

Gendered Health Impacts of Structural Adjustment Programs

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Course Description

Since the 1980s, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have conditioned loans to poor countries on implementation of economic policy requirements known collectively as structural adjustment. Liberalizing trade, increasing export manufacturing, shifting from subsistence to export-oriented agriculture, and privatizing national assets and industries have been hallmarks of structural adjustment policies. This course considers the gendered effects of structural adjustment. It investigates why women are over-represented among those most negatively affected by cuts in public services, how their caretaking burdens increase and their paid employment decreases disproportionately with privatization. Comparing experiences in the global South with more recent developments in the European Union, this course provides a gendered analysis of the global health impacts of structural adjustment programs.

Course Requirements

Students are required to complete all assigned readings for the course and actively participate in the online discussion board. The class participation grade will be based on the number, volume, and quality of student comments, which will engage reading materials, films, and lectures (given by the professor and uploaded to the online lecture delivery system). Sustained, astute, and critically engaged class participation is crucial for a successful and productive online classroom experience, and such participation depends largely upon students completing the reading assignments at length. Class discussion will stay closely aligned with the reading assignments for each week. To facilitate candid discussions, it is important that each student manifest respect for the opinions of their classmates. Hostile, intolerant, and insensitive remarks will not be tolerated and will be removed from the online discussion board. **Class participation as described herein will count toward 20 percent of the final grade.**

Each student is required to complete three short projects, the requirements for which are outlined in the syllabus under “Course Structure.” **Each short project counts toward 20 percent of the final grade; short projects count, in total, toward 60 percent of the final grade.**

There will be a final examination. Students will be given their examination a week prior to its due date and may utilize all course materials (but *only* assigned course materials) to complete the exam. **The final exam counts toward 20 percent of the final grade.**

Plagiarism in any form will not be tolerated and will result in serious consequences. If students are ever unclear about the meaning of plagiarism or whether or not their work may be plagiarizing, the student must discuss the issue directly with me. Again, failure to do so may, and most likely will, result in severe punishment. You may also address your inquiries online at <http://teachx.rutgers.edu/integrity/policy.html>.

Reading Materials

The following books are required for this class. They are available for purchase at the Rutgers University Bookstore (One Penn Plaza, Ferren Mall, New Brunswick, NJ 08901). I have included ISBN numbers if you would prefer to order these books online.

M. Rodwan Abouharb, and David Cigranelli, eds. 2008. *Human Rights and Structural Adjustment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN-10: 0521676711; ISBN-13: 978-0521676717)

Kevin Danaher, and Muhammad Yunus, eds. 1994. *Fifty Years Is Enough: The Case against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund*. Boston: South End Press. (ISBN-10: 0896084957; ISBN-13: 978-0896084957)

Mike Davis. 2007. *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso. (ISBN-10:1844671607; ISBN-13: 978-1844671601)

Meredith Fort, Mary Ann Mercer, and Oscar Gish, eds. 2008. *Sickness and Wealth: The Corporate Assault on Global Health*. Malden, MA: South End Press. (ISBN-10: 0896087174; ISBN-13: 978-0896087170)

Eric Laursen. 2012. *The People's Pension: The Struggle to Defend Social Security since Reagan*. Baltimore, MD: AK Press. (ISBN-10: 1849351015; ISBN-13: 978-1849351010)

Frank J. Lechner, and John Boli, eds. 2001. *The Globalization Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers. (ISBN-10: 0470655631; ISBN-13: 978-0470655634)

James Livingston. 2011. *Against Thrift: Why Consumer Culture Is Good for the Economy, the Environment, and Your Soul*. New York: Basic Books. (ISBN-10: 0465021867; ISBN-13: 978-0465021864)

Other readings are drawn from these books, which are not required for this class.

Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Michel Foucault. 2009. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*. Trans. Graham Burchell. New York: Picador.

Michel Foucault. 1990. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage.

Ichiro Kawachi, and Sarah Wamala, eds. 2007. *Globalization and Health*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

David A. Leon, and Gill Walt, eds. 2001. *Poverty, Inequality and Health: An International Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shirin M. Rai. 2002. *Gender and the Political Economy of Development*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

John Ravenhill. 2011. *Global Political Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Éric Toussaint, and Damien Millet. 2010. *Debt, the IMF, and the World Bank: Sixty Questions, Sixty Answers*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Loïc Wacquant. 2009. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Course Structure

Week # 1: Course Introduction: Mapping Central Coordinates Connecting Structural Adjustment and Health

Week of Tuesday, September 4th

Debt, the IMF, and the World Bank: Sixty Questions, Sixty Answers (Toussaint and Millet, eds.), “Human Rights, Development, and Debt,” Chapter 1, pp. 13–45; “The Origin of Debt in Developing Countries,” Chapter 2, pp. 47–69; “The IMF, the World Bank, and the Logic of Structural Adjustment,” Chapter 3, pp. 93–124.

Globalization and Health (Kawachi and Wamala, eds.), “Structural Adjustment Programs and Health” (Breman and Shelton), Chapter 13, pp. 219–233; “Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: Bold New Approach to Poverty Eradication or Old Wine in New Bottles?” (Wamala, Kawachi, and Mpepo), Chapter 14, pp. 234–249.

Week # 2: Structural Adjustment in Global Context

Week of Monday, September 10th

Fifty Years Is Enough: The Case against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Danaher and Yunus, eds.): “World Bank/IMF: 50 Years Is Enough” (Rich), 6–13; “Global Economic Counterrevolution: How Northern Economic Warfare Devastates the South” (Bello), 14–19; “IMF/World Bank Wreak Havoc on Third World” (Budhoo), 20–23; “The Free Trade Connection” (Gershman), 24–28; “The Debt Boomerang” (George), 29–34; “The Doctrine of Odious Debts” (Williams, interviewed by Juliette Majot), 35–36; “Whatever Happened to Third World Debt?” (Henwood), 39–43.

Week # 3: The Internal Mechanisms of Structural Adjustment

Week of Monday, September 17th

Fifty Years Is Enough: The Case against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Danaher and Yunus, eds.): “Internal Report Card Looks Bad for Structural Adjustments” (Duncan), 135–136; “World Bank Failures Soar to 37.5% of Completed Projects in 1991” (Chatterjee), 137–138; “The World Bank after the Wapenhans Report—What Now?” (Gerster), 139–145; “The World Bank’s New Rules (Same as the Old Rules)” (Adams), 146–147; “World Bunk” (Judis), 148–151; “Banking on Poverty: An Insider’s Look at the World Bank” (Irwin), 152–160; “Fighting Poverty at the World Bank” (Snider), 161–164.

Week # 4: A Glimpse into the Inhumanity of Structural Adjustment: Part I

Week of Monday, September 24th

Planet of Slums (Davis)

Week # 5: Project Week—Redefining Poverty

Week of Monday October, 1st

Small paper is due in my email inbox on Friday, October 5th, at 11:59pm

Students will write a 1000 word paper based on a discussion board exercise concerning the definition of poverty during week # 4. The assignment will be grounded in a critical reading of Davis’s *Planet of the Slums*.

Week # 6: Structural Adjustment: Post–Cold War Capitalist (Under) Development

Week of Monday, October 8th

Gender and the Political Economy of Development (Rai), “Global Restructuring and Restructuring Gender Relations: The Politics of Structural Adjustment,” Chapter 4, pp. 121–158.

Global Political Economy (Ravenhill, ed.), “Globalization, Growth, Inequality, Resentment, and Imperialism,” (Wade) 373–409; “Globalization and Development in the South,” (Thomas) 410–447.

The Women, Gender and Development Reader (Visvanathan, Duggan, Wieggersma, and Nisonoff, eds.), “The History of International Development: Concepts and Contexts,” (Rai) 14–21.

Week # 7: Understanding the Social and Economic Consequences of Structural Adjustment: National Examples

Week of Monday, October 15th

Fifty Years Is Enough: The Case against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Danaher and Yunus, eds.): “Brazil: Drowning in Debt,” (Arruda, interviewed by *Multinational Monitor*), 44–50; “World Bank and IMF Adjustment Lending in Chile” (The International NGO Forum), 51–55; “Structural Adjustment and Costa Rican Agriculture” (Korten), 56–61; “World Bank and IMF Adjustment Lending in the Philippines” (The International NGO Forum), 62–67; “Jamaica: The Showpiece That Didn’t Stand Up” (McAfee), 68–77; “Ghana: The World Bank’s Sham Showcase” (Hammond and McGowan), 78–82; “Mozambique: In the Coils of Structural Adjustment” (Mozambique Information Agency), 83–84; “Food for Thought: Senegal’s Struggle with Structural Adjustment” (Ndiaye), 85–86; “From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa” (Bond), 88–91; “Zimbabwe: SAP Means ‘Suffering for African People’” (O’Heaney), 92–94; “Stealing from the State (Mexico, Hungary, & Kenya)” (Avery), 95–101.

Film: *Life and Debt* (2002) and selected scenes of *The Corporation* (2003)

Week # 8: The Role of Structural Adjustment in Global Health Governance: Part I, Historical Antecedents

Week of Monday, October 22nd

Poverty, Inequality, and Health: An International Perspective (Leon and Watts, eds.) “The Health Consequences of the Collapse of the Soviet Union” (McKee), 17–36; “Industrialization and Health in Historical Perspective” (Steckel), 37–36; “Economic Progress and Health” (Sen), 333–345.

Sickness and Wealth: The Corporate Assault on Global Health (Fort, Mercer, and Gish, eds.), Chapter 2, “The Legacy of Colonial Medicine” (Gish), 19–26.

Week # 9: The Role of Structural Adjustment in Global Health Governance: Part II, Structural Adjustment and the Global Imperative to Privatize Healthcare

Week of Monday, October 29th

Sickness and Wealth: The Corporate Assault on Global Health (Fort, Mercer, and Gish): Chapter 1, “The Lethal Divide: How Economic Inequality Affects Health” (Bezruchka and Mercer), 11–18; Chapter 3, “The Primary Health Care Movement Meets the Free Market” (Hong), 27–36; Chapter 4, “Sapping the Poor: The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs” (Gloyd), 43–54; Chapter 5, “The Failures of Neoliberalism: Health Sector Reform in Guatemala” (Verdugo), 57–68; Chapter 6, “HMOs Abroad: Managed Care in Latin America” (Iriart, Waitzkin, and Merhy), 69–78; Chapter 7, “Trade and Health Care: Corporatizing Vital Human Services” (Shaffer and Brenner), 79–89.

The Globalization Reader (Lechner and Boli, eds.): “Welfare Spending in an Era of Globalization: The North-South Divide” (Glenn), 237–242; “The International Monetary Fund” (Vreeland), 253–259; “The Future of the Multilateral Trade System—What Role for the World

Trade Organization?” (Capling and Higgott), 260–264; “Global Health Governance: A Conceptual Review” (Dodgson, Lee, and Drager), 278–284; “The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation’s Grant-Making Programme for Global Health” (McCoy, Kembhavi, Patel, and Luintel), 284–288.

Week # 10: Structural Adjustment and the People without a Voice

Week of Monday, November 5th

Fifty Years Is Enough: The Case against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Danaher and Yunus, eds.): “International Institutions Practicing Environmental Double Standards” (Shiva) 102–106; “World Bank Takes Control of UNCED’s Environment Fund” (Idemudia and Shettima), 107–111; “The World Bank and Tribal Peoples” (Survival International), 112–116; “Fury over a River” (Mehta) 117–120; “The World Bank and the Feminization of Poverty” (Khoury), 121–123; “Women, Structural Adjustment and Empowerment” (Hodge, interviewed by Eloise Magenheimer), 124–127; “Battling the World Bank” (Ahmad, interviewed by *Multinational Monitor*), 128–134.

The Women, Gender and Development Reader (Visvanathan, Duggan, Wieggersma, and Nisonoff, eds.): “Financial Crises and the Impact on Women: A Historical Note” (Gosh), 22–27; “Gender and Development: Theoretical Perspectives” (Rai), 28–37; “Women and Microcredit: A Critical Introduction” (Visvanathan and Yoder), 47–54; “Negotiating Multiple Patriarchies: Women and Microfinance in South India” (Kalpana), 55–63; “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses” (Mohanty), 83–88; “From Missionaries to Microcredit? ‘Race,’ Gender, and Agency in Neo-Liberal Development” (Wilson), 99–101; “The ‘Feminization of Poverty’ and the ‘Feminization’ of Anti-Poverty Programmes: Room for Revision?” (Chant), 174–196; “International Financial Architecture: A View from the Kitchen” (Elson), 295–304.

Week # 11: Project Week—A Glimpse into the Inhumanity of Structural Adjustment, Part II

Week of Monday, November 12th

Review paper is due in my email inbox on Friday, November 16th, at 11:59pm

Throughout the course, we increasingly see how health is related to globalization, macro- and micro- economic policy, national and global poverty, conflict and war, and debt crises. Watch the film *The Big Sellout* (2007) and write a review of it that could be submitted for consideration in “Films for the Feminist Classroom,” “an online, open-access journal [that] publishes film reviews that provide a critical assessment of the value of films as pedagogical tools in the feminist classroom.” (See http://www.signs.rutgers.edu/ffc_home.html) More review guidelines will be forthcoming in a separate document.

Week # 12: The Structural Adjustment–Human Rights–Development Link: Empirically Measuring the Social and Economic Consequences of Structural Adjustment

Week of Monday, November 19th

Human Rights and Structural Adjustment (Abouharb and Cingranelli, eds.), “Structural Adjustment Programs undermine Human Rights,” 3–28; “Respect for Human Rights Promotes Economic Development,” 29–49; “Theoretical Linkages between Structural Adjustment and Repression,” 50–78; “Determinants of Structural Adjustment Lending,” 105–132; “Economic and Social Rights,” 135–159; “Civil Conflict: Demonstrations, Riots, and Rebellion,” 150–169; “Torture, Murder, Disappearance, and Political Imprisonment,” 170–182; “Workers’ Rights,” 183–202; “Democracy and Civil Liberties,” 203–end.

Week # 13: The Mechanism of Structural Adjustment at Work in the United States

Week of Monday, November 26th

The People’s Pension: The Struggle to Defend Social Security since Reagan (Laursen)

Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity (Wacquant): “Prologue: America As Living Laboratory of the Neoliberal Future,” xi; “Social Security and the Punitive Upsurge,” 1–40; “Theoretical Coda: A Sketch of the Neoliberal State,” 287–314

Week # 14: Anti-Austerity in the United States and around the World

Week of Monday, December 3rd

Against Thrift: Why Consumer Culture Is Good for the Economy, the Environment, and Your Soul (Livingston)

The Globalization Reader (Lechner and Boli, eds.): “Counterhegemonic Globalization: Transnational Social Movements in the Contemporary Political Economy” (Evans), 483–489; “The Global South: The WTO and Deglobalization” (Bello), 490–493; “Counter-Capitalism: Globalisation’s Children Strike Back” (Harding), 494–499; “A Better World Is Possible!” (International Forum on Globalization), 517–527.

The Women, Gender and Development Reader (Visvanathan, Duggan, Wieggersma, and Nisonoff, eds.): “Women’s Community Organizing in Quito: The Paradoxes of Survival and Struggle” (Lind), 417–424; “Struggle, Perseverance, and Organization in Sri Lanka’s Export Processing Zones” (Gunawardana), 432–438.

Fifty Years Is Enough: The Case against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Danaher and Yunus, eds.): “International Tribunal Judges the G-7” (Peoples’ Tribunal, Tokyo), 165–168; “African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment” (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa), 169–178; “Little World Banks” (Matthews), 183–185.

Week # 15: Project Week: The Necropolitics of Structural Adjustment

Week of Monday, December 10th

Small paper is due in my email inbox on Wednesday, December 12th, at 11:59pm

Achille Mbembe. 2003. "Necropolitics." Trans, Libby Meintjes.

Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–1978 (Foucault), 1–54.

The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction (Foucault): "Right of Death and Power over Life," 87–104.

The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality (Burchell, Gordon, and Miller, eds.): "Governmentality" (Foucault), 87–104.

After you read Mbembe's "Necropolitics," and based on what you now know about the relationship between structural adjustment and health, do you believe that structural adjustment can be characterized as a form of necropolitics? Craft your answer into a 1000-word paper. Be sure to use at least six sources read in class. Outside research is not necessary for this assignment.

The final examination is open book and will appear online by 11:59pm Wednesday, December 12th. The exam is due on or before 11:59pm Thursday, December 20th.