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Anarchism and Health

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Abstract: This article looks at what anarchism has to offer in debates concerning health and
healthcare. I present the case that anarchism's interest in supporting the poor, sick, and
marginalized, and rejection of state and corporate power, places it in a good position to
offer creative ways to address health problems. I maintain that anarchistic values of autonomy, responsibility, solidarity, and community are central to this endeavor. Rather than
presenting a case that follows one particular anarchist theory, my main goal is to raise
issues and initiate debate in this underresearched field in mainstream bioethics.

15 **Keywords:** anarchism; health; autonomy; responsibility; solidarity; state power; corporate 16 power

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18 Introduction 19

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The ways in which anarchist thought can creatively contribute, even provide solu-20tions, in current debates about health is a subject that has gained little attention in 21 bioethics. In anarchist circles, health forms an important part of the very general 22 challenges that activists and agitators present to mainstream modern, local, and 23 global society. Articulations around climate, energy usage, diet, disease, lifestyle, 24 impact of workplace behavior, and the environment are part of the political expres-25 sion of many anarchist challenges to the world today, but are rarely placed under 26 the banner of health. These concerns for anarchism are, to a large degree, not just 27 challenges to power, hierarchy, institutions, and structures; they also *are* very 28 much about health. From the outset, it can be seen that anarchism's relationship to 29 health is a vast subject, and a short piece such as this will not do it justice. My main 30 aim here is to raise issues, set the scenes, and, I hope, initiate debate about the pos-31 sibilities and opportunities available for research in the area of anarchism and 32 health. I will be more concerned with setting up a framework for discussion than 33 with a particular argument regarding one or another form of anarchism in relation 34 to health. I use the term "anarchism" broadly, and recognize that the matters 35 presented here will elicit different responses and treatments depending on 36 which anarchistic theory is held. In doing so, I propose that any anarchist 37 approach to health focuses on the values of autonomy, responsibility, commu-38 nity, and solidarity. I do not enter into a detailed discussion of the philosophical 39 implications of maintaining these values, but simply present them as a starting **4**0 point for further debate. 41

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43 Defining Anarchism44

Anarchism is a political movement and perspective that is opposed to the hierarchical power of government and other coercive institutions. It has a long and
diverse history, and anarchist practices had been identified long before the term
itself had currency. Pierre Joseph Proudhon, can be seen as the first "self-styled

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⁵⁰ I thank Anne-Marie Stephani for her assistance in editing and proofreading this article.

1 anarchist,"¹ well known for his phrases such as "all property is theft" and 2 "anarchy is order." In the late 1860s, anarchism more properly grew into a social 3 and political movement. Prince Peter Kropotkin provided the first full explana-4 tory definition of anarchism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica², holding that it was 5 "the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society 6 is conceived without government."³ Anarchism is a diverse movement that advo-7 cates freedom and individualism on the one hand, and communitarian collectivism 8 on the other; however, all forms favor addressing solutions from the bottom up 9 rather than imposing them from the top down.

10 It may well be the case that the popular and clichéd image of the anarchist is 11 not one who is immediately concerned with health, but this is far from the 12 truth, as Richard Cleminson⁴ points out in his work on Spanish anarchism. In 13 practice also, this clichéd image is clearly false, and one only needs to look at 14 the activist and anarchist interest in health on websites⁵ to see that many anar-15 chist concerns are intimately bound up with health issues, be they public, 16 social, global, or individual health concerns. They frequently come under other 17 headings—climate change, ecology, and renewable energy use to name but a 18 few—and there are countless pressure groups and activist networks on a global 19 level conscientiously supporting the search for equity justice and autonomy in 20 healthy living. For example, the debate surrounding fracking as a source for 21 carbon-based energy can be framed in terms of a fundamental concern regard-22 ing human and environmental health.⁶ To be more accurate then, there is docu-23 mentation of the interest that anarchism has in health, but it is found in online 24 forums and in pamphlets, and can be witnessed at protests. Even at the very 25 beginnings of anarchist thought, the Russian anarchist activist Mikael Bakunin 26 identified health as a major concern, including opposition to using health a means 27 of making monetary profit. It also expresses that healthcare can be achieved in a 28 communal context:

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First of course are medical services, which will be free of charge to all inhabitants of the commune. The doctors will not be like capitalists, trying to extract the greatest profit from their unfortunate patients. They will be employed by the commune and expected to treat all who need their services. But medical treatment is only the curative side of the science of health care; it is not enough to treat the sick, it is also necessary to prevent disease. That is the true function of hygiene.⁷

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38 My contention is that an anarchistic approach to health can reclaim health as a common good. We have an opportunity and responsibility to provide creative 39 ways of thinking about promoting health that undercuts the state and private 40 41 stranglehold on this public need. Neither the state nor the private sector are necessar-42 ily capable of providing the most efficient distribution of health needs and resources. The motives of both are suspect, based on combinations of self-perpetuation and 43 44 profit. The poor, the sick, and the unhealthy are often the most excluded people in 45 society, and are further marginalized by corporate and state goals. The inclusive 46 and communitarian nature of anarchism seeks to address such issues head on, but 47 with bottom-up rather than top-down solutions. However, there is very little criti-48 cal engagement in the possibilities provided by creative and anarchistic thinking 49 in bioethics literature.

1 Autonomy and Responsibility

What kinds of values does anarchism have to offer the debate? I will first discuss some values that are identified in health ethics elsewhere. For a considerable 4 length of time, the field of bioethics in ethics education and as a result healthcare 5 professionals' education has been strongly influenced (but not exclusively so) by 6 the American approach of principalism. Tom Beauchamp and James Childress's 7 theory is built around a set of principles: autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence 8 (do no harm), and justice.⁸ These provide not only a theoretical foundation for Q approaching moral problems as they may be encountered in practice, but also a 10 philosophical outlook that seeks to direct one to solutions based on balancing these principles, as there may be situations in which they come into conflict. This 12 approach, however, is subject to criticism and debate,⁹ and one can often find 13 alternative values discussed. For example, the move to develop a more European approach presented and argued for in the literature, expresses solidarity, precaution, 15 and dignity. Matti Häyry has suggested that the promotion of a set of European values ought to be about the opening up discussion rather than about the imposition of a set of values or the suppression of one set of values by another.¹⁰ The 18 Nuffield Council's Report on Ethics and Public Health¹¹ identifies some principles under the banner of a liberal model of stewardship. It identifies autonomy, avoiding harm and community as value terms underpinning the pursuit of health. 21 However, it gives an important role to the state in promoting public health, assum-22 ing that the term "stewardship" is sufficient to ward off coercive influences and 23 paternalism, and that health policy ought to be compatible with the views of the 24 public. From an anarchist viewpoint, any mention the role of the state will always **AQ1** 26 sound a warning bell. It will instead be concerned with questions such as: How does the public acquire the education and the information to act in a way that promotes health as a good that is not bound up with the problematic influences of 28 medical discourse and state, corporate, and institutional power? Considering the 29 potential that anarchism has in its activist contribution to health and its strong 30 interest in recognizing health as a battleground where power and state control can be challenged, anarchists are in a position take an active part in this critical explo-32 ration of the kinds of values that matter in the pursuit of health in general. 33

It is clear that one of the main concepts promoted thus far is autonomy, and 34 a second that we can identify is responsibility. The anarchist promotion of autonomy 35 is particularly well suited to supporting challenges to health concerns, because it 36 recognizes health as worth pursuing for its own sake and not subject to instrumental thinking in any form. Even more importantly, it would see health as a 38 prerequisite for autonomy. Where one's health is compromised, so is one's ability to be fully autonomous. Arguably, autonomy and health exist in a biconditional 40 41 relationship with each other. Where autonomy is defined only as the capacity for rational self-determination, it can be quite restricting in that it requires the imposi-42 tion of a judgement that an individual is competent to make certain kinds of 43 choices. As A.J. Davis puts it, in the realm of healthcare, competency is often in the eye of the beholder.¹² It matters then, to conceive of an understanding of auton-45 omy that does not immediately invoke the capacity to impose judgement, but 46 47 rather is truly self-determining and supports an individual in pursuit of that person's life projects and health as a good. An open approach to autonomy allows 48 for debate, disagreement, and difference. Anne J. Davis usefully reminds us that 49

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autonomy is a moral good, but should not be a moral obsession.¹³ Such a good in 1 2 conjunction with health by necessity cannot be convincingly attained in solitude, 3 rather it is a good that can only be pursued in community.

4 Understanding autonomy encounters a problem: The tension between it and 5 community. This is a problem that has occurred in anarchist thought and move-6 ment right back to its early years. Enrico Malatesta, in an essay on individualist 7 and communist/associationist anarchism, saw no strong difference between the 8 solidaire goals of associationist anarchism and the freedom goals of individualist 9 anarchism except, rather humorously, for the suggestion that justice and equity 10 and freedom could not be achieved through individualist anarchism.¹⁴ Murray 11 Bookchin refers to the tension between individualist anarchism and communist 12 anarchism as unresolved, juxtaposing lifestyle anarchism with social anarchism.¹⁵ 13 It is a debate, however, that is also not unfamiliar in healthcare ethics, where this 14 difference expresses itself through discussions concerning communitarian and 15 individualist approaches to healthcare. These, in part, articulate questions on 16 the extent to which the state can legitimately legislate for individual health 17 and lifestyle choices or questions on the conflict between autonomy and benefi-18 cence, where altruism might require one to act in the interest of the other and limit 19 one's individual goals. However, these conflicts frequently occur when values are 20 instrumentalized, or where one value is subordinated as a principle in pursuit 21 of another. This is clear in public health debates,¹⁶ for example, the contestation 22 regarding the smoking ban implementation and its effects on individual health 23 and on communities, from the family, the workplace, and the pub/café culture; or, 24 as shall be expanded on, the issue of fluoridation of drinking water.

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26 Solidarity and Community

28 In addition to autonomy and responsibility, debates and criticisms in anarchist 29 circles concerning the current state of affairs of health concerns focus on promot-30 ing the values of community and solidarity. These are often supported through organizing and coming together in health collectives and protest and pressure 32 groups. The value of solidarity can be a powerful concept to employ with regard AQ333 to health and the pursuit of a common good. Willam Rehg defines solidarity as "a 34 quality of human association, specifically the cohesive social bond that holds a 35 group of people together in an association they both understand themselves to 36 be part of and value."¹⁷ Rehg, however, denies that there can be solidarity that involves irreducibly social goods. Of course in an open definition such as this, soli-38 darity can apply to a wide range of values, even objectionable ones, which groups 39 can hold in common. Solidarity with regard to health needs other cooperating 40 values to give it substantial normative force. This force can be achieved where 41 health is treated as an irreducible social and common good. It is something that we 42 all hold in common. The normative weight required to support solidarity can be 43 provided by articulating the values of autonomy, community, and responsibility 44 with the goal of health in mind.

45 Where anarchist argument can succeed, is in working in areas that already com-46 pliment some of the goals mentioned. Anarchist thought, especially anarcho-47 syndicalist or communist anarchist thought, can find much in common with 48 communitarian approaches to health. For example, Michael Parker has argued that 49 regarding mental health, we need a healthy relationship between communities

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and service users, in the shape of finding the best relationships between the needs 1 2 of individuals and those of the community as a whole.¹⁸ In mental health, consid-3 erations of balancing community safety and health need to be able to complement the needs and promote the autonomy of those with mental health difficulties. He 4 5 attacks autonomy in the libertarian principalist approach to medical and healthcare ethics of Beauchamp and Childress,¹⁹ as this, together with justice, non-maleficence, 6 7 and beneficence reduces decisionmaking to the sphere of the detached reflective 8 individual. It does not take into account the opportunities and contexts of com-9 munities in which such concerns take place. Michael Parker holds that, against the proliferation of calls for individual rights, these principalist values of autonomy, justice, non-maleficence and beneficence cannot come without corresponding 12 responsibilities, and that solutions to moral problems cannot be conceived of in terms of anything other than social relationships and the pursuit of ways of life 13 that involve participation with others.²⁰ The communitarian case, like the anar-14 15 chist case, recognizes that health problems are shared problems. However, I think that anarchist thought can add to communitarian ideas in its experience and interest 16 17 in specifically supporting those poor, sick, and unhealthy who are marginalized and 18 excluded from communities. Sadly, the sick, poor, and unhealthy are often treated 19 through exclusion, rather than inclusion; we might as well think of the sick as being 20 treated as if they have been criminalized for their conditions. The way in which the 21 needy and sick, and the normal and abnormal are classified and are excluded has us 22 participating in a kind of global open prison. Anarchism, in its opposition to power 23 and hierarchy, has the opportunity to ensure that the community ought never to 24 become a new rallying point for a special kind of integrity that needs to be pre-25 served at all costs regarding the "problem" of the unhealthy and the sick. Anarchism 26 in its promotion of perpetual revolution is and ought to be always humble to the 27 dissolution of power structures, in order to maximize inclusivity, yet maintain a 28 sense of the local, in communities. Anarchism, as a movement for social change, has 29 the opportunity to bring resolution to the relationship between autonomy and community, as health is an irreducible good, a common good, and common need that cannot be subject to instrumentalization or compromise.

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A Problematic Past, but a Promising Future

As mentioned, anarchist thought has always been tied in with an interest in human 36 health, both individual and public. However, its history does have a darker side. As Cleminson informs us, the Spanish anarchist movement in the 1860s was 38 actively concerned about health, but its primary interest was in the question of "improving the quality of life of the populace,"²¹ and closely tied to eugenic think-40 ing at the time. Even though Robert Allerton Parker, who coined the term "Birth 41 Control" advocated women's sexual freedom in a sarcastic harsh attack on middle class American feminism,²² many of these early anarchistic ideas and challenges 42 were intimately bound up with eugenic ideas. Margaret Sanger, who also pub-43 44 lished letters in Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth*,²³ on the one hand championed 45 women's freedom, but on other hand was a supporter of eugenics. In her essay A Plan for Peace she advocated that there should be an application of: "a stern and 46 47 rigid policy of sterilisation and segregation to that grade of population whose 48 progeny is tainted or whose inheritance is such that objectionable traits may be 49

transmitted to offspring."24

1 In the same publication her concern was directed to women's health, linking it 2 firmly to the pursuit of peace:

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The third step would be to give special attention to the mother's health, to see that women who are suffering from tuberculosis, heart or kidney disease, toxic goitre, gonorrhoea, or any disease where the condition of pregnancy disturbs their health are placed under public health nurses to instruct them in practical, scientific methods of contraception to safeguard their lives—thus reducing maternal mortality. The above steps may seem to place emphasis on a health programme instead of on tariffs, moratoriums and debts, but I believe that national health is the first essential factor in any programme of peace.²⁵

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13 However, Peter Kropotkin spoke out strongly in Goldman's publications against 14 the sterilization of the unfit, calling for more to be done in investigating and study-15 ing the social roots and causes of the diseases that were the targets of those eager 16 to promote sterilization as a solution. In defense of the poor, workers, and the 17 marginalized, he asks who is to be counted as unfit in the pursuit of making social-18 ism work? These are the very people who could not only be building socialism, 19 but could also benefit more from healthy environmental conditions: "And then 20 once these questions as to who are the unfit have been raised, don't you think that 21 the question as to who are the unfit must necessarily come to the front? Who 22 indeed? The workers or the idlers? The women of the people, who suckle their 23 children themselves, or the ladies who are unfit for maternity because they cannot 24 perform all the duties of a mother? Those who produce degenerates in the slums 25 or those who produce degenerates in the palaces?"²⁶ 26

There is a history in Britain worth recognizing on the subject of self-organization, 27 autonomy, and health, in which anarchistic creative thinking initiated ideas that 28 were eventually taken up in the early development of the National Health Service 29 (NHS). The Peckham Health Centre, founded in 1935, was run on principles that 30 could be classed as anarchistic: "For many of us the experience of Peckham 31 was a unique laboratory of anarchy, it was a study of the living structure of soci-32 ety, exploring principles of organisation applicable not only to health but to every 33 aspect of social welfare, to housing and above all to the organisation of work." 27 34

Unfortunately, it was the advent of the postwar NHS that saw its demise. David Goodway recounts the movement as being one that aimed at five conditions: health overhauls, consultation, consisting of family (only) and local membership, financial contributions by members to the center, and the building and maintaining of autonomy. It was its commitment to these that led to the downfall of the experiment, as its focus on administrative autonomy and contributory rather than free and open access, and on the cultivation of health rather than treatment, did not sit well with the direction that the postwar welfare state was developing.

Nonetheless, the ideas concerning health collectives and a shared approach to health, in which individuals could be experts concerning their own bodies, were being rediscovered, and these "discoveries" continue today. People marginalized (through lack of access and/or poverty for example) and not being heard in the public and private health systems, can benefit from the expertise of others, including professional medical specialists, rather than merely submitting to the authorities of the clinic as the center of expertise. One of many good examples of such

engagement in a society that is heavily compromised in the extreme with regard 1 2 to the corporate stranglehold limiting access to healthcare comes from the Ithaca 3 Health Alliance fund in the United States, which describes itself as a "locally controlled not for profit health security."28 It provides health support for those who 4 5 cannot find needed medical attention because of the unaffordability of health services in the United States for the un- and underinsured. By pooling resources and 6 7 material and medical expertise, and addressing the patient's ability to pay or not 8 to pay, this collective undermines the stranglehold of the private insurance sector 9 on people's lives. Financial affordability is made possible by opening up the space 10 for people to exchange services required through bartering, offering time, community service, home visit credits, as well as hard currency. The emphasis is on 11 12 local provision, and a free clinic exists as a result of the success of the health fund. 13 Through supporting educational initiatives, such as the Ithaca Health and Wellness 14 Fair, an emphasis is placed on reducing cost by the promotion of healthy lifestyle 15 choices. Here is an example of anarchist principles in action: autonomy and collective community-directed thinking, working in solidarity and harmony. Further 16 17 examples of autonomous health movements for the new thinking regarding health 18 around the world can be found in a 2005 issue of *Development*, under the heading 19 "Window on the World," where a series of health movements are listed, many of 20 which promote autonomy, collective engagement, and women's' health concerns.²⁹

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Corporate Problems, State Problems

24 Anarchist thinking promoting collectivist approaches directly counters the role of the state in healthcare. This is a role that has been heavily corrupted by private 26 incentives and the use of health as a mechanism to ensure the perpetuation of state 27 power; it is difficult to see even what existing components of the welfare system can be rescued. Arguably, from the anarchist perspective, the nation-state-organized 29 private partnership investment in health is one of the ways that the state manages to maintain order. It is a rather powerful mix: the political married to the capitalist system with the supposed aim of supporting a human need. The corporate inva-32 sion and privatization agenda of health often makes headline news in the United Kingdom.³⁰ The combined targets of the state, industry, and institutions that support 34 statist and corporate ideologies in health would appear to be insurmountable. The Nuffield Council's Report on Ethics and Public Health, published 10 years ago,³¹ 35 36 is replete with observations and suggestions that involve the role of the state and the individual in the pursuit of health. It presents a range of ethical positions and 38 key examples (infectious diseases, alcohol and tobacco, obesity, and fluoridation) as areas where the state, community, individuals and industry play roles in public 40 health promotion. The report claims to move more in favor of the responsibility of 41 the community than the freedom of the individual, but advocates the role of the 42 state as a steward of health. Under this model, the Nuffield Council report insists 43 that the state has a responsibility to provide the conditions under which people 44 can live healthy lives. The scope covered by this document is a good indication of 45 the areas where anarchist thinking can respond, both negatively and positively. According to Goodway, the state and corporate health perpetuates poverty and 46 illness, destroys mutual aid, and serves to bring about dependency and servility.³² 47 48 Anarchism maintains that neither the state nor the private sector are necessarily 49 capable of providing the most efficient distribution of health needs and resources.

This is because the motives of both are suspect, based on the combination of self-1 2 perpetuation and profit. Therapies rather than cures allow the maintenance of the 3 market success of pharmaceutical industry, and, in addition, most pharmaceutical 4 research is directed toward the lifestyle demands of affluent societies. The United 5 Kingdom's Department for International Development in its research funding 6 framework recognizes (albeit in a footnote with reference to Médicins Sans 7 Frontieres) that 46 times more money was spent on research into Viagra than 8 into malaria.³³ Furthermore, under the medical models of health and disease, 9 "Everyday life occurrences are turned into medical problems, mild symptoms are 10 portrayed as serious and risks become diseases"34

11 State and corporate involvement in healthcare can invoke the imposition of 12 ideas on the public that restrict genuine autonomy and the capacity to make health 13 decisions on the basis of open access to information. Tash Gordon and Becs 14 Griffiths hold more generally that through promoting medical and health fears 15 and risks, these develop into self-obsessions, often disguising the political sources 16 of health problems. Individualizing health on both the medical and political fronts 17 makes consumers the source of health problems and also gives them sole respon-18 sibility for taking action on health. However, paradoxically for many, there is little 19 autonomy in health decisionmaking; the state and/or private sector provide the 20 route to good health. An anarchist approach can open the door to more autonomy 21 in health, but in the context of community and solidarity. Offenses to autonomy 22 even occur when government initiatives are masqueraded as health initiatives; for 23 example, the fluoridation of the water supply as an attempt to combat caries comes 24 across as an attempt at mass medication without considering consent from the 25 public. The British Fluoridation Society promotes John Harris's argument in favor 26 of fluoridation as "the professional philosopher's view." Harris treats the issue of 27 fluoridation as centering on a conflict between the principles of autonomy and 28 beneficence. He treats beneficence as the principle that promotes acting in the 29 interests of others, and autonomy as individuals having permission to control 30 their own lives and destinies in compatibility with others having similar control 31 over their lives.³⁵ These are contentious definitions of autonomy and beneficence, 32 however, and their coming into conflict depends heavily on both being instrumentally conceived; that is, as a means to some other end, in this case the end being 34 support of fluoridation, assuming that it does no harm to those who consume it. Correctly speaking, autonomy is not a principle on its own, but exercising respect 36 for autonomy is. The capacity to act beneficently further is dependent on an agent 37 acting autonomously; therefore, there are conceptual problems that require deeper 38 analysis. Worse still, no alternatives are presented to fluoridation by Harris in his 39 argument. Similarly, although the Nuffield Council's Report On Ethics and Public 40 Health gives a more thorough treatment with regard to the benefits and risks of 41 fluoridation, these focus on fluoridation rather than on the value of promoting 42 better education and dietary change, and the alleviation of poverty in areas where 43 dental caries is most prevalent. Bewilderingly, under the heading of "alternative 44 treatments," alternative *fluoride* treatments are discussed!³⁶ It can be seen, then, 45 that information that allows genuine autonomous choice is absent where it is 46 much needed, in areas where one might be drawn to inquire and search for infor-47 mation regarding fluoridation.

The anarchist challenge in promoting healthy living tackles individualist consumerism head on, but it offers a conceptual tension, not just in health, but in

political thinking also, as it looks to community and collective efforts that ought 1 2 also to leave room for autonomy. A difficult target is being confronted here: the 3 combination of consumer health combined with government power. Health in our 4 current context has ceased to be a common good and has become a public good 5 mixed with a powerful economic component. That is to say, health is treated as a public good in that access to healthcare in terms of medical need involves the 6 7 redistribution of funds acquired through taxation and or insurance. Ideally, a pub-8 lic good once produced ought to not incur any additional costs to the user,³⁷ but 9 this is no longer the case with healthcare; taxation does not cover the cost of health 10 provision, and the private sector is now to a large degree involved through insurance and pharmaceutical industries, and public-private partnership in the provision of 12 healthcare.

13 A positive example of change brought about in healthcare that complements 14 anarchist thinking is seen in patient-centered healthcare. This promotes autonomy, responsibility, and community, such that "patient participating in determin-15 ing appropriate management plans as their condition and motivation allow."38 16 17 Terms such as "choice empowerment" and "participation" come to the fore in the 18 relationship between patient and clinician/carer. The patient is brought back into 19 focus, and attention is given to the input of caregivers, giving both a deserved 20 voice.³⁹ Alison Zucca et al. equate "ask the patient what they would like" with achieving quality of care.40 The main critical and practical effort in patient-21 22 centered care is found in the fields of mental health and in elderly and geriatric 23 care. For example, in the field of dementia, patient-centered care has undergone 24 a shift from the patient merely being an expression of signs and symptoms, to 25 the *person* being treated. Research into the use of multisensory environments 26 documents caregivers' positive experiences of patients with sensory depriva-27 tion who respond well to stimulus demands.. Furthermore, in this research, it 28 has not only become clear that attentiveness to the patient's voice generates 29 more humane care, but that the caregiver, starts to avoid the dehumanizing 30 effects of institutionalization by thinking more creatively about patient need. 31 Patient-centered care improves socialization and personal interaction and personal 32 care, and reduces the use of punishment and the manifestation of verbal and physical abuse.⁴¹ What might be accomplished if such thinking goes further? 34 Listening to the patient's voice, and an approach that can treat patients as experts on their own bodies, in dialogue with practitioners, promote equality 36 between the patient and practitioner by dismantling unhelpful hierarchies of knowledge, and preferring a dialogue.

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³⁹ 40 **Concluding Remarks**

41 In this short article, I have sketched out some areas where the possibilities of anar-42 chist approaches to health can inject interesting challenges to current problems in 43 health, and where creative solutions might be found that counter corporate and state 44 control. One of these is an emphasis on inclusion rather than exclusion of the sick 45 and unhealthy; another is to introduce ideas regarding health based on autonomy, responsibility, solidarity, and community. Anarchist thought can also articulate 46 47 the difficult path between individual interest and social interests. I maintain that 48 anarchism has much to offer mainstream debates in bioethics and health, and 49 there is much scope here for further research.

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AUTHOR QUERIES

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