



Faculté des sciences sociales | Faculty of Social Sciences  
Département de science économique | Department of Economics

Health Economics  
**ECO 6174**  
Winter Term 2025

## Course Information

### Class Schedule:

This course will take place in-person at FSS9003

TUESDAY 2:30 – 5:20 PM

### Professor Information:

**Name:** MYRA YAZBECK

**Email:** [ECO2nd@UOTTAWA.CA](mailto:ECO2nd@UOTTAWA.CA) using **ECO6174** in the subject

**Homepage:** <https://sites.google.com/site/myrayazbeck/home>

**Office:** FSS 9055

**Office Hours:** Wednesday, 12:00 to 1:00 PM (or by appointment)

### Communication Preferences:

For class material: office hours.

For appointments and other matters: Emails. I will answer all emails within 2 business days.

Before emailing a question, please read this syllabus and explore the associated resources. The answers to many questions can be found in this document and students may be referred to the syllabus if the answer is already available. Please allow at least two **(2) business days** for responses to inquiries before pursuing another route of communication.

**Short Bio:** I am currently a Full Professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa and an Associate Editor for the Journal of Population Economics and a fellow of the Economic Research Forum for Arab Countries. I received her PhD in Economics from Université Laval in 2011. In 2012, I completed a year of post-doctoral studies at McGill University, Department of Epidemiology Biostatistics and Occupational Health, where I developed a research agenda on health inequalities. My dissertation focuses on the impact of social networks on health outcomes. My research interests are mainly in the field of health economics, social interactions/networks and inequality, and development economics. Prior to joining the University of Ottawa, I was an Assistant Professor at the School of Economics in the University of Queensland (Australia) the I have published many articles in international refereed journals such as Journal of Econometrics, Journal of Health Economics, Health Economics, Labor Economics, Social Choice and Welfare and Social

Science and Medicine, and Economics and Human Biology. I am a fellow member of the Life Course Center (University of Queensland Australia), an associate member of the Canadian Center for Health Economics (University of Toronto, Canada), a member of the Human Capital and Economic Opportunity Global Working Group at the University of Chicago.

**Website:** <https://hceconomics.uchicago.edu/people/myra-yazbeck>

**Homepage:** <https://sites.google.com/site/myrayazbeck/home>

**Other instructor/TA:** Aline Zayat

## Official Course Description

Review of both classic and frontier work in the field of health and health care economics. Empirical work with an emphasis on theory and methodology. This course is also relevant to students interested in broader empirical microeconomic research. This course is equivalent to ECON 5460 at Carleton University.

## Course Learning Outcomes

### General Course Learning Outcomes

At the end of this course, the student should be able to use survey data to perform different analysis determinants of health outcomes and health related policies.

### Specific Course Learning Outcomes

At the end for this course, the student should be able:

- Understand how the causal framework analysis works in questions related to health determinants (health production function) and different public policies.
- Identify sources of exogenous variations that that could help you use the causal framework to health-related questions.
- Read articles on health topics and be able to discuss critically based on the approaches taught in class.
- Use the causal analysis framework and apply it to real life settings and scenarios.

At the end for this course to use Stata and real datasets to estimate and analyze:

- Determinants of health outcomes
- Impact of different policies on health.

## Teaching Methods

This course will be delivered in lectures only. The slides presented during class will be available on Brightspace for you to view. All class material is copyrighted and should not be shared on any website or sold to any third party.

### Experiential Learning Activities

Many of the assessment methods of this course will consist of assignments that are similar to assignments that a professional economist or a researcher in economics would have to perform in a real working environment:

- The take-home midterm exam using real data 25%
- 50% of the final take-home exam consists of an exam using real data.
- 50% of the final take-home exam consists of a literature review for M.A. Students and a research proposal for Ph.D. Students.

## Course Calendar

Date	Course	Workshops	Assignments/Meetings
Week 1	Lecture		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 2	Lecture		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 3	Lecture		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 4	Lecture		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 5	Lecture		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 6	Lecture		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 7	Reading week		
Week 8	No lecture Exam		Take-Home Midterm due on Friday February 28
Week 9	Lecture		Literature review Plan (M.A) / Literature review (Ph.D.) Monday May 3 <sup>rd</sup>
Week 10	Lecture		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 11	Lecture		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 12	Presentations		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Week 13	Presentations		Submit Weekly Task (When Applicable -- see Brightspace)
Exam period			Take-home Final exam due on Thursday April 25

## Assessment Strategy

Evaluation format	Weight	Date
Take-home midterm	25%	February 28
Literature Review Plan (M.A)/ Literature Review Draft (Ph.D.)	10%	March 3rd
In Class Presentation Articles	10%	Last two Lectures
Class Participation	5%	All the semester
Final take-home exam	50 %	April 25

# Assessment Policies and Expectations

## Attendance

To ensure they succeed in all courses of their program of study, students have the responsibility to participate in the various learning and assessment activities for each of their courses.

## EIN (fail) Grading Policy

In all economics courses, students who fail to complete work (either a single piece of work or a combination of work) worth a total of 25% or more of the final grade will receive a grade of EIN in the course. The EIN grade is equivalent to a failure mark (F). See Regulation A-3 (<https://www.uottawa.ca/about-us/policies-regulations/academic-regulations/a-3-grading-system>) for details. Please note that a denied request for a deferral may therefore lead to failing the course.

Students who have not completed evaluations worth at least 25% of the total course grade by **March 21** must withdraw from the course. Otherwise, they will receive an EIN grade and will automatically fail the course.

## Missed exams and requests for deferral

As per [Academic Regulation A-8](#), absence from any examination on medical grounds or due to exceptional personal circumstances, must be reported by submitting the online [Declaration of Absence from an Evaluation](#) form within the five (5) following working days of the examination. If a deferred evaluation is granted for the final exam, the evaluation must take place as soon as possible, but no later than six (6) months of the end of the term for undergraduate studies and no later than three (3) months for graduate studies.

Students who defer an exam will be required to write a deferred evaluation, except where the professor offers a re-weighting scheme. (If available, such a scheme is described in this syllabus).

The mid-term/final cannot be differed this exam does not take the time I am giving you to write. This exam should be executed in a two weeks' time and deferral is not possible.

A \$60 administrative fee will be charged for each submission of the Declaration of Absence from an Evaluation form.

All students must write the final exam of the course.

**Deferred final examinations will take place on May 10, 2025.**

Students should reflect deeply before requesting a deferred evaluation. Students who are struggling to keep up with their schedule may find it worthwhile to withdraw from the course and take it again at a later date. For further information on withdrawing from the course, consult the link <https://www.uottawa.ca/course-enrolment/withdrawing-from-a-course>.

## Exam conflicts

Any conflict with a midterm exam schedule should be reported to the Professor at the beginning of the term. This request is especially applicable to the type 3 conflict (two in-class exams back-to-back) for students with special learning needs.

Any conflict with a final exam schedule should be reported to the Faculty's undergraduate office as soon as the final examination schedule is released.

## Late Assignments

All assignments (not exams) are to be submitted by their due date and time. This applies to presentation slides and literature review outline. No late take home exams will be accepted.

All late submissions will be immediately docked 5%, with an additional 5% for each subsequent day late to a maximum of 3 days, *including weekends*. **After 3 days all outstanding assignments will be given a zero (0%) grade.**

## Exams Integrity

In this course 75 % of the evaluation is based on take home exams and 25% is based on individual-specific work namely, active participation in class, literature review as well as in class oral presentation. Each student will have to sign an integrity pledge for their take home exams. These exams should reflect the student's own work and should be written by each student alone that is, **not in collaboration with other students**. Should similar codes or similar submissions be detected, a mark of zero will be automatically given for the involved parties and a warning will be issued. Should the behaviour be repeated more than once (e.g., in the empirical part and paper discussions), I will have to report the behaviour to the academic integrity office.

## Assessment Details

### Exams (75 % of the final grade)

There will be two take-home exams. The midterm counts for 25% of the final grade, and the final for 50% of the final grade.

- The take-home midterm exam and 50% of the final exam consist of applying the concepts presented in class using real data.
- The applications should be done in stata. This statistical language is available for free via the department. Tutorials will be presented during lectures.
- 50% of the take-home final exam consists in writing literature review for M.A. students and research proposal for Ph.D. Students.

Each take-home exam will be posted at least two weeks before the due date.

For all M.A. Students, the literature review of **6 papers pre-approved** by the professor. **The topics must be selected before the end of the third week of and must be approved by the professor.** Should the topic selected be deemed inadequate, the professor will provide you with a list of potential topics. All papers selected must be papers in the field of economics and using empirical applied micro methods.

For All Ph.D. Students, the project proposal that is in line with the literature review submitted. This project proposal must clearly identify a contribution to the literatures, the identification strategy, the estimation method and data to be used with some evidence that the proposed project is feasible (e.g., showing that the data is available and that sample size is sufficient for carrying estimations).

### Oral presentation (10% of the final grade)

The student will make an oral presentation of an article. Each student must present a different paper. All students will be required to submit their presentation by a date to be announced in class and on Brightspace. Grading will be based on the quality of the oral presentation (50%) and the quality of the slides (50%).

### Participation (5% of the final grade)

Students are expected to read the allocated articles and participate in class discussions regarding these articles.

## Required Materials

The professor will be providing slides and readings on weekly basis from the reference list provided in this course outline.

The student should have access to a personal computer on which to install Stata (available on the department's website).

# Course Outline

## TOPICS

### 1- Introduction to Health Economics.

Medical Care Market

Measuring Health

**Statistical Interlude:** Causal Inference Framework

### 2- Demand for Health Care

RAND and Oregon Medicaid experiment

Health Care demand issues in the Developing World

**Statistical Interlude:** Randomized Evaluations/ Randomized Controlled Trials

### 3- Law and Health

Impact of legislations on health

**Statistical Interlude:** Quasi-experimental Approach

### 4- Employment and Health.

Impact of working conditions on health

Impact of Health on employment

**Statistical Interlude:** Quasi-experimental Approach

### 5- Environment and Health

Impact of environment on cognitive ability

Impact of environment on health of infants and children/ Foetal Origin Hypothesis.

**Statistical Interlude:** Quasi-experimental Approach

### 6- Social Interactions/ Peer Effects / Spousal Spillovers

Social Network Data Types

Obesity and Physical Activity

Mental Health and Life Satisfaction

**Statistical Interlude:** Quasi-experimental Approach

### 7- Demand for Health (optional)

Foetal Origin Hypothesis.

Socioeconomic Status (conditions) and Health Outcomes

Conflict/ Violence and Health Outcomes.

**Statistical Interlude:** Quasi-experimental Approach

### 8- Health Inequalities (optional).

Measures of Health Inequality

Measures of socioeconomic health Inequality

**Statistical Interlude:** Measurement theory.



# Bibliography

## Methods

Angrist, J. D., & Pischke, J. S. (2008). *Mostly harmless econometrics: An empiricist's companion*. Princeton university press.

Cameron, A. C., & Trivedi, P. K. (2005). *Microeconometrics: methods and applications*. Cambridge university press.

Deaton, A. (2020). *Randomization in the tropics revisited: a theme and eleven variations* (No. w27600). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Gerber, A. S., & Green, D. P. (2012). *Field experiments: Design, analysis, and interpretation*. WW Norton.

Glennerster, R., & Takavarasha, K. (2013). *Running randomized evaluations: A practical guide*. Princeton University Press.

Imbens, G. W., & Rubin, D. B. (2015). *Causal inference in statistics, social, and biomedical sciences*. Cambridge University Press.

O'donnell, O., Van Doorslaer, E., Wagstaff, A., & Lindelow, M. (2007). *Analyzing health equity using household survey data: a guide to techniques and their implementation*. The World Bank.

## Topics

Almost every week, I will **select papers** from this list.

### Demand for Health Care

- Chap 2, 5, and 13 BHT
- Baicker, K., Finkelstein, A., Song, J. and Taubman, S., 2014. The impact of Medicaid on labor market activity and program participation: evidence from the Oregon Health Insurance Experiment. *American Economic Review*, 104(5), pp.322-28.
- Christian, M.D., Sprung, C.L., King, M.A., Dichter, J.R., Kissoon, N., Devereaux, A.V. and Gomersall, C.D., 2014. Triage: care of the critically ill and injured during pandemics and disasters: CHEST consensus statement. *Chest*, 146(4), pp 61S-e74S.
- Currie, J., Lin, W. and Meng, J., 2014. Addressing antibiotic abuse in China: An experimental audit study. *Journal of development economics*, 110, pp.39-51.
- Currie, J., Lin, W. and Zhang, W., 2011. Patient knowledge and antibiotic abuse: Evidence from an audit study in China. *Journal of health economics*, 30(5), pp.933-949
- Dhruv K., 2020. The Challenges of Post-COVID Care. April 23, 2020.
- Fenkelstein, A. & Taubman S. 2015. Using randomized evaluations to improve the efficiency of US healthcare delivery. Mimeo.

- Gawande, A., 2009. The Cost Conundrum. *The New Yorker* June 1, 2009.
- Krugman, P., 2007. Health Care Terror. *The New York Times*. July 9, 2007.
- Lu, F., 2014. Insurance coverage and agency problems in doctor prescriptions: Evidence from a field experiment in China. *Journal of Development Economics*, 106, pp.156-167.
- Manning, W. G., Newhouse, J. P., Duan, N., Keeler, E. B., & Leibowitz, A. 1987. Health insurance and the demand for medical care: evidence from a randomized experiment. *The American economic review*, 251-277.
- Maves, R.C., Downar, J., Dichter, J.R., Hick, J.L., Devereaux, A., Geiling, J.A., Kissoon, N., Hupert, N., Niven, A.S., King, M.A. and Rubinson, L.L., 2020. Triage of scarce critical care resources in COVID-19: an implementation guide for regional allocation An expert panel report of the Task Force for Mass Critical Care and the American College of Chest Physicians. *Chest*.
- Schmidt H., 2020. The Way we Ration Ventilators is Biased. *The New York Times* April, 15 2020.
- Sharon K., 2020. As COVID-19 Crisis Worsens, health-care providers question how much mortal risk they should be asked. *National Post*, April 2, 2020.
- Singer, P., 2009. Why We Must Ration Health Care. *New York Times* July 15, 2009.
- Taubman, S. L., Allen, H. L., Wright, B. J., Baicker, K., & Finkelstein, A. N., 2014. Medicaid increases emergency-department use: evidence from Oregon's Health Insurance Experiment. *Science*, 343(6168), 263-268.

### Health in the Developing World

- Athey, S., & Imbens, G. W. 2017. The econometrics of randomized experiments. *Handbook of Economic Field Experiments*, 1, 73-140.
- Banerjee, A., Duflo, E. and Glennerster, R., 2011. Is Decentralized Iron Fortification a Feasible Option to Fight Anemia Among the Poorest? In *Explorations in the Economics of Aging* (pp. 317-344). University of Chicago Press.
- Banerjee, A., Barnhardt, S. and Duflo, E., 2015. Movies, Margins and Marketing: Encouraging the Adoption of Iron-Fortified Salt (No. w21616). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Banerjee, A.V., Duflo, E. and Glennerster, R., 2008. Putting a Band-Aid on a corpse: Incentives for nurses in the Indian public health care system. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 6(2 3), pp.487-500.
- Banerjee, A., Finkelstein, A., Hanna R., Olken, B., Ornaghi, A., Sumarto, S., 2019. The challenges of universal health insurance in developing countries: Evidence from a large-scale randomized experiment in Indonesia, NBER Working Paper No. 26204.
- Banerjee, A., and Esther D., 2011. Low-Hanging Fruit. Chapter 3 in *Poor Economics*, New York: Public Affairs, chapter 3, 41-70.
- Cumming-Bruce, N., 2008. Global child mortality is halved. *New York Times*, February 2, 2008.
- Das, J. and Hammer, J., 2007. Money for nothing: the dire straits of medical practice in Delhi, India. *Journal of Development Economics*, 83(1), pp.1-36.
- Das, J. and Hammer, J., 2007. Location, location, location: residence, wealth, and the quality of medical care in Delhi, India. *Health Affairs*, 26(3), pp. w338-w351.
- Dhaliwal, I. and Hanna, R., 2017. The devil is in the details: The successes and limitations of bureaucratic reform in India. *Journal of Development Economics*, 124, pp.1-21.
- Dupas, P., & Miguel, E. 2017. Impacts and determinants of health levels in low-income countries. *Handbook of Economic Field Experiments*, 2, 3-93.

- Glennerster, R. and Takavarasha, K., 2013. Running randomized evaluations: A practical guide. Princeton University Press. Chapter 2, 3 and 4 (without section 4.6)
- Levine, D., Polimeni, R. and Ramage, I., 2016. Insuring health or insuring wealth? An experimental evaluation of health insurance in rural Cambodia. *Journal of Development Economics*, 119, pp.1-15.
- Mensah, J., Oppong, J.R. and Schmidt, C.M., 2010. Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme in the context of the health MDGs: An empirical evaluation using propensity score matching. *Health economics*, 19(S1), pp.95-106.
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- Wagstaff, A., Nguyen, H.T.H., Dao, H. and Bales, S., 2016. Encouraging health insurance for the informal sector: a cluster randomized experiment in Vietnam. *Health economics*, 25(6), pp.663-674.

### **Working Conditions and Health**

- Dawson, C., Veliziotis, M., Pacheco, G. and Webber, D.J., 2015. Is temporary employment a cause or consequence of poor mental health? A panel data analysis. *Social Science & Medicine*, 134, pp.50-58.
- Green, F., 2011. Unpacking the misery multiplier: How employability modifies the impacts of unemployment and job insecurity on life satisfaction and mental health. *Journal of health economics*, 30(2), pp.265-276.
- Fischer, J.A. and Sousa-Poza, A., 2009. Does job satisfaction improve the health of workers? New evidence using panel data and objective measures of health. *Health economics*, 18(1), pp.71-89.
- Fletcher, J.M., Sindelar, J.L. and Yamaguchi, S., 2011. Cumulative effects of job characteristics on health. *Health economics*, 20(5), pp.553-570.
- Freise, D., Schmitz, H. and Westphal, M., 2022. Late-career unemployment and cognitive abilities. *Journal of Health Economics*, 86, p.102689.
- Jung, D., Tang, K.K. and Yazbeck, M., 2022. Poor Job Conditions Amplify Negative Mental Health Shocks. *Labour Economics*, 79, p.102257.
- Ravesteijn, B., Kippersluis, H.V. and Doorslaer, E.V., 2018. The wear and tear on health: What is the role of occupation? *Health economics*, 27(2), pp.e69-e86.
- Rohde, N., Tang, K.K., Osberg, L. and Rao, P., 2016. The effect of economic insecurity on mental health: Recent evidence from Australian panel data. *Social science & medicine*, 151, pp.250-258.

### **Environment and Cognitive Ability**

- Almond, D., Edlund, L., & Palme, M. (2009). Chernobyl's subclinical legacy: prenatal exposure to radioactive fallout and school outcomes in Sweden. *The Quarterly journal of economics*, 124(4), 1729-1772.
- Archsmith, J., Heyes, A., & Saberian, S. (2018). Air quality and error quantity: Pollution and performance in a high-skilled, quality-focused occupation. *Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists*, 5(4), 827-863.
- Bedi, A. S., Nakaguma, M. Y., Restrepo, B. J., & Rieger, M. (2021). Particle pollution and cognition: Evidence from sensitive cognitive tests in Brazil. *Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists*, 8(3), 443-474.
- Bharadwaj, P., Gibson, M., Zivin, J. G., & Neilson, C. (2017). Gray matters: Fetal pollution exposure and human capital formation. *Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists*, 4(2), 505-542.

- Carneiro, J., Cole, M. A., & Strobl, E. (2021). The effects of air pollution on students' cognitive performance: evidence from Brazilian university entrance tests. *Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists*, 8(6), 1051-1077.
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- Chen, X., Zhang, X., & Zhang, X. (2017). Smog in our brains: Gender differences in the impact of exposure to air pollution on cognitive performance.
- Sanders, N. J. (2012). What doesn't kill you makes you weaker: Prenatal pollution exposure and educational outcomes. *Journal of Human Resources*, 47(3), 826-850.
- Sheldon, T. L., & Sankaran, C. (2017). The impact of Indonesian forest fires on Singaporean pollution and health. *American Economic Review*, 107(5), 526-529.

### **Fetal Origin Hypothesis**

- Chap 3, BHT
- Almond, D., Currie, J. and Duque, V., 2018. Childhood circumstances and adult outcomes: Act II. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 56(4), pp.1360-1446.
- Almond, D. (2006). Is the 1918 influenza pandemic over? Long-term effects of in utero influenza exposure in the post-1940 US population. *Journal of political Economy*, 114(4), 672-712.
- Barker, D. J. (1995). Fetal origins of coronary heart disease. *Bmj*, 311(6998), 171-174.
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- Lin, M.J. and Liu, E.M., 2014. Does in utero exposure to illness matter? The 1918 influenza epidemic in Taiwan as a natural experiment. *Journal of health economics*, 37, pp.152-163.
- Majid, M.F., 2015. The persistent effects of in utero nutrition shocks over the life cycle: Evidence from Ramadan fasting. *Journal of Development Economics*, 117, pp.48-57.
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- Torche, F., 2018. Prenatal exposure to an acute stressor and children's cognitive outcomes. *Demography*, 55(5), pp.1611-1639.

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- Wilde, J., Apouey, B. H., & Jung, T. (2017). The effect of ambient temperature shocks during conception and early pregnancy on later life outcomes. *European Economic Review*, 97, 87-107.

### **Socioeconomic Status (conditions) and health Outcomes.**

- Ahn, T., 2015. Reduction of Working Time: Does It Lead to a Healthy Lifestyle? *Health economics*.
- Akee, R., Simeonova, E., Costello, E.J. and Copeland, W., 2015. How does household income affect child personality traits and behaviors? (No. w21562). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Aouad M., 2019. The Intracorrelation of Family Health Insurance and Health Care Consumption. Mimeo.
- Apouey, B. and Clark, A.E., 2015. Winning big but feeling no better? The effect of lottery prizes on physical and mental health. *Health economics*, 24(5), pp.516-538.
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- Ruhm, Christopher, 2000, “Are Recessions Good for Your Health?” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 115(2), pp617-650.

## Conflict/Violence and Health Outcomes

- Janke, K., Propper, C. and Shields, M.A., 2016. Assaults, murders and walkers: The impact of violent crime on physical activity. *Journal of Health Economics*.
- Carlson, K., 2018. Red Alert: Prenatal Stress and Plans to Close Military Bases. *American Journal of Health Economics*, 4(3), pp.287-320.
- Kim, D. and Albert Kim, Y.I., 2018. Mental health cost of terrorism: study of the Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris. *Health economics*, 27(1), pp.e1-e14.
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- Minoiu, C. and Shemyakina, O.N., 2014. Armed conflict, household victimization, and child health in Côte d'Ivoire. *Journal of Development Economics*, 108, pp.237-255.
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## Laws and Health

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## Indigenous Affirmation

### **ANISHINÀBE**

*Ni manàdjiyànànig Màmìwininì Anishinàbeg, ogog kà nàgadawàbandadjig iyo akì eko weshkad. Ako nongom ega wìkàd kì mìgiwewàdj.*

*Ni manàdjiyànànig kakina Anishinàbeg ondaje kaye ogog kakina eniyagizidjig enigokamigàg Kanadàng eji ondàpinangig endàwàdjìn Odàwàng.*

*Ninisidawinawànànig kenawendamòdjig kije kikenindamàwin; weshkinìgidjig kaye kejeyàdizidjig.*

*Nigijeweninmànànig ogog kà nìgànì sòngideyedjig; weshkad, nongom; kaye àyànikàdj.*

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### **ENGLISH**

We pay respect to the Algonquin people, who are the traditional guardians of this land. We acknowledge their longstanding relationship with this territory, which remains unceded.

We pay respect to all Indigenous people in this region, from all nations across Canada, who call Ottawa home.

We acknowledge the traditional knowledge keepers, both young and old.

And we honour their courageous leaders: past, present, and future.

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