



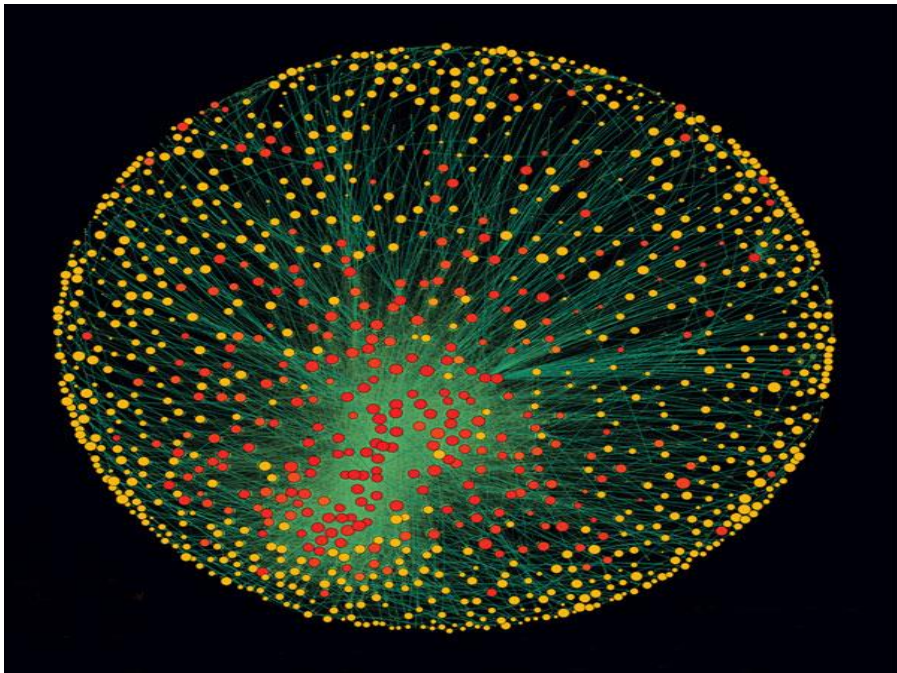
Moving Upstream To Advance Understanding of and Ways To Address The Commercial Determinants Of Health

Organiser: Prof Anna Gilmore, University of Bath

Chair: Prof Mark Petticrew, LSHTM

World Congress on Public Health, Wednesday 14th October 2020

Understanding how corporations both drive & use neoliberalism to block progress in public health



Prof David Miller
University of Bristol
16 October 2020

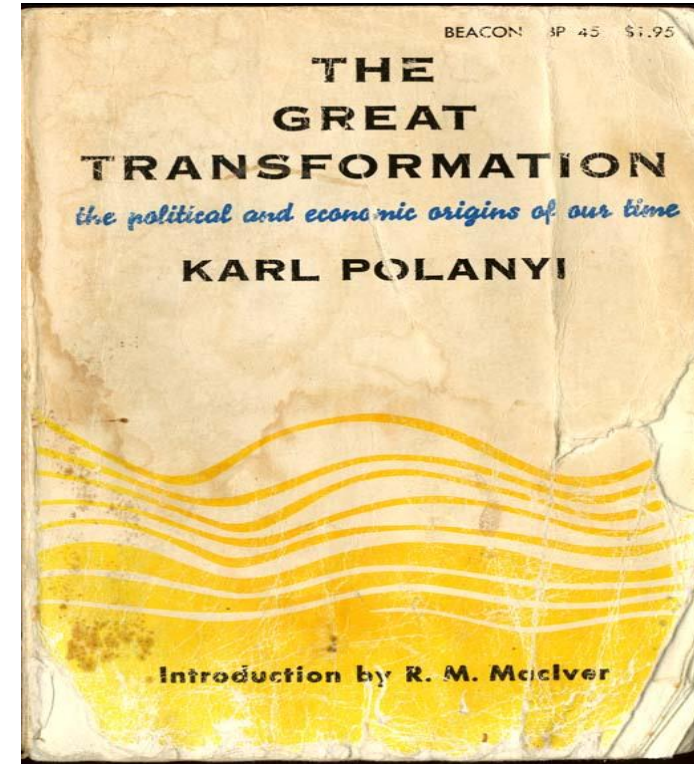
The Great Transformation

Embedded/disembedded describes the

‘degree of separation of the economy from other social institutions’.

Modern capitalist economies (in the 1940s) were said to be ‘disembedded’ and thus to be interpretable in terms of market rationality. ‘Premodern economies are embedded in other institutional structures and are subject to other logics of reciprocity or redistribution.’

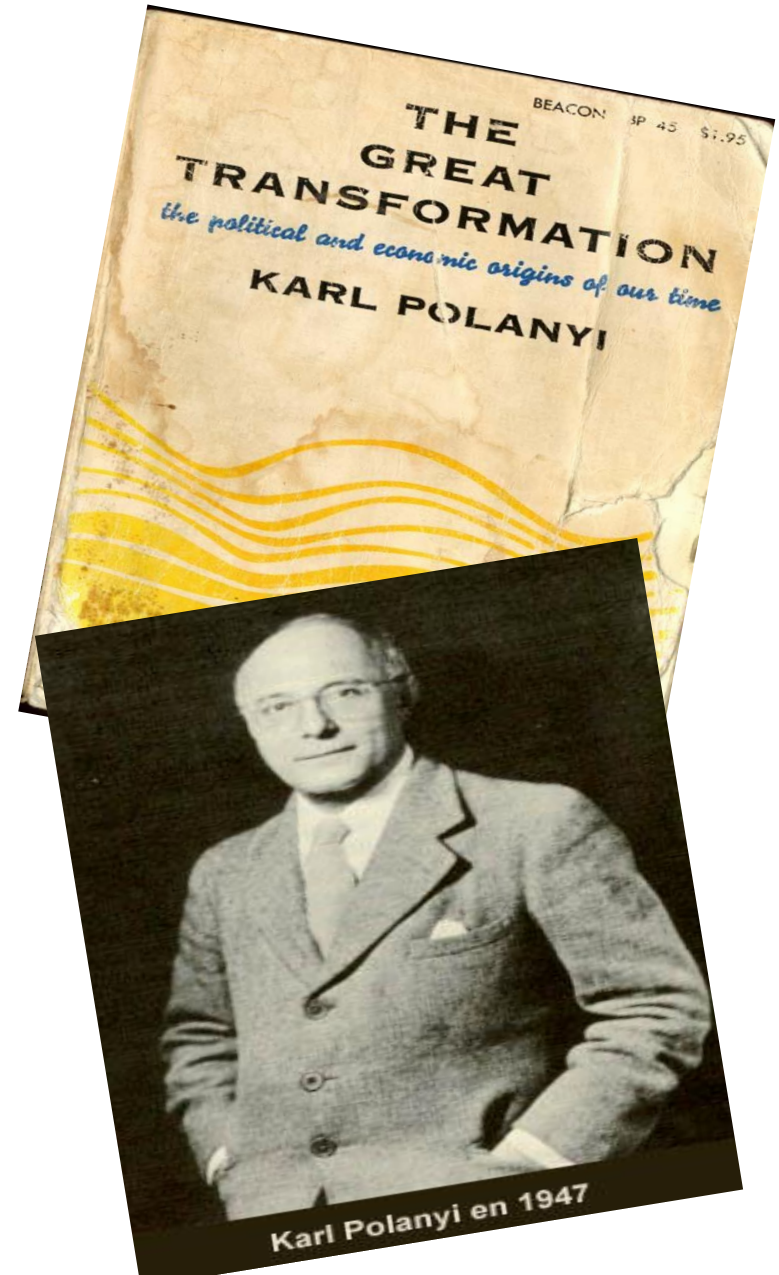
Craig Calhoun (Ed) *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 141.



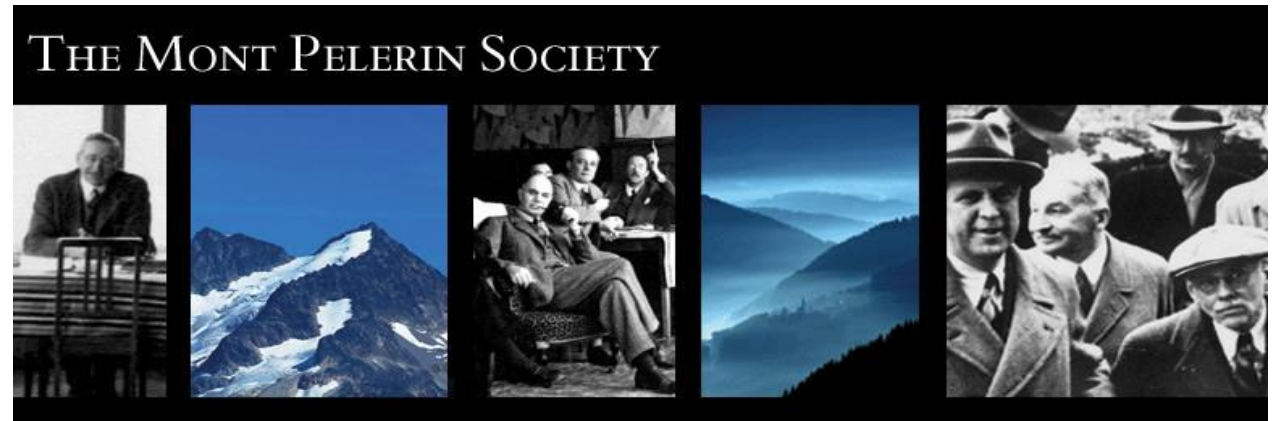
The Great Transformation

Thus, as Polanyi puts it, the rise of the market

'means no less than the running of society as an adjunct to the market. Instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system. ... This is the meaning of the familiar assertion that a market economy can function only in a market society' (1944:57).



The fightback against embedding

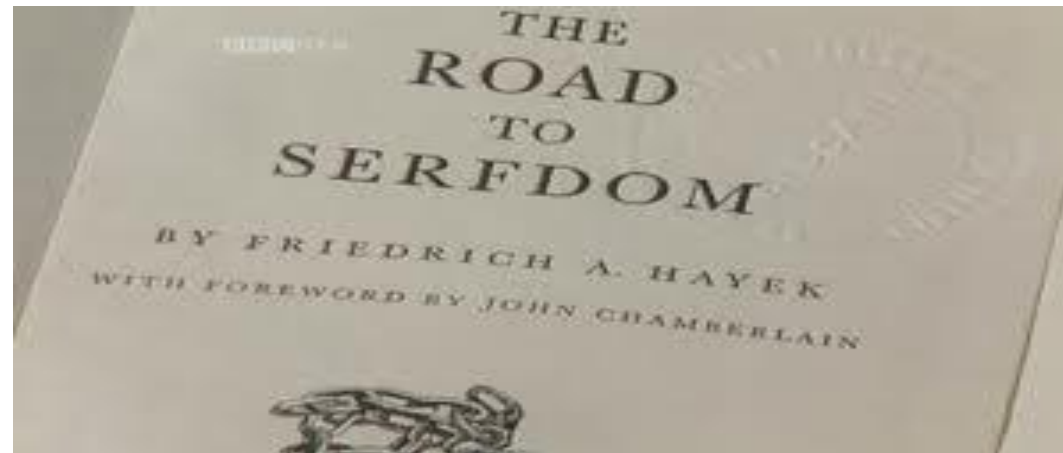


- 1938/1947: Walter Lippmann Colloque/founding of the Mont Pelerin Society
- Created to discuss the state and the possible fate of liberalism (in its classical sense) in thinking and practice

The case for capitalism



- Friedrich von Hayek, declared 'We must make the building of a free society once more an intellectual adventure, a deed of courage'.
- The strategy was not to convince the public, but to convince the intellectuals of society who were perceived as won over by 'socialism'.
- 'Once the more active part of the intellectuals have been converted to a set of beliefs, the process by which these become generally accepted is almost automatic and irresistible'



The neoliberal ‘thought collective’

“Neoliberalism must be approached primarily as a historical ‘**thought collective**’ of increasingly global proportions” (Plehwe and Mirowski 2009: 4)

“ **community** of persons mutually **exchanging ideas** or maintaining intellectual interaction”

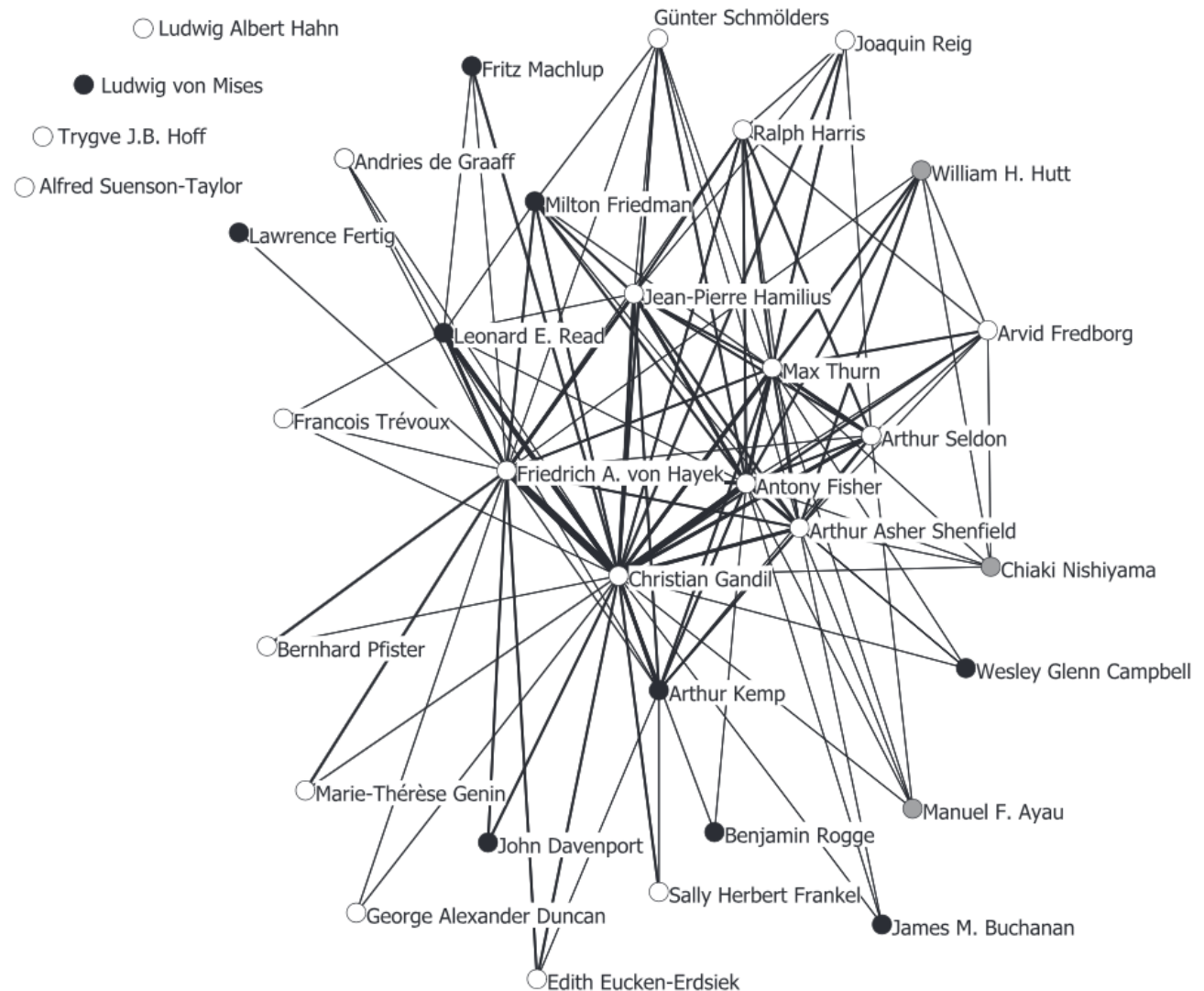
(Fleck 1979: 39, cited in Mirowski and Plehewe)



A well integrated social network: an “epistemic community”

Frequent participants at MPS meetings (1947-86); US (black) EU (hollow), other (grey)

“The combination of sometimes even rather close personal ties among people of diverse professional backgrounds provided for a fertile mix of sympathy, respect, and competency prevailing among MPS members”



Disembedding of elites

We can examine the conceptual notion of disembedding at the level of social relations, but also at the level of individuals and groups within it.

Thus we can think of the disembedding of economic and political elites from the organised compromise of social democracy and re-embedding in the institutions of market governance.

As we will see this - I argue - is very much what we see in each of the areas we will examine.

**IF U.S. LAND WERE DIVIDED
LIKE U.S. WEALTH**



**IF THE UK FLAG WAS
DIVIDED LIKE UK WEALTH**



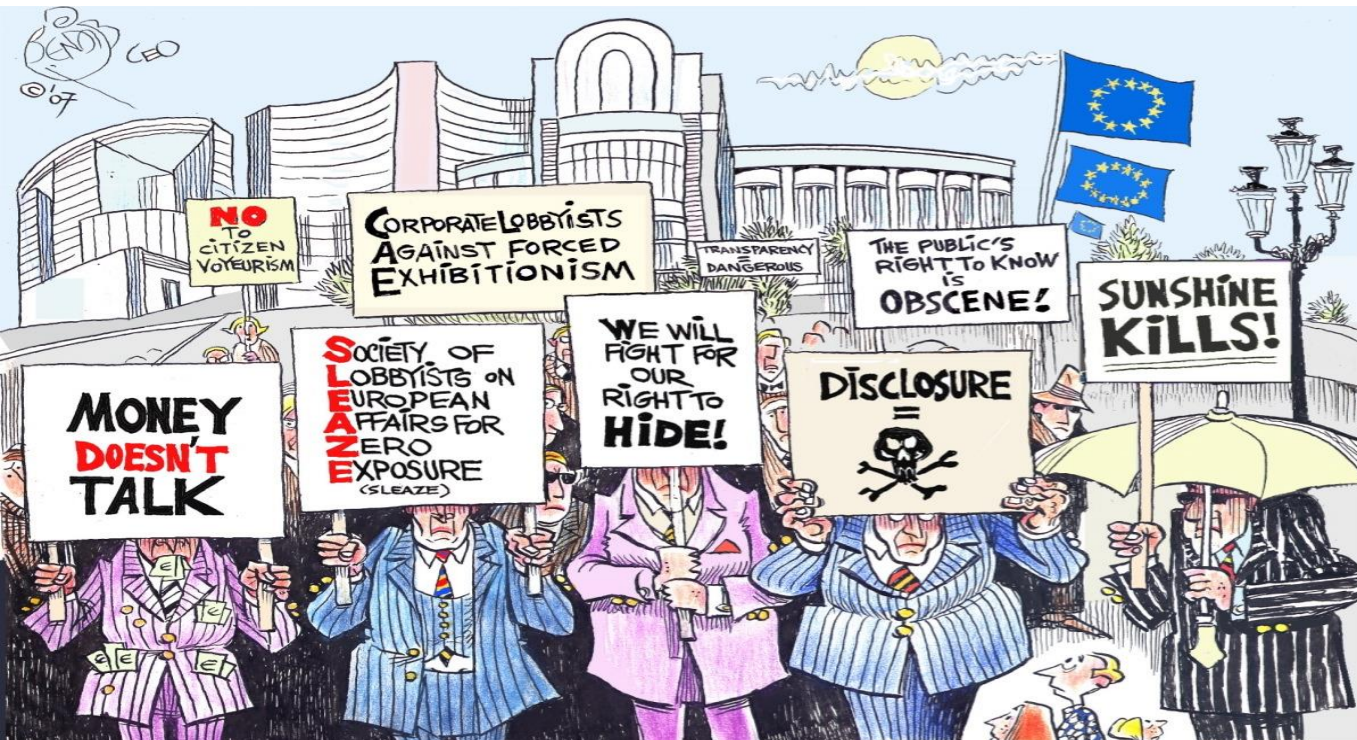
WE'RE NOT ALL IN THIS TOGETHER.

The Shadow Elite

This has been described well by Janine Wedel as the creation of a 'shadow elite' who are distant from the formal mechanisms of political accountability in liberal democracy.



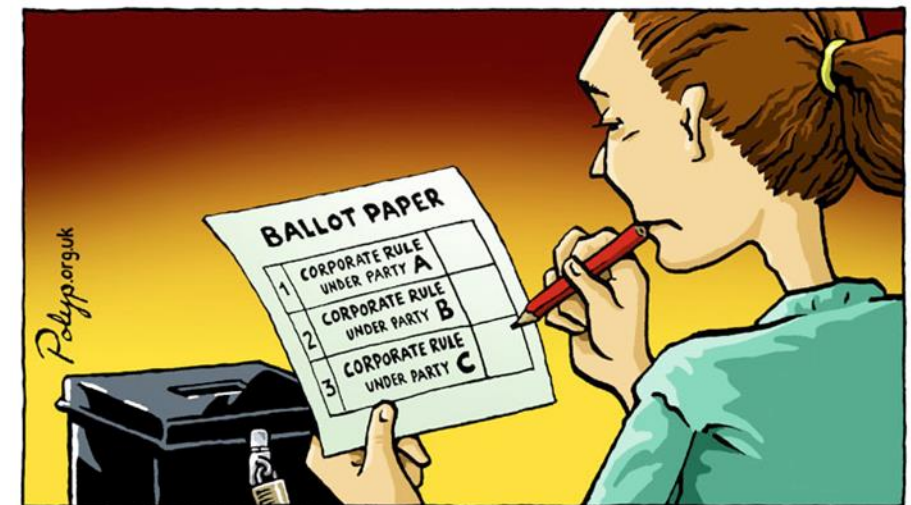
Insulating private power



- The notion of disembedding implies that 'shadow elites' remove or insulate themselves from previously existing forms of democratic accountability.
- We should remember that these previously existing forms were, at the time, regarded somewhat critically by radical social theorists.

Neoliberalism and democracy

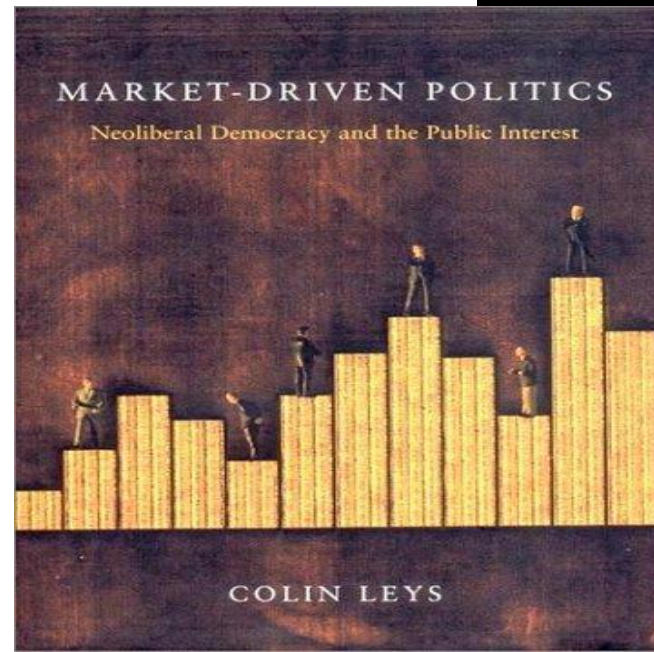
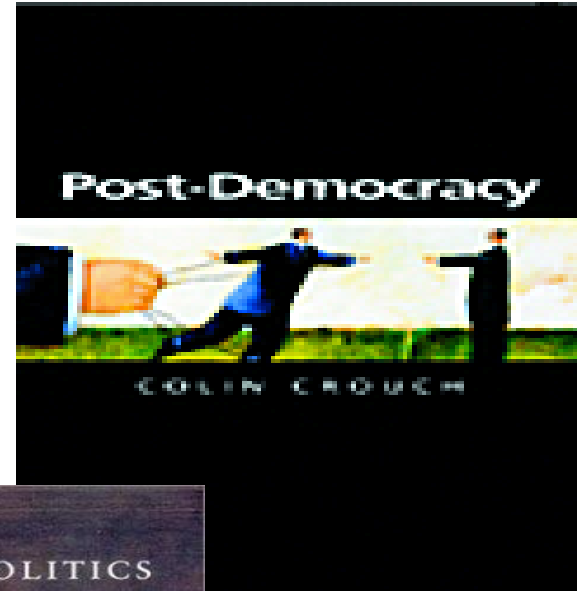
- Decline in political participation
- Convergence of parties towards the market
- Increased role of corporations, think tanks and lobbyists in policy and regulation
- In a phrase: disembedding of the 'power elite'



'SPOILT FOR CHOICE'

Corporate political agency and democracy

- Enhanced role for corporate political agency under neoliberalism
- Neoliberalism: a political project of corporate agency
- Neoliberalism: the move to 'post-democracy' (Colin Crouch) or 'market-driven politics' (Colin Leys)
- Consistent with the 'disembedding' of elites

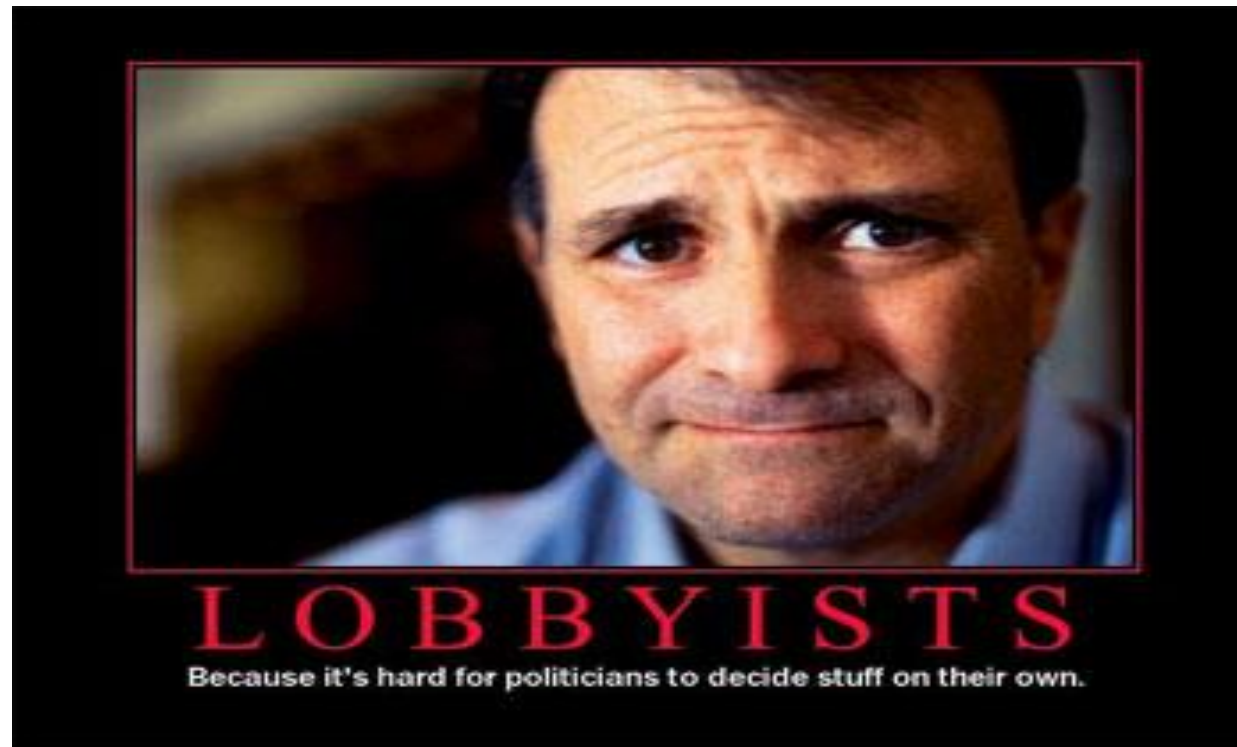


Three arenas of disembedding

1. Lobbying
2. Think tanks
3. Policy planning groups



1. Lobbying



Lobbying

- Disembedding decision making
- Rise of lobbying industry: private intermediary - disembedding the policy process.
- Increase in the revolving door.
- Structural conflicts of interest for policy related actors including ministers, civil servants, elected representatives, policy intermediaries, scientists and other experts
- 'Institutional corruption'



2. Think tanks

The “Russian Doll” model

6 ‘Astroturf’ organisations, e.g. religious, single issue groups

5. General-purpose think tanks, e.g. Institute of Economic Affairs, American Enterprise Institute

4. Foundations for promotion of neoliberal doctrines, e.g. the Volker Fund, the Relm Foundation

3. Faculty members: e.g. Chicago, LSE, St Andrews

2. Capitalists

1 private members-only debating society



Think tanks - Power and influence

- Think tanks do have concrete influences on policy.
- Channels of communicative agency for corporations or 'State-private networks'.
- Directly funded by the corporate sector (some exceptions)
- Vehicles for displacing embedded institutions of knowledge production such as higher education and science.
- Provide infrastructure for disembedding by replacing embedded elites.



'MUTUAL AID'

3. Policy planning organisations

The Bilderberg group

DAY TWO of a dossier on the quiet men who control our destiny

NEWS INQUIRY

SECRET MEETINGS TO SHAPE THE WORLD

by ROBERT ERINGER

An American journalist who has spent four years investigating the all-powerful groups that aim to influence our lives.



LIVE

RT MOSCOW BRISTOL, UK

BILDERBERG MASTERS MEET IN SECRECY SPARKING ANNUAL SPECULATION-FEST

NEWS ENERGY IN TOKYO 3 MONTHS AFTER EARTHQUAKE T



World Economic Forum



The World Economic Forum is an independent international organization committed to improving the state of the world by engaging business, political, academic and other leaders of society to shape global, regional and industry agendas.

Politicians attend the WEF



World Economic Forum



Powerful world leaders invited to the home of corporate policy planning and decision making.

Is Davos the disembodied global business parliament?



Transnational policy planning groups



World Business Council for Sustainable Development



United Nations Global Compact



COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS

The 'hard core' of the global elite?

What stands out... is a two orders-of-magnitude gap between the integration of policy boards with each other and the integration of the most cohesive regional segment of corporate boards (Europe). In 2006, the 11 policy boards shared on average nearly 3.5 members; in the same year, European corporate boards shared a mean of 0.0362 members. In this sense, the policy-board network provides a *hard core* of politically active and socially cohesive cadre to the global corporate elite. This *hard core* is primarily active within European corporate capitalism. (emphasis in original)

Source: Carroll, Bill and Sapinski, JP 2010. The Global Corporate Elite and the Transnational Policy-Planning Network, 1996–2006: A Structural Analysis. *International Sociology* 25(4): 501-538

'Addictive industries'

- Fast Food: Global market value 2013 \$477.1 billion, projected to increase to \$617.6 billion by 2019 ;
- Soft Drinks: Global market value in 2014 \$511.6 billion, an increase of 16.2% since 2009;
- Alcohol: Projected global value by 2020 \$1,451.6 billion;
- Tobacco: Estimated global production valued between \$6 & \$7 Billion in 2012;
- Gambling: \$125 billion in 2013, and growing rapidly.



Multiple corporate voices

- **Science Capture:** funding, management, fake institutes.
- **Civil Society capture:** Astroturf, patient groups, think tanks.
- **Media Capture:** ‘Journo-lobbying’.
- **Policy Capture:** populating the information environment and making that count in action.





Multiple corporate voices



DIAGEO



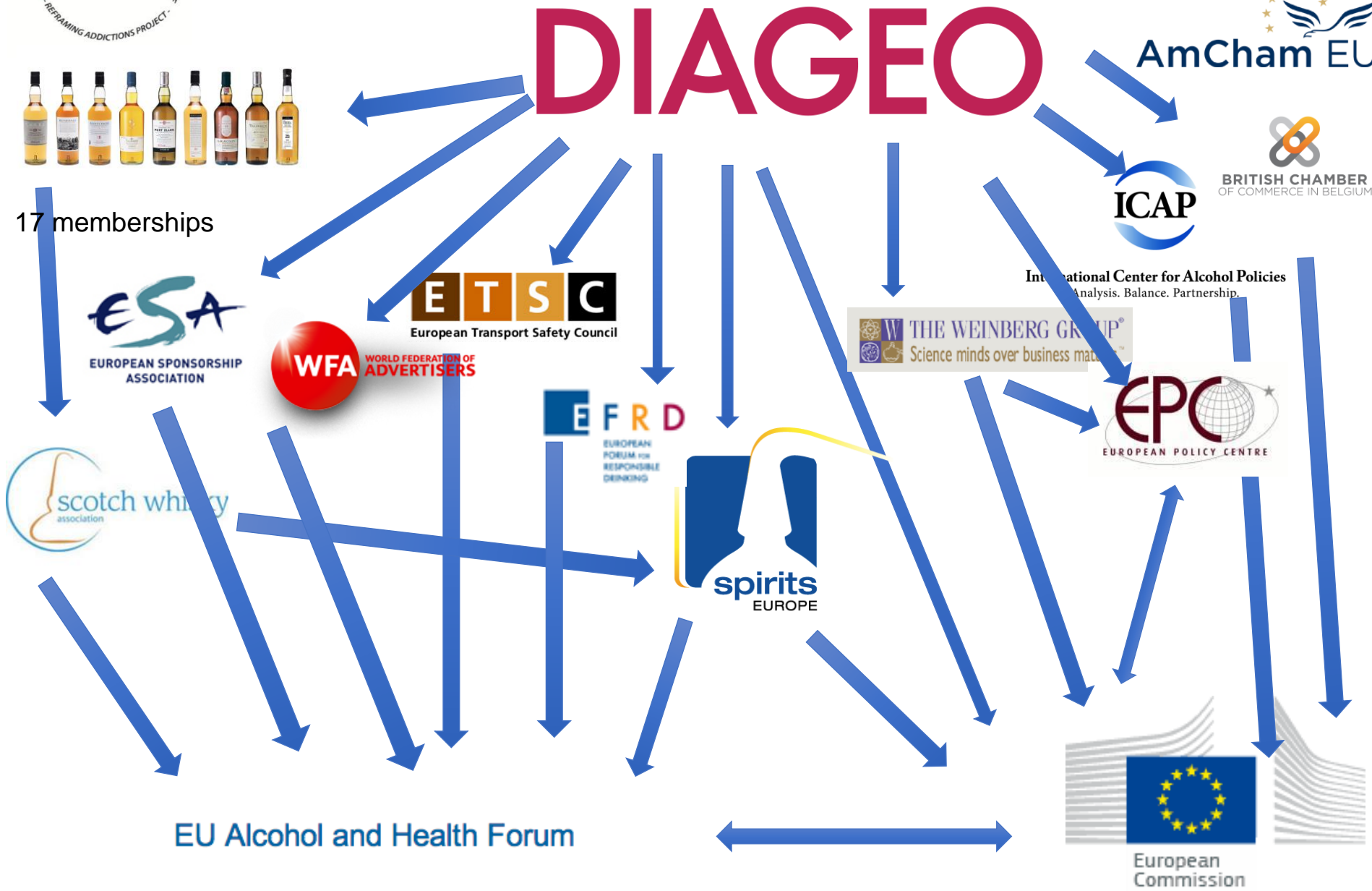
International Center for Alcohol Policies
Analysis. Balance. Partnership.



17 memberships



EU Alcohol and Health Forum





Nestle

Nestle

Lobby group/think tank

Advertising Education Forum
Centre for European Policy Studies

European Policy Centre
European Roundtable of Industrialists
European Food Information Council
Responsible Advertising and Children
SAI Platform – Sustainable Agriculture Initiative
International Life Science Institute

Lobby firm

Weber Shandwick

Policy fora

High Level Forum for a Better Functioning Food Supply Chain
EU Platform for Action on Diet, Physical Activity and Health
European Alliance for Apprenticeships
Advisory Group on Food Waste
European Food Sustainable Consumption and Production Round Table

Trade Associations

European Brands Association
Association of chocolate, biscuit and confectionery industries of the European Union
European Cereal Breakfast Association
Committee of Industrial Users of Sugar
Culinaria Europe
European Coffee federation
European Dairy Association
European Federation of Bottled Water
European Association of Dairy Trade
European Ice Cream Association
European Organization for Packaging and the Environment
Medical Nutrition International
Specialised Nutrition Europe
European Pet Food Industry
FoodDrinkEurope
Union of European Beverages Associations
World Federation of Advertisers





Coca Cola

Coca cola

Lobby groups/think tanks

CSR Europe - The European business network for CSR
 Transatlantic Policy Network
 Advertising Education Forum
 Friends of Europe
 EU Pledge
 European Food & Drink Council
 International Life Science Institute

Lobby firms

Interel European Affairs (since 11/2013)
 EPPA SA
 EU Issue Tracker / Shungham Information
 Dods

Peak business associations

American Chamber of Commerce to the EU
 British Chamber of Commerce in Belgium

Policy fora

EU Platform on Physical Activity, Diet and Health

Trade associations

European Fruit Juice Association
 European Brands Association
 Beverage Industry Environmental Roundtable
 Better Sugarcane Initiative
 Committee of Industrial Users of Sugar
 European Food Law Association
 European Bioplastics
 European Organization for Packaging and the Environment
 European Technical Caramel Association
 European Water Partnership
 FoodDrinkEurope
 International Sweeteners Association
 PET user alliance
 Refrigerants, Naturally!
 SAI - Sustainable Agriculture Initiative
 Sustainability Consortium
 Union of European Beverages Associations
 World Federation of Advertisers



Think tanks and policy planning

- EPC – covert lobbyist for Big tobacco (and food and alcohol)
- Kangaroo Group – key avenue for Tobacco access to policy makers
- ICAP – collective think tank for big alcohol
- ECPA and FoE – foster collective interests of big business including addiction related business
- More transparency needed



KANGAROO GROUP AISBL
FREE MOVEMENT
AND SECURITY



International Center for Alcohol Policies
Analysis. Balance. Partnership.



The case of EU pledge

EU Pledge is not registered
 Three companies register EU Pledge membership
 More than 20 food companies are members

Danone

Identification number: 65744846168-89	Registration date: 08/07/2011	Section: II - In-house lobbyists and trade/business/professional associations
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European Food & Drink Council **EU Pledge** EUROPEAN - European Organisation

Landmark Public Policy Advisers Europe Ltd (Landmark Europe)

Identification number: 98945367035-89	Registration date: 27/10/2011	Section: I - Professional consultancies/law firms/self-employed consultants
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of European Sugar Users, **EU Pledge**, Food Sustainable Consumption

The Coca-Cola Company (Coca-Cola (NYSE: KO))

Identification number: 00475641564-03	Registration date: 23/04/2009	Section: II - In-house lobbyists and trade/business/professional associations
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European Food Law Association **EU Pledge** European Bioplastics European



supported by



Disembedded power elites

- Lobbying, think tanks and elite policy planning groups all show unmistakable signs of processes of disembedding.
- The market is replacing politics as a key site of power. The political system is now increasingly a part of the market.
- Citizens are increasingly excluded from meaningful involvement.
- Processes of re-embedding will be required if social interests are to be re-asserted.

Conclusions

- Corporate actors are organised to manage threats to market activity
- Corporate capture is a key aim
- Multiple corporate voices used to capture media, social responsibility, civil society, science and in the end ... policy
- Advertising and marketing a key battle ground

Manufacturing epidemics: industry influence on trade and governance and how to address it

Sharon Friel

Menzies Centre for Health Governance

School of Regulation and Global Governance

Australian National University



21stC trade and investment

More than just changes to tariff schedules:

1. Removal of obstacles to foreign investment
2. Enable more cross-border supply chains
3. Targeting behind-the-border issues, i.e. domestic policy and regulations
4. Empower market players and increase their influence over government policy making

Sales of Foreign Sugar Sweetened Beverages in Vietnam and the Philippines

Following Vietnam's removal of restrictions on FDI, SSCB sales growth rate increased from 6.7% per year to 23% per year.

Vietnam projected to be one of the largest growth markets for Coca cola and Pepsico.



Challenged by tobacco industry in three forums:

- High Court
- WTO (Ukraine, Honduras, Dominican Republic)
- Hong-Kong Australia Bilateral Investment Treaty (challenge by Philip Morris Asia using an ISDS clause)

The dream of policy coherence

Healthy trade policy:

- use provisions/exceptions in existing trade and investment agreements
- re-set trade rules - institutionalise cross-sectoral dialogue and public health representation in key negotiating forums
- Institutionalise HIA

Trade sensitive health policy:

- design of health policy measures to minimise incoherence with trade policy

The reality of power asymmetries

Webs of actors

- State / non state
- Public / Private
- Health / Other sectors

Spaces and levels

- Global/national/local
- Closed/invited/claimed

Forms of power

- Structural
- Instrumental
- Discursive

The inside and outside game of trade negotiations

	Inside the negotiations	Outside the negotiations
Formal (Rules based)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interdepartmental committees • Ex-ante consultations • Invited stakeholder submissions • Other international treaties (e.g. Codex, FCTC) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Priority of nutrition in policy agenda • Parliamentary inquiries • Authoritative reports
Informal (Agency based)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invited stakeholder roundtables and briefings • Attendance at negotiation rounds (observation and engagement with trade officials) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coalition building • Leaks • MP lobbying • Revolving door • Public awareness raising • Public sentiment

Please send any questions to:

Sharon.friel@anu.edu.au

@SharonFrielOz

Twenty-first century capitalism & commercial determinants of health: What are the connections?



Image credit: S.L. Prescott

Nicholas Freudenberg

Moving upstream to advance understanding of and responses to commercial determinants of health

Presented at 16th World Congress on Public Health 2020 Meeting, October 16, 2020

Fundamental Challenges to Human and Planetary Health in 2020s

1. Escalating climate change and toxic pollution
2. Growing burden of non-communicable diseases
3. Covid-19 and other pandemics
4. Widening economic inequality
5. Persistent systemic racism



Changes in 21st Century Capitalism

1. Corporate managed globalization
2. Financialization
3. Monopoly concentration
4. Tax cuts and austerity
5. Deregulation and privatization
6. Corporate capture of science and technology
7. Aggressive ideological domination

Fundamental Challenges to Human and Planetary Health in 2020s

1. Escalating climate change and toxic pollution
2. Growing burden of non-communicable diseases
3. Covid-19 and other pandemics
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Commercial determinants of health are the pathways by which the profit-driven economy shapes patterns of health and disease

How 21st Century Capitalism Undermines Well-being



**Promotes hyperconsumption of
unhealthy commodities**



Triggers pollution and climate change



**Limits lifestyle and policy choices to options that
support profitability and continued business control**



Exacerbates inequality



Destabilizes democracy

Five Ideas that Sustain Modern Capitalism



Markets know best



Science and technology can solve every human problem



Globalization benefits all



Government is the problem, not the solution



Individuals, not communities, have primary responsibility for health

Ideas to Challenge Modern Capitalism

💰 Markets are amoral and cannot make human and planetary well being the bottom line.

⚛️ Who controls science and technology determines its impact on human and planetary health.



👥 Social movements are fundamental drivers of improvements in living conditions.



🌱 Another world is possible—look around and look back.

Five Premises

Capitalism is a fundamental determinant of well-being and health equity.

In the 21st century, capitalism is changing in ways that magnify its harm to human and planetary health.

Growing global and national discourses on the consequences of and alternatives to modern capitalism create windows of opportunity.

Public health professionals can contribute to supporting the social forces that can make another world possible.

Studying and changing the system of 21st century capitalism is public health's best opportunity to advance human and planetary health.

Why is change NOT Possible?

- There is no alternative
- Elites are too powerful and will resist any change
- Corporations are essential partners in any feasible change

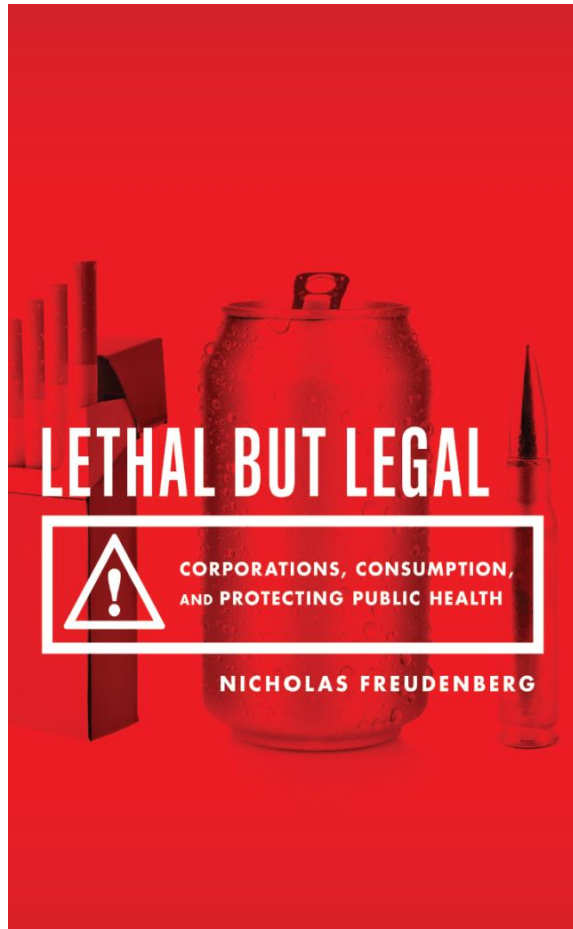


For more info:

Nick.freudenberg@sph.cuny.edu

Corporations and Health Watch

www.corporationsandhealth.org



Forthcoming book:
At What Cost Modern Capitalism and the Future of Health
Oxford University Press, 2021



Alcohol



Automotive



Drugs



Firearms



Tobacco



Food