

University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science

**POL 482 H (F) / 2482**  
**Politics of Disease and Epidemic**  
**Winter 2011**

**The Political and Moral Economy of HIV/AIDS**  
**Wednesdays 10-12; Venue: LA340**

**Instructor:** Prof Antoinette Handley  
**Office:** Sid Smith Hall 3030  
**Tel:** 416 978 3342  
**Office hours:** Wed 4-6pm  
**E-mail address:** [a.handley@utoronto.ca](mailto:a.handley@utoronto.ca)

**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. A key assumption of this course is that there is no single, homogenous global AIDS pandemic. Rather, a review of the epidemic as it manifests in specific countries around the world demonstrates how closely the epidemiology of AIDS is tied to the political, economic and social structure of particular societies and economies.

The organization of this seminar is therefore structured around the idea of a 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 how the state makes epidemic and how epidemic, in turn, makes the state. As indicated above, 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 starting point for your research paper and should you wish to consider a theme in more detail in further reading on your own.

The readings marked [ER] are available on Blackboard as electronic readings. The other readings have been placed on short term loan at Gerstein and Robarts.

### **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 (for final research paper) | 25%  |
| 2.    | Video assignment                             | 15%  |
| 3.    | Research paper                               | 40%  |
| 4.    | Class participation                          | 10%  |
| 5.    | 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 the research paper (and hence also for the preparatory paper) , 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.

All late written assignments will attract a penalty of 2% per day including weekends – with one exception. For the final written assignment (the research paper) , late

submissions (i.e submissions later than 10.15 am, April 6th) 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*. Do not wait until after the deadline has passed to approach the instructor.

### **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 2<sup>nd</sup> February.

Select the most appropriate and important books/ articles on the key dimensions of the epidemic in the developing country society that you have selected. Focus especially 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. (Focus especially on how the epidemic in your chosen country differs from that of South Africa.) This should be 5-6 (6-8 pages for graduates) pages long and should consider at least four books/ articles.

The objective of this assignment is two-fold: to demonstrate your familiarity with the key literature pertaining to your selected country case, and to begin your preparation for your final research paper.

### **2. Video assignment: The moral economy of AIDS**

This assignment is to be viewed and completed online in lieu of an actual class meeting in week7, Wed 2<sup>nd</sup> March.

View the mini-video lecture which introduces the idea of the moral economy. Write a brief think-piece in response, making sure that you answer the particular questions posed at the end of the mini-lecture. Be sure to reference the readings assigned for this week in your answer. Your think-piece should be 1-2 pages long (2-3 pages for graduate students) and should be submitted by e-mail, to arrive in my inbox no later than 5pm on Wednesday 2 March. Be sure to mark your e-mail submission with “MORAL ECONOMY POL482/2482” in the subject line.

### **3. Research paper**

Select a theme from any one of the weeks in class – with two exceptions (in order to avoid double-dipping):

- You cannot write your research paper on the same theme as the readings that you choose to verbally present in class
- You also cannot write your research paper on the topic of the moral economy.

Consider how the key issues raised by your chosen theme (in South Africa or in some cases, Uganda) differ from and resemble those in your selected country case. How do the themes we discussed in class that week resonate (if, at all) with your case? How, if at all, does the particular epidemiology of your case country shape the issues relating to that theme?

This second assignment is due at or before the beginning of class **on the last day** of class (Wed 6<sup>th</sup> April). For undergraduates, your final paper should be between 14-15 pages and for graduate students, 18-25 pages. (with the usual caveats: double-spaced, double sided, regular sized margins, 12 point font).

#### **4. 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. A seminar like this only works when all of the participants take seriously their responsibility to come to class prepared to actively participate in an honest and respectful discussion with their colleagues on the issues at hand. This is not a lecture class: you will earn at least as much from your colleagues and from robust disagreements in the seminar room as you will from the instructor.

#### **5. 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 for this assignment then will obviously vary with the reading selected.

#### **Accessibility Needs**

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: [disability.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:disability.services@utoronto.ca) or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility> .

## 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 use of 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; and the falsification of a bibliography.

Allow me to be very clear on a point that is often ignored: 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).

## **Schedule of Topics and Readings**

### **Week 1: 12 January**

#### **Introduction: AIDS as a complex shock to the political economy**

##### ***Recommended reading***

- [ER] Auld, G., S. Bernstein, et al. (2007). Climate change as a 'superwicked' problem. International Study Association annual convention, Chicago, IL.
- Iiffe, J. (2006). The African A.I.D.S epidemic: A history. Oxford, UK, James Currey.

### **Week 2: 19 January**

#### **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: 26 January**

#### **The state makes epidemic: How AIDS maps onto social structure**

- [ER] 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.
- [ER] 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: 2 February**

#### **Epidemic makes the state I:**

##### **How epidemic (re)structures society over the long term**

- [ER] McNeil, WH (1998) Plagues and peoples, Anchor Press. [esp I, II, IV, VI]
- [ER] Cohn, Samuel. K(2002): "The Black Death: End of a Paradigm," *The American Historical Review* **107**: 703-738

## **Week 5: 9 February**

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

[ER] 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]

[ER] 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: 16 February**

### **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.

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

### **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: 2 March**

### **The moral economy of AIDS**

[ER] 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.]

Mugenyi, Peter (2008). Genocide by Denial. Kampala, Uganda. Fountain Press. [Chap 4]

### **Recommended readings**

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

Nattrass, 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: 9 March**

*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**

[ER] 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.

[ER] 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: 16 March**

#### **AIDS in a neo-liberal world**

Hunter, Mark (2010). Love in the Time of AIDS. Bloomington, IA. Indiana University Press. [chaps 6, 9]

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

### **Week 10: 23 March**

#### **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: 30 March**

**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]

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

[ER] 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: 6 April**

*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.

[ER] 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.