the research and action programs of the European Commission,  
109 such as Program Horizon 2020. This program promotes the application of the theoretical and practical approach  
110 called Responsible Research in Innovation, 3 This approach proposes a psychosocial understanding of medicine  
111 and a perspective that considers the patient 'as a person', taking into account his/her own history and disease  
112 management. The doctor/patient relationship is thereby reconfigured as more symmetrical ( in which volunteer  
113 citizens participate in project formulation and implementation in three different roles: as knowledge producers,  
114 e.g. citizens 'making science'; as contributors, e.g. in the evaluation and feedback on new medicines; and as  
115 consumers, e.g. during online selfdiagnosis and the design of healthy life programs.

116 'Patient-centered medicine' policies actively promote patient empowerment. They are based on a global  
117 governmental and citizen movement that has been active during almost the last 40 years. This understanding of  
118 medicine proposes new health arrangements that imply taking a wider clinical vision, whereby clinical interest  
119 is expanded to include not only the human body but also the subjective thoughts and emotional states of the  
120 patients, as well as factors in the patients' contexts and their abilities to act within them ??Gardner, 2016, p.  
121 240). Mead & Bower, 2000). In the UK, this public policy has been characterized as 'the new orthodoxy' (Cribb,  
122 2011). For example, the National Health Service (NHS) claims that one of its main objectives consists of "placing  
123 patients at the heart of everything it does. . . . NHS services should reflect and be coordinated according to  
124 the needs and preferences of patients, their families and care-takers" (NHS, 2013, p. 3). Some academic authors  
125 have reported that at the beginning of the present decade, patients in the UK were invited to redesign health  
126 services by participating in events, interviews, and surveys as well as in the design of new hospitals (Keating &  
127 Cambrosio, 2003). However, other authors note that it has been difficult to translate this public policy into clinical  
128 routine practice and that success in its implementation has varied substantially according to the possibilities and  
129 infrastructures of each clinical setting (Dubbin et al., 2013;Liberati et al., 2015).

130 In the three types of policies described, patient and family social groups reformulate what Jasanoff (2005, p.  
131 127) has called 'civic epistemologies' or tacit forms of knowing. These are defined as a mix of ways in which  
132 knowledge is produced, presented, tested, verified and used in the public arena, i.e. a collective apparatus of  
133 sense making or cultural forms of knowing that reflect specific framings of meanings.

134 Citizen health organizations' plural understandings and actions impact these civic epistemologies substan-  
135 tively. Patients/families and activists jointly produce alternative or minority narratives, socially conscious  
136 representations of health and disease based upon experience and often in contrast with hegemonic or dominant  
137 narratives. Some properties of these contrasting epistemologies regarding RM can be described through the  
138 categories presented in Table 1.

## 139 5 b) Organizational models of patient associations

140 Based on a reformulation of Rabeharisoa (2003), three different models of patient organizations: the auxiliary,  
141 the emancipatory, and the partnership one, will be summarized next.

142 In the auxiliary model, scientific and medical functions are delegated to specialists working for the organization,  
143 who select research trajectories, support laboratories, develop new practices, and disseminate knowledge.  
144 However, the association does not participate in the decision making in relation to the research it funds. In  
145 one variant, some participants are trained to become 'lay experts' who can dialogue with specialists -an approach  
146 born within HIV/AIDS activism through the Act-Up movement (Epstein, 1995).

147 The emancipatory model grew out of the advocacy movement of the 1960s and 1970s that confronted the  
148 mainstream tradition of self-help groups in those decades. This model is followed, for example, by several  
149 organizations focused on breast cancer (Dresser, 2001) and by most of the community-level services in the US.  
150 Patient organizations operating this way tend to battle for the inclusion of their demands in public policy  
151 agendas; they assert their collective identity and criticize professional monopolies. Some of them also delink  
152 completely from disease definitions and treatments not based upon experience-an attitude often found among  
153 groups representing people with differential capacities, e.g. deaf people organized against cochlear implants  
154 and/or defending their right to have deaf children (Blume, 2000).

155 Patient organizations working in a partnership model adhere to the principle of 'follow science and medicine,  
156 but not be controlled by scientists and medical doctors'. They become specialized partners in knowledge  
157 production, treatment, and patient care. Patient and family participants relate to researchers in such a way that  
158 their objectives, hypotheses, and observations influence and improve each other. This operating model is most  
159 frequently found in rare disease patient organizations, which are trying to break the vicious cycle of scientific and  
160 social ignorance and indifference (Rabeharisoa et al., 2014). Associations often define new research trajectories

161 and, through collective mobilization, contribute to the reformulation of the fields of competence of many research  
162 institutions. Participants often publish coauthored articles in scientific journals and/or become coinventors of  
163 patents on genes and biological materials (Callon, 2003; Nowotny et al., 2001). Examples of organizations following  
164 this model include the French Rare Disease Alliance and the French Association of Muscular Dystrophy.

165 The role of patients in this last model has been described by some authors as 'researchers in the wild',  
166 in reference to the fact that the patients themselves are the only ones qualified to pursue a certain kind of  
167 knowledge (Callon et al., 2001). They contribute to the reformulation of medical knowledge by the way they  
168 articulate scientific and experiential knowledges (Rabeharisoa et al., 2014). All three models are represented in  
169 RM.

170 To characterize patient groups, most especially those functioning within a partnership model, authors have  
171 coined the terms 'biosociality' and 'biosociability'. These are defined as the social relationships mediated by  
172 health biotechnologies that collectively democratize applications in the biosciences and recreate conventional  
173 institutional hierarchies (Rabinow, 1996; Novas, 2008). People directly interested in the resolution of a health  
174 problem become 'biosocial' in their search for answers. They organize themselves into 'expert' networks, create  
175 new framings of disease, and actively search for information on a certain disease related to research, clinical trials,  
176 and funding. Their practices are motivated by the hope of finding a cure, which in turn legitimizes the manner  
177 in which they deal with their own diseases as well as with the future of their category of disease (Mazanderani  
178 et al., 2018; Pinto et al., 2018).

## 179 6 III.

## 180 7 Methodological Approach

181 The present study forms part of a wider research program developed intermittently since 2009 to analyze innova-  
182 tion, regulation, and governance in relation to RM in Brazil (see, for example, Acero, 2010a; Acero, 2010b; Acero, 2011a;  
183 Acero, 2020a; Acero, 2020b; Acero, 2020c). This article was based on a qualitative study that included a bibliographical  
184 and documentary analysis of academic literature and official national and international reports on the specific  
185 topic. Secondary information was gathered on the principal civil organizations which support RM in the UK  
186 -foundations, charities, and patient organizations -from their websites and online interviews were conducted  
187 with selected key informants. An in-depth analysis based on information gathered in the websites of the main  
188 patient organizations in Brazil related to RM and a total of 18 interviews with representatives of some of these  
189 organizations complement this study.

190 Patient organizations focusing on specific diseases that are more actively involved with RM were selected from  
191 a sample of 23 such Brazilian associations within the Latin American network called Latin Alliance (Alianza  
192 Latina). Five semi-structured hour-long online interviews were conducted that were recorded and transcribed at  
193 the beginning of 2021. In relation to rare diseases, a total of 40 national organizations were selected from a list  
194 of 470 Brazilian rare disease patient organizations compiled by the NGO Cure Tay-Sachs Brasil, 4 and relevant  
195 information was collected from their websites. The main criteria for the selection of the 40 organizations were  
196 (a) their support or interest in research/clinical trials related to the diseases in question and (b) their interest in  
197 research in or clinical trial support for RM, which include genetic diagnosis and treatments.

198 Thirteen semi-structured hour-long online interviews were carried out between January and March 2021 with  
199 representatives from some of the rare disease patient organizations more active in RM. The interviews were  
200 recorded and transcribed. Interviewees were selected based on the organizations' websites or contacted through  
201 the qualitative technique snowball, in which some participants suggest new participants who in turn suggest  
202 successively new participants (e.g. Biernack & Waldorf 1981).

203 Content analysis was applied in the study of the narratives in the interviews (e.g. Cavalcanti et al., 2014),  
204 whereby after several systematic and in-depth readings of the answers, main categories of analysis and coding  
205 were defined. These are type of services offered to affiliates, involvement in RM research and clinical trials, role  
206 played by public agencies in relation to the disease, organization's engagement in public policy, and relationship  
207 established with national and international institutions and with the media.

## 208 8 IV. A Brief Summary of the UK Experience

209 State agencies, scientific networks, and civil society associations of patients, foundations, and charities are involved  
210 in the three types of public policy initiatives discussed above. In the UK, they form a complex network that  
211 supports RM research activities and provides a significant percentage of the funding for the sector (Acero,  
212 2011).

213 Charities are extremely relevant in the UK because they finance infrastructure, research programs, and  
214 fellowships; help define RM bioethics guidelines; and decisively influence the formulation of public policies. Two  
215 of the most active ones in RM are the Nuffield Council on Bioethics and the Wellcome Trust. The first, founded  
216 in 1991, is an independent and highly influential group that functions as a consultative body for the technical  
217 assessment of 'the publics' in relation to different subjects on bioethics in biomedicine. Its recommendations,  
218 based on periodic public consultations, tend to influence lay and professional publics views highly as well as public  
219 policy initiatives. The Wellcome Trust, an independent charity, is the main agent of nongovernmental funding  
220 of biomedical research in the world. At present, it works on a budget of approximately 29.1 billion pounds and

---

221 focuses on three main areas: the financial support of researchers of excellence, the acceleration of clinical research  
222 results, and the study of key medical topics in different historical and cultural contexts. It also supports public  
223 engagement activities.

224 In summary, both institutions are helping to guide RM research and therapy through the evaluation of  
225 research proposals, funding, and bioethics guidelines, as well as international scientific cooperation. Their  
226 recommendations transcend the UK context and collaborate substantively to global governance of this area  
227 of medicine.

228 A significant number of European diseasespecific patient organizations in RM participate in a total of 11  
229 regional consortia to finance research and development of RM therapies through the European Consortium of  
230 Stem Cell Research (Eurostemcells) (see [www.eurostemcell.org](http://www.eurostemcell.org)). It was impossible to calculate the exact number  
231 of disease-specific patient organizations in the RM universe in the UK. The Real College of Surgeons in England  
232 estimates there are hundreds of active patient groups. As of July 31, 2019, the NHS had listed more than 180  
233 certified organizations, more than half of which had some form of RM involvement (see [www.eurostemcell.org](http://www.eurostemcell.org)).

234 The role of this type of UK patient organizations can be illustrated through a brief discussion of the activities  
235 of the larger disease-specific UK patient organizations with a long history: the British Heart Foundation (BHF),  
236 Cancer Research UK, and the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation (JDRF). They not only offer support  
237 to patients, public information, and treatments, but also finance national and international research projects,  
238 centers, fellowships for specialists, and public education events. For example, BHF funds three pioneering centers  
239 in RM based at wellknown local universities with the aim of studying the repair of damage caused by heart  
240 attacks. Cancer Research UK, focused on immunotherapy and the cellular therapy for cancer called CAR-T,  
241 has invested 85 million pounds for research purposes, as well as approving 122 scholarships. The JDRC's global  
242 program on type 1 diabetes funds more than 500 active research projects around the world and supports more  
243 than 70 clinical trials, having invested internationally more than 1.5 billion pounds in research to date.

244 The World Health Organization defines a rare disease as one that affects fewer than 65 per 100,000 persons  
245 or 1.3 per 2000 and estimates that there exist more than 7,000 types of these diseases globally. These affect  
246 8% of the global population and in Brazil that translates to between 13 and 15 million people (Domingues  
247 de Lima et al., 2018). Rare diseases are chronic and/or degenerative diseases that generate various types of  
248 deficiencies, are responsible for high morbidity and mortality rates, and mostly have a genetic and hereditary  
249 etiology that, as such, can affect families for generations. It often takes a very long time to detect these diseases  
250 and medicines/therapies tend to have very high prices (EORD, 2005). It has been estimated globally that only  
251 10% of these health conditions have a specific treatment and that at present there exist only 400 medicines on the  
252 market (Melnikova, 2012). Novas (2012) shows the role played by civic society organizations in the evolution of  
253 legislation on rare disease in the US, relating that American health authorities were informed of the importance  
254 of drug development for such diseases through a combination of activism carried out by a patient group coalition,  
255 Congress hearings, surveys, academic conferences, and media reports. As a result, cutting-edge legislation was  
256 approved -the US Orphan Drug Act (1983) -a policy model that was also recently adopted by the majority of  
257 European countries.

## 258 9 Medical Research

259 There are hundreds of rare disease patient organizations in the UK. Only some of the main umbrella organizations  
260 that act within the national territory will be mentioned here. For example, the National Organization for  
261 Rare Disorders, Inc. is an advocacy, research, and services association for patients made up of more than 300  
262 organizations based in England and the US that pursues the identification, treatment, and cure of this type  
263 of disease. The European Organization for Rare Diseases, an NGO that represents 956 rare disease patient  
264 organizations, has the goal of improving the life of 30 million patients in Europe.

265 In summary, public engagement of civil society in RM in the UK is multiple, in terms of the actions and  
266 organizations involved. On the one hand, there are a number of governmental initiatives on public engagement,  
267 often related to controversial ethics and social topics on RM, for example, on gene editing techniques and  
268 the flexibilization of CT approval (Faulkner, 2016; Dickenson, Darnovsky, 2019; Acero, 2020). On the other  
269 hand, key foundations as well as patient associations contribute to the definition of research themes, research  
270 project implementation and funding and influence the design of national and international policy in RM. The  
271 UK also recruits innumerable volunteers for activities in citizen science. The NHS, already knowledgeable in  
272 the application of several types of genetic and cellular therapies, openly promotes 'patient-centered medicine'  
273 including in RM. Some of these trends will be contrasted next with the experience in Brazil.

274 V.

## 275 10 Results and Discussion

### 276 11 a) The organization of Brazilian civil society in RM

277 In Brazil, state promotion of public engagement policies in science and health has been very limited and does not  
278 form part of an explicit program with assigned funding and a stable structure as, for example, in many European  
279 countries. Public engagement is solicited in relation to specific actions or in the form of internet consultations  
280 organized by specialized agencies relating laws and normative resolutions. These tend to be directed at selected

## 12 B) DISEASE-SPECIFIC PATIENT ORGANIZATIONS

---

281 stakeholders; public convocation is hardly transparent and notices of consultations are rarely disseminated by  
282 the mass media. Reports on results are restrictively distributed to selected stakeholders. The general public has  
283 little or no access to the results of consultations, even more so in the case of RM, a sector that has only recently  
284 emerged (e.g. Acero, 2011 b). In this sense, civil society remains 'free' to use its own criteria and initiative for  
285 collective organization. On the other hand, a 'patient centered' approach to medicine has not been promoted as  
286 a national policy within the public health system, Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS), or in the private sector (see,  
287 for example, Agreli et al., 2016 for a comparison between local and international initiatives on this subject).

288 Beyond the associations of scientists/medical doctors, two main forms of organizations of Brazilian civil society  
289 exist in relation to RM. These can be classified as (a) those specific to RM, like MOVITAE (Movement in Favor  
290 of Life), and some of the many rare disease patient organizations; and (b) other organizations that include a few  
291 concerns associated with RM in their agendas and are active in relation to those only during specific events. The  
292 latter include organizations focusing on legal issues or human rights (CONNECTAS-DDHH), ethics and gender  
293 (Anis), civic and political rights (OABS), and NGOs within the women and racial movements (e.g. CRIOLA,  
294 Catholics for the Right to Decide, National Network of Women's Health and Sexual and Reproductive Rights).

295 The largest national mobilization of civil society in favor of RM took place between 2005 and 2008 during  
296 debates on stem cell research and on embryonic stem cell research (ESCR) in particular while the national  
297 Biosecurity Law was being approved. Subsequently, a claim for a Direct Action of Unconstitutionality was made  
298 that contested the legality of ESCR and the Federal Supreme Court (STF) in 2008 convened a Public Audience,  
299 after which the claim was reversed in favor of ESCR (see Acero, 2010 a; b). Some of the associations founded in  
300 that historic period remain active today.

301 More recently, there have been important mobilizations organized by rare disease patient groups to aid in  
302 the formulation and implementation of public policies, such as during the development of the National Program  
303 on Rare Disease, as well as in support of the approval of specific medicines (Pinto et al., 2018). Rare disease  
304 patient organizations have also been mobilizing more substantively since 2016 in relation to specific cases of 'health  
305 judicialization', for example when the STF judged a legal demand on the approval of medicine for the treatment of  
306 pulmonary arterial hypertension -a high-cost treatment unregistered by the National Sanitary Vigilance Agency  
307 (ANVISA) -against the State of Rio Grande do Norte. This mobilization was named: "STF my life has no price"  
308 (Dominguez de Lima et al., 2018).

309 Institutional flaws in the public health sector relating to community health have contributed to the proliferation  
310 of NGOs supporting public sector activities in science and health care (Acero, 2011). In relation to RM, a wide  
311 range of NGOs disseminates practical information on bone marrow and umbilical cord blood donations to public  
312 banks and provides access to voluntary donor registries. Some of them collaborate directly with the National  
313 Network of Umbilical Cord and Placenta Banks and with the Brazilian Registry of Voluntary Donors of Bone  
314 Marrow associated with the Ministry of Health. Among the most active groups are the Alliance for Organ and  
315 Tissue Donations, the Pro-Vita Association for Bone Marrow Transplant, and the Bone Marrow Association.

### 316 12 b) Disease-specific patient organizations

317 Some associations are formed by stakeholders in relation to a specific non-infectious disease. These groups  
318 tend to contest institutions norms 'from the outside' (Salter et al., 2018). Information collected via the internet for the  
319 present study shows that there are 23 Brazilian diseasespecific patient associations that are integrated into the  
320 Latin Alliance, a Latin American network of more than 100 different patient organizations created in 2006  
321 (<https://redalianzalatina.org/pt-br/alianza-latina/membros>). 5 Most associations sound very optimistic about  
322 the present and future results in CT. For example, the ABCD representative mentioned that in 2017 the first  
323 successful treatment of Crohn's disease with CT in Brazil took place: it involved only one patient and used a  
324 technique that had already been approved to treat severe cases in Europe and the US.

325 FEMAMA's affiliates are making a strong effort to have genetic and hereditary tests included in the treatment  
326 of breast cancer and genomic-based tumors at SUS. AFEMAMA representative who was interviewed commented,  
327 "Once regenerative medicine takes more space and becomes more important, things will change and our NGO  
328 will try to become more knowledgeable in this respect".

329 An Abrale/Abrasta representative reflected upon Brazil's relative backwardness in terms of CT development  
330 and application:

331 In relation to the use of CT, Brazil is some steps behind the rest of the world. For thalassemia, the type of  
332 treatment that exists today is bone marrow transplant, that is still in an initial and risky phase in spite of having  
333 been already incorporated into SUS. . . . The first transplant here took place no more than ten years ago and  
334 since then, there have been no more than 20 other transplants in Brazil. . . . Beyond transplants, there is a new  
335 CT for cancer treatment: Car-T cell therapy. It is applied for some types of leukemia and lymphoma. In Brazil,  
336 it is still in the trial and approval phase; it will be some time before it is widely available to patients.

337 Most of these associations have been formed since the 1990s; they tend to operate nationally, with  
338 representation in as many as 20 states, and to work in association with other related NGOs.

339 Five interviews were conducted with (a) representatives of the Brazilian Association of Amyotrophic Lateral  
340 Sclerosis (Abrale) and the Brazilian Association of Thalassemia (Abrasta) (these two associations were addressed  
341 in a single interview because they often work together), (b) the Brazilian Federation of Philanthropic Institutes  
342 of Support to Breast Health (FEMAMA), (c) the Brazilian Association of Muscular Dystrophy (ABDIM), (d)

---

343 Love and Union Against Cancer (AMUCC), and (e) the Brazilian Association of Ulcerative Colitis and Crohn  
344 Disease (ABCD).

345 On their websites, half of the 23 organizations mention their participation in RM research and/or clinical  
346 trials, some developed at relevant public and private charity hospitals. Other organizations, like AMUCC, only  
347 use biosimilar medicines to treat women's breast and ovarian cancers. Biosimilar medicines are developed from  
348 live cells and since 2017 have been adopted by SUS.

349 An aspect common to all these organizations is that they recruit a wide spectrum of volunteers. In terms of  
350 offering support to patients, the organizations carry out treatments, rehabilitation, and complementary health  
351 activities; disseminate the results of national and international research; organize mobilization campaigns; provide  
352 legal support; make equipment and prosthesis donations; promote self-help groups; advocate for the passage and  
353 implementation of laws and influence the design of public policies; monitor data on the diseases represented; ease  
354 access to SUS; help with the reentry of patients into the labor market; and facilitate contact between patients  
355 and specialists. These organizations are sometimes substantively involved in the recruitment of patients for RM  
356 clinical trials, either via the dissemination of news, promoting the sponsorship of local clinical trials-often drawing  
357 upon the support of regional or international associations -or via direct patient recruitment, as the following three  
358 narratives relate:

359 When there are research projects that need dissemination and are suitable, we disseminate them through  
360 our communication channels. But patients get in contact with them directly. (representative of ABCD) ADB  
361 [Brazilian Dystrophy Alliance], together with other Latin American NGOs, are trying to persuade TREAT-NMD  
362 [Neuromuscular Network -an international patient association] to promote a Latin American clinical trial. As  
363 this is only in an initial negotiation, I cannot tell you on what specific subject the trial will focus.

### 364 **13 (representative of ABDIM)**

365 There is a Brazilian organization called Institute to Defeat Cancer (IVOC). They have a platform that maps all  
366 the local clinical research projects that are taking place for cancer treatment. In this way, they are able to handle  
367 the recruitment of patients. Abrale sends to them the patients interested in participating in clinical trials. . .  
368 . Normally, our organization gives preference to the dissemination of national level clinical trials because it is  
369 very difficult to create expectations in a patient when something is far from taking place locally. (representative  
370 of Abrale/Abrasta) As the last narrative suggests, these local organizations try not to generate false hope in  
371 patients regarding treatment possibilities and cures -a phenomenon known as RM 'hype' that is often present  
372 in media reporting -and also to avoid widespread use of risky, unproven treatments and medical tourism, which  
373 is a global concern in the sector (see Caulfield & McGuire, 2012; ??cero, 2014;McMahon, 2014). These patient  
374 organizations often provide the public information on the experiences of patients with the different treatments.  
375 For example, a representative of Abrale/Abrasta stated, "Practically in all the reports published we include a  
376 real case, usually interviewing a patient or family member".

377 Most of these organizations are funded by donations from individuals and/or private hospitals and research  
378 centers related to their topics of concern; almost half of them, receive some level of international funding and/or  
379 are integrated into international patient organizations and a third of them receive donations from private national  
380 enterprises and the large international pharmaceutical firms. Few receive any form of financial support from the  
381 public sector.

382 Most of the organizations have entered into long-term informal collaborations with researchers affiliated to  
383 public universities/hospitals. Some of these partnership are aimed at providing benefits to their members in  
384 terms of the use of health care services, as is the case with ABCD and FEMAMA. They also often develop their  
385 own printed or online publications (e.g. RevistaJeito de Viver of ADJ-Diabetes Brasil) regularly where they  
386 disseminate, for example, cases of successful treatments and scientific and medical world news on the diseases  
387 represented, as well as run YouTube channels (e.g. TV Abrasta), for public education regarding their diseases of  
388 concern.

389 The majority of these associations are not directly involved with scientific research either in their disease area or  
390 in RM. But some of their members participate in mixed study groups with disease specialists and these frequently  
391 include discussions on RM. However, more than half of the organizations do conduct research on the evolution  
392 of the health of their affiliated patients. For example, AMUCC has two qualitative/evaluative research projects  
393 underway that are taking this approach to different treatments being evaluated. Two other patient organizations  
394 work in four interrelated subareas: education and information, public policies, research, and support to patients.  
395 Representatives from Abrale/Abrasta reported that "the research axis can be divided into two areas: research  
396 on the patient trajectory (primary research). There is a database where patients are registered and followed up.  
397 And research on data mining (secondary research) where information from the DataSUS platform [ a platform  
398 on health care of the public health system] on a certain disease is organized". Abrasta also operates a nationwide  
399 Cancer Observatory and in its research projects compares local and foreign patient trajectories to establish  
400 differences and trends.

401 Larger patient organizations or those with a longer history tend to point out that, though there exist plenty of  
402 public participatory venues, the representation of patient organizations in them is quite minimal. For example:

403 In relation to government, there are different and important settings for deliberation: CONITEC, ANS, CNS,  
404 Cosinca, and many others. Some of these institutional spaces are occupied both by government and civic society.

405 Seats for civic society members may be sometimes occupied by representatives of patient organizations. However,  
406 the patient organization representation in these settings is still limited. In the Chamber for Supplementary Health  
407 (CAMSS), for example, there are only two chairs for associations on pathologies out of almost forty. Abrale and  
408 Abrasta have already participated in this venue and today we are fighting to win more chairs. 6 Opinions are  
409 divided between those who consider the mass media very helpful and supportive of their public campaigns and  
410 those who avoid all media exposure, because of the low quality of the reporting: "ABDIM has already been  
411 invited to present in different media but did not accept, because it tends to be very sensationalist, instead of  
412 dealing with our problems (representative of Abrale/Abrasta)

413 The associations recognize that some measures taken by the Ministry of Health (MS) have been beneficial for  
414 their affiliates, such as the approval of the Program for Assisted Non-Invasive Ventilation (MS, decree N<sup>o</sup> 1.370,  
415 of July 3rd 2008), which has saved lives through the free provision by SUS of respiratory equipment. However,  
416 they are critical of the scant recognition the federal and state governments have given to their efforts to increase  
417 patients' access to treatments and of public agencies' unresponsiveness to their demands for meetings with policy  
418 makers.

419 seriously. Some patients from our NGO participate in interviews but at a personal level, not as organizational  
420 representatives" (representative of ABDIM).

421 Variations in media representations can be partially explained by the marked differences between the  
422 characteristics of national-level news channels and those of state and local news coverage. The latter tend  
423 to be more supportive of these patient organizations.

424 In summary, unlike their counterparts in the UK, Brazilian disease-specific patient associations do not provide  
425 any financial resources for research centers, let alone for RM research. Given structural and social constraints  
426 related to health care in Brazil, these organizations specialize in supporting the improvement of patients' health  
427 in different ways and compensate for crucial gaps in public health care delivery.

### 428 14 c) Patient organizations focused on rare diseases

429 There are approximately 470 rare-disease patient organizations in Brazil, most of which are developing digital  
430 activism intensely and thus expanding identity frontiers and geographical boundaries (Souza, 2006). The category  
431 'rare disease' entered the public consciousness in a significant way in Brazil in 2009 with the organization of the  
432 First Brazilian Congress on Rare Disease; the next major step was the formation of a working group for the  
433 formulation of the National Policy of Integral Treatment of People with Rare Disease (Brasil, 2014). This policy  
434 had as its precedent the National Policy of Integral Treatment on Clinical Genetics, implemented in 2009 (MS,  
435 2009). More recently, the Health Ministry in 2016 invested in the modification of seven preexisting health  
436 establishments so that they are now endorsed as genetic services of excellence (Nunez Moreira et al., 2018).

437 However, in most cases where specific therapies and medicines have been approved for use in a substantial  
438 number of countries, patients in Brazil have no access to them. They either have not been incorporated into SUS  
439 or have not received commercial authorization locally (Meira & Acosta, 2009). For example, out of a total of  
440 almost 400 rare diseases identified in the country in 2018, only 34 of them were mentioned in the official resolution  
441 on Clinical Protocols and Therapeutic Guidelines (PCDTs) and thus had medicines/therapies available within  
442 SUS (MS, 2015).

443 Analysis of the information collected via the internet shows that the 40 rare disease patient associations  
444 researched for this study are engaged in tasks that are very similar to those of disease-specific patient  
445 organizations. At the same time, they have undertaken some specific tasks due to the characteristics of the  
446 diseases on which they focus being less well known clinically, their late social acknowledgement in Brazil, and their  
447 involvement in gene therapy. Some of the principal differences in tasks are that rare disease patient organizations  
448 encourage more intensely than do disease-specific organizations the participation of their members in the public  
449 consultations on clinical protocols developed by the National Commission for the Adoption of Technologies  
450 (CONITEC) at SUS -even though no representative of the former organizations can serve on the commission and  
451 also in the consultations by the National Commission of Research Ethics (CONEP). They take action in tandem  
452 with local health agencies to verify the availability of medicines and demand that state authorities purchase  
453 them; they also participate in the organization of patient and medicine registries as well as in the distribution of  
454 medicines and even help hospitals with the scheduling of patient appointments. They frequently pay some or even  
455 all of the lawyers' fees for the many instances of litigation in progress; help patients access genetic diagnostics;  
456 find referrals to specialists; lecture within specialized trainings on rare diseases; offer and often cover some portion  
457 of the cost of complementary treatments for long-term diseases, as well as connect patients with researchers to  
458 access adequate diagnostics within the public health network. Associations also promote the 'value of being rare'  
459 to develop affirmative actions that bring in other informed social sectors to participate in networks that can  
460 increase the visibility of their demands (Nunez Moreira et al., 2018).

461 Rare disease patient groups tend to be smaller in size than those concerned with specific diseases, even though  
462 they differ substantively in the number of participants in their directing bodies (between 3 and 120 active  
463 individuals) as well as in their membership; they range between 59 (e.g. DII) and 7,000 (e.g. Retina Brasil)  
464 affiliates.

465 Thirteen interviews were carried out with representatives of the following organizations: Brazilian Group for  
466 the Study of Cystic However, the majority of the interviewees observed, in contrast with the citizen science



---

467 experiences in Europe already discussed, that "what we try to do is to follow research development and invite  
468 researchers to events whenever we can. Beyond this, medical doctors form a 'closed up' community and tend not  
469 to share much of their information with our associations" (representative of AMAVI).

470 Interviewees estimated that there were more than 15 local clinical trials on genetic/cellular therapies for rare  
471 diseases at different phases running at the time, but they complained that this was insufficient:

472 The only reason why Brazil is behind the rest of the world in relation to treatments is the fact that there are  
473 many more clinical trials taking place in other countries. In that case, there are more opportunities for foreign  
474 patients to be treated in those research projects, if they do not take placebos (representative of ABH).

475 There is a genetic therapy, approved by the FDA since 2017, that was only recently approved by Anvisa, in  
476 2020. It involves eye surgery, whereby a modified gene is injected into the patient's eye. At present, Retina Brasil  
477 is trying to have it incorporated into SUS's treatments. Though very expensive, there would be few patients who  
478 could try this therapy. . . . In cellular therapy, there is an ophthalmologist at Ribeirão Preto [São Paulo State]  
479 who tried to develop an experiment with stem cells for the retina to treat pigmentary retinopathy. . . . But it  
480 was rejected by the medical community. This new type of technology is called optogenetics. . . . At present,  
481 genetic and cellular therapies are beginning to converge, and optogenetics is one of its expressions (representative  
482 of Retina Brasil).

483 A representative from ABRAM reflected that it was not an easy matter even in advanced countries to  
484 implement CT and gene therapy and that the process had also demanded constant activism from patient  
485 associations.

486 Some of the associations' representatives described RM treatment as very expensive and commented that "in  
487 Brazil, it is only being applied when other forms of therapy (such as, medication with antibiotics) are ineffective.  
488 I do not know of cases of RM performed by SUS -the few cases I know of here are financed by private health  
489 plans" (representative of APEMERJ).

490 In some cases, public resistance to CT treatments is justified by medical doctors' not recommending these  
491 therapies and their associated risks -though the specialized literature shows CT risks do not tend to be higher  
492 than those of genetic therapies (e.g. Webster & Wyatt, 2020). Other interviewees explained this resistance as  
493 being based on dominant social assumptions that make their affiliates reject participation in CT clinical trials.  
494 They observed that "there is a very great prejudice in relation to these procedures here in Brazil, people are  
495 afraid in relation to cellular therapy" (representative of APEMBS).

496 It could be some of these negative public opinions can be partially attributed to remnants of the influence on  
497 public representations -especially of embryonic stem cell research -as expressed by some social sectors during the  
498 long public debate that took place between 2005 and 2008 mentioned above (Acero, 2010 a; b), as well as the  
499 local exclusion of medical doctors from the initial stage of stem cell research development (Acero, 2011). But  
500 it could also partially reflect public disinformation on RM, often influenced by the poor quality of local media  
501 reporting on RM scientific, ethical, and social controversies (Acero, 2020 a;b; c).

502 Eleven of the representatives interviewed emphasized that in Brazil many cases of rare diseases are only treated  
503 after legal settlements are reached. They explain that their organizations had to get involved in political battles  
504 so that patients could simply access medicines and treatments, even when they had already been approved by  
505 ANVISA. They characterize policy agents as not being very proactive in demanding that the pharmaceutical  
506 industry price medicines affordably and/or make a stronger effort to sponsor clinical trials: for example, "There  
507 is scarce information on why these medicines are so expensive. A good negotiation between the pharmaceutical  
508 industry and the Federal government is required to reduce prices. The universe of patients with cystic fibrosis  
509 is big enough (almost 6 to 8 million patients in Brazil). The government needs to listen more closely to our  
510 organizations. . . .Beyond this, it would be important to rethink the 2012 law in order to make it more flexible,  
511 so that it could attract pharmaceutical firms to sponsor these trials in the country" 7 According to several  
512 interviewees, the main hindrance to local advancement in gene treatments is the low availability of genetic  
513 diagnostics and/or their poor quality, as well as the concentration of these services in the South and Southeast  
514 regions of Brazil -an obstacle already documented by pioneering academic studies (e.g. Horovitz et al., 2013).  
515 This situation also leads to an under-representation of the number of patients registered.

516 Representatives of the various organizations held very different positions in relation to the 2014 National Plan  
517 on Rare Disease. The most common critique was that the law's ruling jointly on diseases of very different kinds is  
518 a major flaw. Interviewees also mentioned that some diseases have mistakenly been defined as rare diseases due  
519 to national underreporting. Representatives complained about the lack of a public registry for the identification  
520 of the number of Brazilian cases of each type of rare disease.

521 However, other representatives shared a more positive opinion of the national plan, explaining that it has  
522 facilitated a number of breakthroughs: "The 199 resolution from 2014 helped, in the sense of building a framework  
523 for the visibility of rare diseases. Moreover, it was responsible for the creation of diagnostic and treatment centers  
524 of reference. It allows the Federal Government to distribute the funding needed by the centers. . . . However,  
525 the implementation of these norms, at the state and municipal levels, has proved a difficult task" (representative  
526 of ABH).

527 A minority position stated that aggregating the different type of rare diseases into one national program  
528 makes sense because the communities, though heterogeneous, are rather small and their demands are similar.  
529 Representatives of most organizations expressed the view that, though beneficial, "there are still many challenges

530 in the regulation of this resolution. The establishment of the centers of reference has not yet taken place  
531 adequately in all states” (representative of AMAVI). Another interviewee added that for the specific disease they  
532 represent, there is still no center of reference -though this has been demanded by the Brazilian Federation of  
533 Rare Disease (representative of AJUDE-C).

534 The majority of the interviewees reported their institutions were participating directly in key international  
535 associations on their topics of interest. From the latter, the Brazilian associations primarily obtain scientific  
536 information, support for participating in and organizing events, and often even medical assessment. For example,  
537 they mentioned being affiliates to the International Huntington Association (IHA), the European Federation  
538 of Crohn’s and Ulcerative Colitis Association (EFCCA), the International Cystic Fibrosis/ Mucoviscidosis  
539 Association (ICFMA), and EURORDIS (The Voice of Rare Disease Patients in Europe) and Retina International.  
540 They emphasized that, unlike Brazilian patient organizations, international associations charge membership fees,  
541 which they use to fund research, a practice the interviewees considered unthinkable in Brazil, mainly due to their  
542 members’ much lower income levels.

543 (representative of ABRAM). They add that the situation is different in other countries, where gene and cellular  
544 therapies are available and frequently applied:

545 In the rest of the world, there are already some countries that apply these therapies for cystic fibrosis  
546 systematically, especially in England, Scotland and the US. . . . At present, the few cases treated with  
547 these therapies in Brazil required winning legal cases. In those cases, the government purchased the medicine for  
548 a specific patient through the retail market (representative of GBEFC).

549 Cellular and gene research on therapies to treat hemophilia are quite advanced -phase II or III -and look very  
550 promising [elsewhere in the world]. . . . Research is generally not so advanced in Brazil. We do not have  
551 advanced clinical trials in gene and stem cell therapies. In this sense, other countries in the world are very much  
552 ahead of us (representative of AJUDE-C). There are two main types of treatments for Rett syndrome: one with  
553 gene therapy that has the aim of curing the disease and others that try to reduce symptoms. In Brazil, there  
554 is still no medicine tested on either of these two fronts. . . . In the rest of the world there are at least three  
555 ongoing research projects that use gene therapy; one by Novartis will start human trials by the end of this year  
556 and all sound very promising. Rett Syndrome Research Trust (RSRT) has a consortium to finance research and  
557 it is looking for other genetic solutions in the near future. (volunteer from Abre-Te).

558 Two of the interviewees mentioned that ANVISA has only very recently approved new cellular/gene therapies  
559 and that the necessary authorizations have already been granted for their incorporation into SUS, as illustrated by  
560 the following narrative: “After the approval of the resolution by ANVISA, just a few months later, the first gene  
561 therapy registered in the country was announced: Luxturna. This medicine is for hereditary retina dystrophy.  
562 Novartis is the pharmaceutical firm producing it and it had to wait for the resolution mentioned to be able to  
563 register the drug in Brazil. . . . Very soon afterwards, the most expensive genetic therapy in the world was also  
564 registered locally: Zolgensma, for spinal muscular atrophy (SMA)” (representative of Casa Hunter). Most of rare  
565 disease patient organizations tend to be affiliated to the Brazilian Federation of Rare Disease (FEBRARARAS),  
566 an umbrella organization for 58 national associations, which has a lot of political strength, and advocates for the  
567 development of adequate public policies for rare disease.

## 568 15 Medical Research

569 Universities, like the University of Campinas (UNICAMP), research centers and hospitals are rare disease patient  
570 organizations’ main partners in research and treatment and associated NGOs occupy the second place in terms  
571 of partnerships. Collaboration with the pharmaceutical and biotechnology industries has had less importance up  
572 to now, except in some of the existing clinical trials with RM. For example, AzidusBrasil is testing the medicine  
573 Cellavita HD for Huntington disease in phases I and II clinical trials.

574 All interviewees complained about of their work by policy agencies, most especially by ANVISA. They also  
575 reported that their organizations have sometimes excluded from participating in key public events on rare diseases  
576 organized by the government. A volunteer from Abre-Te who was interviewed offered the following suggestions:  
577 “We have a lot of public demands: SUS should cover expenses of genetic testing, ANS [the National Agency of  
578 Supplemental Health] should include a wider range of therapies etc. There should be a structured channel for  
579 associations to present their demands publicly on these subjects”.

580 On the other hand, representatives of a few organizations did praise the work carried out on their behalf by  
581 state-level legislative chambers: “We have had support from the courts and the legislative assembly. The courts  
582 disseminate the work of DII Brasil through intranet [a local online platform for state employees] .But the support  
583 of these institutions would be wider if we had a national law regulating inflammation and intestinal disease  
584 treatments. When a state-level law was approved in the State of Minas Gerais, the courts became much more  
585 responsive and supportive” (representative of ??II Brasil).

586 Interviewees differed substantively more on their representations of the role played by the mass media than on  
587 other issues. Many of them value state-and municipal-level media highly, because they invite members of their  
588 organizations in order to publicize specific events -like the ‘Orange August’ in the case of multiple sclerosis or the  
589 ‘Purple May Campaign’ on intestinal disease. In contrast, other interviewees commented that access to the media  
590 largely depended on personal contacts and complained about the media’s lack of interest in obtaining quality  
591 information on treatments, as has been documented in previous studies by the author (e.g. Acero, 2020 a; b).

---

592 A representative of ABRAM commented, "The media adores denunciation, but it does not try to reveal the real  
593 progress the country has had in relation to rare diseases. It could do better in portraying scientific knowledge  
594 and reporting updated information".

595 In summary, these recently formed rare disease associations are extremely active on the national scene and have  
596 also many international partners. They fill up vacuums in local health practices, advocate for the formulation of  
597 new regulations, and help with public administrative work. They seek to empower their members, participate  
598 in the generation of alternative forms of understanding of rare diseases, and offer their patients and families the  
599 means of access to existing diagnostics and treatments.

## 600 16 VI.

## 601 17 Conclusions

602 In the newly emerging sector of RM in Brazil, there are a number of key steps that need to be taken to enable an  
603 expansion in testing and the approval of CT and gene therapies, and patient organizations are at the forefront of  
604 the efforts to bring this about. Their participation seems crucial to mobilize government towards an acceleration of  
605 the present translational phase in RM locally, to support and bring in patient recruits to local and international  
606 trials in the short term within the country, to speed up the approval of medicines/therapies by local agencies  
607 and the expedited free introduction of those medicines/therapies into SUS, thus helping to achieve greater health  
608 equality in RM. They work from 'alternative civic epistemologies' to science and health care that are service-  
609 oriented, inclusive and pluralistic.

610 Coming back to the analytic categories in the opening theoretical reflections, Brazilian patient organizations  
611 of both the types analyzed operate according to a hybrid mix of models. Organizational differences also partially  
612 reflected the associations' variety in terms of size and access to funding -a characteristic of this universe.

613 The organizing model most common to specific-disease patient associations can be considered a hybrid  
614 between the auxiliary and the emancipatory models discussed. On the one hand, they only have control of  
615 the research they carry out internally with their own patients and, in those projects in which they associate with  
616 scientists and medical doctors from other institutions, they do not contribute substantively to research design  
617 or implementation, participating solely in an auxiliary function. These organizations are mainly concerned with  
618 helping their patients deal with their often-chronic diseases (Pierret 2003).

619 On the other hand, some participants usually train with specialists in order to act as 'expert' interlocutors  
620 regarding certain diseases and the organizations advocate for the development and implementation of public  
621 policies -both of which are characteristics of an emancipatory organizational model. Some members in their  
622 directing bodies participate in governmental institutions that represent patient demands, such as the health  
623 councils. In these senses, the organizations intend to make a substantive contribution to public policy as well as  
624 offer reformist input 'from the inside' of public institutions.

625 Perhaps due to the late official recognition of rare diseases and the greater scientific uncertainties in treatments,  
626 most rare disease patient organizations, by contrast, are shaped by an 'activism based in evidence' (Rabeharisoa  
627 et al., 2014). Many of them work from 'within science and medicine' to imagine policy designs in relation to the  
628 health conditions they support, putting patients and activists in contact with specialists to formulate new bases  
629 for scientific knowledge. They act within an organizational model more similar to that previously described as  
630 'a partnership model'.

631 A smaller number of these organizations, however, function according to the definition of an emancipatory  
632 model: they train members to facilitate informed communication with specialists. They are dedicated to  
633 mobilizing to gain public recognition of rare disease and patient rights and influence public policy.

634 While neither of the two types of Brazilian patient associations fit the typical profile defined as 'citizen science',  
635 they are associated with some elements of this approach. They act more like contributors to and consumers of  
636 the existing scientific and medical knowledge than as producers of it, with the exception of some of the rare  
637 disease patient organizations. Lay participants, in general, contribute research data and aid in the dissemination  
638 of research results downstream. However, two questions deserve further research: Does 'citizen science' assume  
639 specific characteristics in emerging countries? Is the format it takes culturally and institutionally conditioned in  
640 the Brazilian case?

641 What can be said is that all the Brazilian patient associations directly or indirectly involved in RM are building  
642 new 'biosocialities' or 'biosociabilities' mediated by biotechnology. Rare disease patient associations in particular  
643 offer a more typical example of 'biosocial' groupings or BIO associations, as defined by Barbosa (2015). Firstly,  
644 they were generally founded by people affected by specific rare diseases and/or their families and friends, are  
645 motivated by shared biological issues that have been explored scientifically only to a limited extent, and recruit  
646 numerous activists as affiliates. Secondly, the majority of them are active participants in the national social  
647 movement in health care. Thirdly, they construct alternative civic epistemologies in science and health care that  
648 interconnect a plurality of understandings, are oriented towards community service and supporting activities  
649 based on the experiential knowledge and abilities of their lay members. Moreover, they tend to avoid hierarchies,  
650 work from a dialogical standpoint, and try to develop transparency in their relations with public agencies as well  
651 as with specialized institutions.

652 The information analyzed shows that, in contrast to the UK experience, there is no structured and explicit

## 17 CONCLUSIONS

---

653 strategy of public engagement in RM at the governmental level. Moreover, the Brazilian public experience in  
654 RM, unlike that in the UK, is seeking a patient-centered approach to health care in a very limited way. The  
655 closest initiatives to this orientation being applied selectively at SUS, the analysis of which exceeds the scope  
656 of this article, are the consumercentered work process within the interprofessional collaborative practice, the  
657 person-centered clinical method, integral care, the Amplified Clinic (CA), and the National Humanization Policy  
658 (PNH), all of them anchored in the principles of patient wholeness (Bonfada et al., 2012). However, in the newly  
659 emerging field of RM these methods and policies are nonexistent, and thus patients become more distrustful of  
660 the new therapies. Perhaps with the further expansion of RMbased therapies into SUS in the near future and,  
661 depending on political will, the integration of this patientcentered approach to health care may be considered  
more seriously.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 1:

Figure 2:

662

---

<sup>1</sup>In contractual projects, communities ask professionals to develop a specific project and report on its results; contributive

---

1

Diagnostic and analytical variables/ framing categories	Dominant narrative (Techno-deterministic)	Alternative narrative (Socially conscious)	
Styles of knowledge making	Authoritative/excluding; interest based; top-down	Pluralistic;	inclusive
Public accountability (basis for trust)	Assumptions of trust	based; bottom-up	
Technical demonstration (practices)	Role based	Assumptions of distrust	
Objectivity (registers)	Empirical science	Relational	
Main forms of expertise	Formal	Sociotechnical explanations	
Visibility of expert bodies	Professional skills	Consultative	
	Nontransparent	Skills and experience	
		Transparent	

[Note: Source: Reformulated by the author, following Jasanoff (2005, p. 259).]

Figure 3: Table 1 :

Figure 4:

Figure 5:



663 .1 Acknowledgements

664 projects are designed by scientists together with members of the lay public who contribute data; in col-  
665 laborative projects, lay publics participate with information, design refinement, analysis, and dissemination  
666 of results; co-created projects are designed jointly by researchers and lay people, the latter actively engag-  
667 ing in all project aspects; in collegiate projects, individuals without recognized scientific credentials develop  
668 research independently. 2 This is defined as the act of tertiarization to a big group of undefined peo-  
669 ple; this is work that used to be carried out by a specifically defined agent. 3 This perspective antic-  
670 ipates and evaluates the potential social implications of and expectations concerning research and innova-  
671 tion with the aim of promoting the design of sustainable and inclusive research and innovation. [Available  
672 at: <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/h2020section/responsible-research-innovation>, accessed  
673 18 January 2021]. 4 The identification of the patient organizations concerned with rare diseases was carried out  
674 by the NGO Cure Tay-Sachs Brasil (<https://curetay-sachsbrasil.org>) and developed by the researcher Hannah  
675 Ramos with the National Institute of Science and Technology (INCT/ PPED). 5 The Brazilian Association of  
676 Muscular Dystrophy (ABDIM), which is not part of the Latin Alliance, carries out some of the most important  
677 activities related to RM among patient associations in Brazil. 6 The public agencies mentioned here -the National  
678 Commission for the Incorporation of Technologies to SUS (CONITEC), the National Agency of Supplemental  
679 Health (ANS), the National Council of Health (CNS) and the Consultation Council of the National Institute  
680 of Cancer (INCA) (Consinca) -reserve seats for patient participation. 7 This refers to the clinical resolution  
681 of ANVISA from 2012 (RDC 36), which established that the institution responsible for the clinical trial must  
682 offer financial assistance to the trial subjects even after the clinical research has ended; assistance with expenses,  
683 notably a transport and a per diem allowance, was often previously provided by patient organizations.

684 [Conhecimentos Especializados e Leigos. Revista Brasileira de Ciência] , *Conhecimentos Especializados e Lei-*  
685 *gos. Revista Brasileira de Ciência* 2 (2) p. . (Tecnologia e Sociedade)

686 [] , 10.1590/1807-57622015.0511.

687 [] , 10.1590/0102-311X00058017. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-311X00058017>

688 [Webster, A. and Wyatt, S. (ed.)] *2020) Health, Technology and Society: Critical Enquiries*, Webster, A. and  
689 Wyatt, S. (ed.) Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

690 [Bonfada et al. ()] ‘A integralidade da atenção à saúde como eixo da organização tecnológica nos serviços’. D  
691 Bonfada , J Cavalcante , D Araujo , J Guimarães . *Ciência e Saúde Coletiva* 2012. 2012. 17 (2) p. .

692 [Borkman ()] *A selective look at self-help groups in the United States. Health and Social Care in the Community*,  
693 T Borkman . 1997. 5 p. .

694 [Acero ()] ‘a) Debatendo as pesquisas com células-tronco no Brasil e no’. L Acero . *Reino Unido Revista DADOS*  
695 2010. 54 (4) p. .

696 [Acero ()] ‘a) Uma análise de matérias televisivas em ciência: o caso da medicina regenerativa no Brasil’. L Acero  
697 . *Revista Tecnologia e Sociedade* 2020. 16 (45) p. .

698 [Callon et al. ()] *Acting in an Uncertain World: An Essay on Technical Democracy*, M Callon , P Lascoumes ,  
699 Y Barthe . 2011. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

700 [Callon et al. ()] *Agir dans un monde incertain. Essai sur la démocratie technique !*, M Callon , P Lascoumes ,  
701 Y Barthe . 2001. Paris: Seuil.

702 [Cavalcante et al. ()] ‘ANÁLISE DE CONTEÚDO: considerações gerais, relações com a pergunta de pesquisa,  
703 possibilidades e limitações do método’. R Cavalcante , P Calixto , M Pinheiro . *Informação & Sociedade* 2014.  
704 24 (1) p. .

705 [Rabinow ()] ‘Artificiality and enlightenment: From sociobiology to biosociality’. P Rabinow . *Essays on the*  
706 *anthropology of reason*, P Rabinow (ed.) 1996.

707 [Agreli et al. ()] ‘Atenção centrada no paciente na prática interprofissional colaborativa’. H Agreli , Peduzzi , M  
708 C Silva . *Interface-Comunicação* 2016. p. 20.

709 [Caulfield and Mcguire ()] ‘Athletes’ use of unproven stem cell therapies: Adding to inappropriate media hype?’.  
710 T Caulfield , A Mcguire . *Molecular Therapy* 2012. 20 (5) p. .

711 [Acero ()] ‘b) Science, public policy and engagement: Debates on stem cell research in Brazil’. L Acero . *Genomics,*  
712 *Society* 2010. 6 (3) p. .

713 [Keating and Cambrosio ()] *Biomedical Platforms. Realigning the Normal and the Pathological in Late-*  
714 *Twentieth-Century Medicine*, P Keating , A Cambrosio . 2003. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

715 [Van Zwanenberg and Millstone ()] *BSE: risk, science, and governance*, P Van Zwanenberg , E Millstone . 2005.  
716 Oxford: Oxford University Press.

717 [Bussu et al. (ed.) ()] S Bussu , H Davis , Pollard . *The best of Sciencewise reflections on public dialogue*, A (ed.)  
718 (London) 2014. Sciencewise.

## 17 CONCLUSIONS

---

- 719 [Pinto ()] ‘Chasing cures: Rewards and risks for rare disease patient organizations involved in research’. D Pinto  
720 . *Biosocieties* 2018. 13 (1) p. .
- 721 [Irwin ()] *Citizen Science: A Study of People, Expertise and Sustainable Development*, A Irwin . 1995. Londres:  
722 Routledge (Environment and Society).
- 723 [Dubbin et al. ()] ‘Cultural health capital and the interactional dynamics of patient-centered care’. L A Dubbin  
724 , J S Chang , J K Shim . *Social Science & Medicine* 2013. 93 p. .
- 725 [Dickenson and Darnovsky ()] ‘Did a permissive scientific culture encourage the ‘CRISPR babies’ experiment?’.  
726 D Dickenson , M Darnovsky . *Nature Biotechnology* 2019. 37 p. .
- 727 [Dominguez De Lima et al. ()] M Dominguez De Lima , A Gilbert , D Andhorovitz . 10.1590/1413-  
728 812320182310.14762018. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1413-812320182310.14762018> *Redes de trata-*  
729 *mento e as associações de pacientes com doenças raras Ciência e Saúde Coletiva*, 2018. 23.
- 730 [Acero ()] ‘Enquadramentos na medicina regenerativa: os relatos recentes na imprensa brasileira Revista  
731 Eletrônica de Comunicação’. L Acero . *Informação e Inovação em Saúde (RECIIS)* 2020 b. 14 (4) p. .
- 732 [Rabeharisoa et al. ()] ‘Evidence-based activism: patients’ organizations, users’ and activist’s groups in knowl-  
733 edge’. V Rabeharisoa , T Moreira , M Akrich . *BioSocieties* 2014. 9 (2) p. .
- 734 [Borkman ()] ‘Experiential knowledge: A new concept for the analysis of self-help groups’. T Borkman . *Social*  
735 *Science Review* 1976. 50 p. .
- 736 [Blume ()] ‘Exploring cochlear implantation in the Netherlands’. S Blume . *Technology & Human Values* 2000. 25  
737 (2) p. . (Science)
- 738 [Liberati et al. ()] ‘Exploring the practice of patient centered care: The role of ethnography and reflexivity’. E  
739 G Liberati , M Gorli , L Moja , L Galuppo . *Social Science & Medicine* 2015. 133 p. .
- 740 [Mazanderani et al. ()] ‘From embodied risk to embodying hope: Therapeutic experimentation and experiential  
741 information sharing in a contested intervention for Multiple Sclerosis’. F Mazanderani , J Kelly , A Ducey .  
742 10.1007/s13770-013-1116-7.pdf. *Biosocieties* 2018. 13 (1) p. .
- 743 [Horovitz ()] ‘Genetic services and testing in Brazil’. D Horovitz . *Journal of Community Genetics* 2013. 4 (3) p.  
744 .
- 745 [Salter et al. ()] ‘Hegemony in the marketplace of biomedical innovation: consumer demand and stem cell science’.  
746 B Salter , Y Zhou , S Datta . *Social Science & Medicine* 2015. 131 p. .
- 747 [Cribb ()] *Involvement, Shared Decision-Making and Medicines*, A Cribb . 2011. London: Royal Pharmaceutical  
748 Society.
- 749 [Leach et al. ()] M Leach , I Scoones , B Wynne . *Science and Citizens: Globalization and the Challenge of*  
750 *engagement*, (London) 2005. Zed Books.
- 751 [Macgowan et al. ()] ‘Let’s pull these technologies out of the ivory tower: The politics, ethos, and ironies of  
752 participant-driven genomic research’. M Macgowan , S Choudhury , E Juengst , M Lambrix . *BioSocieties*  
753 2016. 12 p. .
- 754 [Irwin Wynne ()] ‘Misunderstanding Science?’. *The Public Reconstruction of Science and Technology Cambridge*,  
755 A Irwin, B Wynne (ed.) 2003. Cambridge University Press.
- 756 [Bonnie et al. ()] ‘Next Steps for Citizen Science’. R Bonnie , J Shirk , T Phillips , A Wiggins . *Policy Forum.*  
757 *Science* 2014. 343 p. .
- 758 [Horst and Michael ()] ‘On the shoulders of idiots: Re-thinking science communication as ‘event’’. M Horst , M  
759 Michael . *Science as Culture* 2011. 20 (3) p. .
- 760 [Faulkner ()] ‘Opening the gateways to market and adoption of regenerative medicine? The UK case in context’.  
761 A Faulkner . *Journal of Regenerative Medicine and Tissue Engineering* 2016. 11 (3) p. .
- 762 [Stirling ()] ‘Opening up’ and ‘closing down’: Power, participation, and pluralism in the social appraisal of  
763 technology’. A Stirling . *Technology & Human Values* 2008. 33 p. . (Science)
- 764 [org/pt-pt/publication/rare-diseases-understandingpublic-health-priority (2021)] *org/pt-pt/publication/rare-*  
765 *diseases-understandingpublic-health-priority*, January 2021.
- 766 [Novas (2012)] *Orphan Drugs, Patient Activism and Contemporary Healthcare*, C Novas . [http://quaderni.](http://quaderni.revues.org/262)  
767 [revues.org/262](http://quaderni.revues.org/262) 2012. January 2021. Quaderni. 68 p. 24. (online) Available at)
- 768 [Farmer ()] *Pathologies of power: Health, Human Rights and the New War on the Poor*, P Farmer . 2005.  
769 Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 770 [Gardner ()] ‘Patient-centered medicine and the broad clinical gaze: Measuring outcomes in pediatric deep  
771 stimulation’. J Gardner . *BioSocieties* 2017. 12 p. .
- 772 [Mead and Bower ()] ‘Patient-centredness: a conceptual framework and review of the empirical literature’. N  
773 Mead , P Bower . *Social Science & Medicine* 2000. 51 p. .



- 774 [Novas ()] ‘Patients, profits and values: myozyme as an exemplar of biosociality’. C Novas . *Biosocialities, genetics*  
775 *and the social sciences.: making biologies and identities*, S Gibbon, C Novas (ed.) (London) 2008. Routledge.
- 776 [Acero ()] *Pesquisas com Células-Tronco no Brasil: Perspectivas do Progresso Científico e dos*, L Acero . 2011b.
- 777 [Acero ()] *Pesquisas e Terapias com Células-Tronco: Visões Sociais e o Debate no Brasil*, L Acero . 2011a. Rio  
778 de Janeiro: E-Papers.
- 779 [Savaget and Acero ()] ‘Plurality in understandings of innovation, sociotechnical progress and sustainable  
780 development. analysis of OCDE expert narratives’. P Savaget , L Acero . *Public Understanding of Science*  
781 2017. 46 p. .
- 782 [Ministério Da (2009)] *Política Nacional de Atenção Integral em Genética Clínica. Portaria nº 81, Diário Oficial*  
783 *da União*, Saúde Ministério Da . 2009. January. 21.
- 784 [Brasil (2014)] ‘Política Nacional de Atenção Integral às Pessoas com Doenças Raras, Portaria nº 199’. Brasil .  
785 *Diário Oficial da União* 2014. 12 February.
- 786 [Meira and Acosta ()] ‘Políticas de saúde pública aplicadas à genética médica no Brasil’. J Meira , A Acosta .  
787 *Revista de Ciência médica e biológica* 2009. 8 (2) p. .
- 788 [Souza ()] *Políticas públicas: uma revisão da literatura. Sociologias*, C Souza . 2006. 8 p. .
- 789 [Ministério Da ()] *Priorização de Protocolos e Diretrizes Terapêuticas para Atenção Integral às Pessoas com*  
790 *Doenças Raras. Comissão Nacional de Incorporação Tecnologias no SUS. Relatório 142*, Saúde Ministério Da  
791 . 2015. Brasília: MS.
- 792 [Wynne ()] ‘Public Understanding of Science’. B Wynne . *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, S Jasanoff,  
793 G Markle, J Perterson, T Pinch (ed.) (Thousand Oakes, CA) 1995. Sage.
- 794 [Wynne ()] ‘Public uptake of science: A case for institutional reflexivity’. B Wynne . *Public Understanding of*  
795 *Science* 1993. 2 (4) p. .
- 796 [Acero ()] ‘Qualidade das notícias em ciência e medicina: a imprensa na medicina regenerativa no Brasil’. L  
797 Acero . *Desenvolvimento em Debate* 2020 c. 8 (1) p. .
- 798 [Nunez Moreira et al. ()] ‘Quando ser raro se torna um valor: o ativismo político por direitos das pessoas com  
799 doenças raras no Sistema Único de Saúde’. . M Nunez Moreira , M Nascimento , D Horovitz , A Martins .  
800 10.1590/0102-311X00058017. *Cadernos de Saúde Pública* 2018. 34 (1) p. 5.
- 801 [Rare diseases: understanding this Public Health Priority European Organization for Rare Disease -EORD ()]  
802 ‘Rare diseases: understanding this Public Health Priority’. [https://www.eurordis](https://www.eurordis.org/) *European Organization*  
803 *for Rare Disease -EORD* 2005.
- 804 [Acero ()] ‘Regulação internacional e governança na medicina regenerativa: trajetórias do Reino Unido e a União  
805 Europeia e repercussões para a saúde coletiva global’. L Acero . *OIKOS* 2019. 18 (2) p. .
- 806 [Nowotny et al. ()] *Rethinking science: Knowledge and the public in an age of uncertainty*, H Nowotny , I Scott  
807 , S Gibbons . 2001. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- 808 [Kobori et al. ()] ‘Rushing Citizen science: a new approach to advance ecology, education, and conservation’. H  
809 Kobori , J Dickinson , I Washitani , R Sakurai . *Ecological Research* 2016. 31 p. .
- 810 [Wicks et al. ()] ‘Scaling Patients LikeMe via a ”Generalized Platform” for Members with Chronic Illness: Web-  
811 Based Survey Study of Benefits Arising’. P Wicks , E Thorley , K Simacek . *Journal of Medical Internet*  
812 *Research* 2018. 20 (5) p. e175.
- 813 [Haraway (1988)] ‘Situated knowledges: the science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective’.  
814 D Haraway . 10.2307/3178066. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066> *Feminist Studies* 1988. June 2019.  
815 14 (3) p. .
- 816 [Biernack and Waldorf ()] ‘Snowball Sampling: Problems and techniques of Chain Referral Sampling’. P Biernack  
817 , D Waldorf . *Sociological Methods & Research* 1981. 2 p. .
- 818 [Souza Soares and Anddeprá ()] J Souza Soares , A Anddeprá . *Ligações perigosas: indústria farmacêutica,*  
819 *associações de pacientes e as batalhas judiciais por acesso a medicamentos Physis*, 2012. 22 p. .
- 820 [Collins et al. ()] ‘STS as science or politics?’. H M Collins , R Evans , M Winel . *Social Studies of Science* 2017.  
821 47 (4) p. .
- 822 [Williams and Calnan ()] ‘The ”Limits” of Medicalization?: Modern Medicine and the Lay Populace in ” Late’.  
823 S Williams , M Calnan . *Modernity, Social Science and Medicine* 1996. 42 (12) p. .
- 824 [Epstein ()] ‘The construction of lay expertise: AIDS activism and the forging of credibility in the reform of  
825 clinical trials’. S Epstein . *Technology & Human Values* 1995. 20 p. . (Science)
- 826 [Ege ()] *The ethical implications of new health technologies and citizen participation Opinion 29*, Ege . 2015.  
827 Bruselas: European Union.

## 17 CONCLUSIONS

---

- 828 [Macnaghten and Chilvers ()] ‘The future of science governance: Publics, policies, practices’. P Macnaghten , J  
829 Chilvers . 10.1068/c1245j. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 2013. 32 p. .
- 830 [McMahon ()] ‘The global industry for unproven stem cell interventions and stem cell tourism’. D McMahon .  
831 10.1007/s13770-013-1116-7.pdf. *Tissue Engineering and Regenerative Medicine* 2014. 11 p. .
- 832 [Irwin et al. ()] ‘The good, the bad and the perfect: Criticizing engagement practice’. A Irwin , T Jensen , K  
833 Jones . *Social Studies of Science* 2013. 43 p. .
- 834 [Pierret ()] ‘The illness experience. State of knowledge and perspectives for research’. J Pierret . *Sociology of*  
835 *Health & Illness* 2003. 25 (3) p. .
- 836 [Callon ()] ‘The increasing involvement of concerned groups in R&D policies: What lessons for public powers’. M  
837 Callon . *Science and innovation: Rethinking the rationales for funding and governance*, A Geuna, A Salter,  
838 E Steinmueller (ed.) (Aldershot) 2003. Edward Elgar. p. .
- 839 [The NHS Constitution: The NHS Belongs to Us All NHS ()] ‘The NHS Constitution: The NHS Belongs to Us  
840 All’. *NHS* 2013.
- 841 [Rabeharisoa ()] ‘The struggle against neuromuscular diseases in France and the emergence of the ”partnership  
842 model” of patient organization’. V Rabeharisoa . *Social Science & Medicine* 2003. 57 p. .
- 843 [Collins and Evans ()] ‘The Third Wave of Science Studies: Studies of Expertise and Experience’. H M Collins ,  
844 R Evans . *Social Studies of Science* 2002. 32 (2) p. .
- 845 [Araujo Aureliano ()] ‘Trajetórias Terapêuticas Familiares: doenças raras hereditárias como sofrimento de  
846 longa duração’. W Araujo Aureliano . 10.1590/1413-81232018232.21832017. [https://doi.org/10.1590/](https://doi.org/10.1590/1413-81232018232.21832017)  
847 [1413-81232018232.21832017](https://doi.org/10.1590/1413-81232018232.21832017) *Ciência e Saúde Coletiva* 2018. 23 (2) .
- 848 [Dresser ()] *When science offers salvation. Patient advocacy and ethics*, R Dresser . 2001. Oxford: Oxford  
849 University Press.