

**POL 482H1 (F)**  
**The Politics of Disease and Epidemic:**  
**The impact of and responses to HIV in southern Africa**  
**Summer 2012**

**Tuesdays & Thursdays 10AM-noon (May 15-June 19)**

**Room: Sidney Smith Hall 2129**

**NO CLASS Thurs. June 21; Blackboard assignment Wed. May 30 (in lieu of June 21 class)**

**Instructor:** Suzanne Hindmarch

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*Please refer to the syllabus before contacting me with questions about course details. I am happy to respond to simple/basic questions by email, but for anything that requires a longer response and/or discussion, please see me during office hours. I will respond to all emails within 48 hours on weekdays but will NOT respond to emails on weekends.*

**Course Description**

This class examines how disease and epidemic intersect with political issues and broader processes of development through consideration of HIV in sub-Saharan African countries. In particular, it considers how communities, institutions and states are both impacted by and respond to the epidemic. We will explore how the impact of and response to HIV vary across states and populations, and are shaped by diverse political forces including social movements, local government, international organizations, and ideas about gender, race and sexuality. We will consider a range of theoretical and analytical frameworks for thinking about HIV and politics, including political economy, moral economy and human rights approaches.

Globally, sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the highest HIV prevalence rates (though this masks considerable local variation: many states and communities in other regions have equally high prevalence rates, and some sub-Saharan communities have much lower prevalence rates than their national averages). Accordingly, much of the literature focuses on sub-Saharan Africa and this is the geographic focus of our class. But we will also consider critically how Africa is represented in and through this literature, and what this can tell us about how ideas and representation shape responses to HIV and in Africa.

The course begins with an introduction to the epidemic and to the people most affected by it. Over the rest of the course, we will consider various structural and political factors that may help us to understand: why and how some states and communities seem more vulnerable to HIV; why there is so much variation in the impact of and responses to HIV; and how this variation is shaped by specific local as well as international political, social and economic structures. By the end of the course, you will have a sophisticated understanding of the complexity of the impact of and responses to HIV (especially in your chosen country case), and the ability to use a range of frameworks to discuss the interaction between people, states, institutions and epidemics.

### **An important note about readings and workload**

This is a compressed course. We have the same number of seminars (12) as a fall/winter term class, but they are held over a period of just under two months, not four. As such, the workload for this class is very heavy. As a senior undergraduate seminar, the reading requirements are significant: you will be reading a lot, and much of the material is theoretically challenging. There are several assignments to complete in a relatively short period of time, and **the course will end one session early (on Tuesday June 19<sup>th</sup>, not the 21<sup>st</sup>)**. All of this means that to succeed in this class, it is essential for you to keep up with the readings and assignments.

### **Assignments and grading**

All written work should be double-sided, double-spaced, 12-point font with standard margins, and should include your name and student ID number.

#### **1. Class participation (10%)**

This is a seminar, not a lecture course. In a seminar, we learn together through informed discussion and respectful disagreement with each other. This means that you **must** come to class prepared to actively participate. Before each class, you need to read the material, think critically about it, and be ready to discuss it. In class, I will be listening for evidence that you have read the materials (eg. by making reference to authors' arguments, theoretical approaches, etc) and thought critically about them (eg. by comparing the arguments to other assigned readings, by identifying limitations or inconsistencies in the arguments, or by considering how the material relates to your selected country case).

#### **2. Class presentation of selected reading (15%)**

At our first class, each student will sign up to present a brief (10-minute maximum) analysis of one reading from one of the seminars. You will give a verbal presentation at the beginning of the class, and hand in a written summary of your presentation at the same time. In your presentation and summary, don't repeat what the author has said; instead, analyse the arguments. Talk about the merits or limitations of their theoretical or empirical approaches, or other analytical critiques. Where appropriate, you may also note how your reading complements, contradicts or speaks to other readings (but keep the focus on your own assigned reading).

#### **3. Funding application assignment (15%) DUE THURSDAY MAY 31**

In lieu of a June 21<sup>st</sup> class, there will be an assignment posted on Blackboard on **Wednesday May 30<sup>th</sup>**. You will be given information about a fictional high-prevalence country and links to the websites of two international HIV funding bodies. You will be asked to write 2 documents:

1. The outline of an application from this fictional country to one of the two funding bodies. In the application, identify which fund you are applying to, what aspect of the HIV pandemic you propose to address (eg. what sector or population will you focus on), and what strategies will be used in this HIV response. The outline

- should be a maximum of 2 pages. It can be in point form, but should be clearly expressed so that others can read and understand it.
2. A separate 2-3 page explanation of why you chose the fund that you did, and the response that you did. What political or other factors did you consider in selecting the funding body and response, and in framing your funding application?

Print two copies of the funding application outline, one with your name on it and one without. Print one copy of the explanation. At the beginning of class, you will hand in one copy of the funding application and explanation. We will use the other copy of your funding application for an in-class exercise, where we will explore together how funding bodies determine what projects get funded (or not) and how this shapes national and local responses to HIV.

There are no right or wrong answers in this assignment. In grading your written submissions, I will be looking for evidence that you have thought about the theoretical and practical ‘fit’ between the HIV pandemic and political conditions in the fictional country, your proposed response, and the funding guidelines of the funding body you are applying to. I will not be assessing whether this is a ‘good’ or ‘bad’ response to HIV.

This assignment must be handed in at the beginning of class on the 31<sup>st</sup>; no late submissions will be accepted.

#### **4. Paper proposal (20%) DUE THURSDAY MAY 24**

Choose any of the seminar themes, **except** the theme on which you gave/will give your verbal presentation. Choose an HIV-affected African state. In your paper proposal, provide an overview of the epidemiology of HIV in your chosen country. Also provide the research question that will frame your paper. The question should focus on the interaction between the impact of and response to HIV in your selected country (or a specific sector or group in that country), and your chosen theme. Outline the key arguments you expect to make. Provide a list of at least 4 scholarly books or articles that discuss HIV in your selected country. These should be cited using a standard bibliographic format. For each book or article, provide a brief summary of the main argument of the text, and why it is relevant to your chosen topic.

The literature on HIV in sub-Saharan Africa, especially literature most relevant for political science analysis, is limited. In choosing your country, be sure you pick one for which there is a sufficient amount of scholarly research.

The proposal should be 5-6 pages long and is due at the beginning of class on the 24<sup>th</sup>. Late proposals will lose 2% per day (including weekends).

#### **5. Research paper (40%) DUE BETWEEN JUNE 14-JUNE 19. ABSOLUTE DEADLINE IS JUNE 19, BEGINNING OF CLASS**

The research paper should be a fully developed exploration of the research question discussed in your paper proposal. You should critically explore the relationship between

HIV impact and response in your case, and how these shape and/or are shaped by your chosen theme. You may find it useful to consider how the literature we discussed in class relates to your case (for example, are there similarities or differences between your chosen country and one of the other countries we considered in class?) Or you may want to consider how different theoretical frameworks, applied to your case, draw attention to or obscure aspects of the HIV epidemic in your chosen country.

I will give you extensive feedback on your paper proposals, and you should use this feedback to guide your paper-writing. But you are also strongly encouraged to discuss your paper with me in office hours as your writing and research progresses.

The paper should be 12-15 pages. It should go beyond the assigned readings, and use at least 8 scholarly sources. You must hand the paper in to me in person, in class or office hours, between Thursday June 14<sup>th</sup> and Tuesday June 19<sup>th</sup>. June 19<sup>th</sup> at the beginning of class is the absolute deadline for this paper. **Late work will not be accepted. You will receive a grade of 0 on this assignment if it is not turned in on time.**

### **Policies and expectations**

*Late work:* For the paper proposal, late work will receive a penalty of 2% per day. For the class presentation, if you miss the class in which you are scheduled to present, you will be given a make-up opportunity only if there are still unassigned readings available. If no readings are available, you will receive a grade of 0 for this assignment. If readings are available, you will be given a make-up opportunity, but deducted 5%. **For the funding proposal assignment and final paper, NO LATE ASSIGNMENTS WILL BE ACCEPTED.**

*Extensions, exceptions and absences:* The rules regarding late work will be waived only in exceptional circumstances, with official supporting documentation, and ahead of time. If an emergency arises and/or you cannot meet a deadline, you must notify me as soon as possible. Do not wait until after the deadline has passed.

*Drafts:* You are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of your assignments before handing them in. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ROSI.

*Academic integrity:* Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

Examples of plagiarism include using another person's exact words without putting them in quotation marks and properly citing them; paraphrasing another person's words or ideas without properly citing them; or submitting another person's work as your own. It is your responsibility to become familiar with the University's policies on plagiarism. As with any set of rules, ignorance of the University's plagiarism policies will not be accepted as an excuse for breaking them. If you are unclear about what is or is not considered plagiarism, speak with me before submitting your work.

*Grade appeals:* You need to wait at least 3 days after receiving a grade to appeal it (but no later than 1 month). Then you must schedule an appointment to see me. Bring the assignment and be prepared to address in detail the comments you were given.

*Accessibility:* If you require accommodation or have accessibility concerns, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible:

<http://accessibility.utoronto.ca/>

*Respect in the classroom:* We will be discussing challenging topics, about which people have strong, often conflicting opinions. You should expect to have your point of view challenged in this class; wrestling with other perspectives and points of view is how we learn. Informed debate about the subject matter is encouraged and expected. However, it is essential to root your arguments in reasoned logical or theoretical critique of texts and ideas – not personal attacks. Criticism (of your fellow students, authors or people mentioned in the texts) on the basis of gender, racialization, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion, or other personal characteristics will not be tolerated.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

All required readings are available either electronically through links or pdfs on Blackboard (in the case of journal articles), or on short-term loan at Gerstein (in the case of book sections).

### Seminar 1: Tuesday May 15

#### Introduction to the epidemic

##### Required readings:

- UNAIDS (2010) *Global Report: UNAIDS Report on the Global AIDS epidemic 2010*. Available as a free pdf from the UNAIDS website:  
[http://www.unaids.org/globalreport/Global\\_report.htm](http://www.unaids.org/globalreport/Global_report.htm)

This document provides a comprehensive overview of the most up-to-date epidemiology of HIV and of current issues in the global response to HIV. It is an important source document that we will refer to throughout the course. You don't need to read it cover to cover, but should familiarize yourself with its contents (especially as they relate to your country case). Pay particular attention to information about modes of transmission, particular vulnerabilities, and variation in incidence and prevalence rates across different sub-Saharan African states and populations.

##### Recommended readings:

Iliffe, John. (2006). *The African AIDS Epidemic: A History*. Oxford: James Currey Ltd.

### Seminar 2: Thursday May 17

#### Who is most affected by HIV (and why) Part I: situating HIV and social identities

##### Required readings:

- Booth, Karen. (2004). “Global Medicine, Local Sex, and Crisis.” In K. Booth, *Local Women, Global Science: Fighting AIDS in Kenya*. Bloomington: Indiana U. Press. (chapter 1: pp. 1-21)

- Kaleeba, Noerine. (2003). "We Miss You All. Noerine Kaleeba: AIDS in the Family." *Reproductive Health Matters* 11(22):187-191.
- Mugenyi, Peter. (2008). "Times of Despair." In P. Mugenyi, *Genocide By Denial: How Profiteering from HIV/AIDS Killed Millions*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers. (chapter 2: pp. 55-94)

Recommended readings:

- Squire, Corinne. (2007). "From Othering to Owning: Speaking out about HIV." In Squire, *HIV in South Africa: Talking about the big thing*. New York: Routledge. (chapter 4: pp. 116-151).
- McGregor, Liz. (2005). *Khabzela: The Life and Times of A South African*. Johannesburg: Jakana Media.
- Hoad, Neville. (2007). *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality and Globalization*. Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press.
- Mpe, Phaswane. (2001). *Welcome to our Hillbrow*. Scottsville: U. of Natal Press. ← This is a novel.

**Seminar 3: Tuesday May 22**

**Who is most affected by HIV (and why) Part II: social & political institutions**

Required readings:

- Gauri, Varun and E. Lieberman. (2006) "Boundary Institutions and HIV/AIDS Policy in Brazil and South Africa." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41(3): 47-73.
- Siplon, Patricia. (2005). "AIDS and Patriarchy: Ideological Obstacles to Effective Policy Making." In A. Patterson, *The African State and the AIDS Crisis*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing. (chapter 2: pp. 17-36).
- Hunter, Mark. (2010). "Failing Men: Modern Masculinities amid Unemployment." In Hunter, *Love in the Time of AIDS: Inequality, Gender and Rights in South Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana U. Press. (chapter 8, pp. 155-177)
- Dowsett, Gary. (2003). "Some Considerations on Sexuality and Gender in the Context of AIDS." *Reproductive Health Matters* 11(22): 21-29.

Recommended readings:

- Farmer, Paul. (2004). "An Anthropology of Structural Violence" *Current Anthropology* 45(3): 305-317. Comments and response (pp. 317-323) also recommended.
- Kauffman, Kyle D. (2004). "Why is South Africa the HIV capital of the world? An institutional analysis of the spread of the virus." In Kauffman & Lindauer, *AIDS and South Africa: The social expression of a pandemic*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. (chapter 2: pp. 17-47)
- Barnett, Tony, & Whiteside, Alan. (2002). "Introduction to Impact"; "Individuals, Households and Communities"; and "Dependents: Orphans and the Elderly" in *AIDS in the Twenty-First Century: Disease and Globalization* (2nd ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (chapters 6-8: pp. 171-237).
- Lieberman, Evan. (2009). *Boundaries of Contagion: How Ethnic Politics Have Shaped Government Responses to HIV*. Princeton: Princeton U. Press.

### **Seminar 4: Thursday May 24 (Paper proposals due today)**

#### **HIV impact and response: Civil society, social movements and the state**

##### Required readings:

- de Waal, Alexander. (2006). "AIDS Activists: Reformers and Revolutionaries". In de Waal, *AIDS and Power: Why there is no political crisis -- yet*. New York: Zed Books. (chapter 3: pp. 34-61).
- Friedman, Steven and S. Mottiar. (2005). "A Rewarding Engagement? The Treatment Action Campaign and the Politics of AIDS." *Politics and Society* 33(4): 511- 515; 521-540; 548-550.
- Robins, Steven. (2006) "From 'Rights' to 'Ritual': AIDS Activism in South Africa" *American Anthropologist* 108(2): 312-323.

##### Recommended readings:

- Bujra, Janet and C. Baylies. (2000). "Responses to the AIDS epidemic in Tanzania and Zambia." In Bujra & Baylies, eds. *AIDS, Sexuality and Gender in Africa: Collective strategies and struggles in Tanzania and Zambia*. New York: Routledge. (chapter 2: pp. 25-59).
- Campbell, Catherine. (2003). *'Letting Them Die': Why HIV/AIDS Prevention Programs Fail*. Bloomington: Indiana U. Press.

### **Seminar 5: Tuesday May 29**

#### **HIV impact and response: HIV, governance and the state**

##### Required readings:

- de Waal, Alexander. (2006). "How African Democracies Withstand AIDS", "The Political Benefits of AIDS", and "Power, Choices and Survival" In de Waal, *AIDS and Power: Why there is no political crisis -- yet*. New York: Zed Books. (chapters 4-6: pp. 66-123).
- Butler, Anthony. (2005). "The negative and positive impacts of HIV/AIDS on democracy in South Africa" *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 23(1):3-26.
- Chirambo, Kondwani. and J. Steyn. (2008). "Executive Summary" and "Findings: Impact of HIV on the political system" In *AIDS and Local Government in South Africa: Examining the Impact of an Epidemic on Ward Counsellors*. New York: ASCI (AIDS, Security and Conflict Initiative). (ASCI Working paper # 23). (pp.10-19 and chapter 3: pp. 47-71).

##### Recommended readings:

- Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa. (2008). "The Challenge to Governance and Development" in *Securing Our Future: Report of the Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa*. (chapter 2: pp. 27-67)
- Irurzun-Lopez, Maite and N. Poku. (2005). "Pursuing African AIDS Governance: Consolidating the Response and Preparing for the Future." In A. Patterson, *The African State and the AIDS Crisis*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing. (chapter 11: pp. 219-230.)
- Harman, Sophie. (2011). "The dual feminisation of HIV/AIDS." *Globalizations* 8(2): 213-228.

**Seminar 6: Wednesday May 30 (via Blackboard. In lieu of June 21 class.)**  
**Funding application assignment posted on Blackboard today**  
Assignment due in class May 31.

**Seminar 7: Thursday May 31**  
**How international funding agencies shape local response**  
In-class exercise; no required readings

Recommended readings:

- Pisani, Elizabeth. (2008). *The Wisdom of Whores: Bureaucrats, Brothels and the Business of AIDS*. Toronto: Penguin Group (Canada).
- Epstein, Helen. (2007). *The Invisible Cure: Why We Are Losing the Fight Against AIDS in Africa*. New York: Picador.
- Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa. (2008). “Financing the AIDS response” in *Securing Our Future: Report of the Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa*.

**Seminar 8: Tuesday June 5**  
**The political economy of HIV**

Required readings:

- Cheru, Fantu. (2002). “Debt, adjustment and the politics of effective response to HIV/AIDS in Africa” *Third World Quarterly*, 23(2), 299-312.
- Barnett, Tony, & Whiteside, Alan. (2002). “Rural Livelihoods and Agriculture” and “Private Sector Impact” in *AIDS in the Twenty-First Century: Disease and Globalization* (2nd ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (chapters 9-10: pp. 238-289).
- De Vogli, Roberto, & Birbeck, G. L. (2005). "Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition*, 23(2), 105-120.

Recommended readings:

- Hunter, Mark. (2007). “The changing political economy of sex in South Africa: The significance of unemployment and inequalities to the scale of the AIDS pandemic.” *Social Science & Medicine*, 64, 689-700.
- Farmer, Paul. (1999). *Infections and Inequalities: The modern plagues*. Berkeley: U. of California Press.

**Seminar 9: Thursday June 7**  
**The moral economy of HIV**

Required readings:

- Polanyi, Karl. (1944). “Societies and Economic Systems”; “Evolution of the Market Pattern”; and “The Self-Regulating Market and the Fictitious Commodities: Labor, Land and Money” in Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press. (chapters 4-6, pp. 45-80)

- Nattrass, Nicoli. (2004). "Introduction" In N. Nattrass, *The Moral Economy of AIDS in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press. (chapter 1: pp. 13-40).
- Fassin, Didier. (2007). "Anatomy of the Controversies" In Fassin, *When Bodies Remember: Experiences and politics of AIDS in South Africa*. Berkeley: U. of California Press. (chapters 3: pp. 75-120).

*Recommended readings:*

- Nguyen, Vinh-Kim. (2010). "Testimonials That Bind: Organizing Communities With HIV." In Nguyen, *The Republic of Therapy: Triage and Sovereignty in West Africa's Time of AIDS*. Durham: Duke U. Press. (chapter 1: pp. 15-33).
- Booth, William James. (1994). "On the idea of the moral economy." *American Political Science Review* 88(3): 653-667.

**Seminar 10: Tuesday June 12**

**Human rights, the right to health and HIV**

*Required readings:*

- Evans, Tony. (2002). "A Human Right to Health?" *Third World Quarterly* 23(2): 197-215.
- Forman, Lisa. (2007). "Trade Rules, Intellectual Property and the Right to Health." *Ethics & International Affairs* 21(3):337-357.
- Mugenyi, Peter. (2008). "Dubious Schemes." In P. Mugenyi, *Genocide By Denial: How Profiteering from HIV/AIDS Killed Millions*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers. (chapter 4: pp. 176 – 235).

*Recommended readings:*

- Fidler, David P. (2004). "Fighting the Axis of Illness: HIV/AIDS, Human Rights, and U.S. Foreign Policy." *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 17, 99-136.
- Cullet, Philippe. (2003). "The Relationship Between TRIPS and the Human Right to Health." *International Affairs* 79(1):139-160.
- Forman, Lisa. (2005). "Ensuring Reasonable Health: Health Rights, the Judiciary, and South African HIV/AIDS Policy." *The Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics* 33(4): 711-724.

**Seminar 11: Thursday June 14 (First day to hand in research paper)**

**The potential and perils of securitizing HIV**

*Required readings:*

- Prins, Gwyn. (2004). "AIDS and Global Security." *International Affairs*, 80(5), 931-952.
- Barnett, Tony. (2006). "A long-wave event. HIV/AIDS, politics, governance and 'security': sundering the intergenerational bond?" *International Affairs*, 82(2), 297-313.
- MacLean, Sandra J. (2008). "Microbes, Mad Cows and Militaries: Exploring the Links Between Health and Security." *Security Dialogue*, 39(5), 475-494.

*Recommended readings:*

- Elbe, Stefan. (2006). "Should HIV/AIDS Be Securitized? The Ethical Dilemma of Linking HIV/AIDS and Security." *International Studies Quarterly* 50(1): 199-144.
- Fidler, David P. (2003). "Racism or *Realpolitik*? US Foreign Policy and the HIV/AIDS Catastrophe in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Gender Race & Justice*, 7(1): 97-146.
- Barnett, Tony, & Prins, Gwyn. (2006). "HIV/AIDS and security: fact, fiction and evidence – a report to UNAIDS." *International Affairs*, 82(2), 359-368.
- Waever, Ole. (1995). "Securitization and Desecuritization". In Ronnie D. Lipschutz (Ed.), *On Security*. New York: Columbia U. Press. (pp. 46-86).

**Seminar 12: Tuesday June 19 (Last day to hand in research paper)****Africa, HIV and 'development'***Required readings:*

- Booth, Karen (2004). "Negotiating AIDS Policy in Kenya: 1984-1994" in K. Booth, *Local Women, Global Science: Fighting AIDS in Kenya*. Bloomington: Indiana U. Press. (chapter 3, pp. 47-77)
- Whiteside, Alan. (2006). "HIV/AIDS and development: failures of vision and imagination" *International Affairs* 82(2): 327-343.
- Jones, Peris S. (2004). "When 'development' devastates: donor discourses, access to HIV/AIDS treatment in Africa and rethinking the landscape of development." *Third World Quarterly* 25(2): 385-404.

*Recommended readings:*

- Putzel, James. (2004). "The Global Fight Against AIDS: How Adequate are the National Commissions?" *Journal of International Development* 16(8): 1129-1140.
- Barnett, Tony. (2004). "HIV/AIDS and Development Concern Us All" *Journal of International Development* 16(8):933-949.
- Schuurman, Frans J. (2009). "Critical Development Theory: moving out of the twilight zone." *Third World Quarterly* 30(5): 831-848.