Health Inequality in South Africa: A Systematic Review

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Abstract

This study presents a review of key empirical studies on health inequalities in South Africa with the aim of contributing to a comparative examination of social inequalities in health across different countries in Europe and other parts of the World. Studies reviewed were identified through a computerised search of key words such as inequalities, health, health inequalities, race, health in South Africa, health systems, socio-economic determinants of health and livelihoods in South Africa. Studies were included if the primary objective was to explore health inequality as a variable in child/adult mortality.

Keywords: Health inequality, race, child mortality, socio-economic conditions, South Africa

Résumé

Cette étude présente une revue des études empiriques clés sur les inégalités de santé en Afrique du Sud dans le but de contribuer à un examen comparatif des inégalités sociales de santé dans les différents pays d’Europe et d’autres parties du monde. Études examinées ont été identifiées par une recherche informatisée de mots clés tels que les inégalités, la santé, les inégalités en matière de santé, de la race, de la santé en Afrique du Sud, les systèmes de santé, les déterminants socio-économiques de la santé et les moyens de subsistance en Afrique du Sud. Des études ont été incluses si l’objectif principal était d’explorer la inégalités de santé comme une variable dans la mortalité des enfants/adultes

Mots-clés: inégalités de santé, la race, la mortalité infantile, les conditions socio-économiques, l’Afrique du Sud

Introduction

Research has shown that the health of the general population of a nation depends in part on access to health care, the major determinants of which range from the availability of health services to the quality and effectiveness of professionals and the financial resources to access general and specialised care by patients. Consequently, it is not surprising that policy makers, practitioners and other stakeholders in the global health sector should be concerned about the growing disparities in health especially, despite the intervention efforts by governments.

Researchers show that health inequalities are determined by a range of social factors such as; race, education, ethnicity, gender, geographical location and income amongst others, and these factors reflect on and affect other components of a health system, resulting in poor health outcomes, mortalities and financial losses. This is observed more in Low and Middle Income Countries where life expectancy varies between 36 to 57 years compared to 80 years in high income countries. In South Africa, life expectancy at birth is 61 years (South Africa’s life expectancy ranked 162 for females and 169 for males out of the 188 countries). Statistics reveal that health inequalities grew. This growth in health inequalities correspond to an increase in income inequalities. For example, income inequality in the country increased from 0.6 in 1994 to 0.679 in 2013. Of significance is the regional variation in health inequalities: for example, in the Western Cape Province where the white population in South Africa are mostly bused, health inequalities and indeed income inequalities are stark.

Generally, South Africa has a population of 51.77 million made up of different peoples with varied cultures and belief systems. The 2011 population census indicated that of the total population, black Africans make up the majority (79.2%) at 41.9 million followed by coloureds whose population is projected at 4.6million, then the whites also make up 8.9% at a total of 4.5 million while the population of Indians and Asians is estimated to be 2.5% of the general population at 1.3 million.

South Africa is multilingual with over eleven official languages being granted legal prominence as follows-Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga. Geographically, South Africa’s land mass is considered to be nearly one third of the size of the entire European Union. Economically, it is considered one of the fastest growing economies in the world by virtue of its gross domestic product and ranked the world’s 26th largest economy. In 2011, the greatest contributors to the GDP by sector were; services (65.9%), industry (31.6%) and agriculture (2.5%). And, by 2012, Statistics indicated that the GDP grew at a rate of 3.2% with education and health being allotted one third of the total state expenditure.
years of age or from grade one to nine. Available data from the 2011 census indicates that the ratio of those who have no formal education reduced from 17.9% to 8.6%. In terms of health expenditure, South Africa's is projected to be roughly 8.3% of GDP, slightly higher than the 5% endorsed by the WHO. Yet, inequalities in health persist and evident in health outcomes which are significantly poor compared to other developing countries.

Against this background, the aim of this paper is to provide an understanding of inequalities in health in the country. The paper provides a survey of empirical studies of health inequalities in South Africa with the chief aim of contributing to a comparative examination of social inequalities in health across different countries in Europe and other parts of the world. This paper puts findings from South Africa in context by comparing South Africa with Brazil and Europe in the hopes that doing so would improve understanding of determinants of health inequalities as well as provide insight on commonly used indicators. This review complements previous studies and adds to existing knowledge by providing easy access to a body of filtered and methodologically strong evidence of health inequalities in South Africa. By synthesising results of previous studies on health inequalities in South Africa, this review limits error and bias through identification and appraisal of relevant studies irrespective of design. Given the fact that this study forms part of a comparative examination of social inequalities in health across South Africa and Europe (European Social Survey), it is intended to serve as a stock taking review relative to a comparison of inequalities in health among minorities in Europe and South Africa, for the shaping of the proposed study.

Therefore, it is my utmost intention that this review would help in determining what is known about health inequalities in South Africa as well as help in establishing knowledge gaps in existing literature. And, by comparing South Africa with other countries, identified gaps could be used to shape further research on health inequalities in Europe and other countries. Although studies have shown that social inequalities in health is widening across social groups and races in South Africa as a result of the apartheid legacy. However, South Africa is not alone in this. Most studies on health inequalities in multi-racial and non-multiracial contexts have also indicated similar findings. When compared to Brazil and Australia, there is evidence that just like in South Africa inequality in health varies across geographical context and dimensions of social and economic class. National statistics suggests that in Australia, health inequalities are strongly linked with variations in access to education, living conditions in childhood, age, geographical location, ethnicity, race, socio-economic conditions and gender.

Using a range of demographics and social indicators such as health status, disability and deaths; utilization pattern and provision of health and welfare services, studies have shown that in Australia, while the general wellbeing of the population is relatively high when compared to most countries, health outcomes and indicators vary across sub-groups and populations within the country, particularly, among the aboriginal and Torres Strait Island population. Akin to South Africa, socially excluded or disadvantaged populations in Australia, irrespective of age and gender were mostly associated with lower health outcomes, more likely to suffer frequent ill health, engage in unhealthy behaviour, experience poor health services utilization, less likely to utilise preventive healthcare.

In Brazil, it is equally evident that social inequalities in health are comparable to that of South Africa. Demographically, both countries share similar characteristics history in terms of racial mix and history in the contexts of deprivation, stratification polarization and discrimination along racial/ethnic lines. While South Africa transited from apartheid rule to democracy in 1994, Brazil's transition from military dictatorship to democracy took place in 1988. Both countries transited into democracy as highly 'unequal' societies, scars from years of racial discrimination and legacies of inequalities as a result of despotic rule. Just like South Africa introduced post-apartheid welfare, social grants and 'inclusion' sensitive laws to protect and cover previously disadvantaged population, Brazil introduced similar policies in its health system by focusing more on preventive care for all citizens and ensuring equitable access to health services. However, regardless of Brazil's unified health system commonly known as S.U.S, which provides health coverage for all citizens, particularly low income earners, there is evidence of growing and persistent social disparities in health. And, these inequities are driven by educational attainment, race, socio-economic status, income and geographical location (rural-urban differentials and residential segregation based on class and earnings).

For instance, an investigation of healthy life expectancy, deprivation and variations in life expectancy among men in urban Rio Janeiro, Brazil indicated that life expectancy at birth among males living in cosmopolitan and wealthier residential areas were by far higher than those of males living at low cost residential areas and shantytowns. Similarly, life expectancy among the elderly population (both males and females) was significantly higher amongst those from opulent backgrounds and rich sectors compared to the poor. These findings are consistent with studies carried out in South Africa given the

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fact the issues that characterise social inequalities in health in Brazil reflect the contrasts of wealth and poverty as well as other complexities of social inequalities in South Africa.

**Part of discussion section**

I hope that this review would contribute to an understanding of the determinants of health inequalities in multiracial, highly unequal and developing societies like South Africa. It is also anticipated that comparing social indicators between Brazil and South Africa would contribute to and help in giving further insights on the determinants of health inequalities as well as putting findings from this review in a proper context. For instance, Brazil and South Africa are rapidly growing economies, members of the BRICs and while South Africa is currently ranked as a country with the highest inequality indexes, Brazil is ninth most unequal country in the world with Gini indexes of 66.0 and 52.7 respectively. Then again, in as much as South Africa and Brazil share certain similarities in terms of social indicators of health inequality such as self-reported risk factors, ill health, utilization pattern of health services and health behaviours, generally, there are explicit differences in terms of household income distribution where an average monthly household income for South African homes at R 2,400 was almost forty percent higher than that of poor Brazilians which is pegged at $100. Sixty five percent of South Africans dwell in Houses while only 13.6% live in shacks. 77% of South Africans have access to water from regional or local service provider. 85.3% have access to electricity. 65.8% of South Africans completed Grade 9 or higher.

**Method**

The method used for the review is essentially desk based with computerised search of Ebsco, Jstor, Medlink, Pubmed, google scholar, research.edu, Lancet, Riley, Uwc electronic data base, human science research council reports, Statistics South Africa, World Social Science report and other databases. Reference lists of included literatures were also searched for relevant information on evidence and determinants of health inequality in South Africa.

**Inclusion criteria**

The review focused on searching for titles, abstracts, abstracts and body of peer-reviewed literatures published in 1994 to date using terms such as ‘health inequality’, ‘health inequality’, ‘determinants of health’, ‘health inequities in South Africa’, socio-economic determinants of

Flow diagram: showing the inclusion and criteria and details of how studies were retrieved, filtered and reduced to suitable sources.

Studies with a mixed population of all racial/ethnic groups, various age groups, gender, income level, geographical locations (all provinces and residential areas) and socio-economic status were included in the search without language restrictions. Although selected studies had varying designs, methodologies and datasets; however, the focus was on outcomes that were indicative of the existence of health inequality and associated determinants in South Africa.

The search (conducted from June to November 2015) from the databases listed above turned up 4200 literatures. Out of the 4200 literatures, 100 were based on frequent citations. Out of those, 2600 were excluded because the outcomes were not indicative of the existence of health inequality and associated determinants. Abstracts of filtered articles were retrieved and most studies were further excluded because they did not contain methodologies, indicators and study results/outcomes. Out of the filtered studies, 335 were considered potentially appropriate for reviews. Further analysis was carried out to ensure they contained Title, methodology, year, authors, findings and focus of study. Out of that number, 335 studies were deemed appropriate but further excluded when findings and methodology as well as variables did not relate to health inequalities in South Africa. Out of the 335 studies that were considered usable, 275 had only abstracts
while the remaining 60 contained the full articles. Out of the 60 full articles that came up during the search for ‘inequality’ in South Africa, only twenty five original studies, using data sets from various yearly household surveys and World Bank data, met the inclusion criteria of ‘health’ inequality/inequity and determinants of health in South Africa. Total number of 25 studies were included because they contained usable and relevant information based on criteria (x=25).

Sub-thematic selection criteria (social indicators of inequality):

All selected literatures were subjected to sub-theme analysis based on their primary and secondary research findings/outcomes. Major themes used for sub group analysis included the following- health inequality induced or measured by race, ethnicity, adults, children; age; gender, socio-economic status; educational status; adult/infant mortality; employment status; living conditions; access to healthcare; use of health services; nutrition, hunger and access to food; electricity and clean water, living conditions, structural processes/ issues, geographical /residential location, urban-rural differentials and affordability of care.

After collating all relevant literatures based on the themes and inclusion criteria outlined above, in order to check for heterogeneity, the studies were further grouped into six categories for sub-group analysis:

a. The first comprised original studies and literatures on socio-economic determinants of health,

b. The second group was made up of studies that were based on paper/document review or policy analysis with historical dimensions of South Africa’s apartheid legacy and evidence of post-apartheid health inequality,

c. The third group comprised of studies that were related to access.

d. The fourth group was made up of comparative studies.

e. The fifth group included literatures that focused on the effects of migration on adult-mortality, morbidity and risk of diseases.

f. While the sixth group comprised studies that focused on evidence of inequality among children; infant mortality and economic status, nutrition, underweight and stunted growth among children as measures of health inequality.

Results and Discussion

The results of the systematic review is presented and discussed in this section starting with a summary and the Table containing the reviewed literature.

Summary of Results

1994- Studies conducted within this period focused on race groups, presented summary and evidence of health inequalities

2002- 2003 - Focused on discussing socio-economic determinants of health inequality among various racial/ethnic groups. The second study also mentioned ‘race’ as determinant of health inequality in South Africa.

2006- 2007 – focused on migration and its effect on health inequality; analysis of World development indicators such as child and adult mortality

2008- Focused on social/inclusion policies; structural issues/ processes that exclude disadvantaged people (disadvantaged people here meant people of low socio-economic status); determinants of health and trends – analysis of socio-economic policies

2009 – Addressed mechanism that could be used in dealing with the inequities of the past (apartheid legacy); Mentioned race as determinant and suggested pro-poor policies such as child support and health care as the key mechanisms.

2010- paid attention to social exclusion as determinants of health inequality but did not really elucidate or give a precise definition of the ‘socially excluded’; the second literature focused on age as a determinant of health inequality

2011- Focused on access to healthcare by analysing socio-economic status, race/ethnicity, household disparities. Other studies conducted in 2011 tend to focus on socio-economic determinants of health inequality but then, specifically on ‘race and ethnicity’. However, given the nature of the South African society, which is slowly dealing with the inequities of the past (a form of racial segregation known as apartheid that is characterised by a general economic binary of white as economically well-off and blacks /coloured/Indians as economically poor) black South Africans are majority numerically, but constitute low-socio-economic group, and the findings reflect their experience irrespective of whether they as in socio economic groups.

2012- Focused on evidence of health inequality among children
The observed inequalities were mostly due to the racial residential segregation and disparities in incomes. This shows that lower earnings which tend to affect their access to quality health care, poor people are more prone to all kinds of diseases. Authors proposed taking intersectoral action to tackle health inequality in South Africa.

The study detected inequalities and significant differences in the availability of infrastructure amongst least poor and most poor families. There was also evidence of major disparities in all measured child health outcomes. Within same sample, it was observed that disease (HIV) transmission was higher among children from poor families compared to their more affluent counterparts. Notably, Immunisation concentration technique to identify factors that determine inequalities in health inequity and how Social determinants of inequalities are being taught in universities across South Africa.

Trend analysis used data from previous national survey and compared changes in disease burden and patterns among socio economic groups. In addition, black residential areas seemed to be mostly affected by poor socio-economic inequalities. While children who live under Poor socio-economic conditions have a higher tendency of being exposed to ill health and diseases do not have timely access to quality health care services.

The study focused on various aspects of inequality among children in South Africa by first, delineating poverty and inequality, then went on to highlight a number of interconnected dimensions of inequality among children.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
<th>Focus/Methods</th>
<th>Findings/Results</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J P Ruger and H - J Kim (2006)</td>
<td>Economic Growth and Inequality in South Africa</td>
<td>Analyzed data from the World Development Indicators 2003 database to compile data by the World Bank.</td>
<td>Bivariate and multiple regression analysis indicated that 19 countries that had high adult mortality and the 23 with high infant mortality were located Sub-Saharan, Western Africa and Afghanistan. Ruger and Kim's analysis showed that moderate rates of extreme poverty, coupled with populations living in rural areas and female illiteracy.</td>
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<td>Bradshaw D. (2008)</td>
<td>Determinants of Health and Their Trends</td>
<td>Reviewed post-apartheid determinants of health and changes in health in South Africa.</td>
<td>Findings indicated general post-apartheid economic growth which was directly related to socio-economic policies and seemed to impact positively on living conditions by improving access to basic social amenities. Although, access to water, sanitation and electricity was relatively poor in certain parts of the country. Disparities in health were attributed to mainly to growing inequality in wealth in the country which also reflected in other aspects of life such as food and hunger, living / working condition, education and social cohesion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rapelje L C MB, Daniels S. (2008)</td>
<td>South African Case Study on Social Exclusion</td>
<td>The study focused on 3 different concepts and policies of social exclusion: the effects of those ideas on well-being, as well as potential policies that could tackle the process of exclusion while reducing the inherent impact of inequality in health.</td>
<td>Qualitative method: informant interviews. While a good number of social exclusion policies in South Africa focus on dealing with the legacy of apartheid, there is still evidence of growing inequalities at both macro and micro levels which calls for a measurement of the exact scale of health inequalities in the country. This study also suggested that health inequality in South Africa is as a result of structural issues / processes that tend to exclude disadvantaged people. Social exclusion increases chances of people having higher health risks. Authors suggested further research and collective inter-sectoral actions towards measuring the full scale and gradients of health inequality in South Africa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sartorius B, Kahn K, Wostmann P, Collinson MA, Tollman SM. 2010.</td>
<td>Space and Time Clustering of Mortality in Rural South Africa (1992-2007).</td>
<td>Focused on examining causal risk factors for diseases.</td>
<td>Findings indicated that racial exclusion was a major determinant of Health among the sample population. Migrants have a tendency to live far away from labour markets, healthcare facilities and without proper access to sanitation and electricity, hence, their living standard is relatively low and often results in poor health outcomes. Generally, adult and child mortality rates among migrants (Mozambicans) was relatively higher than those of South Africans. The focus here was on racial determinants of health in rural areas. Excluded urban areas and did not highlight the cultural composition (black Africans, whites, coloureds or Indians) of the sample population. The study indicated that when compared to South Africans, migrants (Mozambicans) faced higher health risks due to ethnic/racial residential segregation which makes it difficult for most migrants to live close to social and health facilities. Immigration could possibly be a causal factor of poor health outcomes and in the long run, health inequality.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Welaga P. (2006).</td>
<td>The Impact of Migration on Adult Mortality in Rural South Africa: Do people migrate into rural areas to die?</td>
<td>The link between immigration and adult mortality in South Africa.</td>
<td>The study showed that Migration is a significant determinant of adult mortality. Findings showed that survey participants who moved to places outside the survey site, surveillance area to seek residency in surveillance area (external migrants) faced bigger risk of death paralleled to those that were permanently resident in the HDSS survey site. The study generally shows that short term migrants and people who migrated more often had a higher tendency of facing HIV related death than those residents who rarely migrated.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Authors</td>
<td>Study Title</td>
<td>Methods</td>
<td>Results/Findings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clark SJ, Collinson MA, Kahn K, Drellinger K, Colliman SM (2007)</td>
<td>The study formed part of literature on socio-economic determinants of mental health within a residential group in South Africa.</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>Mental illness has been considered a factor of healHere, Gender, income, educational achievement and economic opportunities were cited as the key determinants of mental health. And, mental health has been quoted as a common health disorder among social and economic minorities. This study raises valid questions about the possibility that residential segregation along racial / ethnic lines and economic status might be the major cause of ethnic / racial health inequality in South Africa. This is based on the fact that other studies have associated neighbourhood context with poor health outcomes and other health disorders which seem to be common among socially excluded groups.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Havenerar J, Geelings M, Vivian L, Collinon M, Robertson B.</td>
<td>Common mental health problems in historically disadvantaged urban and rural communities in South Africa: prevalence and risk factors.</td>
<td>Cross sectional study</td>
<td>Results from the study indicated that poor people (those who earn lesser income) and those with low educational qualifications faced higher risks of suffering mental disorder in the sub district (rural) of Agincourt, whereas, in the semi-urban location of Khayelitsha, unemployment particularly amongst females posed a higher risk.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ng N, Kowal P, Kahn K, Naidoo N, Abdallah S, Bawah A, (2010)</td>
<td>Health inequalities among older men and women in South Africa and Asia: evidence from eight Health and Demographic Surveillance System sites in the INDEPTH WHO-SAGE Study. Glob Health Action</td>
<td>Longitudinal Analysis</td>
<td>Generally, the study showed that older men have better self-reported health than older women. There were visible variations in socio-economic factors such as age, marital status, household socio-economic status, educational status and living arrangements. In addition, it was noted that various health fields such as pain, sleep and wellbeing contributed inversely to the general health ranking for men and women in each country.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bronwyn Harris, Jane Gredega, John E Angsba, Diane McIntyre, Norhalshita Nusmakal, Snybonga Jibrama and Matthew Cherich (2011)</td>
<td>Inequities in access to health care in South Africa</td>
<td>Household survey using national data</td>
<td>The study showed that socioeconomic status, race / ethnicity, medical insurance status, and residential / demographic location (urban-rural) were linked with access to health care. Results further showed that all those mostly affected by poor access to care, poor people, rural dwellers, uninsured and black Africans faced the greatest barriers access to care. Private spending (out of pocket) expenditures on health in South Africa is high among poor people. In addition, the existing information gaps regarding utilization payments and government policies seem to women access / challenge.</td>
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<tr>
<td>McIntyre, Di &amp; Lucy Gilson (2002)</td>
<td>Putting equity in health back onto the social policy agenda: experience from South Africa.</td>
<td>Focuses on stirring up debates around improvements in health inequalities reduction in South Africa, and also attempts to shape a general understanding and usage of the concept equity in a comparatively limited manner.</td>
<td>The study showed that the differences in human development in South Africa could be attributed to the apartheid legacy of racially inequitable socio-economic policies. In addition, post-apartheid, South Africa has made headway with social policies that could facilitate or constrain health equity progress—such policies include but not limited to: increased access to housing, water and sanitation services. The paper concluded that health equity goals are critically dependent on the central involvement of the disadvantaged in decision-making about who should receive priority, what services should be delivered and how equity-promoting initiatives should be implemented.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Benatar S (2013)</td>
<td>The challenges of health disparities in South Africa</td>
<td>The socio-economic factors that influence health in South Africa.</td>
<td>Policy analysis—National Health Insurance. The key determinants of an individual’s health start at the mental, physical and nutritional well-being of the pregnant woman at conception and childbirth then continue throughout the life span of the child. Maternal literacy and well-being influence the socio-economic status of the child and contributes in a great measure to improved access to nutrition, sanitation and better housing and living conditions which are factors that improve or limit good health outcome. Although living conditions have improved reasonably since the end of apartheid in 1994, free market structure and rapid urbanisation has resulted in the movement of human resources for health to metropolitan cities and urban areas. In addition, structural anomalies such as corruption, poor resource allocation, lack of synergy between public and private health sector, poor management of public health services have extended health and income disparities.</td>
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Health inequality in South Africa was highly influenced by racial residential segregation and differed by race/ethnicity as well as geographical region. For example, KwaZulu Natal had higher mortalities, Western Cape province had lesser. Within Western Cape province, those in the metropolitan suburbs had relatively lower mortalities, the people in Khayelitsha a sub district, had higher mortalities. Between 1994 and 2008, Black Africans recorded poorer health outcomes (higher mortalities) compared to whites and Indians.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) &amp; Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. (1994)</th>
<th>A National Household Survey of Health Inequalities in South Africa</th>
<th>This national survey focused on assessing the extent of health inequality and progress made in reducing determining factors post-apartheid by evaluating the following aspects of health and quality of life in South Africa: Demographic data, child and reproductive health, barriers to healthcare, quality of healthcare, satisfaction with healthcare, Public Health Situation, Site of Care, Chronic Health Conditions.</th>
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<td>African Sociological Review</td>
<td>National household survey.</td>
<td>When compared to whites and Indians/Asians, black African population in South Africa suffered the highest form of socio-economic deprivations. The high level of deprivation among the black African population was evident in the following variables: Poverty, public health conditions, living conditions such as housing, sanitation and access to drinking water. Overall, poor living conditions and poor public health made black Africans most vulnerable to ill health resulting in higher mortality. The study found that physical and emotional health are thoroughly interwoven; individuals who were unhappy or worried about their socio-economic status/wellbeing were more likely to suffer anxiety, depression/mental health disorders and poor health compared to those who were satisfied with their socio-economic status. Furthermore, the study showed that among whites, irrespective of their residential or geographical location, there was minimal variation in access to health care, or utilisation patterns. However, majority of the black African population and Indians who lived in KwaZulu Natal, Eastern Cape and other rural/majority non-urban areas had higher poverty level and poorer access to social amenities and health care.</td>
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<td>StasSA (2011)</td>
<td>Use of health facilities and levels of selected health conditions in South Africa</td>
<td>There are significant variations in access to healthcare among various racial groups in South Africa. Access and quality of care varies not just by race but by provinces, geographical and residential location. Access to quality healthcare is further influenced by race, income, gender, and socio-economic status. Beyond race and income, the biggest determinant of health inequality and residential location was educational attainment. Black African households who had 'heads' with higher degrees were more likely to earn higher and live in better neighbourhoods than those who had lesser degrees but earned much more than the minimum wage. 70% of black African children live in rural areas and face tougher socio-economic challenges at birth compared to whites and Indians who are born with better opportunities (this trend has been named as one of the legacies of apartheid). Among the older population, Black Africans and coloureds were more likely to suffer decline in health and mental health issues associated with apartheid compared to whites.</td>
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This study corroborates previous studies from CARE - majority of black African South Africans and coloureds live in areas and provinces where access to health and amenities remain a challenge years after apartheid. When compared to whites, Indians and coloureds who lived in KwaZulu Natal and Western Cape either lived close to amenities, had better means of transportation, medical aid and when they do not live close to amenities, can afford health/social services from the private sector.
The report presents historical dimensions of racial and gender as associated macroeconomic and socioeconomic milieus of health. Once again, there is an allusion to structural processes and apartheid legacy as fundamental determinants of health inequality in the country. Racial and gender discrimination, the migrant labour system, the destruction of family life, vast income inequalities, and extreme violence have all formed part of South Africa's troubled past, and all have inexorably affected health and health services most service providers and medical insurers in that sector still live out the country's apartheid legacy by directly or indirectly serving a particular racial (whites) and socio economic (higher income earners) groups, to the detriment of low income earners who are mostly black African population and tend to utilize and patronise the public sector more often. Users perception of general healthcare services in South Africa reflects that the healthcare system is polarised along racial/ethnic lines where black Africans and coloureds tend to use public health sector more frequently compared to Indians and whites who prefer the private sector. The racial/ethnic divides are traceable in and tend to influence other socio economic aspects such as income, residential locations. Living condition, social cohesion and food security by race/ethnicity subsequently improved significantly, especially for black African and Coloureds, as employment status improved.

A national household survey with focus on use of healthcare across public and private sectors. Data for the survey was collected yearly between 1993 and 1999 by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA).

A comparison of health outcomes relative to income flow across all racial/ethnic groups in South Africa indicated that although the private sector currently plays an important role in the South African health system, most service providers and medical insurers in that sector still live out the country's apartheid legacy by directly or indirectly serving a particular racial (whites) and socio economic (higher income earners) groups, to the detriment of low income earners who are mostly black African population and tend to utilize and patronise the public sector more often. Users perception of general healthcare services in South Africa reflects that the healthcare system is polarised along racial/ethnic lines where black Africans and coloureds tend to use public health sector more frequently compared to Indians and whites who prefer the private sector. The racial/ethnic divides are traceable in and tend to influence other socio economic aspects such as income, residential locations. Living condition, social cohesion and food security by race/ethnicity subsequently improved significantly, especially for black African and Coloureds, as employment status improved.
The study examines the burdens and effects of health care commercialisation in South Africa. It concludes that health inequality increases as health care becomes more commercialised.

Within the context of health inequality, the challenge is to understand how globalisation and inequality were manifested in the healthcare system. The study did not provide a detailed analysis of research results by country. However, findings showed that the South African health situation in South Africa is divided along racial lines, with white and black communities having different health outcomes. The economic system is divided along racial lines, with the disadvantaged communities experiencing poor health care and higher mortality rates.

The study and analysis was based on old data that was collected in 1993. There is a possibility that the data may have changed and not be descriptive of the investigated variables. This study upholds findings from other studies that geographical area and race were the fundamental determinants of health inequality in South Africa, outside gender and income. The study also validates previous studies that major variables associated with health inequality such as malnutrition and stunting diminish significantly as a family's income or socio-economic status increases.

Systematic observations of the impacts of globalisation on poverty, inequality and systems of social protection; comparative study of Mali, China and South Africa. Empirical evidence of poverty, inequality and systems of social protection in South Africa are in line with evidence from other studies.

Eyob Zere and Diane McIntyre (2003) showed the membership of black and coloured children (the historically most disadvantaged) are still utterly disadvantaged with appalling evidence of income inequities and residential segregation between them and whites, as well as high rates of stunting and underweight in rural compared to metropolitan areas and rural-urban income differential.

Results showed that stunting was the commonest form of malnutrition across all social groups in the country but highly prevalent amongst under-five children in provinces (Eastern Cape & Northern Cape) with higher rates of poverty. However, while no form of malnutrition was found amongst coloured children, malnutrition amongst black children was inversely associated with household income. Across provinces, children from well-off families were better off compared to those from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Data on the sample population (3765 under-children) was collected from the Living Standards and Development Survey in South Africa. The socio-economic status of households was measured in terms of their income, expenditure and residence. The survey was conducted jointly by the South African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) and the World Bank in 1993. The study focuses on quantifying health inequalities in South Africa by measuring the scale of inequalities in malnutrition of under-five kids that are attributable to socio-economic status. It evaluates and enumerates the extent of socio-economic inequalities in health outcomes in South Africa.

The survey and analysis was based on old data that was collected from the Living Standards and Development Survey (LSDS) of 1993, annual statistical publications of provincial health departments and the October Household Survey (OHS) series (OHS 1995 and OHS 1998) that are conducted annually by Statistics South Africa. The study focuses on quantifying health inequalities in South Africa by measuring the scale of inequalities in health outcomes. It evaluates and enumerates the extent of socio-economic inequalities in healthcare use by considering that in the context of health inequalities, the challenge of affordability is worsened by some instances that are negatively social cohesion.

The study confirms findings from the World Bank that the health inequality in South Africa is determined by provincial and residential locations. Residents of poor, mostly non-urban and rural provinces are more likely to suffer poor health and health inequality than those of same race and socio-economic status living in richer and more urban provinces. This study confirms findings from the 1994/95 survey by CARE on behalf of Kaiser family that health inequality in South Africa is determined by provincial and residential locations. Residents of poor, mostly non-urban and rural provinces are more likely to suffer poor health and health inequality than those of same race and socio-economic status living in richer and more urban provinces.

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Studies of Health Inequalities in South Africa: Overview

In South Africa, inequality is greater today than at the end of apartheid, Oxfam (2014). Studies by the World Bank (2012) have shown that health inequalities in SA are influenced by various factors such as educational level, income, race, gender, geographical or residential location and these factors vary among different age groups and geographical location. Agatuba et al (2011) and Gakidou (2000) defined health inequalities as the variations in health status across individuals in the population. Regardless of the operational definition or dimensions of analysis, inequality remains one of the most debated issues on the South African socio-political agenda and one that draws attention to the Country’s economic growth which apparently has not impacted much on the welfare of the people. Inequalities in health has been associated with a broad range of poor health outcomes for minority, socially excluded and disadvantaged groups16. High mortality rates, poverty and race have also been mentioned as some of the common issues associated with variations in health among various socio-economic and racial/ethnic groups in South Africa.

What is evident in the literature is that the end of apartheid in the 1990s saw the introduction of a dispersal system where the health system was overhauled to close the inequality gaps in the distribution of health/social services and resources. However although these system reforms and introduction of primary health care may have made inroads in some aspects, it has been associated with disparities among previously disadvantaged people and highly regarded as the intractable legacies of the apartheid rule17.

Other studies18 examining post-apartheid poverty and inequalities in South Africa among racial/ethnic population also reported a high level of income inequality at the racial / provincial level, particularly among black South Africans and Western Cape coloured population19. These studies suggested that health inequalities, low access to healthcare services, income inequalities and poverty among the black population and coloured in the country were increasing at an alarming rate and had prevailed given the fact that post-apartheid government in South Africa focused more on increasing the country’s GDP(economic growth) rather than taking pro poor income redistribution measures.

Even though the reasons for the prevalence of health inequities among previously excluded people (black South Africans) remain poorly understood, some studies have attributed it to structural processes while others suggested that at birth, most blacks are born without economic opportunities20. It has been hypothesized that governance deficit, the structure of the South African health system; provincial healthcare stewardship, policy implementation and financial management are significantly associated with health inequalities sin the country. A similar position has been adopted by Gelb (2003)21 & Coovadia et al (2009)22 which suggests that health inequalities in South Africa could be traced to governance deficit and apartheid polarization of the country along ethnic and racial lines which post- apartheid government had failed to adequately address. Coovadia et al suggested that post-apartheid government was weak and often executing poor policies that have led to the implementation of macroeconomic policies and the promotion of economic growth rather than redistribution, thereby contributing to the persistence of fiscal inequalities among racial/ethnic groups even with increases in social grants.

Another study suggested that ideological supports, systemic lapses, health sector structural conditions and weak policies have deepened health inequalities resulting in provinces with white majority receiving more healthcare funding and having better access compared to provinces with black majority where access to health services are generally inadequate23. Stuckler et al (2011) revealed that provinces with better spending capacities are more likely to receive funding than those with greater disease burden/health needs given the fact that those who spend their budgetary allocation tend to build more infrastructure and often have tangible output to show for the expenses.

Another researcher argued that inequitable disbursements and expenditure patterns compared to health needs as well as operational inefficiencies and shortage of bio medical personnel in public health facilities have aggravated health inequities in the country, Harrison (2009)24. Considering the hypothesis that the South African health system funding is tilted in support of provinces/regions with absorptive spending capacities (an apartheid legacy), it would not be out of place to suggest that the general structure of the health system could likely be the core driver of health inequalities in the country.

While most of the hypotheses presented above were based on thorough analysis of imprecise health-related indices and policies, The 2008 NDIS survey provides a report similar to most of the expressed hypothesis and positions. The study reported that 45% of black South Africans did not have satisfactory healthcare coverage, whereas, only 1% whites had inadequate coverage. A similar submission by Gradin (2013) agrees that years after apartheid rule, the percentage of blacks who lived in deprivation was far greater than whites. For instance, 30% of black South Africans in 2008 lived in informal residences, 47

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20 Woolard.
% did not own refrigerators, 34% did not have television, 32% did not own radios while 2/3 did not have access to pipe borne water in their homes and sourced water outside, compared to 5.5% of whites who lived in informal settlements, 6% did not own television, 7% did not have refrigerators while 18 percent did not own radios. Generally, fewer than 2% of whites did not have all three of these appliances in their homes; while 12% of Black South Africans lacked the three appliances. These figures by Gradin (2013) sum up the determining factors of health inequalities in South Africa as evident from previous studies which subsequently prompts the question of how these results from South Africa compare with results and statistical indicators from other regions like Brazil and Europe?

Comparing health inequalities in South Africa, Brazil and Europe:

Health inequalities are determined by a range of social factors such as; socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, education, gender, geographical location and income amongst others, and these factors reflect on and affect other components of a health system, resulting in poor health outcomes, mortalities and financial losses: As such, becomes a concern of global, regional and national policy makers and agencies implementing health related projects and actions. However, even though there is a growing body of evidence documenting inequalities in health distribution and access to health services in South Africa, there seems to be no consensus on what the major social indicators and determinants of health and access to health care should be25. Besides, even though a number of studies present comparative analysis of health systems, there is limited cross-national analysis and systematic reviews of health inequalities in high and medium income countries. Consequently, in order to identify, pre-filter and document evidence of health inequalities, major determinants, similarities and differences among various populations and groups in high versus middle income countries, this section of the paper will compare health inequalities in South Africa, Brazil and the EU member states.

Although this review will not pay particular attention to the comparison of ethnic minorities versus rural areas in South Africa, Brazil and EU, the follow up to this (proposed ESS study in South Africa) paper would be operationalised thus: The comparison would be between black South Africans as the majority versus Asians, Whites, Indians, and African immigrants as minorities. In the EU, the comparison would be between indigenous Europeans as majority and immigrants as the minorities. The study would also present detailed analysis of all ethnic and minority groups in Africa and immigrants in the EU for a comparative understanding of existing health disparities within the minority groups and possible explanations for such variations.

Although there have been improved international, regional and national level policies aimed at closing the inequality gaps in health between 2000 and 2014, World Bank statistics show that income and health inequalities in South Africa and Brazil remain one of the highest globally26. For example, large percentage of the majority of the population (mostly black) in South Africa still does not have access to health services twenty years after the apartheid rule. Similarly, despite the notable and outstanding success rate of Brazil’s national health system, Sistema Unico de Saude-SUS, majority of Brazils rural population do not have access to health services and medicines27.

In addition, just as health inequalities statistics in SA differs across geographical provinces, the same holds in Brazil. In the predominantly white Western Cape Province (mostly urban and richer) of South Africa, maternal mortality figures reflect 27 per 1000 births while in the predominantly black Eastern Cape (mostly non-urban); the figures are 70 per 100030. Similarly, in Brazil, the North east has extreme levels of poverty coupled with stunting in children and high infant mortality ratios while the mostly urban areas of south and south east Brazil recorded lower mortality ratios and stunting in children29. Just like in South Africa, inequalities in health in Brazil are driven by factors such as socioeconomic status, living conditions, ethnicity, geographical location and gender. In both countries, poverty, income, residential segregation (for people living in same province), geographic location (rural-urban differentials) educational status, health insurance, gender, and socio-economic condition at birth contribute in great measures to inequalities in health30.

Generally, inequalities in health in both South Africa and Brazil tend to be more prominent at the secondary and preventive care level given the fact that both countries operate pro-poor health systems where primary care is universal and free at public facilities, making it easier for low income earners to gain access to care. Yet, in terms of secondary care, long waiting times, delayed consultation with bio medical personnel and lack of health insurance contribute to inequities experienced by low income earners at this level. Furthermore, while most low income earners in both countries have low access to health insurance, research has shown that they have greater need for healthcare and ironically, lesser access to and utilization of healthcare services31.

Apart from Brazil and South Africa, inequalities in access to healthcare keeps widening, affecting health outcomes globally, even in developed countries32. Beyond its effect on

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26 World Bank (2014) World Development Indicators.
29 Opec
31 opcit
health outcomes, inequalities account for over one third of the world’s urban population living in slums and poor conditions. In financial terms, in the European Union as a whole, health inequalities-related fatalities account for more than 700,000 deaths annually, and over 33 million dominant cases of ill-health\textsuperscript{37}. While inequalities related losses have led to financial and resource damages in the EU to the tune of nine hundred and eighty billion euro (€980 billion) per year. Additionally, when valued as consumption good\textsuperscript{34}, the losses are evident in taxes and loss of productivity due to ill health, which are estimated at 9.5% of the annual GDP in the EU.

Throughout low and middle income countries, life expectancy varies between 36 to 57 years, whereas in high-income countries, it is 80\textsuperscript{35}. Generally from 2000 to 2010, inequalities in life expectancy at birth amongst EU countries diminished by 10 % for women but only by 3% for men. Correspondingly, infant mortalities reduced between EU countries and same in South Africa. Yet, other dimensions of health inequities such as income and educational levels keep increasing across borders, within countries and amongst ethnicities/sub populations.

A World Bank report\textsuperscript{36} published in 2012 on health inequalities in SA revealed that the variances in life opportunities for children in South African were largely due to factors that range from household income, gender to location and race. Likewise, a 2013 study revealed that across the EU, and in virtually all member countries, the self-reported level of health was worse for those with lesser income and educational levels than those with high incomes and education\textsuperscript{37}. These figures reflect widening health inequalities in SA and the EU that could be traced to socio-economic factors although the exact scale and reasons for these disparities has not been accurately estimated particularly among minority groups.

**Determinants of health inequality in South Africa**

The evidence of health inequality and determinants of health inequality among minority groups in South Africa was investigated in 25 existing literatures. Of all analysed literatures, provided evidence of health inequality in South Africa; seven studies discussed and analysed historical dimensions of health inequality in South Africa; two studies examined the effect of migration on adult mortality; an additional two studies examined health inequality among children; another two studies were comparative studies of South Africa and other countries in Asia and Europe (Bulgaria and Switzerland) while eleven studies examined the socio-economic determinants of health inequality in South Africa.

Of the eleven studies that addressed socio-economic determinants of health, nine analysis reported that infant/adult mortality, self-reported ill-health, disease burden, use of health services, geographical/residential location, race, public health condition, living conditions and income were associated with and highly influenced health. Of these eleven studies, seven analyses found that out of all racial/ethnic groups, black South Africans, uninsured people, females, children, rural/non-urban dwellers, residents of poor provinces/neighbourhoods and unemployed people were mostly affected by the determinants of health. While all the studies found a significant association between the socio-economic statuses of black South Africans with health inequality, two analyses found a minimal association between the health of coloureds and residential location (within the metropolitan areas); two analyses found imprecise association between the health of Indians, geographical location and use of health services, while no form of inequality was observed among whites of all ages and gender living in Gauteng and other provinces.

Two studies suggested that race, educational status and gender significantly influenced access to and use of health services which were used as measurable dimensions of health inequality in those studies. Only one study submitted that race and socio-economic conditions of the mother during pregnancy and the child at birth could influence health in adulthood. Thus, evidence of health inequality and socio-economic determinants of health were obvious.

The evidence of health inequality and its determinants in South Africa were the focal points of this study. And, given the apartheid legacy of inequalities in income distribution and dispersal of social infrastructures in the country, two analyses attributed growing inequalities in health to income inequality which is associated with the free market policy of post-apartheid government; Van et al (2014). This free market policy has been accountable for widening inequalities in income within racial groups and has ultimately rubbed off on health, thereby, necessitating timely interventions in the form of pro-poor policies.

Generally, the methodologies of all included 25 literatures differed given the fact that they studied different variables. However, the outcomes and findings presented, indicated similar evidence and consensus on the existence of health inequality in South Africa, post –apartheid. For example, Hirschowitz et al (1995) assessed selected variables that are descriptive of inequality and found evidence that Black South Africans were still marginalised in terms of access and use of healthcare services. In all studies, morbidity, self-reported ill-health of selected health conditions, living conditions, race, income and geographical locations featured prominently, however, neither of the studies delved deeper into the causes of all self-reported health conditions noticed in all social/racial groups. For instance, Ataguba (2011) observed that there was prevalence of stroke and diabetes (disease of the affluent) among poor people but did not provide further
explanations for this incident among poor people who are mostly black South Africans.

Results from all studies could not be pooled based on the fact that the study designs and sample populations differ significantly. Moreover, the use of various variables as dimensions of health inequality presents a core challenge in measuring health inequality among minority groups in South Africa given that fact that observed indices in one social/racial group might be different and not visible in another racial group. Although there was consensus regarding the existence of health inequality and its social determinants in South Africa, fitting the variables used in original studies was quite challenging since methodologies and datasets differed greatly and could hardly be quantified.

Given the fact that only literatures and articles which mentioned health inequality and factors that influence inequities in health in South Africa were selected, it limited the scope and sample size. While this review applied a rigorous selection / inclusion process, the major limitation is the fact that due to time constrain and protocols regarding copyright / permission for use of most print materials, most print materials and unpublished national surveys within the context of health inequality were excluded.

Out of all the studies, the most frequently cited determinants of health were race, structural processes, poverty, income and geographical / residential location. In addition, gender, employment opportunities, socio-economic status, educational attainment, living conditions and medical insurance were mentioned. A regression analysis of studies revealed significant differences of (p< 0.01) in terms of selection of variables and methods as well as several perspectives on determinants of health inequality in South Africa. However, in spite of the heterogeneity across studies, the combined agreement / consensus on the evidence of widening health inequality among (previously excluded or disadvantaged) black South Africans and poor people was 88%.

An evaluation of research methods, study samples and variables indicated that geographical location was significantly associated with health. However, 30% of the studies that were specific to particular provinces or conducted in the rural areas did not have the right mix of all racial/ethnic and socio-economic groups. Only those studies conducted with national data could perhaps, be said to have representative samples of all racial/ethnic groups. Most of the studies ignored rural-urban differentials in their conclusions and this factor alone, was considerably associated with the variability of health inequality among people of same race/ethnicity (blacks, coloureds and Indians) except whites.

Literatures that focused on analysis of policies and policy documents from 1994 till early 2000s found significant association between redistribution of wealth, social grants or increased income with variables like race, living conditions, sanitation, malnutrition (underweight, stunted growth), hunger, gender and age. Surprisingly, studies conducted in the context of policy analysis related, without clearly defined variables and sample population were significantly associated with determinants of health inequality among poor people, older people, children and women.

Neither studies using previously collected yearly national survey data or those using World Bank data revealed significant variances in their results. Studies using national survey data from 1994 to 2003 were significantly associated with socio-economic determinants of inequality while those from 2006 till 2014 indicated higher association with emerging trends (such as access to healthcare, mortality rates and prevalence of diseases among adults and children of all races/ethnicities) and the role of social processes as drivers of health inequality in South Africa.

Geographic location / racial residential segregation were also linked with major differences in health among black South Africans resident in Gauteng / rural or non-urban areas and that of coloureds in the Western Cape and those in other metropolitan suburbs. There were significant variations in health and socio-economic determinants or Estimates from blacks and coloureds that had lived longer or permanently in urban areas than those who lived in sub-districts, non-urban/rural areas or recently migrated to the suburbs for economic reasons.

Conclusions

The systematic review of literatures reveals what can be highlighted as follows:

Evidence of health inequality among black South Africans, coloureds and Indians; analysis indicated 75% of black South Africans were more affected compared to coloureds and Indians.

Limited evidence of health inequality among whites; infants and older people

Although the methods, variables and samples differed, the results of all analysed studies were similar and reinforced the notion that 21 years after apartheid and the introduction of social grants, health inequality exists in South Africa.

Heterogeneity and variances in methods and measured variables in analysed studies reflect lack of consensus on acceptable measures/indices of health inequality.

Poor research on inequality in health related issues among ethnic minorities beyond provincial and urban/rural differentials.

No significant variation in health was noticed among whites regardless of their provincial / residential location. Besides, the only apparent explanation might be the association between the socio-economic status of whites at birth and the apartheid rule which had favoured whites over blacks and coloureds and still continues due to structural processes that tend to replicate the apartheid system.

In terms of health inequality being associated with income, years after apartheid rule, the legacy lives on and reflects in wage structure which appears to follow existing racial lines by maintaining a higher remuneration for whites who have higher chances of being employed with return to education estimated at 43%, compared to their black counterparts with similar qualifications who settle for lesser wages due to low employment
opportunities and approximate return to education as low as 7%. From the foregoing it is evident that using same demographics and given same opportunities/choices open to whites, inequality rates among Black South Africans reduced considerably. However, even though race, income and education score high as major influencers of health and health seeking behaviour, factors such as fertility rates, family background, religious/cultural beliefs and large number of children/households tended to influence health (inequalities) amongst blacks (African descents and coloureds) at all socio economic levels compared to whites and Indians/Asians.

The implication of the observed trend of general inequality on health in South Africa is that between races, inequality exists, is on the rise and explains poor health outcomes, low access to health services and health seeking behaviours amongst racial groups. And, within sub populations, health inequalities among black South African population is highest compared to whites and Indians/Asians and has increased significantly post-apartheid. Moreover, health inequality within residential locations has increased resulting in rural areas being disadvantaged in terms of availability of health resources/personnel due to health workers migrating to the urban areas and inequity in provision of health services as well as financing by the government being channelled towards urban areas where migrants/workers with higher earnings live and are able to pay/utilise services.

The concepts of ‘literacy rate (illiteracy)’ and ‘income/earning differentials’ amongst others, have been used by scholars to structure the challenges that characterise inequalities in South Africa which are direct results of limited opportunities and racial/ethnic discriminations brought about by the apartheid legacy. Some of the effects of limited opportunities and racial discriminations include illiteracy, poverty, poor living conditions, racial residential segregation, mental health, maternal and infant mortalities, low health insurance coverage, poor access to health services and medicines, discrimination in health settings, disparities in quality of treatments and infectious diseases. Much worse is the fact that beyond racial differences, illiteracy and low income limit socio economic development of minority groups, increases chances of them living in poor conditions/unsafe vicinities where they are likely to pick up infectious diseases (faster than their more privileged counterparts who are born with better opportunities) and, in the case where they are able to access public health facilities, they are prone to experience disparities in treatment as well as other forms of discriminations in health settings.

The recent health inequality related protests by public health personnel and COSATU over the two-tier health system where tax rebates and other forms of government funding are channelled into the private health sector which services 8.5% of the population, majority of whom are whites compared with low funding of public health sector that caters for the health needs of over 43.8 million people who are mostly blacks. There are speculations that this trend in health inequalities represents a new form of economic apartheid where health affordability by the rich is being wielded as a weapon of oppression comparable to racial apartheid where whites oppressed blacks. Moreover, health inequalities in South Africa are divided not just along racial lines but by gender and residential areas. Within the racially disadvantaged groups, black women are more likely to be affected by inequalities in health. In addition, those in sub districts within metropolitan cities tend to face similar challenges as those in rural areas who patronise public health facilities. In addition, among the white population, White south African males over the age of 45 are the worst hit by socio economic inequalities given the fact that they are considered part of the old dispensation (apartheid system) therefore as the previously advantaged people, they are made to go without a lot of social benefits and make up the bulk of unemployed. Besides, rising cost of living appears to be the most difficult challenge faced by this group of South Africans who make up the larger part of unemployed whites.

Although a number of scholarly literatures have sought to identify socio economic determinants of inequalities in health among various racial populations in South Africa (Agatugba 2011 & 2012; Wakeford 2001; Keswell 2010; Gradin 2013; Bradshaw et al 2008), studies that apply sociological perspectives, intersectional approach and particularly, cross national comparisons to this occurrences among minority groups in developed and middle income countries is mainly limited.

For example, Goesling & Firebaugh (2004) studied trends in international health inequality by comparing average life expectancy among 169 countries from 1980 to 2000. In addition, Beckfield et al (2013) examined cross-national variation in inequalities in health among 48 countries and found significant disparity in health inequalities by gender, migration status, education and income. The relative lack of sociological cross national studies on not just structural conditions but ideological support that influence health inequalities among sub populations in mixed race societies is a particularly major omission. Given the fact that applying a sociological approach to cross national studies typically would reveal how government policies, dominant values and social/health structures contribute to and sustain inequalities in health. It is in this regard, that the effort of this paper can be viewed and the systematic review of the empirical studies of health inequality in South Africa can be considered as a useful contribution to the comparative examination of social inequalities in health across different countries in Europe and other parts of the world.

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