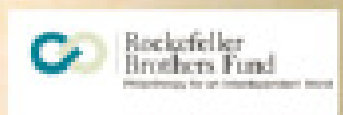


AIDS, Security and Conflict Initiative



HIV/AIDS Reference Set #3:

HIV/AIDS and State Fragility



AIDS, Security and Conflict Initiative – Reference Set #3
Theme: State Fragility and HIV/AIDS

(V) STATE FRAGILITY

VA. Definitional: What does fragile mean? Institutions? Democracy? Health systems?

OECD. 2005. Principles for good international engagement in fragile states. *Learning and Advisory Process on Different Partnerships (LAP)*. Draft. DCD(2005)8/REV2

- This paper is the product of the January 2005 meeting of the Senior Level Forum on Development Effectiveness in Fragile States, which agreed upon a short list of principles for a good engagement in fragile states. These twelve principles emphasize the need to focus on state building and alignment with local needs, as well as the need to remain involved until success has been given a chance. Finally, the principles recommend mutual agreement on international coordination for intervention during state peril.

Patrick, Stewart. 2007. 'Failed' states and Global Security: Empirical questions and policy dilemmas. *International Studies Review*, Vol. 9, pp. 644-662.

- Patrick examines failed states through the lens of security, while attempting to determine if the 'failed state' label is of any use, and addresses what is missing from the discussion. He finds that states fall along a continuum of dysfunction, where there is a mixture of inadequate capacity and insufficient will. He acknowledges the lack of linkage between state weakness and the propensity for intrastate conflict, and that states are part of a larger global system that exerts stressors on their economic and political goals. Problems with the current conceptualization of a failed state are: no agreed-upon definition, the fact that it is a catch all category for any state capacity problems, there is no consideration for the type of government, and no designation towards those states that have never been effective in the first place. Patrick claims that state weakness should be measured only as a relative variable, and that much more specific subcategories for measurements would be helpful. The article continues to examine the role of 'failed' states in transnational threats, including terrorism and WMD. He addresses public health issues, like AIDS, saying that incubation of disease in these countries can lead to significant death of both those from the Global North and South.

Marshall, Monty G. and Cole, Benjamin R. 2008. Global Report on Conflict, Governance and State Fragility. *Foreign Policy Bulletin*.

- This report examines the trends for state fragility over the year 2008. A generally data focused piece, this paper provides a ranking for state fragility using a matrix for determining what categories the state fits into. For example, the piece ranks in accordance to type of government +10 = democracy, -10 = autocracy. The authors then use these rankings to determine trends in global governance, etc. The only 'contribution' of this piece is its reliance on a societal-system performance model, which explains state stability as its capability to rely on collective action via applied coordination (effectiveness) and voluntary compliance (legitimacy).

VB. Links with AIDS – are there causal links? Correlations? Concerns? How should the questions be posed/not posed?

Altman, Dennis. 2007. AIDS: the continuing primacy of the political – seven propositions. *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 13, No. 3.

- Altman addresses the status of AIDS as a security issue over the past few years

(particularly since 9/11). He states that attention to AIDS has declined, despite the attention paid to it by important global donors (Gates and Clinton). He examines HIV/AIDS as a security threat, stating the only established pattern is the cyclical long wave effects HIV has on a society, but that in some cases it has served to strengthen communal bonds as communities mobilize and respond to HIV threats. The most important/relevant point of this paper is his commentary on AIDS and state collapse: the states with the highest incidence of HIV are not the ones considered the most fragile. He calls for research on the psychosocial consequences of HIV, and the effects of death on infrastructure – how much can it support?

Bonnell, René. 2000. HIV/AIDS in Africa: Does it increase or decrease growth in Africa? *World Bank* (Accessed 16 July 2009).

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPHIVAIDS/Resources/Growth_in_Africa.pdf

- Infectious diseases matter greatly for Africa. Cross-country regressions for the 1990-97 period suggest that HIV/AIDS has reduced the rate of growth of Africa's per capita income by 0.7 percentage points per year. For those African countries affected by malaria, growth was further lowered by 0.3 percentage points per year. Such reduction is large when compared with the historical growth of 0.4% achieved in 1990-97. Various factors related to poverty, inequality, gender inequality, labor mobility and ethnic fractionalization have facilitated the rapid spread of HIV. But what has enabled HIV/AIDS to undermine economic and social development is the erosion of some of the main determinants of economic growth such as social capital, domestic savings and human capital. Through such channels the HIV epidemic was transformed from a health issue into an economic disease that impairs economic and social development. Because it prevents an increasing share of the population from participating in economic growth, the HIV/AIDS epidemic increases poverty. The result is a vicious circle whereby HIV/AIDS reduces economic growth and increases poverty, which in turn accelerates the spread of HIV. Without strong and immediate action, it will prove quite difficult to overcome the cost of inaction latter on.

Fourie, Pieter. 2007. The Relationship between the AIDS pandemic and state fragility. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3.

- Pieter Fourie examines the claim that high levels of HIV/AIDS in Africa are leading to state fragility, and eventual collapse. With the personification of HIV/AIDS as a villain, Fourie shows the constructivist and metaphorical stigma placed on the HIV/AIDS pandemic, specifically when analyzed from a Western viewpoint. He states that this claim has led to two widely unsupported arguments: First, that state fragility creates an environment that enables the spread of HIV/AIDS; secondly, state fragility leads to global insecurity, and thus the prevalence of HIV/AIDS leads to terrorism. He claims that these arguments have been little substantiated with data, and in line with Barnett's synthesis paper, concludes that the causal link (backed up by empirics) between HIV/AIDS and state fragility is missing.

Price-Smith, Andrew T. *Vicious Circle-HIV/AIDS, State Capacity, and National Security: Lessons from Zimbabwe, 1990-2005. Global Health Governance, Volume I, no. 1(January 2007)* http://diplomacy.shu.edu/academics/global_health.

- Andrew T. Price-Smith examines the detrimental effects of HIV/AIDS at the local level of governance in an already fragile state. In his case study, Zimbabwe, he looks at how

high incidents of HIV/AIDS have led to negative pressures at the local level, and have reinforced overall state destabilization. Zimbabwe has one of the highest incidents of HIV/AIDS in the world, with about 20% of its population infected. Price-Smith astutely labels the pandemic as a 'stressor' upon the already severely pressured government structure, claiming that 'HIV/AIDS reinforces a vicious spiral within affected societies that will threaten the stability of the state.'

VC. Indices and measurement

- **Brookings Institution:** http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2008/02_weak_states_index.aspx
- **Fund for Peace:**
http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=391&Itemid=549
- **USAID Failed States Strategy:**
http://www.usaid.gov/policy/2005_fragile_states_strategy.pdf
- **World Bank LICUS:** http://www.worldbank.org/ieg/licus/licus05_map.html

VD. Governance

a. local service delivery – human resources

Hsu, Lee-Nah. "HIV Subverts National Security." UNDP South East Asia HIV and Development Project. August 2001.

http://www.hivdevelopment.org/Publications_english/HIV%20Subverts%20National%20Security.htm.

- This short report describes how Asia is on the brink of an HIV/AIDS epidemic in similar scale to Africa if precautionary measures are not taken. The report recommends health and knowledge improvements for HIV prevention, and to strengthen governments in order to allow for population movement under more favorable conditions.

OECD. "Service Delivery in Fragile Situations: Key Concepts, Findings and Lessons." 2008.

<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/17/54/40886707.pdf>.

- This report provides a framework for donor relations with fragile states in the context of service provision. The OECD definition of the state describes the government as a provider for citizens who in turn allow it to retain its position. From this standpoint, the government provides key services when there is a system of accountability between citizens and government. The report discusses approaches for donors to best choose delivery models and aid instruments as they help fragile states overcome the challenges of establishing mechanisms for accountability.

Poku, Nana K. HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa. *Report from Africa: Population, Health, Environment and Conflict*.

- This commentary asks the important question: how can we achieve sustainable development if the epidemic itself destroys the capacities for response by killing the most economically productive members of the continent? The paper discusses the multitude of ways HIV/AIDS can impact political systems and processes – the impacts on core democracy, effects on democratic process, risks to political stability – all leading to greater instability within states. It shows that there is no formula for working with states affected by HIV – there are a multitude of consequences that come from HIV/AIDS within a society.

Poku, Nana, Whiteside, Alan, & Sandkjaer, Bjorg. 2007. *AIDS and Governance*.

- Abstract from Google Books. Available at:
http://books.google.com/books?id=SCharuaxB98C&dq=HIV/AIDS+state+fragility&lr=&source=gbs_navlinks_s
- The political impact of HIV/AIDS varies greatly and is difficult to map. States depend on how governments choose to manage the political implications of HIV and AIDS, both the implications stemming from the erosions of its own capacity, as well as those stemming from their changing relationship both nationally as well as internationally. Across the developing world, HIV/AIDS is slowly killing adults in their most productive years, hollowing out state-structures, deepening poverty, reversing achievements in education, lowering productivity, weakening intergenerational formation, and changing the composition of families. Clearly, in terms of its trajectory and impact, the epidemic raises profound questions that touch on the organization of all aspects of social, economic and political life. With the epidemic showing scant signs of slowing down anywhere in the developing world, this volume assesses how HIV/AIDS affects governance, and conversely how governance affects the course of the epidemic.- Employs a compelling analytical and polemic framework for mapping the multiple dynamic mechanisms of governance and HIV/AIDS- Brings together contributions from renowned international scholars from a variety of disciplines- An innovative text drawing on comprehensive as well as detailed perspectives on the roles of actors, institutions and structures- A incisive study of a global plague which threatens existing social, economic and human interrelations. The specific dynamics and mechanisms for how HIV/AIDS impacts on actors, institutions or frameworks, as well as how their responses and changes affect the epidemic, require the careful judgment and analysis of the contributors. The authors offer their informed views on factors that have been conducive as well as constraining in actors to respond, which allows for a comprehensive picture of the 'politics of reform' as well as 'effective practices'.

b. elections: participation, who runs, votes, stigma

“AIDS and Local Government in South Africa: Examining the Impact of an Epidemic on Ward Councillors” (Chirambo & Steyn)

Follér, Mai-Lis and Thörn, Håkan. 2008. *The Politics of AIDS: Globalization, the State and Civil Society*. Hampshire, Palgrave. (see outline at
<http://www.palgrave.com/PRODUCTS/title.aspx?pid=280659>)

- This book addresses civil society and its role in determining the effectiveness of governance. Chapters include African fragility, civil society and AIDS, globalization and AIDS in Africa.

Hsu, Lee-Nah. “Building Dynamic Democratic Governance and HIV-Resilient Societies.”

UNAIDS. Building Regional HIV Resilience: UNDP South East Asia HIV and Development Programme, February 2004.

- This paper details the relationship between HIV/AIDS and democratic governance, and how the principles of democratic governance can be used to create HIV/Resilient societies. Derived from the principles of modern government, the report details the need for an Early Warning Rapid Response System, which is the process of ID-ing

key developments that would result in vulnerabilities in communities, leading to a “sound the warning” for institutions and people concerned, and finally would trigger action and monitor and evaluate responses. This system is based on the principles of democratic government, including participation, transparency, efficient timely responses, accountability, and following closely to the rule of law. The report recommends democratic governance on all levels, and encourages donor support for local responses to dealing with an increased HIV/AIDS alert.

Youde, Jeremy. 2001. ‘All the voters will be dead.’ HIV/AIDS and democratic legitimacy and stability in Africa. University of Iowa. (Accessed 21 July 2009.)

http://www.ifes.org/publication/a39199de6f93c6201545d0048f800696/08_15_01_Manatt_Jeremy_Youde.pdf

- HIV/AIDS is ravaging sub-Saharan Africa, with infection rates as high as 36 percent. At the same time, most of these countries have recently begun the democratization process and have only nascent democratic practices and institutions. This research explores the connection between HIV/AIDS and democratic legitimacy and stability in Africa by focusing on five of the six most-infected countries on the continent: Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The results show that HIV/AIDS does have the potential to pose a major threat to democratic legitimacy and stability in the region due to three factors. First, cumbersome voter registration laws and the deaths of politically neutral civil servants who administer the elections increase the chances for electoral fraud. Second, the likely economic decline further imperils the chances of successful democratization, as positive links exist between economic development and democratization. Third, since those in their teens and 20s and the educated/professional classes have borne the brunt of the disease so far, their deaths will impinge upon the development of a vibrant civil society which can not only agitate for democratization, but also keep the government in check. The confluence of these three factors makes the impact of HIV/AIDS larger than any previously faced.

c. health systems: decentralization, privatization (involvement of NGOs?)

Amrith, Sunil. “Democracy, Globalization, and Health: the African Dilemma.” Centre for History and Economics.

- This paper talks about African states overcoming the HIV/AIDS epidemic in a globalizing world order. The author goes through a myriad of examples of programs addressing HIV/AIDS (i.e. Botswana, Senegal, Uganda), and from this, concludes that African states cannot be categorized as regular states because they are unable to engage with international institutions because of a lack of resources, institutional capacity and expertise. The paper also argues that there is potential for the state, as has been seen in its regional arrangements. This paper is a bit confusing, and arguments are not clear throughout.

Chikwendu, Eudora. 2004. AIDS/HIV – When the state fails: NGOs in grassroots AIDS care. *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 28, pp. 245-259.

- This introduction examines the difficulties of HIV/AIDS in the context of governments with limited capacity and access to resources. NGOs often fill in the space where government resources fail to reach. She discusses cases that have been successful (Uganda, Cuba) and attributes their quick responses to the success of

containment. NGOs possess a few main qualities that make valuable in their relationships with government partners: they are able to address the broader social context of the epidemic; they can deal with sensitive issues with greater ease than governments, they have lobbying and organization skills that often impact donor/government/IO decisions; and finally, they are often locally focused and address issues such as human rights.

c. care giving: gender vulnerability, orphans (Laurie Garrett); households

Akintola. Olagoke. 2008. Unpaid HIV/AIDS care in Southern Africa: Forms, context, and implications. *Feminist Economics*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 117-147.

- Home-based care is being encouraged by governments as a way to save money on institutionalized care in public hospitals. This is encouraged for two main reasons: first, in order to lessen costs, but also to free up bed space for those with other illnesses. Caregivers range greatly in all aspects: age, family role, and increasingly, gender. One commonality is that most caregivers do not have formal employment. With the unpredictable incidence of HIV/AIDS, men now are breaking stereotypes to care for family members. Those involved in caregiving sacrifice in terms of finances (both what they would have paid for in institutional costs, but also what the institution provides), opportunity costs (what they would be doing if not caregiving), physical and emotional costs. Finally, the author recommends not determining if caregiving is more cost effective without analyzing these costs fully, both in the context of the caregiver and the state.

Conrad, Cecilia and Doss, Cheryl R. 2008. The AIDS epidemic: Challenges for feminist economists. *Feminist Economics*, Vol. 14, No. 4. pp. 1-18.

- Over 50% of those infected with HIV are women, yet the implications for women becoming infected are different than for men. Feminist economics allow for the analysis of individual behaviors in the context of the macro economic environment. The introduction challenges the common findings of those who wrongly predicted economic consequences by neglecting the long term implications of HIV/AIDS, as well as the impact of high mortality rates amongst women.

Garrett, Laurie. "HIV and National Security: Where are the Links?" Council on Foreign Relations Report.

- This report discusses the linkages between HIV/AIDS and security, as the linkage is often vague. Because the epidemic is only less severe than the black death and the flu epidemics, it will hit a massive number of people and spread quickly. The linkages are found when rich countries 'abandon' poor countries, the most vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, on their own. This could possibly lead to the emergence of terrorist groups as resources become scarce.

Malaza-Debose, Millicent. "Preventing and Coping with HIV/AIDS in Post-Conflict Societies: Gender Based Lessons from Sub-Saharan Africa. Durban, South Africa. March 26-28, 2001.

1. This piece argues that women are disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS as compared to men. Malaza-Debose outlines the 'gender experiences' of HIV/AIDS, including: capacity for making choices on sexual matters, cultural restrictions based on male leadership, inability to challenge authority on sexual matters, exposure to violence and abuse, vulnerability during risky behaviors, and limited access to healthcare. This piece emphasizes the burden placed on women

because of HIV, such as caregiving responsibilities and feeling the need to hide from cultural stigma.

Ogden, Jessica, Esim, Simel, Grown, Caren. 2006. Expanding the care continuum for HIV/AIDS: Bringing carers into focus. *Health Policy and Planning*. Vol. 21, No. 5, pp. 333-342.

- Caregiving is an important aspect of helping those with AIDS, especially in countries where health systems are unable to provide basic care for those in need. The authors discuss the care economy, which places caregiving in the context of paid labor and services. Because women's care is competing with their work at home, in the market, and in the workplace, a lack of measure for caregiving services allows it to become invisible. This article proposes community groups of private, public, NGOs, and other invested groups to come together to create a net for care that recognizes the labor provided in the care economy.

VE. Donor impact

UNAIDS. "Making the Money Work Through Greater UN Support for AIDS Responses: The 2006-2007 Consolidated UN Technical Support Plan for AIDS." August 2005.

http://data.unaids.org/UNA-docs/TechSupportPlan_Aug05_en.pdf.

- This report details the need for increased technical support to countries with HIV/AIDS infected populations. The report states five main reasons the system has to be changed. First, there are many difficulties in scaling up between programs to get effective results, so the UN has to contribute more (or become more efficient) if programs are to address more people. Second, the UN has a good reputation in this area, and third, the UN has a good track record for getting results. Fourth, the risk to security (both human and national) is too great to leave the problem unchecked, and finally, the scaling up requires greater evaluation by the UN of its programs. The report bases its analysis on these recommendations for increased funding to AIDS technical support.

Sen, Kasturi. 2008. Fragile States or Failed Policies: some donor-induced dilemmas.

International NGO Training and Research Centre (INTRAC), Policy Briefing Paper 19.

(Accessed 27 July 2009)

<http://www.intrac.org/docs/Briefing%20paper%2019%20Fragility%20and%20Fragile%20States.pdf>

- This paper details the problems and gaps in the current debate on fragile states from the viewpoint of an NGO. Some of Sen's major critiques are the absence of citizen voice within the context, and how civil society works with NGOs. The categories for measuring success may not be appropriate in each situation/context, and for some cultures, these measurements of success may be fundamentally flawed. The author concludes by emphasizing that there needs to be a movement from fixing the failure of the state to rebuilding a strong democracy.

- **Propping up authoritarian governments**

Parameswaran, Gowri. 2004. The Cuban response to the AIDS Crisis: Human rights violation or just plain effective? *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 28, pp. 289-305.

- Cuba has one of the lowest rates of HIV in the world, 30 times lower than that of the United States. NGOs entered the country in the 1990s, and the participatory nature of the collective population has led to effectiveness of NGO engagement (290). The country's history of dealing with HIV has followed a strict path, enforcing quarantines and

preventing the spread of infected blood by destroying external units in the 1980s. Because the conditions were seen as ‘prison like,’ a sanatorium system was created to keep those infected by HIV away from the general population and engage with family and friends only under state supervision. The system was popular during the recession in the 1990s because of the free provisions allowed by the government including food and salary. In 1993, people were allowed to leave, but most did not because of the impeccable care they received. Cuba makes its own ARVs because they are so expensive to import (combined with the extensive embargo system), and has offered to become a hub for other developing countries. Cuba has a refined system of HIV/AIDS education, which includes an 8 week orientation course for those found to be sero-positive.

- **Emphasizing emergency response over sustainable systems**

UNDP South East Asia HIV and Development Programme. “From Early Warning to Development Sector Responses Against HIV/AIDS Epidemics.” *Building Regional HIV Resilience*. May 2003.

- This paper details the UNDP program for preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS in South East Asia. Saying that epidemics have been more reactive than preventive, and that there has to be an early warning rapid response system put into place to prevent the spread of HIV in vulnerable communities. The system they implemented followed the procedure of: identifying the shock to the system and determining vulnerability to build primary prevention, determine shocks and stressors, establish community program responses to social networks, and inform communities on the effects of development on the spread of HIV/AIDS.

- **Privatization of health system**

Ranson, Kent, Polleti, Tim, Bornemisza, Olga, and Sondorp, Egbert. “Promoting Health Equality in Conflict-Affected Fragile States.” Health Systems Knowledge Network of the WHO’s Commission on Social Determinants of Health. February 3, 2007.

- Placing health systems in the context of state fragility, the authors describe the building of a national health system as an opportunity for issues to be analyzed from the perspective of health equity to ensure that initiatives can strengthen the current health infrastructure. Examples include making health care accessible over geographic boundaries. They conclude by saying that the structure of the health system should be used not only to achieve health care, but to deal with the conflict situation itself.