

# York University

## Fall 2017 - HLTH 5030

### Health & Politics



**Professor**  
**Claudia Chaufan, MD, PhD**

**York University, Graduate Program in Health  
Fall 2017, HLTH 5030 – Health & Politics**

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Days/Time: Fridays 11:30 AM – 2:30 PM  
Location: HNE 036

*“Oh love, they keep telling me that I have the right to sing, but they took away my guitar;  
They keep telling me that I have the right to love, but they killed my child;  
They keep telling me that I have the right to shop in the market, but they took away my land;  
Oh love, but they also keep telling me that I should not shout, hate or steal; these, I should not do.”*

Translated from an old Spanish folk song  
In *The Economic and Political Determinants of Human (Including Health) Rights*  
Vicente Navarro, *Int. J. of Health Services* (1978), 8 (1): p. 145

**Course description**

In the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle argued that an assessment of ethics, i.e., concepts of right and wrong conduct, necessarily led to an assessment of politics, i.e., a philosophy of human affairs that a community needs to promote human welfare, health included. Over 2000 years later, Frederick Engels argued that the poor health of the English working class, including alcoholism, bone defects, or severe child malnutrition, was directly attributable to the exploitative nature of the capitalist system, i.e., a question of politics, and asserted that it was “unpardonable to sacrifice to the greed of an unfeeling capitalist class the time of children which should be devoted only to their physical and mental development.” However, research into, and debate around, how politics shapes public policy, including health policy, and subsequently the health of populations, are limited.

This graduate seminar aims to address this gap by analyzing how politics in a broad sense, and its expression through public policy, institutional arrangements, social practices, and popular struggles shapes health and quality of life at local, national, and global levels. Topics will include the history of neoliberal globalization and of key institutions and events within this history, the corporatization of health governance, theories of development, the influence of political traditions on national health systems, and different conceptions democracy and their relevance to health equity.

**Course learning outcomes:** Upon completion of the course, students will be able to

- Trace the historical trajectory of neoliberal globalization and its impact on health outcomes, especially health inequalities, in wealthy and poor countries
- Discuss the process of the corporatization of global health governance and its implications for health policy and equity at the local, national, and global levels
- Define health-relevant concepts (e.g., development) and analyze the political dynamics underlying the relationship between these concepts and health outcomes
- Evaluate the ideological role of the dominant narrative in the normalization of health inequalities and develop tools of critical analysis to unpack this narrative
- Articulate steps to take as scholars, citizens, and activists towards greater health equity
- Communicate successfully orally and in writing on health policy matters

## **Course organization**

The course will be organized as a seminar. This means that it will involve discussions aiming at teasing out, and debating the merits and weaknesses of the theses, arguments and assumptions in the readings of the day as they relate to the theme (s) of each meeting. I will open the session with brief remarks to lay out the framework of these themes. We will dedicate the remaining class period to analyze and discuss the implications and applications of weekly readings, led by rotating student facilitators. The syllabus includes questions to orient your reading. We will complement discussions with critical image, film and media analyses, and occasional guest speakers.

## **Course instructional material**

All required readings are available on the course Moodle website. To prepare, students are advised to read *The Value of Nothing* by Raj Patel and *The Shock Doctrine* by Naomi Klein. Both books offer readable yet intellectually sophisticated introductions to neoliberal globalization, thus constitute an excellent background to our course. This preparation is particularly relevant for students with little or no background in political economy, although it should also serve as a good refresher for students with background in this discipline. Inexpensive copies of both books are available at Amazon.ca. Familiarity with world systems theory is also highly recommendable (*World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction, 2007 edition, by Immanuel Wallerstein*, provides a good overview).

## **Course requirements**

Because the quality of the learning experience will depend almost entirely on the preparation and participation of students, course requirements are designed to reflect the importance of students' contributions. In addition to excellent attendance, requirements include the following:

### Participation:

All seminar participants will contribute productive discussions every week, as they assume the following, rotating roles:

- Student facilitators: in our first meeting, students will sign up to facilitate discussion.
- Other student participants: they should read thoroughly and critically and be prepared to contribute actively to the discussion.

I will provide guidelines for conducting productive weekly discussions, help monitor the time allotted to different meeting activities, and clarify/enrich/expand/redirect discussion when appropriate.

### Applied policy analysis (Shop4Insurance in the USA)

In this straightforward, yet eye-opening, assignment, seminar participants will investigate the US health system. The goal is to gather information about this system in preparation for a (tentative) relocation in the state of California post-graduation, and draw lessons from this experience to strengthen Canadian healthcare. I will provide a detailed prompt and rubric to complete the assignment successfully and we will devote class time to discuss it.

### Research project:

Seminar participants will conduct a research project and write a paper addressing the political dynamics underlying a topic of their choice with potential for publication in a refereed journal, or related to their Major Research Paper or doctoral dissertation. I will provide a prompt to guide the investigation and we will devote class time to select a research topic and question, discuss the proposal, and peer-edit drafts. Steps in the project include:

1. *Roadmap*: On week 6, students will submit a proposal of their research project/paper (i.e., roadmap), including a working title, a research question or hypotheses, a brief background on the issue, one or two lines on its potential implications for health policy and equity, and a tentative list of sources that can provide information on the topic. This proposal should also make clear, even if tentatively, how the topic is relevant to the connection between health and politics. I will provide a detailed outline to prepare this proposal and we will hold a peer review session for students to share their work and provide feedback to one another.
2. *First draft*: On week 10, students will submit a full first draft of their research project, as close to the final draft as possible. I will grade and provide detailed feedback on this draft and we will hold a peer review session as well.
3. *Presentation*: In our last meeting, students will offer a brief, 5-minute presentation (modeled after the program “3-minute theses, more info on our course Moodle website) laying out their topic, research question, relevance to health and politics, findings, and practice, policy and equity implications of the investigation. I will provide a detailed prompt to prepare this presentation.
4. *Final draft*: The final draft will be turned in one week after the last meeting. Evaluation will be based on the originality and depth of the research, the insight of the analysis, its relevance to the themes and learning objectives of the seminar, and the quality of the writing and formatting (e.g. sentence structure, free from typos or spelling errors, numbered pages, stapled, etc.).

### **Course evaluation**

Evaluation will be based on overall attendance, preparation and participation, research proposal/paper/presentation, and timely submission of work. Marks will be distributed as follows:

Participation: 20%

*Attendance*: 10%

*Facilitation*: 10%

Applied policy analysis:

*Single draft*: 10%

Research project: 70%

*Roadmap*: 10%

*First draft*: 10%

*Presentation*: 10%

*Final draft*: 40%

### **Lateness policy:**

If you need an extension for your final project, please discuss it with me before the deadline so that I have time to consider your request. Unless prearranged, late papers will receive 5 p. less per day.

Given the progression of the research project and the tightness of the term extensions for the proposal (roadmap), first draft and presentation cannot be granted. If you run into trouble with this portion of the assignment, please bring at least a basic outline. Some credit is better than no credit!

### **Accommodations:**

If you require accommodations of any sort please let me know as soon as you possibly can so that I can better support your learning.

## Course topics @a glance

### **Unit 1**

*History and Political Architecture of Health, Health Policy and Health Inequalities*

Week 1 – Health, policy, and politics

Week 2 – Health, politics, and neoliberal globalization

Week 3 – Health, politics, and the crisis of Eurocapitalism

### **Unit 2**

*The Politics of Health Governance and the Political and Social Determination of Health*

Week 4 – Health and equity implications of the corporatization of health governance

Week 5 – Health and equity implications of the politics of trade policy

Week 6 – Health, politics, and the development of underdevelopment

### **Unit 3**

*The Politics of Healthcare Policy and Beyond*

Week 7 – The politics of healthcare policy in the United States: Implications for Canada

Week 8 – Health and equity implications of the politics of mining policy

Week 9 – Health and equity implications of the politics of militarism and empire

### **Unit 4**

*Democratizing Health*

Week 10 – Theorizing power, conformity and resistance

Week 11 – National case studies in health and resistance: Dispatches from Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia – lessons for Canada

Week 12 – Conceptions of democracy and the politics of health.

### General plan @a glance

<b>Week / Date</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Activity</b>	<b>Assignment due</b>
1 / September 8	Health, policy, and politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Introduction to course participants, objectives, organization, readings and requirements.</li> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Distribution of facilitation</li> <li>✓ Critical image analysis</li> </ul>	
2 / September 15	Health, politics, and neoliberal globalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Critical video analysis</li> </ul>	
3 / September 22	Health, politics, and the crisis of Eurocapitalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Critical video analysis</li> </ul>	
4 / September 29	Health and equity implications of the corporatization of health governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Research project: brainstorm research topic/question</li> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> </ul>	
5 / October 6	Health and equity implications of the politics of trade policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Critical video analysis</li> </ul>	
6 / October 13	Health, politics, and the development of underdevelopment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Research project: peer review roadmap</li> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓</li> </ul>	Research project: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Roadmap (Moodle AND hard copy)</li> </ul>
7 / October 20	Politics of healthcare policy and reform in the USA: Implications for Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Critical policy analysis</li> </ul>	Shop4Insurance in the USA (Moodle AND hard copy)
<b>Fall Reading Days October 26 – 29</b>			
8 / November 3	Health and equity implications of the politics of mining policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Guest lecture (to be confirmed)</li> </ul>	
9 / November 10	Health and equity implications of the politics of militarism and empire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Critical policy analysis</li> </ul>	
10 / November 17	Theorizing power, conformity and resistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Research project: peer review first draft</li> </ul>	Research project: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First draft (Moodle AND hard copy)</li> </ul>
11 / November 24	National case studies of health and resistance: Dispatches from Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia -- Lessons for Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>✓ Guest lecture (to be confirmed)</li> </ul>	
12 / December 1	Conceptions of democracy and the politics of health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Research project: presentations &amp; collective reflections</li> <li>✓ Conclusions</li> </ul>	Research project: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presentation</li> <li>• Final draft due December 8 (Turnitin AND hard copy)</li> </ul>

## Course schedule (detailed)

UNIT 1	
History and Political Architecture of Health, Health Policy and Health Inequities	
Week 1	Health, policy and politics
<b>Guiding questions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>➤ Why is politics relevant to health and how does it influence health policy?</li><li>➤ What do we mean by “health is socially determined” and what is political about this determination?</li><li>➤ How is the politics of health relevant to social justice?</li></ul>	
<b>Required readings</b> <p>Navarro, V., <i>The World Health Situation</i>. International Journal of Health Services, 2004. <b>34</b>(1): p. 1-10.</p> <p>Waitzkin, H., <i>The social origins of illness: A neglected history</i>. International Journal of Health Services, 1981. <b>11</b>(77-103).</p> <p>Sigerist, H. E. (1941, 1996). "Health." Journal of Public Health Policy 17(2): 204-234.</p>	
<b>Critical discourse analysis</b> <p>van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Politics, ideology, and discourse (excerpts). Barcelona: Elsevier.</p>	
<b>Activities</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>➤ Introduction of course participants, objectives, organization, and requirements.</li><li>➤ Discussion of weekly readings and distribution of discussion facilitators</li><li>➤ Critical image analysis</li><li>➤ Weekly reflection</li></ul>	
<b>Further readings and viewings</b> <p>Allende, S., <i>Chile's Medical-Social Reality (excerpts)</i>. Social Medicine, 2006 (1939). <b>1</b> (3): p. 151-155.</p> <p>Engels, F., <i>The Condition of the Working Class in England</i>. Am J Public Health, 2003. <b>93</b> (8): p. 1246-1249.</p> <p>Virchow, R. C. (2006). "Report on the Typhus Epidemic in Upper Silesia." American Journal of Public Health 96(12): 2102-2105.</p> <p>Frank, J.P., <i>The People's Misery: Mother of Diseases, and Address, Delivered in 1790 by Johann Peter Frank, Translated from the Latin, with an Introduction by Henry Sigerist (1941)</i>. 2003 (1790), ProQuest Information and Learning Company: John Hopkins University Press. p. 81-100.</p>	

**Week 2****Health, politics, and neoliberal globalization****Guiding questions**

- What is “globalization”? What is the dominant narrative about globalization? What are the challenges to this narrative?
- What is the relationship between “globalization”, neoliberal policies, and the making of global capitalism as an economic system?
- What is the history of the institutional structure supporting neoliberal globalization?
- How does the history of this structure illustrate the political nature of health?

**Required readings.***Dominant narrative*

Nelson, E. (2016). "Brace yourself: The most disruptive phase of globalization is just beginning." Quartz December 7: <https://qz.com/854257/brace-yourself-the-most-disruptive-phase-of-globalization-is-just-beginning/>.

*Counter narrative*

Navarro, V. (1999). "Health and Equity in the World in the Era of “Globalization”." *International Journal of Health Services* 29(2): 215-226.

Navarro, V., Neoliberalism as a Class Ideology; or, the Political Causes of the Growth of Inequalities. *International Journal of Health Services*, 2007. 37(1): p. 47-62.

Panitch, L. (2000). "The New Imperial State." *New Left Review* 2(2): 5-20.

Maher, S (2016), Against Liberal Nostalgia. *The Bullet*, No 1343

**Activities**

- Discussion of weekly readings
- Critical video analysis: Is the world “flat”?

**Further readings and viewings**

Elwood, W., *The no-nonsense guide to globalization (new edition)*. No-Nonsense Guides, ed. C. Brazier. 2010, Oxford: New Internationalist.

Hahnel, R. (2005). "What Mainstream Economists Won't Tell You About Neoliberal Globalization." Speech delivered as the Keynote Address at the Socialist Studies launch ceremony.

Panitch, L. and S. Gindin (2004). "Global capitalism and the American empire." *Socialist Register*: 1 – 40.

Engler, M. (2008). "The World Is Not Flat." Z Communications: <https://zcomm.org/znetarticle/the-world-is-not-flat-by-mark-engler/>

Becker, R. (2012). *The Myth of Democracy and the Rule of the Banks*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHqXkcsaEhU>

Richard Wolff (2009), *Capitalism Hits the Fan* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0HTkEBIoxBA>



**Guiding questions**

- What are “austerity policies”? What are their effects on health?
- What is a dominant narrative about austerity policies and sovereign debt? Which key social actors uphold this narrative in the specific case of Greece?
- How can the case of Greece illuminate the relationship between health and politics and what lessons can we draw for Canada?

**Required readings***Health effects of austerity policies*

Cooper, C. (2014). "Tough austerity measures in Greece leave nearly a million people with no access to healthcare, leading to soaring infant mortality, HIV infection and suicide." The Independent, February 20

*Dominant narrative on crisis*

BBC 2012, Eurozone Crisis Explained. <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-17549970>

New York Times 2016. Greece's Debt Crisis Explained.

[http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/business/international/greece-debt-crisis-euro.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/business/international/greece-debt-crisis-euro.html?_r=0)

McNamara, K. 2015. A Less Perfect Union: Europe after the Greek Debt Crisis, Foreign Affairs, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/1114907>

Kentikelenis, A., M. Karanikolos, A. Reeves, M. McKee and D. Stuckler (2014). "Greece's health crisis: from austerity to denialism." The Lancet 383(9918): 748-753.

*Counter narrative on crisis*

Navarro, V. (2012). "The Crisis and Fiscal Policies in the Peripheral Countries of the Eurozone." International Journal of Health Services 42(1): 1-7.

Hampton, P. (2013). "The Making of Global Capitalism by Leo Panitch and Sam Gindin." Workers Liberty Magazine December 29

Hudson, M. 2016, The Financial Invasion of Greece, Counterpunch.

<http://www.counterpunch.org/2016/05/24/the-financial-invasion-of-greece/>

Craig Roberts, P. 2016, The Looting Stage of Capitalism & Greece Must Leave the Eurozone to Regain Its Sovereignty, Counterpunch & Truth-out.

[John Perkins, Confessions of an economic hitman](#) (video clip, 25 min.)

*Critical media analysis*

Chomsky, N. (1997). "What Makes Mainstream Media Mainstream."

**Activities**

- Discussion of weekly readings
- Critical media analysis

**Further readings and viewings**

Klein, N. (2007). The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism. New York: Picador

Navarro, V. (2015). "Report from Spain." International Journal of Health Services 45(3): 405-414.

Panitch, L. and S. Gindin (2009). "The Current Crisis: A Socialist Perspective." Studies in Political Economy 83(Spring): 7 – 31.

Yanis Varoufakis: Greece and The Future of the Eurozone

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=74eFXJmcgwY>

Naomi Klein (2009), The Shock Doctrine

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v6yceBTf\\_Vs](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v6yceBTf_Vs)

## UNIT 2

### The Politics of Health Governance and the Political and Social Determination of Health

#### Week 4 | Health and equity implications of the corporatization of health policy

##### Guiding questions

- What is the dominant narrative concerning private wealth influences on health governance? How does the NPO-NGO-state/interstate-corporate complex shape governance in health matters? What are the objections of critics?
- What is civil society, how was it originally conceived, and what is the perspective of critics on its contemporary role? What would a radical reinterpretation of this concept involve?
- How does the corporatization of health governance illustrate the political nature of health?

##### Required readings

###### *Dominant narrative*

Kristof, N., Bill Gates and Creative Capitalism, The New York Times, June 27, 2008.

Bishop, M., The Business of Giving, The Economist, February 23, 2006.

Gates, B., Address to the World Health Assembly, 2005 & The Next Epidemic – Lessons from Ebola, New England Journal of Medicine, 2015 (372) 15: 1381 – 1384

Selections from World Bank and Civil Society (WB & Civil Society website and Review of Fiscal Years 2010-2012)

WHO (2008). "Closing the gap in a generation: Health equity through action on the social determinants of health -- Executive Summary."

###### *Counter narrative*

Navarro, V. (2009). "What we mean by the Social Determinants of Health." *International Journal of Health Services* 39(3): 423-441.

Birn, A.-E. (2014). "Philanthrocapitalism, Past and Present: The Rockefeller Foundation, the Gates Foundation and the Setting of the International/Global Health Agenda." *12*(1): 1-27.

Roelofs, J. (2007). "Foundations and Collaboration." *Critical Sociology* 33(3): 479-504.

Petras, J. (1999). "Imperialism and NGOs in Latin America." *Journal of C. Asia*, 29(4): 429– 440.

Meiksins Wood, E. (1990). "The Uses and Abuses of Civil Society." *Socialist Register* 26: 60 – 84.

##### Activities

- Research project: brainstorm research topic/question
- Discussion of weekly readings

##### Further readings and viewings

Barry-Shaw, N. and Dru Oja Jay (2017), Paved with Good Intentions: Canada's development NGOs from idealism to imperialism (excerpts)

Feldman, B. (2007). "Report from the Field: Left Media and Left Think Tanks — Foundation-Managed Protest?" *Critical Sociology* 33(3): 427-446.

Can Gyrca, E. (2015). "The Nonprofit Corporate Complex: An Integral Component in Driving Force of Imperialism in the Face of Monopoly Finance Capitalism." *Monthly review* April: 37 – 53.

Hearn, J. (2001). "The 'uses and abuses' of civil society in Africa." *Rev. of African Pol Econ.* 28(87):43-53.

Carnegie, A. (1889). "The Gospel of Wealth." [http://www.otaulc.com/text/carnegie\\_wealth.pdf](http://www.otaulc.com/text/carnegie_wealth.pdf)

Week 5	Health and equity implications of the politics of trade policy
<p><b>Guiding questions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ What are trade agreements about? Who agrees to what and under what conditions?</li> <li>➤ What are the institutional and historical underpinnings of current trade policies, practices and treaties, and how have they affected overall the health and wellbeing of Canadians?</li> <li>➤ How do current trade policies, practices and treaties reveal the political nature of health?</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Required readings.</b></p> <p><i>Favorable to trade treaties</i>  Global Affairs Canada (selection)  U.S. Department of Commerce (selection)  Toronto Star (selection)  World Trade Organization (selection)  World Health Organization (selection)  World leaders (Trudeau, Obama and Pena Nieto)</p> <p><i>Critical of trade treaties</i>  Independent media (selection)  Grassroots and think tanks (selection)  Global Health Watch (Volume 3)</p>	
<p><b>Activities</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>➤ Critical video analysis</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Further readings and viewings</b></p> <p>Baker, D. (2016). <i>Rigged: How Globalization and the Rules of the Modern Economy Were Structured to Make the Rich Richer</i>, Creative Commons.</p> <p>Sinclair, S. (2015). "NAFTA Chapter 11 Investor State Disputes." Canadian Centre For Policy Alternatives January</p> <p>Sinclair, S. (February 2016). "Major Complications: The TPP and Canadian Health Care." Global affairs Canada, <a href="http://www.international.gc.ca/commerce/index.aspx?lang=eng">http://www.international.gc.ca/commerce/index.aspx?lang=eng</a></p>	

Week 6	Health, politics, and the development of underdevelopment
<p><b>Guiding questions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ What is development? What explains it? How do we measure it? How and why is it relevant to health?</li> <li>➤ What are the different conceptions and theories of development? How does power influence these conceptions and theories?</li> <li>➤ What is the dominant narrative about development? What do critics mean by the “development of underdevelopment”?</li> <li>➤ How do different conceptions and theories of development affect measurement, policy, and equity in health?</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Required readings</b></p> <p>Brief reading selection on indicators, concepts, and theories of development from the WWW.</p> <p><i>Dominant narrative</i></p> <p>United Nations (2015). "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development."</p> <p>Sen, A. (1993). "The Economics of Life and Death." <i>Scientific American</i> May: 40-47.</p> <p>Rostow, Walter. W. (1959). "The Stages of Economic Growth." <i>The Economic History Review</i> 12(1): 1-16.</p> <p>Truman, Harry (1949), Inaugural Address</p> <p><i>Counter narrative</i></p> <p>Rodney, Walter., (1973). What is development? In <i>How Europe Underdeveloped Africa</i>. Washington D.C.: Howard University Press.</p> <p>Gunder Frank, Andre. (1966). "The Development of Underdevelopment." <i>Monthly Review</i> 18(4): 17 – 31</p> <p>Escobar, Arturo, Power and Visibility: Development and the Invention and Management of the Third World. <i>Cultural Anthropology</i>, 1988. 3(4): p. 428-443.</p> <p>Navarro, Vicente. (2000). "Development and Quality of Life: A Critique of Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom." <i>International Journal of Health Services</i> 30(4): 661-674.</p> <p>Bond, Peter (2015) UN MDG replaced by new "distraction gimmicks". IMF and World Bank are Weapons of War, John Pilger (26 min. version)</p>	
<p><b>Activities</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Research project: peer review roadmap</li> <li>➤ Discussion of weekly readings</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Further readings and viewings</b></p> <p>Black, M., (2007). <i>The no-nonsense guide to international development</i>. No-Nonsense Guides, ed. T. Wells. 2007, Oxford: New Internationalist.</p> <p>Rodney, W., (1973). <i>How Europe Underdeveloped Africa</i>. Washington D.C.: Howard University Press.</p> <p>Katz, A. (2004/5). "The Sachs Report: Investing in Health for Economic Development—Or Increasing the Size of the Crumbs from the Rich Man's Table? Part I and II." <i>International Journal of Health Services</i> 34(4): 751-773.</p> <p>John Pilger (1992), War by Other Means (full version)  <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8bfDOGNboE8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8bfDOGNboE8</a></p>	

## UNIT 3

### The Politics of Healthcare and Beyond

Week 7

The politics of healthcare policy and reform in the United States:  
Implications for Canada

#### Guiding questions

- How is the US health system organized? How does it measure up in terms of outcomes, quality and equity? How has it changed along these lines since the implementation of the Affordable Care Act (ACA or “Obamacare”)?
- What is the dominant narrative about US health care and reform in the United States? What are the challenges to this narrative?
- How does Americans’ struggle for health justice reveal the interplay between health and politics?

#### Required readings.

*Supporters of the Affordable Care Act (ACA or “Obamacare”)*

- Official (government)
- Mainstream (liberal) media
- Think Tanks / NGOs (liberal)
- Academia (peer-reviewed articles and popular)

*Critics of the Affordable Care Act (ACA or “Obamacare”)*

- Right leaning
- Left leaning

*Critical media analysis*

- Herman, E. (1996). "The Propaganda Model Revisited." *Monthly Review* 48(3): 115-128.

#### Activities

- Sharing Shop4Insurance experience
- Discussion of weekly readings in the context of implications of politics of US health policy for Canada

#### Further readings and viewings

Navarro, V. (1989). "Why Some Countries Have National Health Insurance, Others Have National Health Services, and the U.S. Has Neither." *Social Science & Medicine* 28(9): 887-898.

Chaufan, C. (2016). "What Can US Single-Payer Supporters Learn From the Swiss Rejection of Single Payer?" *International Journal of Health Services* 46(2): 331-345.

Waitzkin, H. and I. Hellander (2016). "Obamacare: The Neoliberal Model Comes Home to Roost in the United States—If We Let It." *Monthly Review* 68(1).

Woolhandler, S. and D. U. Himmelstein (2011). "Healthcare Reform 2.0." *Social Research* 78(3): 719-730

Geyman, J. (2010). *Hickajed: The Road to Single Payer in the Aftermath of Stolen Health Care Reform*. Monroe, Common Courage Press.

Chernomas, R. and I. Hudson (2013). *The political economy of US healthcare: the medical industrial complex*, in *To Live and Die in America: Class, Power, Health and Healthcare*. Halifax & Winnipeg, Fernwood Publishing

Week 8	Health and equity implications of the politics of mining policy
<p><b>Guiding questions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ What do we mean by mining policy? What are some of the effects of mining practices on the health of populations, at home and abroad? Which subgroups are most affected by these practices?</li> <li>➤ What is the mining policy of the Canadian state? Whose interests are best served by it?</li> <li>➤ How does mining reveal the relationship between politics and health?</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Required readings</b></p> <p><i>Establishment</i></p> <p>The Minerals and Metals Policy Of the Government of Canada (<a href="https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/mining-materials/policy/8690#ex-sum">https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/mining-materials/policy/8690#ex-sum</a>)</p> <p>The Mining Association of Canada (<a href="http://mining.ca/resources/mining-facts">http://mining.ca/resources/mining-facts</a>)</p> <p>Aura Minerals. Inc. "Who We Are". (<a href="http://www.auraminerals.com/">http://www.auraminerals.com/</a>)</p> <p><i>Counter Establishment</i></p> <p>Global Health Watch Vol. 3 (2011), Extractive Industries and Health</p> <p>Gordon, T. and J. R. Webber (2008). "Imperialism and Resistance: Canadian mining companies in Latin America." <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 29(1): 63-87.</p> <p>Mining Watch Canada (<a href="http://miningwatch.ca/">http://miningwatch.ca/</a>)</p> <p>Rights Action (<a href="http://rightsaction.org/">http://rightsaction.org/</a>)</p>	
<p><b>Activities</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>➤ Guest lecture (to be confirmed)</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Further readings and viewings</b></p> <p>Gordon, T. (2006). "Canada, Empire and Indigenous People in the Americas." <i>Socialist Studies</i> Spring: 47 – 75.</p> <p>Harvey, D. (2004). "The New Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession." <i>Socialist Register</i>(63-87).</p> <p>Engler, Y. (2009). <i>The Black Book of Canadian Foreign Policy</i>. Toronto, Fernwood Publisher.</p> <p>Lands to die for: The Garifuna Struggle in Honduras  <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mr0agHzZX0&amp;feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mr0agHzZX0&amp;feature=youtu.be</a></p> <p>Face to Face with Grahame Russell: Are Canadian mining companies getting away with murder?  <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=71mB0JuJSpE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=71mB0JuJSpE</a></p> <p>Yves Engler, <i>The Little Black Book of Canadian Foreign Policy</i>  <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6uBoVv-37Rs">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6uBoVv-37Rs</a></p>	

<b>Week 9</b>	<b>Health and equity implications of the politics of militarism and empire</b>
<b>Guiding questions</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ What's the dominant narrative about the refugee crisis, i.e., what is causing the crisis, who is responsible for it, what should be done about it and who should do it? Who are the "good guys" and "bad guys" according to this narrative? What makes his narrative persuasive?</li> <li>➤ What is the counter narrative about the refugee crisis, i.e., what does the dominant narrative conceal about relevant social actors and accountability? What evidence supports this narrative and how can we know whether the evidence is of good quality?</li> <li>➤ How does the case of international refugees relate to the militarization of modern, Western, and specifically Canadian, society? How does this militarization relate to global capitalism, politics, and human health?</li> </ul>	
<b>Required readings</b>	
Reading selections on international refugees (dominant and counter narratives)	
<b>Activities</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Discussion of weekly readings</li> <li>➤ Critical analysis of academic, NGO and media literature on international refugees</li> </ul>	
<b>Further readings and viewings</b>	
<p>Mirrlees, T. (2017). "The New (Canadian) Imperialism, in Honduras: Ideology, the News Media, Pedagogy and Pop Culture -- Tyler Shipley interviewed by Tanner Mirrlees." The Bulletin 1418(May 23).</p> <p>Yves Engler, The Little Black Book of Canadian Foreign Policy (You Tube)</p> <p>Yves Engler, A Propaganda System (You Tube)</p> <p>Eva Bartlett -- Sovereignty and Peace. Press Conference, United Nations (You Tube)</p> <p>Aby Martin, The Empire's War on the Border (You Tube)</p> <p>John Pilger, Flying the Flag and Arming the World (You Tube)</p> <p>John Pilger, Stealing a Nation: The Story of the Chagos Archipelago (You Tube)</p> <p>La Voz del Pueblo (The Voice of the People: A story of Honduras, You Tube)</p>	

<b>UNIT 10</b>	
<b>Democratizing health</b>	
<b>Week 10</b>	<b>Theorizing power, conformity and resistance</b>
<b>Guiding questions</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ What is power? How do we resist? Why do power and resistance matter to health justice?</li> <li>➤ How can we identify the role of social practices (i.e. what people do or what institutions command) to achieve social control? Theory toolbox <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manifest and latent function (Robert Merton)</li> <li>• Concept and social psychology of power (S. Asch, S. Milgram, P. Zimbardo)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
<b>Required readings</b>	
➤ None	
<b>Activities</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Research project: peer review first draft</li> <li>➤ Mini-lecture &amp; discussion: Introduction to the social psychology and sociology of power</li> </ul>	
<b>Further readings and viewings</b>	

## UNIT 10

Selections from classic experiments and social psychology

**Week 11**

### **National case studies of health and resistance: Dispatches from Cuba, Venezuela, and Bolivia – Lessons for Canada**

#### **Guiding questions**

- What are the key health issues in each of these national case studies? How have political processes shaped population health in all three countries? What are some of the similarities and differences between these countries?
- What explains mainstream media representations of current issues in Latin America? What are the untold stories in these representations?
- How do these national case studies illustrate the interplay between politics and health?

#### **Required readings.**

- Reading selections on health and social policy in Cuba, Venezuela, and Bolivia
- Media representations of Latin American – mainstream
- Media representations of Latin America – independent
- Latin American social medicine and alternative trade treaties – ALBA

#### **Activities**

- Discussion of weekly readings
- Guest lecture (to be confirmed)

#### **Further readings and viewings**

Galeano, E. (1972/1997). *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (25 Anniversary Edition), Monthly Review.

Katz, C. t. b. R. F. (2016). "Is South America's 'progressive cycle' at an end? – Neo-developmental attempts and socialist projects." *Europe Solidaire Sans Frontières* February 5

Bernays, E. L. (1928). "Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and The How." *The American Journal of Sociology* 33(6): 958-971.

Bellamy Foster, J. and R.W. McChesney, *The 'Left-Wing' Media?* Monthly Review, 2003. 52 (2): 1-16

*Will the Real Terrorist Please Stand Up: An interview with Saul Landau* (You Tube)

*Maestra: A History of Cuba's Literacy Campaign*, Norma Guillard, Cuban academic/filmmaker, poet (You Tube)

*South of the Border*, Oliver Stone, US filmmaker (You Tube)

*The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: A history of the 2002 Venezuela Coup* (You Tube)

*War on Democracy*, documentary, John Pilger, UK/Australian filmmaker (You Tube)

*The Take: Workers-run Factories in Argentina*, Naomi Klein, Canadian filmmaker (You Tube)



Week 12	Health, politics, and democracy: Conceptions of democracy and the politics of health.
<p><b>Guiding questions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ What are the dominant (“end of history”/liberal) and the counterhegemonic (“radical alternative”/participatory) conceptions of democracy? Identify the evidence/arguments that back up each conception.</li> <li>➤ How is the relationship between politics and health captured in these two contrasting narratives? Think about nation-states that have organized their social and political systems according to contrasting conceptions of democracy and the implications of these forms of social and political organization for health and social matters.</li> <li>➤ What type of collective social action may bring about greater health equity? Identify or imagine examples of how we can get there.</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Required readings</b></p> <p><i>Dominant narrative</i> Fukuyama, F. (1989). "The end of history?" <i>The National Interest</i> (16): 3-18.</p> <p><i>Counter narrative</i> Gills, B. and J. Rocamora (1992). "Low intensity democracy." <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 13(3): 501-523. Reading selection from Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia (one per group)</p>	
<p><b>Activities</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Research project: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Presentations &amp; collective reflections</li> <li>○ Final draft due April 6 (Turnitin and hard copy – please refer to “lateness policy”)</li> </ul> </li> <li>➤ Conclusions</li> </ul> <p><i>Note: the final draft must be turned in no later than a week from today. If you need an extension, please notify me before the deadline. Late papers will receive 5 points less per day. I may grant exceptions for well documented reasons.</i></p>	
<p><b>Recommended readings and viewings</b></p> <p><i>Dominant narrative</i> Huntington, S. (1993). "The Clash of Civilizations?" <i>Foreign Affairs Summer</i>(December 12). Weyland, K. (2013). "The Threat from the Populist Left." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 24(3): 18-32. Media establishment on democracy, Selection.</p> <p><i>Counter narrative</i> Luther King, M. (1963), Letter from Birmingham jail. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Real Legacy: A Socialist and Radical (link to radio clip) Chomsky, N. (1991). "The Struggle for Democracy in a Changed World." <i>Review of African Political Economy</i> 50(12 – 20). Kanellis, E. (2000). "The Need for a Radical Alternative: Interview with Istvan Meszaros." <i>Monthly Review</i> January: 26-39. Amin, S. (2001). "Imperialism and Globalization." <i>Monthly Review Summer</i>: 6-24. Media counter establishment on democracy, Selection.</p>	

