

Political Science 244R
Stanford University

Winter 2005
Wednesday, 1:15-4:05

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Research Seminar
The Political Economy of Disease: AIDS in Historical Perspective

I. COURSE SUMMARY

Tens of millions of people currently live with AIDS. Most have little prospect of survival, particularly in Africa where the epidemic has been concentrated. But AIDS is spreading rapidly and India, China, and Russia face the next wave of increasing infection rates.

The epidemic's impact on the political, economic, and security environments of affected countries is profound. But the impact is also mediated by the efforts of governments, NGOs, international organizations, and other actors seeking to implement policies to stem the tide of the epidemic and to minimize its negative consequences.

The course has two main goals: first, to help you understand some important dimensions of the politics and economics of the AIDS epidemic and, second, to engage you in systematic, analytical research using concrete data to understand the dynamics of the epidemic and its impact.

In class, we will explore the cutting edge research on the consequences of HIV/AIDS and the politics of how governments have responded to the epidemic. Reading both academic articles and policy reports, we will gain a substantive grounding in the debates surrounding AIDS and its impact and get a sense of the research questions that have already been tackled, and those that remain to be addressed.

Individually, you will be responsible for developing a major research project that investigates the causes and/or consequences of AIDS or AIDS-related policies. You may choose to focus on a single country, conduct a comparison of multiple countries, or examine the international politics of the epidemic. You will have multiple opportunities to discuss your topic, the data you have gathered, and your analysis in class and with me.

II. REQUIREMENTS

You are responsible for completing *all of the reading* assigned for the seminar. Slightly more than 150 pages are assigned each week. *Participation* in the seminar discussions is fundamental to the course and the learning we can accomplish together.

In order to prompt your own thinking, you are responsible for sending me an *email* every other week by 9:00AM Wednesday morning (a total of four). The email should include two components: a paragraph summarizing any theory advanced in the week's readings (see Van Evera for clarity about what a "theory" is) and a paragraph offering your thoughts on the strengths and weaknesses of how the theory is tested (or if it is not tested, offering some thoughts about how it might be tested). The best emails will be those that identify a clear theory and offer new insights about how to improve the current empirical strategy, or identify a new approach to testing the theory. Participation will account for 25% of your final grade.

Aside from participating in the seminar, your grade will be based on the quality of the *final research paper*. This is an advanced undergraduate course and you will be expected to produce a high quality, analytical, and rigorous paper. Given the paucity of good work in this field, my hope is that many of you will continue these projects as theses or attempt to develop the arguments further for possible publication. Assignments will be crafted along the way to help you develop your argument and produce the strongest paper possible. Your final paper will account for 75% of your final grade.

The final paper should be 20-25 pages, double-spaced (expect for quotations). It should include a title page with your name, contact information, the date, and an abstract of 150 words. The text should include footnotes and relevant citations and a full bibliography of the sources you included. You should also feel free to employ quantitative data to be presented in the form of tables and graphs included at the end of the text.

III. BOOKS AND ARTICLES TO PURCHASE

Required

Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the 21st Century: Disease and Globalization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 159-294.

Greg Behrman, *The Invisible People: how the U.S. has slept through the global AIDS pandemic, the greatest humanitarian crisis of our time* (New York: Free Press, 2004).

Susan Hunter, *Black Death: AIDS in Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

William McNeil, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Doubleday, 1977).

Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Optional

Gideon Mendel, *A Broken Landscape: HIV & AIDS in Africa* (Washington: Action Aid).

A course-pack is also available for purchase in the Stanford Bookstore. Copies of the books and course-pack are available on reserve in the library.

IV. WEEKLY MEETINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Week 1 Introduction

Catherine Boone and Jake Batsell, "Politics and AIDS in Africa: Research Agendas in Political Science and International Relations," *Africa Today* 48, 2001.

Gideon Mendel, *A Broken Landscape: HIV & AIDS in Africa* (Washington: Action Aid).

Mark Schoofs, "AIDS: The Agony of Africa (Parts 1-8)" *The Village Voice*, November 1999.

Michael Specter, "The Devastation," *The New Yorker*, October 11, 2004.

New York Times History of the Epidemic. Read a selection of the articles.
(<http://www.nytimes.com/library/national/science/aids/aids-index.html>)

Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 1-48. Use the remaining sections as a resource in writing your final paper.

Week 2 AIDS in Historical Perspective

Elizabeth Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), pp. 1-134, 259-277.

Susan Hunter, *Black Death: AIDS in Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 77-105.

William McNeil, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 9-34, 161-207.

Assignment: You will prepare a one-page description of your proposed research question. The question should be substantively interesting and relevant. Moreover, it should be a question that can be answered using evidence, given the time and resource constraints of the course. You should be prepared to discuss your question during the class session.

Week 3 The Economic Consequences of Epidemics

Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the 21st Century: Disease and Globalization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 159-294.

Markus Haacker, "The Economic Consequences of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa," IMF Working Paper, February 2002. (<http://www.iaen.org/papers/>)

Microeconomic Impacts (Read at least two of the following.)

Martha Ainsworth and Deon Filmer, "Poverty, AIDS, and Children's Schooling: A Targeting Dilemma," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 2885, September 2002. (<http://www.iaen.org/papers/>)

Kathleen Beegle, "Labor Effects of Adult Mortality in Tanzanian Households," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3062, May 2003. (<http://econ.worldbank.org/view.php?type=5&id=26995>)

Cynthia Donovan et. al., "Prime-Age Adult Morbidity and Mortality in Rural Rwanda: Effects on Household Income, Agricultural Production, and Food Security Strategies," Research Report, Food Security Research Project, March 2003. (<http://www.iaen.org/papers/>)

David Evans and Edward Miguel, "Orphans and Schooling in Africa: A Longitudinal Analysis," Mimeo, October 2004. (<http://emlab.berkeley.edu/users/emiguel/research.shtml>)

Sydney Rosen et. al., "Why do Nigerian manufacturing firms take action on AIDS?" *Health and Development Discussion Paper No. 3*, January 2003. (<http://www.iaen.org/papers/>)

[David Bloom and Ajay Mahal, "AIDS, Flu, and Black Death: Impacts on Economic Growth and Well-Being," in David Bloom and Peter Godwin (eds.), *The Economics of HIV and AIDS: The Case of South and South East Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press).]

Assignment: You will prepare a 2-3 page annotated bibliography listing sources relevant to the research you will conduct to answer your research question. Some of these sources will be academic articles; others may be policy reports, quantitative data sets, or interviews you plan to conduct. The bibliography is due to me before class, and you should be ready to talk about the sources you have identified and the types of information you are finding during the seminar.

Week 4 The Security Implications of Epidemics

Rachel Bray, "Predicting the Social Consequences of Orphanhood in South Africa, Centre for Social Science Research Working Paper 29, University of Cape Town, 2003.

Andrea Den Boer Valerie Hudson, "A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratios in Asia's Largest States," *International Security* 26, no. 4, Spring 2002.

Stefan Elbe, "HIV/AIDS and the Changing Landscape of War in Africa," *International Security* 27, No. 2, Fall 2002.

International Crisis Group, "HIV/AIDS as a Security Issue," June 2001. (<http://www.crisisweb.org/home/index.cfm?id=1831&l=1>)

National Intelligence Council, "The Global Infectious Disease Threat and Its Implications for the United States," January 2000.

Mark Schneider and Michael Moodie, "The Destabilizing Impacts of HIV/AIDS," CSIS HIV/AIDS Task Force, May 2002. (http://www.csis.org/africa/0205_DestImp.pdf)

Martin Schonteich, "Age and AIDS: South Africa's crime time bomb?" *African Security Review* 8, No. 4, 1999.

Peter Singer, "AIDS and International Security," *Survival* 44, No. 1, Spring 2002.

UNAIDS, "Aids and the Military," UNAIDS Point of View, May 1998. (http://www.unaids.org/en/in+focus/hiv_aids_security+and+humanitarian+response/hiv_aids+and+uniformed+services.asp)

Week 5 The Political Consequences of Epidemics

Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the 21st Century: Disease and Globalization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 295-315.

Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance, U.N. Economic Commission for Africa. Review materials on the website to understand their research priorities. (<http://www.uneca.org/chga/>)

Alex De Waal, "How Will HIV/AIDS Transform African Governance?" *African Affairs* 102, 2003.

Ryann Manning, "AIDS and Democracy: What Do We Know?" Mimeo, 2002.

Ryann Manning, "The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Local-Level Democracy," Centre for Social Science Research Working Paper 35, 2003.

Robert Mattes, "Healthy Democracies? The potential impact of AIDS on democracy in Southern Africa," *Occasional Paper 71*, University of Cape Town, April 2003. (<http://www.iss.co.za/Publications/Papersindex.html>)

Assignment: You will prepare a 3-5-page narrative description of the evidence you have gathered. This should include a clear specification of the *dependent variable* you wish to explain. It should highlight what is puzzling about the evidence you observe and what data supports your claim. A strong narrative description will conclude with some thoughts about the factors that might explain the patterns you have found.

Week 6 The Politics of Response: Debating the Causes

Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the 21st Century: Disease and Globalization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 24-158.

Laurie Garrett, *The Coming Plague: Newly Emerging Diseases in a World Out of Balance* (New York: Penguin, 1995), pp. 281-389.

Virginia van der Vliet, "South Africa Divided against AIDS: a Crisis of Leadership," in Kyle Kauffman and David Lindauer (eds.), *AIDS and South Africa: The Social Expression of a Pandemic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

A Specific Debate

Edward Hooper, *The River: A Journey to the Source of HIV and AIDS* (Back Bay Books, 2000), pp. 793-886.

The Economist, "AIDS wars," September 16, 2000.

Jon Cohen, "Forensic Epidemiology," *Science* 289, September 15, 2000.

Week 7 The Politics of Response: Government Policies

David Kirp and Ronald Bayer, *AIDS in the Industrialized Democracies: Passions, Politics, and Policies* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), introduction and Chapter 1.

Lieberman, Evan, "What Explains Different Government Responses to the HIV/AIDS Epidemic? Theoretical Propositions and Exploratory Data Analysis," Mimeo, 2004.

Samantha Power, "The AIDS Rebel," in *The New Yorker*, May 19, 2003.

Alan Whiteside et. al., "Examining HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa Through the Eyes of Ordinary Southern Africans," Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 21, August 2002. (<http://www.afrobarometer.org/abseries.html>)

The World Bank. *Confronting AIDS: Public Priorities in a Global Epidemic*. Revised Edition. Available on-line (<http://www.worldbank.org/aids-econ/confront/confrontfull/>). Chapters 1, 3, and 5.

Uganda's Success?

USAID, "The ABCs of HIV/AIDS Prevention."
(http://www.aidsuganda.org/pdf/ABC_Study_Phase_I_report_summary3.pdf)
(http://www.aidsuganda.org/pdf/ABCs_of_prevention.pdf)
(http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/global_health/aids/News/abcjan04.pdf)

Justin Parkhurst, "The Ugandan success story? Evidence and claims of HIV-1 prevention," *The Lancet*, July 6, 2002.

Sebastian Mallaby, *The World's Banker* (New York: Penguin Book, 2004). Chapter 8, "Uganda's Myth and Miracle."

Week 8 The Politics of Response: Who is Affected

Varun Gauri and Evan Lieberman, "AIDS and the State: The Politics of Government Responses to the Epidemics in Brazil and South Africa," Mimeo, 2004.

Natrass, Nicoli, *The Moral Economy of AIDS in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 41-65, 178-189.

Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (Stonewall Inn Editions, 2000), p. 219-338.

Cathy Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), Chapter 5.

Assignment: You will submit a draft of your research paper. The more complete a draft you provide, the better the comments you will receive. This will provide you with an opportunity to sharpen your question, strengthen your analysis, improve the quality of the evidence you bring to bear, before submitting a final draft at the end of finals week. You can expect to receive comments from me within a week of receiving your paper.

Week 9 The Politics of Response: International Policies

Greg Behrman, *The Invisible People: how the U.S. has slept through the global AIDS pandemic, the greatest humanitarian crisis of our time* (New York: Free Press, 2004), pp. 187-288.

Jonathan Mann et. al. *AIDS in the World II: Global Dimensions, Social Roots, and Responses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 315-374.

Donald McNeil, "Drug Companies and the Third World: A Case Study in Neglect," *The New York Times*, May 21, 1999.

Oxfam's *Make Trade Fair Campaign*. Read the discussion of patents and TRIPS. (<http://www.maketradefair.com/en/index.php?file=05092003140550.htm>)

United Nations' Secretary General's campaign to raise the focus on AIDS. Read the press release and the three speeches. (http://www.un.org/ga/aids/ungassfactsheets/html/fssgcall_en.htm).

The Economist. Read a series of articles about the fight for access to cheap medicine. (“Spending on AIDS,” July 15, 2004; “The fight against AIDS is gaining strength,” November 27, 2003; “HIV treatment in poor countries,” July 17, 2003; “Drugs, Patents, and Aids,” March 8, 2001; “Brazil’s battle over drug patents,” May 17, 2001; “AIDS and the world’s politicians,” June 28, 2001

Rachel Glennerster and Michael Kremer, “A World Bank Vaccine Commitment,” *Brookings Institution Policy Brief 57*, May 2000.

Steven Radelet, “The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria: Progress, Potential, and Challenges for the Future,” Center for Global Development, June 30, 2004.

Week 10 Final Presentations

Assignment: Each student will prepare a 10-15 minutes presentation using Power Point. The presentation should include a description of the puzzle, an examination of the factors that might help to explain it, a discussion of the data you gathered to evaluate alternative explanations, and conclude with your analytical findings.