

Global Governance and Health Politics

POLS 686, Fall 2009
Northern Illinois University
Department of Political Science
Graduate Seminar in International Relations
Instructor: Vlad Kravtsov

Class: Th 3:30—6:10 in DU 464
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Course description

This course focuses on health policy issues, which transcend boundaries, authority, and capacity of nation-states. The first part of the course explores the patterns and processes of global health *governance* and taps into the classic theoretical debates of IR, such as structure-agent and power-ideas relations. Specific areas of inquiry include the examples of responses to health crises, the evolution and principles of the universal participation in health cooperation, the key characteristics of different types of global health organizations, and the tensions associated with the rules and ideologies shaping global health agenda. In the second part of the course we examine various analytical frameworks of health *securitization*, as applied to the world-wide contemporary and historical cases. In studying securitization processes we are particularly interested in ascertaining under what conditions what health issues get securitized. Since scholars often use the concept of globalization to describe the patterns of health and illness in different regions, throughout the course we touch on benefits and costs of growing interconnectedness of people and communities across the globe. Note that the social determinants of global health (such as food security, ecological health, health care services, and so on) are not the primary focus of the course and therefore can be explored only on a tangent. The required readings sample a plurality of recent epistemological and ontological perspectives on global health and politics.

Required books

- Frank Dikötter, Lars Peter Laamann, Zhou Xun, *Narcotic culture: a history of drugs in China* (University of Chicago Press, 2004)
- Nina Tannenwald, *The nuclear taboo: the United States and the non-use of nuclear weapons since 1945* (Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Julia Rodríguez, *Civilizing Argentina: science, medicine, and the modern state* (UNC Press, 2006)
- Andrew Lakoff, Stephen J. Collier, *Biosecurity Interventions: Global Health & Security in Question* (Columbia University Press, 2008)
- Andrew T. Price-Smith, *Contagion and Chaos: Disease, Ecology, and National Security in the Era of Globalization* (MIT Press, 2009)
- Evan Lieberman, *Boundaries of Contagion: How Ethnic Politics Have Shaped Government Responses to AIDS* (Princeton University Press, 2009)

Getting started

Skim the book chapters and articles in the recommended and background reading lists that best match your interest, and also peruse University of California Press, University of Chicago Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, Ashgate Publishing, Routledge Studies in the Social History of Medicine, Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine, and Palgrave Macmillan for health and politics catalogues. Browse the archives of *Social Sciences and Medicine* on the Elsevier website. Foucault's *History of Madness* and *The Birth of the Clinic* also provide an introduction to the themes we explore in this course.

Course requirements

Course objectives

- The *substantive objective* of the course is to familiarize students with the contemporary literature on the structures, actors, and processes of global health governance, as well as IR theories developed to explain global health issues.
- The principal *learning objective* is to develop analytical thinking about global health to produce a research agenda integrating IR theories with the empirical issues of global health.
- The outcomes will be measured on your performance in class participation and discussion in leadership roles, on the quality of your memos and your research design paper.

Grade determination

Participation 20%
Discussions 10%
Memos 30%
Research design 40%

Readings and participation

Required readings should be completed prior to class; arrive with comments and questions to contribute to discussion. Since this class is a graduate seminar, making readings and active participation in discussions is critical for its successful completion. You should bring the week's readings to class. Be prepared to act in the discussion leadership role (more than once, or a part of a group—depending on enrollment). As a discussion leader, you will be responsible for some additional reading (from the recommended and background sections). Otherwise, you should treat recommended and background readings as a bonus.

Memos

In addition to completing the assigned readings, students are responsible for writing **six** memos to reflect on the assigned books, and the final (**seventh**) memo to put together some broader comments on all the books. These memos are due at the start of class and will be circulated to the other participants (the reviewers' are responsible for making enough copies for the whole class). I suggest you do not simply summarize the readings—I have read them all, so have your colleagues. The point of writing memos is to help you to organize your reflections on the books in a systematic manner, that is, to think through the required book as a research project, offer your suggestions and criticisms, discuss any problems that arise, identify the key questions for discussion and so on. Memos should be **brief** and carefully **focused**.

Research design

The final assignment is a *research design paper* in approximately **2700** words. Research design is a central component in this course as it helps you to pull together everything we discuss throughout the semester. The objective is to produce a quality research project, that is, formulate unanswered questions and a satisfactory means of answering them. This paper can be used as a foundation for the subsequent larger projects. First, open your paper with a clear statement of the research question (or a set of questions, or a thesis), explain what new knowledge your research will generate (value added), and clarify its relevance to the field of your study. Second, continue the discussion indicating why to select a particular theory, how to refine it for the purposes of your research, and how to operationalize/measure your variables. Third, elaborate on the issues in conducting research (what are you about to do), indicate the kinds of sources needed, their availability and utility, and think what would constitute critical evidence. Finally, attach an additional bibliography of literature and sources. If you select a topic from the class readings, the extra lists of recommended and background literature become mandatory. During the semester we shall clarify this assignment and talk extensively about the research design in relation to the required books. For the additional hints on what the research design ought to be, use Stephen Van Evera's *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Cornell University Press, 1997) and for various frameworks for organizing substantive explanations in political science use Craig Parsons's *How to Map Arguments in Political Science* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

Course policies and expectations

Class communication: the easiest way to reach me with brief questions is via e-mail, or grabbing me before or after class. In addition to the office hours as indicated above, I am flexible for office hours by appointment.

Religious holidays: I will excuse any absences that result from religious observances, provided that you notify me in advance of the planned absence.

Plagiarism & Citation: NIU defines plagiarism as Academic Misconduct. Make sure you familiarize yourselves what constitutes plagiarism: <http://polisci.niu.edu/polisci/audience/plagiarism.shtml>

Religious holidays: I will excuse any absences that result from religious observances, provided that you notify me in advance of the planned absence.

Academic accommodations for students with disabilities:

Under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, NIU is committed to making reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Those students with disabilities that may have some impact on their coursework and for which they may require accommodations should notify the Center for Access-Ability Resources (CAAR) on the fourth floor of the Health Services Building. CAAR will assist students in making appropriate accommodations with course instructors. It is important that CAAR and instructors be informed of any disability-related needs during the first two weeks of the semester.

Department of Political Science: <http://polisci.niu.edu>

Classroom decorum: arrive at class on time, remain in class for the entire session, turn off cell phones etc. Always be courteous and respectful of others.

Course structure

8/27—Introduction (governance)

9/03—Dependency (world system)

Part I: Processes of health governance

09/10—Cooperation (states, regimes)

09/17—Regulation (principal-agent, IGOs)

09/24—Norm-building (civil society, NGOs)

10/01—Collaboration (private sector, MNCs)

10/08—Coordination (multilateralism)

10/15—Diffusion (networks)

Part II: Securitization of health issues

10/22—State security

10/29—International security

11/05—New health security

11/12—Human security

11/ 26—Thanksgiving break, no class

11/19—Ethnic security

12/03—Conclusion

12/10—Finals

READING SCHEDULE & IMPORTANT DATES

8/27—INTRODUCTION

- *Syllabus*
- Jeffrey P. Koplan et al., Towards a common definition of global health, *The Lancet*, [Volume 373, Issue 9679](#), pp. 1993 – 1995 (6 June 2009), **[to be distributed in class]**

Recommended readings:

Wolfgang Hein, Sonja Bartsch, Lars Kohlmorgen, *Global Health Governance and the Fight Against HIV and AIDS* (Palgrave, 2007), **Introduction, Interfaces and Conclusion [on Library Reserve]**

Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice (is available at <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t716100712>)—peruse the content

John Kirton, Andrew Cooper, Ted Schrecker, eds., *Innovation in Global Health Governance: Critical Cases* (Ashgate, 2009), **Ch. 1 [to be distributed in class]**

Background readings:

Michael H. Merson, Robert E. Black, Anne Mills, eds. *International public health: Diseases, Programs, Systems, and Policies* (Jones & Bartlett Publishers, 2006), **Ch. 14, 15.**

Mark W. Zacher, Tania J. Keefe, *The Politics of Global Health Governance: United by Contagion* (Palgrave, 2008), **Ch. 2, 3.**

Kent Buse, Wolfgang Hein and Nick Drager, eds., *Making Sense of Global Health Governance: A Policy Perspective* (Palgrave 2009), **Ch. 1—5, [forthcoming]**

Peter Hough, *Understanding Global Security* (Routledge, 2004), **Ch. 7.**

9/03—DEPENDENCY

- *Dikötter, Laamann, and Xun, entire*

Recommended readings:

Bob Denemark, “World System History: From Traditional International Politics to the Study of Global Relations,” *International Studies Review* Vol. 1, No.2 (1999), pp. 167-199.

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, “Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Politics,” *Comparative Politics* Vol. 10, No. 4 (1978), pp. 535-552

Background readings:

Paul Gootenberg, *Andean Cocaine: The Making of a Global Drug* (UNC Press, 2009)

The Essential Wallerstein

Part I: Processes of health governance

9/10—COOPERATION

- *Tannenwald, entire*

Recommended readings:

Richard Price, “A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo,” *IO* 49 (1995), pp. 73-104

Richard Price, “Reversing the Gun Sights,” *IO* 52 (1998), pp. 613-644

Background readings:

Steven Krasner, ed., *International regimes*, a special issue of *International Organization* (1982)

Andreas Hasenclever, Peter Mayer, Volker Rittberger, *Theories of international regimes* (Cambridge, 1997)
Oran Young, *Governance in World Affairs* (Cornell University Press, 1999)

9/17—REGULATION

Due dates: research topic due

- Andrew F. Cooper, John J. Kirton, Ted Schrecker, eds., *Governing Global Health: challenge, response, innovation* (Ashgate, 2007), **Chapters on G-8, 9—13 [On Library Reserve]**
- Alison Bashford, *Medicine at the Border: Disease, Globalization and Security, 1850 to the present* (Palgrave 2007), **Chapters on WHO**
- Christer Jonsson and Peter Soderholm, “IGO—NGO Relations and HIV/AIDS: Innovation or Stalemate?” *Third World Quarterly* 16: 3 (1995), pp. 459-476.

Recommended readings:

John Kirton, Andrew Cooper, Ted Schrecker, eds., *Innovation in Global Health Governance: Critical Cases* (Ashgate, 2009), **Ch. 4, 14, 15, 16** (WHO)

Javed Siddiqi, *World health and world politics: the World Health Organization and the UN system* (University of South Carolina Press, 1995)

Wade Jacoby, Scott Cooper, Darren Hawkins and Daniel Nielson, “Yielding Sovereignty to International Institutions: Bringing System Structure Back In,” *International Studies Review* 10 (2008), pp. 501–524

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations,” *International Organization* 53 (1999), pp. 699-732

Ronald Labonte Ted Schrecker, David Sanders, Wilma Meeus, *Fatal Indifference: The G8, Africa and Global Health* (International Development Research Centre, 2004), available at <http://www.idrc.ca/openebooks/130-2/>

Background readings:

Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Cornell, 2004)

Darren G. Hawkins, et al, eds. *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations* (Cambridge, 2006)

Daniel W. Drezner, *All politics is global: explaining international regulatory regimes* (Princeton, 2007)

Daniel W. Drezner, ed., *Locating the Proper Authorities: The Interaction of Domestic and International Institutions* (Michigan University Press, 2003).

9/24—NORM-BUILDING

- Wolfgang Hein, Sonja Bartsch, Lars Kohlmorgen, *Global Health Governance and the Fight Against HIV and AIDS* (Palgrave, 2007), **Ch. 5 [On Library Reserve]**
- Cathal Doyle and Preeti Patel, “Civil society organisations and global health initiatives: Problems of legitimacy,” *Social Science & Medicine* Vol. 66, No. 9 (2008), pp. 1928-1938.
- Richard Price, “Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics,” *World Politics* 55:4 (2003), pp. 579-606
- Richard Price, “Moral Limit and Possibility in World Politics,” *IO* 62 (2008), pp. 191-220
- Matt Hoffmann, “Is Constructivist Ethics an Oxymoron,” *International Studies Review* Vol. 11 (2009), pp. 231–252

Recommended readings:

Kelley Lee, Kent Buse, Suzanne Fustukian, eds., *Health policy in a globalising world* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), **Ch. 6.**

Sandra J. MacLean, Pieter P. Fourie, Sherri Brown, eds., *Health for some: The Political Economy of Global Health Governance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), **Part III [forthcoming on October 13]**

Background readings:

Helen V. Milner and Andrew Moravcsik, eds. *Power, Interdependence, and Nonstate Actors in World Politics* (Princeton, 2009)

Paul Weindling, *International health organisations and movements, 1918-1939* (Cambridge University Press, 1995)

10/01—COLLABORATION

Due dates: research design follow-up I

- Susan Sell, and Aseem Prakash, “Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights,” *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 1 (2004), pp. 143-175.
- Kenneth Shadlen, “The Political Economy of AIDS Treatment: Intellectual Property and the Transformation of Generic Supply,” *International Studies Quarterly* 51:3 (2007), pp. 559-581.
- Susan Sell, “Multinational Corporations as agents of change: The globalization of intellectual property rights,” in A. Claire Cutler, Virginia Haufler, Tony Porter, eds., *Private Authority and International Affairs* (SUNY 1999)

Recommended readings:

Mark W. Zacher, Tania J. Keefe, *The Politics of Global Health Governance: United by Contagion* (Palgrave 2008), **Ch. 5.**

Yves Beigbeder, *International public health: patients' rights vs. the protection of patents* (Ashgate, 2004), **Ch. 1, 2, 4, 8.**

Shuo Zhang, Xiaowan Wang, *Global Health, Pharmaceutical Industry and BRIC* (Palgrave, 2007), **Ch. 4.**

Mei-Ling Wang, Shuo Zhang, Xiaowan Wang, Xiao-wan Wang, *WTO, Globalization, and China's Health Care System* (Palgrave, 2007), **Chapters on WTO**

Background readings:

Rodney Hall and Thomas J. Biersteker, eds., *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance* (Cambridge, 2002).

Susan Sell, *Private Power, Public Law: The Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights* (Cambridge, 2003).

Health for some: The Political Economy of Global Health Governance (Palgrave, 2009), **Part IV.**

10/08—COORDINATION

- Jean-Paul Moatti et al, eds. *Economics of AIDS and access to HIV/AIDS care in developing countries: issues and challenges* (ANRS, Collection Sciences Sociales et Sida, Paris, 2003), **Ch. 1, 2, 5**, skim the rest of the chapters, available at <<http://www.lepublieur.com/anrs/ecoaids2.pdf>>
- *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 23, Issue 2 (2002), Special Issue: Global Health and Governance: HIV/AIDS (Guest Editors: Nana K. Poku and Alan Whiteside), **skim entire**

Recommended readings:

Obijiofor Aginam, *Global health governance: international law and public health in a divided world* (University of Toronto Press, 2005), **Ch. 3, 4.**

Mark G. Field and Judyth L. Twigg, eds, *Russia's Torn Safety Nets: Health and Social Welfare during the Transition* (Palgrave, 2000), **Ch. 3—5, 15.**

Geir Hønneland and Lars Rowe, *Health as International Politics: combating communicable diseases in the Baltic Sea region* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004), **Ch. 2—4.**

A.F. Cooper, *Innovation in Global Health Governance: Critical Cases* (Ashgate, 2009), **Ch. 8, 9, 10, [n/a yet]**

A Nunn, ED Fonseca, S Gruskin, “Changing Global Essential Medicines Norms to Improve Access to AIDS Treatment: Lessons from Brazil,” *Global Public Health* Vol. 4, No. 2 (2009), pp. 131-149. **[n/a yet]**

Background readings:

- Joel E. Oestreich, *Power and principle: human rights programming in international organizations* (Georgetown University Press, 2007), **Ch. 4, 5, 6.**
- John Gerard Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism matters: the theory and praxis of an institutional form* (Columbia University Press, 1993), **Ch. 1, 2, 11, 12.**
- John Gerard Ruggie, *Constructing the world polity: essays on international institutionalization* (Routledge, 1998), **Ch. 4.**
- Donald Chisholm, *Coordination without hierarchy: Informal Structures in Multiorganizational Systems* (University of California Press, 1989)

10/15—DIFFUSION

Important dates: midterm evaluation

- Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of innovations, Fifth edition* (Free Press, 2003), **Ch. 1, 6, 8 [On Library Reserve]**
- Vlad Kravtsov, “Antiretroviral Treatment and AIDS Entrepreneurs in South Africa: Domestic Opposition to an International Norm (1999—2004),” *Global Society*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (July 2009) **[to be distributed in class]**
- “International Institutions and Socialization in Europe,” special issue of *International Organization* Vol.59, No. 4 (2005)—**Introduction and Conclusion**

Recommended readings:

- Wade Jacoby, “Inspiration, Coalition, and Substitution: External Influences on Postcommunist Transformations,” *World Politics* Vol. 58, No. 4, (2006), pp. 623-651.
- Stella Ladi, *Globalisation, policy transfer and policy research institutes* (Edward Elgar, 2005), **Ch. 2, 3, 7.**
- Frank Schimmelfennig, Ulrich Sedelmeier, *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Cornell University Press, 2005), **Ch. 5, 7.**
- Beth Simmons, Zachary Elkins and Andrew Guzman, “Competing for Capital: the Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties, 1960-2000,” *International Organization* Vol. 60, No. 4 (2006), pp. 811—846.

Background readings:

- Mark Evans, *Policy transfer in global perspective* (Ashgate, 2004), **Ch. 1—3, 10, 12.**
- Trisha Greenhalgh, Paul Bate, Richard Peacock, Glenn Robert, Olivia Kyriakidou, Fraser MacFarlane, Liam Donaldson, *Diffusion of Innovations in Health Service Organisations: A Systematic Literature Review* (BMJ Books, Wiley-Blackwell, 2005)

Part II: Securitization of health issues

10/22—STATE SECURITY

- **Rodríguez, entire**

Recommended readings:

- Stefan Elbe, “Should HIV/AIDS be Securitized? The Ethical Dilemmas of Linking HIV/AIDS and Security,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (2006), pp. 119-144.
- Stefan Elbe, “AIDS, Security, Biopolitics,” Special Issue on Health, *International Relations*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (2005), pp. 403-419.
- Roxanna Sjöstedt, “Exploring the Construction of Threats: The Securitization of HIV/AIDS in Russia,” *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. (2008), pp. 7—29
- Gary Cecchine and Melinda Moore, *Infectious Disease and National Security Strategic Information Needs* (RAND, 2006), available at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/technical_reports/2006/RAND_TR405.pdf>

10/29—INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Due dates: research design follow-up II

- *Lakoff and Collier, entire*

Recommended readings:

Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde, *Security: a new framework for analysis* (Lynne Rienner, 1998)
Terrorism, War, or Disease? Unraveling the Use of Biological Weapons (Stanford University Press, 2008), **Ch. 10—14.**

11/05—NEW “HEALTH SECURITY”

- *Price-Smith, entire*

Recommended readings:

Lopez AD, Mathers CD, Ezzati M, Jamison D, Murray CJL (2006) “The global and regional burden of disease and risk factors, 2001: systematic analysis of population health data,” *Lancet*, 367 (9524): 1747-1757

Andrew T. Price-Smith, “Vicious Circle—HIV/AIDS, State Capacity, and National Security: Lessons from Zimbabwe, 1990-2005,” *Global Health Governance*, Vol. 1 No. 1 (2007), available at http://diplomacy.shu.edu/academics/global_health/journal/.

Meredeth Turshen, *Privatizing health services in Africa* (Rutgers University Press, 1999)

Health for some: The Political Economy of Global Health Governance (Palgrave, 2009), **Ch. Part II**

Sustainable health care financing in Southern Africa. Papers from an EDI Health Policy Seminar held in Johannesburg, South Africa, June 1996, (IBRD, 1998), available at <http://www.worldbank.org/reference/>

11/12—HUMAN SECURITY

- Lincoln C. Chen, Jennifer Leaning, Vasant Narasimhan, eds. *Global Health Challenges for Human Security* (Harvard University Press, 2003) , **Ch. TBA, [On Library Reserve]**
- Claude Bruderlein, “People’s Security as a New Measure of Stability,” *International Review of the Red Cross* Vol. 83, no. 842 (2001), pp. 353-366 **[On Library Reserve]**
- Ronald Behringer, “Middle Power Leadership on the Human Security Agenda,” *Cooperation and Conflict*, 40:3 (2005), pp. 305-342.
- David Roberts, “Human Security or Human Insecurity? Moving the Debate Forward,” *Security Dialogue*, 37:2 (2006), pp. 249-261.

Recommended readings:

Caroline Thomas, “Global governance, development and human security: exploring the links,” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2001), pp. 159-175

Paris, Roland, 2001. “Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security* 26 (2), pp. 87—102.

Lincoln C. Chen, T Evans, and RA Cash, “Global Health as a Public Good,” in *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century* (Oxford University Press, 1999)

Lincoln C. Chen, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ellen Seidensticker, *Human insecurity in a global world* (Harvard University Press, 2003)

Background readings:

Caroline Thomas, *Global Governance, Development, and Human Security: The Challenge of Poverty and Inequality* (Pluto Press, 2000)

11/19—ETHNIC SECURITY

- *Lieberman, entire*

Background readings:

Paul Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Michael Hau, *The cult of health and beauty in Germany: a social history, 1890-1930* (University of Chicago Press, 2003)

12/03—CONCLUSION

No readings.—Final memo due.—Under what conditions what health issues get securitized? —What is the tentative typology and consequences of securitization?—“Global health is fashionable.” — Wrap up. — Evaluations.

12/10—FINALS

- *Open Session*
- *Research design paper due.*

Additional research resources

<<http://www.globalizationandhealth.com/>>
<<http://www.globalhealth.org/>>
<<http://www.globalhealthtv.com/>>
<<http://globalhealth.kff.org/>>
<<http://www.infoforhealth.org/>>
<<http://www.worldbank.org/aids-econ/confront/confrontfull/>>
<<http://www.unaids.org/en/default.asp>>
<<http://www.who.int/>>
<<http://www.ua2010.org/en/UNGASS>>
<<http://www.unaids.org/en/default.asp>>
<<http://www.msf.org/>>
<http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_E/trips_e/trips_e.htm>
<<http://phsj.org/>>
<http://www.cgdev.org/section/topics/global_health>
<<http://www.unglobalcompact.org/>>
<www.pepfar.gov/>
<www.theglobalfund.org/>