

# Public health in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: a new political space

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## 21<sup>st</sup> century public health

- We need to situate PH within the new dynamics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century
- **Globalization**
- **Individualization**
- **Science and technology**
- **Manufactured risk**

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## A new quality

- This is not just an issue of context and determinants but it is about the very nature of Public Health, its focus and its key strategies

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## Health is a global public good



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## A new global politics

- *“AIDS is the number one issue in the world today, the number one issue. The level of the AIDS crisis, its potential to destroy economic achievement, undermine social stability and create more political uncertainty....is enormous.”*

● *R. Holbrooke*



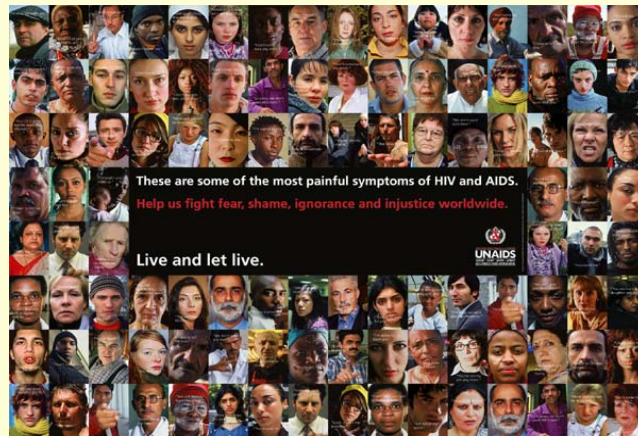
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## In the 21<sup>st</sup> century Health is....

- Foreign policy
- Security policy
- Economic policy/Trade policy
- Demographic development
- Geopolitics
  
- *“at the core of human development”*

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## Health is an individual right



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## In the 21st century health is

- Defining factor of increasing areas of personal and social life
- Everyday behavior and deviations, compulsions and addictions
- Sexuality
- Violence
- Beauty.....
  
- *“at the core of human development”*

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## New political economy

- “We badly need a political economy of sexuality (*health*), one which recognizes the interrelationship of political, economic and cultural structures, and avoids the tendency to see sexuality (*health*) as private and the political and economic as public. “

• Denis Altmann 2001

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## Different GLOBAL Mindsets :

- *Self interest/national interest/enlightened self interest*
  - disease threat
  - economic: health contributes to economic development/needs investment/creates political stability
- *Common interest and collective security*
  - global public goods
- *Social justice and human rights*

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## Three different concepts

Threat



Risk



justice



Shirin Ebadi

## Transboundary issues

- Trade/mobility
- Crime
- Terrorism
- Environment
- Infectious disease

Nation states



## Global asymmetry issues

- Meeting **asymmetric challenges** and threats through joint policy action

- Demography
- Education
- Social disparities
- Information
- Security
- Health



Social movements  
International agencies

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## Asymmetric wealth

- 1.2 billion people live on less than \$1 a day
- Thirty years ago the gap between the richest 5<sup>th</sup> and the poorest 5<sup>th</sup> stood at 30:1
- Now it is 74:1 (UNDP 1999)
- Gender: No country treats its women as well as its men.

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## Asymmetric health distribution 1995-2000

### ● Life expectancy:

● Sub Saharan Africa	51 (27)
● Least developed	51
● Other low income	59
● Lower middle income	70
● Upper middle income	71
● High income	78

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## World AIDS facts

- 2001: *40 million* people living with HIV/AIDS
- 2001: *3 million* AIDS deaths
- 12 million children have lost their mothers due to AIDS
- 2000-2020: number of projected deaths in the 45 most affected countries: *68 million*
- *16 000 new infections every day*

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## Asymmetric Demography



- More than half of the annual population increase currently occurs in 6 countries:

- India
- China
- Pakistan
- Bangladesh
- Nigeria
- United States

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## Asymmetric urbanization

- In the coming decade more than half of all people will live in cities for the first time in human history and almost all population growth will take place in urban areas (+2.1billion) 14/10



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# Asymmetric Ageing

- The 20<sup>th</sup> century will be the last in which younger people outnumbered the elderly – each group constitutes about 10% of humanity today. By 2050 there will be 3.2 people aged 60 and over for every child of 4 years or younger

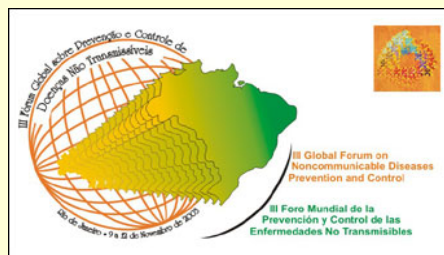


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# Asymmetric double challenge



Infectious  
disease



Non communicable disease

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# 1. Globalization

- Globalization is set of changes not a single force
- Its dynamic affects economies, the state, nations, institutions, personal lives and experiences (A. Giddens LSE)
- “the **interconnectedness** of capital, production, ideas and cultural life at an increasing pace” Paul Kennedy, Yale University

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## New global mindset

- “Implicit in the idea of “globalization” rather than “internationalization” is the idea that we are moving beyond the era of growing ties between nations and are beginning to contemplate something beyond the existing conception of the nation state”
- **Concept: One World**
- Peter Singer 2002

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## Critical turning point of globalization (Kaul)

- The global public goods produced for economic globalization (WTO) now need to be complemented by GPG that address the other dimensions of globalization
- GPG are multi actor, multi level and multi sectoral products
- New mechanisms: Differentiate financing aid and GPG

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## Collective Intentionality



### 4. Health as a global public good

1. *Fight disease*
  - Small pox eradication
2. *Create Health*
  - Primary Health Care 1978 HFA 2000
  - Ottawa Charter 1986
3. *Invest in Health*
  - World Bank Report 1993
  - Macroeconomic Report 2001

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## NEW POLITICAL ECOSYSTEM for health

MSF

MERCK  
Vaccine  
Network  
AFRICA

BILL & MELINDA  
GATES foundation

The Global Fund  
To Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

CLINTON

BONO iavi

GAVI  
THE GLOBAL ALLIANCE FOR  
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Partnering with The Vaccine Fund

150 PPPH

Bill Gates administers oral polio vaccine at a clinic in Delhi, India.

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## 2. Individualization

- End of tradition: Being forced to live a more reflexive life towards an open future
- Creating a self – identity
- The body becomes reflexive and part of the end of nature – physical processes are no longer inevitable – on peut “faire” le sante : healthy ageing – illness is no longer fate

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## Identity politics/human rights



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## Central Human Capabilities

- Life, Bodily health and integrity
- Senses, imagination, thought, emotions
- Practical reason
- Affiliation
- Other species
- Play
- Control over one's environment  
(M. Nussbaum)

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## A life worth living

- Beyond utility: A life that lacks any one of these capabilities, no matter what else it has, will fall short of being a good human life – it describes **the task of public policy** to move all citizens above a basic threshold and sets an agenda for a society *“in which both males and females could learn both to love and to reason”*

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## Global health citizenship

- “ It makes no difference whether the person I help is a neighbor’s child ten yards from me or a Bengali whose name I shall never know, ten thousand miles away”

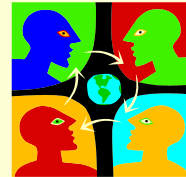
- Peter Singer

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## A new political space

- The very nature of politics has changed: Globalization has provided opportunities for women, lesbians and gay men, disabled persons, indigenous people to mobilize to a degree that was generally unavailable to them in ...territorial politics.

• (Scholte 1999)



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## 3. the new risk environment

- **Manufactured risks** are linked to the advances in science and technology as well as the increase in accessible information and are subject to the compression of time and space
- Experts disagree about impact: so decisions have to be made politically (and/or personally)
- **This means formerly technically safe areas become (re)politicized and value laden**
- Complex issues lack societal institutions that assess the nature of risks and our responses (courts vs department of consequences)

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## The (re)politicization of PH

- Open risk environment
- Reflexive culture dealing with uncertainty
- Continuous open-ended dialogue in relation to science and technology – it takes a political form because you have to make decision whether you are consumer, individual or a government
- Centrality of communication and the media

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## The new road map

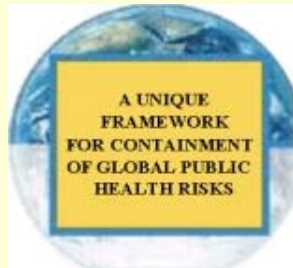


- This book illustrates, in an accessible and creative format, **how tobacco is not just a simple health issue, but involves economics, big business, politics, trade, litigation, deceit and crimes such as smuggling.** The atlas also shows the importance of a multifaceted approach to reducing the epidemic by **WHO, other UN agencies, NGOs, the private sector and, in fact, the whole of civil society.**

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# International law

- The lesson of SARS
- Pooling sovereignty and right to intervene on behalf of the global community:
- Revised International Health Regulations



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# Signing the IFCT

Codes, treaties, conventions



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# Global Health emergencies

- World Health Organization says failure to deliver AIDS medicines is a global health emergency
- Global AIDS treatment emergency requires urgent response  
No more business as usual
- 
- 22 September 2003 | NEW YORK -- The failure to deliver antiretroviral (ARV) treatment for AIDS to the millions of people who need it is a global health emergency. We have the medicines to treat people for a dollar a day or less but these medicines are not getting to the people who need them.
- Some six million people in developing countries have HIV infections that require antiretroviral treatment. But fewer than 300,000 are being treated. In sub-Saharan Africa, where most of the people in need of treatment live, only 50,000 people are receiving it.

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## ACCESS : No more business as usual

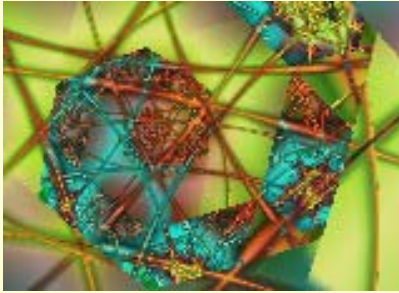


WTO/TRIPS/pricing

Global social movements

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## 4. Networks



- The network is the organizational form of the 21<sup>st</sup> century
- Manuel Castells

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## Networks

- "A network-based social structure is a highly dynamic, open system, susceptible to innovating without threatening its balance..."
- Networks are appropriate instruments for a capitalist economy based on **innovation, globalization, and decentralized concentration**; (Castells 1996 p 470-71).

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## Global economy

- The global economy has undergone significant restructuring, central is the multinational corporation
- In 2000 there were 60.000 MNCs who accounted for 25% of world production, 70% of world trade and their sales were equivalent to almost 50% of world GDP.

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## Nation States



- 1648 – 1750 86 multilateral treaties
- 1976 - 1995 1,600
- mid nineteenth century
- 2 – 3 interstate conferences per year
- 2000: Over 4,000 annually

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## IGOs

- At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century
  - 37 Inter Governmental Organizations
- In the year 2000
  - 176 IGOs

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## Civil Society

- In the year 2000
- 47,098 International Non governmental Organisations
  - Three times as many countries classify as democracies than did in 1960

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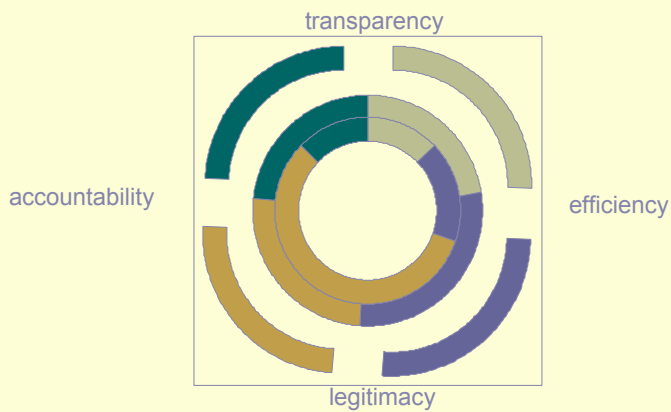
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## Changing the nature of power



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## Transparency and Accountability



Accountability to “own” constituency **and** global community  
NO MORE US AND THEM

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## Search for “Collective intentionality”

- CI is a collective effort of the global community that is comprised of international agencies, global civil society, the private sector and other actors such as foundations, academic institutions and regional bodies:  
*learning to be a World Society that ensures global public goods*

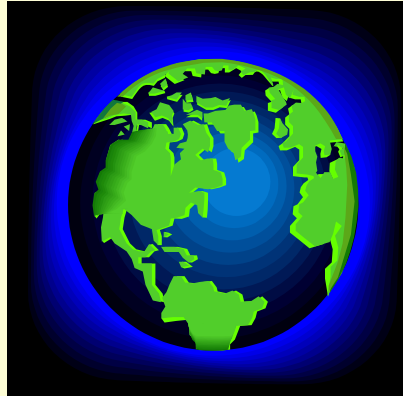
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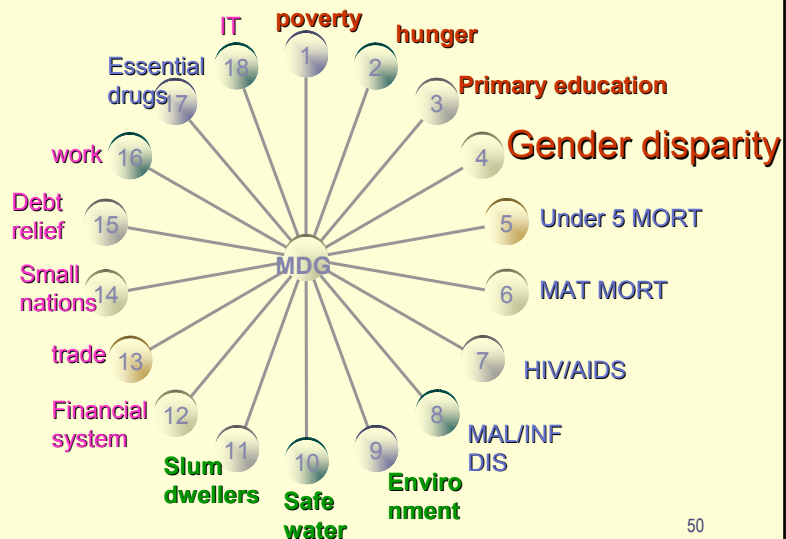
# Millennium Development Compact

**Collective Intentionality to reduce poverty through building on mutual responsibilities:**

The Millennium Development Goals are the first global development vision that combines global political endorsement with a clear focus on, and means to engage directly with, the world's poor people.



# MDG Development Synergy



## Goal 8: Partnership for development

- The last goal-global partnership for development-is about the **means** to achieve the first seven. Many of the poorest countries will need **additional assistance** and must look to the rich countries to provide it. Countries that are poor and heavily indebted will need further help in **reducing their debt burdens**. And all countries will benefit if trade barriers are lowered, allowing a freer exchange of goods and services.

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## A CHANGED APPROACH

- This goal aims to ensure transfer of resources
- *CGD/FP Commitment to development index* ranks 21 nations **beyond foreign aid flow** to include
- *trade, investment, migration, peacekeeping and environment*

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## MDG 8 Index

1. Netherlands
2. Denmark
3. Portugal
4. New Zealand
5. Switzerland
6. Germany (G7) and Spain
7. Sweden
9. Austria
10. Norway
11. United Kingdom
12. Belgium
13. Greece
14. France
15. Italy and Ireland

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## The laggards.....17-21

17. Finland
18. **Canada**
19. Australia
20. United States
21. Japan

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## Political determinants

- The key challenge in this new phase of global health will be political not technical: approach health as a global public good



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## Global domestic health policy priorities

- Fight major diseases defined global health emergencies
- Increase capacity and health literacy
- Control unsafe goods and products
- Ensure access to essential medicines, vaccines and health knowledge and research
- Create health infrastructures, surveillance and information systems
- Reform and strengthen global institutions and international law

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## Political advocacy

- Governance and policy questions will begin to move to the center of the global health debate
- Public health advocates and associations will have to move their advocacy forcefully into the political arena
- New financing mechanism for global public goods

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### Nation state

- Security
- Rule of law
- Social welfare
- Identity and participation

### global governance

- Human Security and Human Rights
- International rule of law/global ethics
- Fairness in Global Distribution
- Common Identity as global citizens and a global voice and channels of participation

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## Global Ethics: From charity to entitlements

- “the very values of an enlightened and civilized society demand that privilege be replaced by **generalized entitlements** – if not ultimately by world citizenship then by citizens rights for all human beings of the world”
- Ralf Dahrendorf

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## Common humanity



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