

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL 482 H (F) / 2482
The Politics of Disease and Epidemic:
The political and moral economy of HIV/AIDS
Fall 2009

Wednesdays 2-4; Venue: TC24

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Course Overview

This course will consider the impact and implications of the AIDS epidemic in a developing country context. It introduces political and moral economy approaches to disease and epidemic, and uses these approaches to explore the macropolitical and macroeconomic dimensions of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, its vectors of transmission and its impact.

The organization of the seminar is structured around the mutually constitutive relationship between the HIV/AIDS epidemic on the one hand, and state and society on the other. To put this more concisely (and with apologies to Charles Tilly), it considers then how the state makes epidemic and how epidemic, in turn, makes the state. The course begins from the premise that the nature of the epidemic in each society is particular and is structured by the specific features of that society. In turn, the epidemic itself can then shape the society in which it flourishes, producing a particular kind of polity and economy. Students will therefore be challenged to consider the politics that flow from the epidemic's interaction with the broader macroeconomy, and the response of key economic and political actors - including core government departments and private sector actors - to that epidemic.

Many of the readings will draw on African cases (with a particular focus on South Africa) as this is where most of the literature in this new area is being published but we will also consider what may be learned by careful comparisons with other affected countries and regions.

Reading

The reading requirement for this class is heavy. In some weeks, I have listed recommended readings in addition to the required readings. These are provided as a guide should you wish to consider a theme in more detail in further reading on your own.

Format and requirements

This is a joint graduate/senior undergraduate seminar, and will be conducted at the appropriate (advanced) level. The requirements for graduate students do not differ substantively from what is required for undergraduates but graduates' work will be graded according to a more demanding rubric.

Course requirements

The final grade for the course will be calculated as follows:

1.	Preparatory paper	25%
2.	Research paper	55%
3.1	Class participation	10%
3.2	Analysis of selected reading	10%
TOTAL		100%

For all written assignments, students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their work before handing the final version in. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. All graded assignments are to be kept by students until the grades have been posted on ROSI.

For both written assignments, students are required to pick a particular AIDS-affected country or region and to focus their reading and writing on this area. The preparatory paper will require you, first, to review and consider the core literature on a particular national/regional epidemic. Second, the final research paper will require you to connect what you know about this particular epi/pandemic to a broader political discussion. Late written assignments will attract a penalty of 2% per day including weekends – with one exception. For the final written assignment, late submissions (i.e submissions later than 4pm, xxxl) will NOT be accepted. A grade of zero will therefore be awarded for this assignment.

Extensions will only be considered under exceptional circumstances, with supporting documentation and ahead of time. You are strongly advised to contact the instructor as soon as you know that there is a problem.

1. Preparatory paper: Particular disease, particular politics *Literature review /annotated bib*

This paper will be due before or at the beginning of class in the **fourth week** of the seminar i.e Wed 30th September 2009

Select the most appropriate and important books/ articles on the key dimensions of the epidemic in the society that you have selected. Focus in particular on the interaction between broad social factors and the particular epidemiology of AIDS in the society you have chosen. Consider in particular how social, political and economic factors shape the vectors of transmission of the virus and how, in turn, the resultant epidemic shapes broader society. This should be 5-6 (6-8 pages for graduates) pages long and should consider at least four books/ articles.

2. Research paper *Novel assignment:*

Select one of the following three novels.

- Albert Camus, *The plague*
- Daniel Defoe, *Journal of the plague year*
- Jose Saramago, *Blindness*

Consider how the political and economic dimensions of the epidemic laid out in that novel resemble those of the AIDS epidemic in your selected society. How do the themes we have discussed in class resonate (if, at all) with what you read in the novel, and what you have learned about AIDS in the particular society you selected? What insights, if any, is the novelist able to provide into how epidemic both reflects and shapes social, political and economic structure? And what does the novelist miss about particular aspects of the AIDS epidemic?

Do not feel that you need to cover every aspect of epidemic treated by the novelist. Indeed you are well advised to structure this essay clearly around selected themes and/or a clearly articulated argument. Feel free to consider also some additional themes not covered in this course, such as those highlighted in Appendix A.

This second assignment is due on or before the beginning of class **on the last day** of class (Wednesday 2 December 2009) although a draft of the paper must be submitted at an earlier stage in the class (week 8, Wed 28th October). For undergraduates, your final paper should be between 18-20 pages and for graduate students, 20-25 pages.

3.1 Class participation

This grade will be based on your participation in the seminar throughout the semester. I will be looking for evidence that you have read, understood and moved beyond the readings prescribed.

3.2 In-class presentation of one selected reading

The grade for this will be based on your verbal presentation in class, and on the 1 page summary of your presentation that you will be required to submit to the instructor at the same time. Students will sign up for a particular reading in the second week of class. The due date then will obviously vary with the reading selected.

Academic Integrity

In the academy, ideas are the coin of our realm. Plagiarism undermines the most basic principles and standards of the university. As a student at UofT, you are expected to know, understand and uphold the highest standards of academic integrity. You should be well aware then that it is an academic offence to present work or ideas as your own if they are not, regardless of whether your intention is to deceive, or not. This requires you to be absolutely scrupulous in your use of citations, attributions and quotation marks.

Plagiarism includes but is not limited to: the submission of someone else's work, or a section written by someone else, as your own; failing to footnote properly; the improper or incomplete use of quotation marks; the falsification of a bibliography.

Allow me to reiterate: Even if a source is footnoted in your essay, if you have used another author's words you **MUST** indicate this by appropriate and accurate use of quotation marks.

If you are unsure about whether your work meets the requisite standards of academic integrity, please consult me **BEFORE** your work is submitted. There are also a multitude of sources available online and in the library that will give you guidance on this issue.

Cf. "How not to plagiarise" by M Proctor

<http://www.utoronto.ca/writing>

<http://www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/ofr/calendar/rules.htm>

Please note that according to Section C.I.(a) 12 of the University's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.utoronto.ca/govcncl/pap/policies/behaveac.html>), students may not withdraw from a course in which they have committed an offence and where sanctions have been imposed. If it is discovered that you have withdrawn yourself from the course, you will be reinstated in the course, regardless of how much time has passed.

Finally, you should be aware that it is not permitted to submit the same paper (or one that is substantially similar) to two different classes for academic credit, without the explicit consent of both instructors involved.

Readings

Assigned books have been placed on short term loan in Robarts and Gerstein respectively. I have provided links to the required electronic readings via the course website on Blackboard. (I have not provided Blackboard links to the recommended readings but most of these are available via Robarts).

The three novels assigned for the research paper are available for purchase from the Women's Book Store, 73 Harbord Street. Copies of these novels have also been placed on STL in Robarts.

Draft Schedule of Proposed Topics and Readings

Week 1: 9 Sep

Introduction: AIDS as a complex shock to the political economy

Recommended reading

Auld, G., S. Bernstein, et al. (2007). Climate change as a 'superwicked' problem.

International Study Association annual convention, Chicago, IL.

Illiffe, J. (2006). The African A.I.D.S epidemic: A history. Oxford, UK, James Currey.

Week 2: 16 Sep

Talking about AIDS: The virus and its analytic frameworks

Sontag, Susan. (1989). Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors. New York, NY: Picador. [Part 2]

Oppenheimer, G. M. and R. Bayer (2007). Shattered dreams? An oral history of the South African A.I.D.S epidemic. Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press. [esp chaps 2,6]

Week 3: 23 Sep

The state makes epidemic: How AIDS maps onto social structure

Kauffman, K. D. (2004). "Why is South Africa the H.I.V capital of the world? An institutional analysis of the spread of a virus." in A.I.D.S and South Africa: the social expression of a pandemic. K. D. Kauffman and D. L. Lindauer. New York, NY, Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.: 17-47.

Marks, S. (2002). "An epidemic waiting to happen? The spread of H.I.V/A.I.D.S in South Africa in social and historical perspective." *African Studies* **61**(1): 13-26.

Recommended reading

Cheru, F. (2002). "Debt, adjustment and the politics of effective response to H.I.V/A.I.D.S in Africa." *Third World Quarterly* **23**(2): 299 - 312.

Relevant chapters in Smallman, Shawn. (2007). The AIDS Pandemic in Latin America. Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press.

Whiteside, A. (2002). "Poverty and H.I.V/A.I.D.S in Africa." *Third World Quarterly* **23**(2): 313 - 332.

Poku, N. K. and F. Cheru (2001). "The politics of poverty and debt in Africa's A.I.D.S. crisis." *International Relations* **15**(6): 37 - 54.

Week 4: 30 Sep

Epidemic makes the state I:

How epidemic (re)structures society over the long term

McNeil, WH (1998) Plagues and peoples, Anchor Press. [esp I, II, IV, VI]

Cohn, Samuel. K(2002): "The Black Death: End of a Paradigm," *The American Historical Review* **107**: 703-738

Week 5: 7 Oct

Epidemic makes the state II: How AIDS (re) structures affected societies

Marais, H. (2005). Buckling: The impact of A.I.D.S in South Africa. Pretoria, South Africa, Centre for the Study of AIDS, University of Pretoria: 121. [esp Intro pp7-24, and Ground Zero pp45-88]

Parkhurst, J. O. (2001). "The crisis of A.I.D.S. and the politics of response: the case of Uganda." *International Relations* **15**(6): 69 - 87.

Week 6: 14 Oct

The political economy of AIDS

Chapters 9 and 11 in Barnett, T. and A. Whiteside (2002). A.I.D.S in the twenty-first century: disease and globalization. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, Palgrave Macmillan: 222-241, 271-294

Excerpt from chapter 3, "Biomedical and workplace responses in Apartheid South Africa" in Fourie, P (2006) The political management of H.I.V. and A.I.D.S. in South Africa: one burden too many? New York, NY, Palgrave Macmillan: 77-85.

Selections from Unattributed (2005) Live the future: H.I.V. and A.I.D.S. scenarios for South Africa: 2005-2025. Belville, South Africa, Metropolitan: xxx .

Recommended readings

Kaniki, Trudie (2003). "Perceptions of employers about HIV/AIDS in Micro and Small Enterprises Employing Women: A case study of Harare," Gender issues research report series no 19, Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Meintjes, I., P. Bowen, et al. (2007). "H.I.V/A.I.D.S in the South African construction industry: understanding the H.I.V/A.I.D.S discourse for a sector-specific response." *Construction Management and Economics* **25**(3): 255-266.

Week 7: 21 Oct

The moral economy of AIDS

Booth, W. J. (1994). "On the idea of the moral economy." *American Political Science Review* **88**(3): 653-667.

Fassin, Didier (2007). When bodies remember: Experiences and politics of AIDS in South Africa. Berkeley, CA, University of California Press. [Intro, chaps 1, 3, Concl.]

Recommended readings

Thompson, E. P. (1971). "The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century." *Past and Present* **50**: 76-136.

Natras, Nicoli.(2004). The Moral Economy of AIDS in Southern Africa. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.

Relevant chapters in Polanyi, K. (1944). The great transformation. Boston, Beacon Press.

Ashforth, A. (2005). Witchcraft, violence, and democracy in South Africa. Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press.
Peter Geschiere (1997) The modernity of witchcraft. The University Press of Virginia

Week 8: 28 Oct

Drafts of the research paper should be presented to and discussed with Professor Handley by this week.

The macroeconomics of AIDS:

The demographics of the epidemic and their interaction with the broader economy

Dixon, S., S. McDonald, et al. (2001). "A.I.D.S. and economic growth in Africa: a panel data analysis." *Journal of International Development* **13**: 411-426.

Bell, C., S. Devarajan, et al. (2003). The long-run economic costs of A.I.D.S: theory and application to South Africa, World Bank.

Recommended readings

Bureau for Economic Research (2006). The macroeconomic impact of H.I.V./A.I.D.S. under alternative intervention scenarios (with specific reference to A.R.T.) on the South African economy. Stellenbosch, South Africa, Bureau for Economic Research, University of Stellenbosch: 139.

Whiteside, A., M. McPherson, et al. (2001). The economic impact of H.I.V./A.I.D.S in Southern Africa. Washington DC, Brookings Institution: 7.

Week 9: 4 Nov

AIDS in a neo-liberal world

O'Manique, C. (2004). Neoliberalism and A.I.D.S. crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa: Globalization's pandemic. Basingstoke, UK, Palgrave Macmillan. [Intro, chaps 3, 5]

Comaroff, J. (2007). "Beyond bare life: A.I.D.S, (Bio)politics, and the neoliberal order." *Public Culture* **19**(1): 197-219.

Week 10: 18 Nov

Community-level responses

Campbell, Catherine. (2003). 'Letting Them Die': Why HIV/AIDS Prevention Programmes Fail. Oxford, UK: James Currey and Indiana University Press. [Intro, chaps 7, 8 and Concl.]

Chapter 9, "The Invisible Cure" in Epstein, Helen. (2007). The Invisible Cure: Africa, the West and the Fight against AIDS. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux: 155-171.

Recommended readings

Squire, Corinne. (2007). HIV in South Africa: Talking about the Big Thing, Routledge,

Week 11: 25 Nov

The macropolitics of AIDS:

The impact of AIDS on democracy, state capacity and governance

de Waal, Alex. (2006). AIDS and power: Why there is no political crisis – yet. London, UK, Zed Books. [esp chaps 1,3,4,6]

Bor, Jacob “The political economy of AIDS leadership in developing countries: and exploratory analysis” in *Social Science and Medicine* **64** (8): 1585-1599

Putzel, J. (2004). "The politics of action on A.I.D.S.: A case study of Uganda." *Public Administration and Development* **24**(1): 19-30.

Recommended readings

Strand, Per, Khabele Matlosa, Ann Strode, and Kondwani Chirambo. (2005).

H.I.V./A.I.D.S and Democratic Governance in South Africa: Illustrating the Impact on Electoral Processes. Cape Town, South Africa: Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

Butler, A. (2005). "The negative and positive impacts of H.I.V./A.I.D.S. on democracy in South Africa." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* **23**(1): 3-26.

Blum, R. W. (2004). "Uganda A.I.D.S. prevention: A, B, C and politics." *Journal of Adolescent Health* **34**: 428-432.

Patterson, A. S. (2005). Introduction: the African state and the A.I.D.S crisis. The African state and the A.I.D.S crisis. A. S. Patterson. Aldershot, Hants UK, Ashgate: 1-16.

Week 12: 2 Dec

Final research paper due in class today

AIDS and what it means to be a citizen

Friedman, S. and S. Mottiar (2005). "A rewarding engagement? The Treatment Action Campaign and the politics of H.I.V./A.I.D.S." *Politics and Society* **33**(4): 511-515, 521-530, 540-554.

Robins, S. (2006). "From 'rights' to 'ritual': A.I.D.S. activism in South Africa." *American Anthropologist* **108**(2): 312-323.

Recommended readings

Noerine Kaleeba (2003). “We miss you all: AIDS in the family.” *Reproductive Health Matters*, **11** (22): 187-191(5)

Epstein, Helen. (2007). The Invisible Cure: Africa, the West and the Fight against AIDS. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

APPENDIX A:
The international and multilateral responses to AIDS
Additional themes and issues

AIDS, comparatively speaking

How much does national context matter? How different is it for the developed world?

Relevant chapters in Armus, Diego (ed). (2003). Disease in the history of modern Latin America: from malaria to AIDS. Durham, NC, Duke University Press.

Biehl, Joao, Will to live: AIDS therapies and the politics of survival

Baldwin Peter, Disease and Democracy: The Industrialized World Faces AIDS,
University of California Press.

AIDS and epistemic communities

Gauri, Varun, and Evan S Lieberman. (2006). "Boundary Institutions and HIV/AIDS Policy in Brazil and South Africa." *Studies in Comparative International Development* **41** (3): 47-73

Youde, J. (2007). A.I.D.S, South Africa, and the politics of knowledge. Aldershot, UK, Ashgate. [Chaps 2,3, 5 OR 6, and Concl.]

Butler, A. (2005). "South Africa's H.I.V/A.I.D.S policy, 1994-2004: how can it be explained?" *African Affairs* **104**(417): 591-614.

The role of international organizations.

Lurie, P., P. C. Hintzen, et al. (1995). "Socioeconomic obstacles to H.I.V prevention and treatment in developing countries: the roles of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank." A.I.D.S **9**(36): 539 - 546.

Epstein, Helen. (2007). The Invisible Cure: Africa, the West and the Fight against AIDS. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

The IR of HIV/AIDS: Epidemic as a threat to national security

Kelly, Patrick W. "Transnational Contagion and Global Security." *Military Review* 80, no. 3 (2000): 59-64.

Price-Smith, Andrew T. "Ghosts of Kigali: Infections Disease and Global Stability in the Coming Century." *International Journal* 54, no. 3 (1999): 426-42.

Putzel, J. (2004). "The global fight against A.I.D.S.: how adequate are the commissions?" *Journal of International Development* **16**: 1129 - 1140.

