

University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science

**POL 482 / 2482 H 1F**  
**The Politics of Disease and Epidemic:**  
**The Political and Moral Economy of HIV/AIDS in the Developing World**  
**Fall 2015**

**Wednesdays 12.00 – 14.00; Venue: UC65**

**Instructor:** Prof Antoinette Handley  
**Office:** University College F210  
**Tel:** 416 946 5293  
**Office hours:** Tues 12.15-2pm  
**E-mail address:** [a.handley@utoronto.ca](mailto:a.handley@utoronto.ca)



Image: Treatment Action Campaign, <http://www.tac.org.za/community/frontpage?page=17>

### **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 demonstrates how closely the epidemiology of AIDS is tied to the political, economic and social structure of those 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 and to a lesser extent Uganda. However we will also consider what may be learned by careful comparisons with other affected countries and regions. Indeed, each student will be required to choose one particular developing case country and to systematically – and in parallel with the rest of the course – learn how the epidemic both reflects the particularities of that country and is shaping its potential future trajectories.

### **Readings**

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.

The one book you may want to consider buying is Robert J Thornton's 2008 Unimagined Community: Sex, Networks and AIDS in Uganda and South Africa, published in Berkeley, California by the University of California Press. The book is available electronically through Robarts. If you prefer to pick up a hard copy, one copy of this book has been placed online in Gerstein's course reserve and an additional copy is on course reserve in the New College (Ivey) library on Willcocks street. As we will be reading from a number of its chapters, you may find it easier to purchase your own copy. It is available from any number of online retailers.

## 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)	20%
2.	Video assignment	20%
3.	Research paper	35%
4.	Class participation	15%
5.	Analysis of selected reading	10%
TOTAL		100%

### **General guidelines for written assignments:**

For the preparatory paper, for the research paper and also for your general participation grade in class, students are required to pick a particular AIDS-affected country in the developing world and to focus their own reading, thinking and writing on this country case:

- The preparatory paper will require you to review and consider the core literature on a particular national/regional epidemic;
- The final research paper will require you to connect what you know about this particular epi/pandemic to a broader political discussion; and
- For class discussion, you are strongly encouraged to bring your growing knowledge about the specifics of your country case to bear on the collective discussions we will be having in class.

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.

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, student will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

All late written assignments (i.e. the preparatory paper or your response to the moral economy presentation) will attract a penalty of 3% per day including weekends – with one exception. **For the final research paper, late submissions** (i.e submissions later than 10.00 am, Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> December) **will NOT be accepted**. A grade of zero will therefore be awarded for this assignment if it is not handed in at the correct time on the due date.

Extensions for the preparatory paper and video assignment will only be considered under exceptional circumstances, with supporting documentation and ahead of time. You are therefore 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.

The length guidelines assume that your paper is double-spaced, with regular sized margins, and in a 12 point font.

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

This paper will be due in class, at the beginning of class (i.e. no later than 12.10) at the third meeting of the seminar i.e. **Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> September**.

Select and review what in your view are the most appropriate and important books/articles on the key dimensions of the epidemic in your developing case country. Focus especially on those sources that address the interaction between broad social factors and the *particular* epidemiology of AIDS in the society you have chosen. Consider especially 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 paper should be 5-6 pages long (6-8 pages for graduates) and should consider a minimum of four books/articles. This will probably require you to be quite selective about which particular sources you will focus on in this paper.

It is obviously important for every assignment that you pay close and scrupulous attention to your citations. For this assignment however, the quality, consistency and completeness of your citations explicitly form a part of how this paper will be graded.

There are three objectives for this assignment:

- to demonstrate your familiarity with the key literature pertaining to your selected country case;
- to demonstrate your ability to select and correctly cite the appropriate academic literature; and
- to begin your preparation for your final research paper.

Because you will be focusing on the same country for your final research paper as for this preparatory paper, you are strongly urged to carefully consider your choice of country case study before you begin writing. Professor Handley would be very happy to talk with you about the country that you are considering writing on – but you should consult her well ahead of your deadlines.

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

This assignment is to be viewed online and submitted electronically in lieu of your attendance in the classroom in week 7, on Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> October. The link will be posted on blackboard that morning. You are strongly urged to have completed the readings for the week by the time you log on to view the videos.

View the series of mini-videos that introduce the idea of the moral economy. Write a brief think-piece in response, making sure that you answer the particular questions posted for this assignment on Blackboard. 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 **no later than 5pm of the following day, i.e. Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> October.**

## **3. Research paper**

Select one of the following questions to address with respect to your chosen case country. In each case you will be required to compare the answer for your case country with what you have learned about South Africa (and in one case, Uganda) in that regard:

i) In your case study, which actors, groupings and/or institutions have responded proactively to the AIDS epidemic and which have not? (You should include the state – i.e. institutions of government - in this review.) Why have these particular actors responded, and why have others not? How does this compare with what we know of what happened in South Africa (especially under President Mbeki)? In your answer, be sure to outline for the reader the nature of the various responses in each instance.

OR

ii) What if anything, has been the impact of the AIDS epidemic on democracy and on governance more broadly in your selected case country? How does this compare with the experiences of Uganda and South Africa in this regard?

OR

iii) How if at all, has AIDS shaped the way ordinary people, think, talk and behave in your case country? Does this at all resemble what we know of the epidemic's impact in South Africa?

You will note that some of these questions focus on themes discussed in class. You would be strongly advised then to begin your thinking for the final research paper with a review of the appropriate readings assigned for relevant classes.

Graduate students are encouraged to develop their own research topics in consultation with the instructor.

This second assignment is due by 10.00am **on the day of our last seminar meeting** (Wed 2<sup>nd</sup> December). For undergraduates, your final paper should be between 14-15 pages and for graduate students, 18-25 pages. Again, please note that late papers will not be accepted for this assignment.

#### **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 developed a critical understanding of the assigned readings; and
- begun to research your chosen case country, and are actively and systematically thinking about (and sharing with the class) how the particular epidemic in your country resonates compares with what we are learning from the assigned readings about South Africa and Uganda.

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 learn at least as much from your colleagues and from robust disagreements in the seminar as you will from the instructor.

#### **5. In-class presentation of one assigned reading**

The grade here 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.

Here, I am looking for presentations to move beyond a mere summary of the reading. Instead a good presentation will comprise a critical reflection on the approach and argument of the author in each case. How compelling or plausible is the argument being made? Does the author help us to think in new and useful ways about the epidemic? Which other ideas or arguments that we have encountered in class is the

author engaging with? What critiques or questions might usefully be directed to the author?

### **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 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 also 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.



## Schedule of Topics and Readings

### **Seminar 1: Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> September**

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

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

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

### **Seminar 2: Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> September**

#### **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]
- Thornton, Robert J. (2008) Unimagined Community: Sex, Networks and AIDS in Uganda and South Africa, Berkeley, California: University of California Press: 22-32

### **Seminar 3: Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> September**

*\*\*Preparatory paper due in class at the beginning of class this week\*\**

#### **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.
- [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.
- Thornton, Robert J. (2008) Unimagined Community: Sex, Networks and AIDS in Uganda and South Africa, Berkeley, California: University of California Press: 33-55

##### ***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.

#### **Seminar 4: Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> October**

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

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

[ER] McNeil, W.H. (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

#### **Seminar 5: Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> October**

##### **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.

Robert J Thornton. (2008) Unimagined Community: Sex, Networks and AIDS in Uganda and South Africa, Berkeley, California: University of California Press: 83-99

#### **Seminar 6: Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> October**

##### **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

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.

##### ***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

#### **Seminar 7: Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> October**

**\*\* Class will not meet in UC this week. View and complete online assignment \*\***

##### **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.]

Thornton, Robert J. (2008) Unimagined Community: Sex, Networks and AIDS in Uganda and South Africa, Berkeley, California: University of California Press: 171-194

***Recommended readings***

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

Natrass, 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.

Geschiere, Peter (1997) The modernity of witchcraft. The University Press of Virginia

**Seminar 8: Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> November**

*\*\*Drafts of research paper should be presented to and discussed with Professor Handley by this week if you would like feedback\*\**

**The macroeconomics of AIDS:**

**The epidemic and the broader socio-economy**

[ER] Ainsworth, Martha and Mead Over (1994) "AIDS and African Development," in *The World Bank Observer*, **9** (2): 203-40

[ER] Fox, Ashley M (2010) « The social determinants of HIV serostatus in Sub-Saharan Africa : An inverse relationship between poverty and HIV? » *Public Health Reports*, Supplement 4, **125** : 16-24

[ER] Lule, Elizabeth and Markus Haacker (2012) The fiscal dimension of HIV/AIDS in Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland and Uganda, Washington DC: The World Bank: 113 – 179

***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.

**Seminar 9: Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> November**

**Sex, love and 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.

### Seminar 10: Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> November

#### 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.]
- Epstein, Helen (2007) The Invisible Cure: Africa, the West and the Fight against AIDS. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux: 155-171.
- Thornton, Robert J. (2008) Unimagined Community: Sex, Networks and AIDS in Uganda and South Africa, Berkeley, California: University of California Press:115-129

#### Recommended readings

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

### Seminar 11: Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> November

#### 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.
- Thornton Robert J. (2008) Unimagined Community: Sex, Networks and AIDS in Uganda and South Africa, Berkeley, California: University of California Press: 130-148

#### 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," in The African state and the A.I.D.S crisis. A. S. Patterson. Aldershot, Hants UK, Ashgate: 1-16.

### Seminar 12: Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> December

*\*\*Final research paper due today by the beginning of class\*\**

#### **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***

Kaleeba, Noerine (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.