

APPENDIX A: HIV 101

The general consensus of scientists worldwide is that AIDS is caused by the human immunodeficiency virus or HIV. Often described as “a piece of nucleic acid surrounded by bad news,” HIV belongs to the group of viruses known as lentiviruses that are slow-acting in nature. It is also a retrovirus, which means that its genetic makeup is RNA (ribonucleic acid) rather than DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid); therefore, HIV invades human cells in order to translate its genetic information and reproduce.¹ Because of its nature HIV quite simply cannot live outside of the human body.

Therefore, HIV is not considered a “properly” contagious disease. It lives in all body fluids but is not transmitted through casual contact. Exposure to HIV infected blood carries the maximum risk of infection. Sexual intercourse is the most common source of the virus’s transmission worldwide. The virus can also be passed from mothers to infants during pregnancy, delivery, and breastfeeding.² Those are the only known modes of transmission.

Two factors that make HIV particularly difficult to combat are, first, the process of converting RNA to DNA back to RNA provides frequent opportunities for mutation and the consequent development of various subtypes of the virus.³ Second, the cells that HIV enters in order to reproduce are cells within the immune system, the system designed to resist disease/illness and infection. By targeting the CD4 T-cells within the body, HIV weakens the body’s ability to identify and organize responses to deal with HIV and other organisms not generally at home within the human body.⁴

Once a person contracts HIV she or he will always have it.⁵ However, the experience of the illness caused by the virus changes over time. The World Health Organization (WHO) recognizes four stages in the life cycle of HIV infection. The first stage is called asymptomatic infection where the virus first takes hold in an immune system.⁶ If the person is otherwise healthy, this stage can last for many years before the number of CD4 cells is depleted below the normal levels and the virus succeeds in destroying cells faster than the immune system can replace them. Once this happens, the cycle moves to stage two, presenting some initial symptoms such as weight loss and certain other infections, and then to stage three of advanced immunosuppression characterized by a variety of “opportunistic infections.” Finally, stage four, “full-blown AIDS” is characterized by CD4 levels below 200 and often with increasingly serious signs of illness and infection.⁷

It is important to note, however, that people react to the virus in different ways. The symptoms and opportunistic infections presented by one person

or group of people may be significantly different from those presented by another. This depends on the other diseases/illnesses that the infected person's biological and environmental makeup are most susceptible to and that his or her immune system is no longer strong enough to stave off.

Treatment options vary according to the stage of viral progression. In the early stages it is vital to maintain good health through nutrition, appropriate sleep, exercise, stress management, and treating of other diseases/illnesses when possible. Eventually the seropositive person will need antiretroviral therapies (ARTs) in order to suppress the virus and provide the immune system with an opportunity to recover or remain consistent for a period of time.

Most ARTs currently consist of a drug-cocktail made up of at least three different drugs designed to inhibit the virus's reproduction at different stages in its progression. ARTs are not a cure for HIV & AIDS. They do not completely eliminate the virus from the body but merely give the immune system a chance to catch up. All the pharmaceuticals used in HIV & AIDS treatment are complex, expensive, and also toxic.⁸ Not all of the drug varieties work for everyone and not everyone's systems can tolerate how hard they are on the body. Furthermore, no combination has yet been found to work forever. Eventually the virus adapts to the drugs, overcomes the immune system again, and, if available, a new ART must be tried. Because ARTs have only been in circulation since the mid-90s, long-term effects and complications of these drugs are still being discovered in those patients who have had the privilege of access to them for the past decade or more. But there is evidence to suggest an increase in diabetes, neuropathy, heart disease, and other chronic illnesses as a result of the impact prolonged daily use of ARTs has on the body's systems.

There are a few biomedical prevention techniques currently in process. However, the process of developing them has been and may continue to be slow. Vaccine development has been underway for years in laboratories and locations across the world. If successful, a vaccine would assist people's ability to build up antibodies against HIV before actual exposure to the virus in order to protect the vaccinated person from contracting it in the event of contact. However, there is no vaccine to prevent HIV yet; nor is there any viable candidate in sight. Given the mutative characteristics of the virus, it may be years before a working one is available.

Microbicides are another means of potential protection. These have been in development for a few years and could provide women in particular with a method of protecting themselves before intercourse, giving them a measure of potential prevention even if their partner refuses to wear a condom. Studies have shown "protective effects" of microbicides as high as between 50 and 60 percent, although they are also showing trends of "decreasing effectiveness" after as few as 18 months, perhaps attributed to decreasing adherence to their use.⁹ However, development of microbicides is also significantly slow largely because of gender inequalities and economic profit and market concerns as the main market would be women with limited economic resources.¹⁰

In addition to these various therapies, circumcision is also getting researchers' attention as a potential deterrent for the transmission of HIV. In 2007, WHO and UNAIDS (the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS) reported their findings that circumcision appeared to greatly reduce the chance of female to male transmission of the virus. Therefore, these two organizations now recommend that parents and guardians seek circumcision for newborn boys as no longer simply a religious practice but one with potential preventative medical benefits in the face of this pandemic as well.¹¹ Studies have continued to point toward the effectiveness of male circumcision toward prevention. However, just as environments of susceptibility are multifaceted, multipart treatment and prevention strategies are also proving most effective.¹²

APPENDIX B: HANDLING SOME TERMS

In broad discussions of HIV & AIDS it is helpful to differentiate between the terms “disease” and “illness.” Diseases are conceptualized as “distinct, discrete, and disjunctive entities that exist (in theory) separate from other diseases and from the social groups and social contexts in which they are found at any point in time.”¹ Illnesses, however, constitute cultural constructions requiring interpretation via cultural narratives.² In this sense, HIV and its presenting symptoms are the disease. The experience of having AIDS, however, is more complicated than the biomedical reality of fighting a viral disease. HIV also carries with it the experiences of the infected person and interpretations by the society regarding what it means to have contracted HIV and/or become sick with AIDS. Disease is the diagnosis. Illness is the experience.

HIV & AIDS is also referred to as “epidemic” and “pandemic.” An “epidemic” disease affects an unusually large number of individuals within a population, community, or region at the same time. Usually the infection of at least 1 percent of the population is required before an outbreak of a disease can be considered epidemic. However, there are some variations for classifying disease epidemics locally. For example, an epidemic can be deemed “nascent” when fewer than 5 percent of those considered “highest risk” are infected and fewer than 1 percent of the total population is affected, because there is still potential for the numbers to increase. In a “concentrated” epidemic, the groups considered “highest risk” demonstrate infection rates greater than 5 percent but the overall population maintains an infection rate of less than 1 percent. A “generalized” epidemic occurs when the total population of an area has an infection rate of 1 percent or greater.³

A disease is considered “pandemic” when it occurs over a wide geographic area affecting an epidemic proportion of the population. Because HIV & AIDS affects people in various locations all over the globe, it is considered pandemic. This pandemic is made up of various local epidemics expressing their own characteristics based on the nature of the societal and environmental structures of that location as well as the ways the virus presents itself in that particular locale. In other words, HIV & AIDS is a pandemic that is comprised of a multiplicity of epidemics.

To clarify further, in some cases medical anthropologists and others describe HIV & AIDS as “syndemic.” This term indicates the convergence of two or more epidemics in a place “interacting synergistically with each other

inside human bodies and contributing, as a result of their interaction, to an excess burden of disease in a population.”⁴ Describing HIV & AIDS in this way directs attention to social and biological interconnections in health and well-being. It also recognizes that many populations encounter HIV & AIDS “not as a single life-threatening disease but as part of a set of interacting diseases and toxic social and biological conditions with a resulting significant toll on their health and well-being.”⁵

APPENDIX C: A BRIEF POLITICAL HISTORY OF HIV & AIDS IN THE UNITED STATES

THE FIRST DECADE

US policy makers shared a common history in the first two decades of this virus, a history that was largely characterized by a refusal to see the “invisible people” of the pandemic, those affected by HIV & AIDS globally as well as subpopulations within the United States itself. In the early years of this pandemic, political leadership in the United States was slow to react. When the story of the new disease/illness first officially began, Ronald Reagan’s administration was in power. This administration, too busy fighting the Soviet “evil empire,” largely avoided all talk of the mysterious new disease/illness and thus became an ally in its early transmission.¹ In fact it was not until 1985 that President Reagan mentioned the word “AIDS” in public. This, combined with the administration’s slashing of the budget of the Department of Health and Human Services by 25 percent from 1981 to 1983, inhibited the ability of US policy makers to adequately address the budding problem.²

By the end of 1984 the consensus among many scientists in the United States and other parts of the world was that a virus was the major cause of AIDS and not the “gay male life-style.”³ However, during the early years the fact that this disease/illness was associated with hot button issues such as sex and intravenous drug use combined with public anxieties about how little was known about the disease/illness and its transmission to result in a “recipe for hysteria and hate.”⁴

In the wake of the Reagan administration, although tied closely to it, George H. W. Bush demonstrated some ability to break away from his predecessor and seemed somewhat more promising to HIV & AIDS advocates. He turned out not to be.⁵ However, several voices were raised in response to the growing disease epidemic from the mid- to late 1980s and into the 1990s, many from courageous gay and lesbian activist groups.

However, leaders of other countries were addressing the issue. Thailand began a large-scale public information campaign, implemented policies of mandatory condom use in commercial sex establishments as well as care and treatment for sex workers, and made HIV prevention a national priority by

1992.⁶ Senegal in West Africa established a National AIDS Programme with strong political and religious support as early as the mid- to late 1980s.⁷ President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda in East Africa implemented and supported a multisectoral approach to combating the disease/illness, which he feared would disable his military if allowed to continue unchecked.⁸ In fact, the example of Uganda, now often held up as a success story in the struggle against the virus that causes AIDS, demonstrated that with unashamed leadership, vision, and a dedication of resources to prevention and care, this disease/illness was combatable. The percentages of disease incidence and prevalence began to decline in Uganda, although the longer-term impact remains.⁹

In the transnational arena, Jonathan Mann provided leadership with the World Health Organization's (WHO) Global Programme on AIDS implementing a three-pronged approach to understanding and halting the spread of HIV. This approach consisted of learning about the various epidemics taking place in multiple places around the world through surveillance in the various locales,¹⁰ developing strategies for prevention of further transmission,¹¹ and operating with an overall perspective that placed the virus and subsequent illness in a context larger than biomedical health. It was this third step that was "nothing short of revolutionary."¹² It was largely the work of Mann and the WHO that propelled global understandings of the realities and implications of the mysterious new epidemics quickly turning pandemic. Unfortunately, the WHO was unable to maintain the level of leadership and imagination represented in Mann. In addition, as with the US government and policy makers, the WHO was "hampered by the distaste for the sexual nature of the disease."¹³ This inhibited helpful, creative, and sustained responses on the "field" across the globe.

THE SECOND DECADE

During the period of 1990 to 1996 advocates continued to find it difficult to influence the US government in the direction of investing in care and prevention in the area of HIV & AIDS. In the mid-1990s the Global AIDS Action Network (GAAN) was founded in the hope of influencing US political action toward global involvement.¹⁴ This was a time characterized by "lone, loud" voices scattered throughout the wilderness of the US government. Yet those voices were disparate and dissonant.¹⁵

One of the reasons for such lack of support was that in the 1990s the face of global HIV & AIDS was becoming an African one. Therefore, the virus, especially the global pandemic, fell in as a part of a "larger complex of US neglect of Africa."¹⁶ This greatly affected US response. To many in the United States, AIDS became just one more disaster for a continent apparently riddled with them. This attitude, part of a larger attitude of "*passive* racism,"¹⁷ simply made it easier for citizens and policy makers in the United States to look away from the growing epidemics in Africa.

The global political climate also inhibited response. In the years of the “Cold War” every part of the globe had value as the United States and former Soviet Union drew lines of allegiance, much like European colonialism had sliced up the world. Once the Cold War was over, Africa lost its political value,¹⁸ as did the notion of foreign aid in general. A prevailing perspective during those years was, as Senator Jesse Helms described it, that investing US dollars in foreign aid was equivalent to “throwing money down a ‘rat hole.’”¹⁹

These pieces conveniently fit an overall public attitude in the United States of “AIDS fatigue” during the 1990s.²⁰ AZT was available for slowing the effects of the virus for those who could afford it. Education campaigns regarding the modes of transmission had begun, curbing some of the panic of the “general population”—read: white, heterosexual, middle and upper class—regarding their own susceptibility to contracting the virus. And the US public, especially as represented by the media, grew tired of hearing about a virus that seemed to impact primarily “marginal,” even “deviant,” or “unnatural/abnormal” populations in the United States as well as the already poor and sick people across the globe. For a time, no advocacy came from those in prominent positions and no real groundswell came from below.²¹

The mid-1990s, however, saw an upsurge in political activism in US domestic AIDS policy brought on by the announcement of National Basketball Association (NBA) all-star Magic Johnson’s HIV+ status and subsequent moves to separate public opinion of the virus from homosexual men and the “gay lifestyle.”²² This development broke some of the general “AIDS fatigue.” But the US public and policy makers continued to be largely disinterested with the global make-up of the pandemic.

The election of William Jefferson Clinton to the US presidency brought another wave of hope for HIV & AIDS activists, especially those concerned with the global situation. However, the Clinton administration again proved disappointing. With Clinton “sympathy” did not always translate into action. “He would *correspond*, he would *discuss*, he would *agree*, and he would *encourage*. He was famous for doing all of these things, and leaving interlocuters feeling as though a great deal of progress had been made. Action, though, was another matter altogether.”²³

Where funding was available for HIV & AIDS, politicians and the medical community debated whether to put that funding into vaccine development or treatment for those already infected.²⁴ Promises of a vaccine seemed further and further away. The breakthrough of ARTs in 1996 did bring a breath of hope to those already infected and to those who feared they might become so. These single drugs, such as AZT, and then ART “drug-cocktails,” worked. T-cell counts rose. Viral loads dropped. Energy and vitality returned to many who had been practically on their deathbeds with illness, giving the process of taking these ARTs the nickname “the Lazarus effect.”

Yet, even these powerful pharmaceuticals could not completely eliminate the presence of the virus in the body and the availability of ARTs again

split the community of people living with HIV & AIDS into the “haves” and “have-nots.”²⁵ Treatments were becoming available but only for those with the resources to obtain them. “White male patients with health insurance were 50 percent more likely to be given AZT than minority patients, intravenous drug users, and the uninsured.”²⁶ Similarly, men were three times more likely to receive AZT than women. Pharmaceutical companies appeared to be making distribution decisions based on the “social worth” of the patient.

By the end of the 1990s, the US public and policy makers appeared again tired of this virus that seemed to just never quite go away. The success stories of ARTs sounded finally like the beginnings of a possible end, so the “general population” took it as one.²⁷ However, activists and advocates found new energy.

UNAIDS began in 1996, bringing a concerted effort for the international community to work together to halt the continued spread and impacts of the pandemic. Yet, some countries tried to juggle for power within UNAIDS pulling their funding when it removed support for national programs and organizations over which they could retain certain levels of control.²⁸ The threat no longer seemed nearly so big to those in the United States because of the development of a successful treatment that enabled people to live for a long time. ARTs transformed HIV & AIDS to a manageable chronic disease/illness rather than the previously almost certainly fatal one.

However, these treatments were still not available to all. Therefore, activists began to direct their sights on pharmaceutical companies, via the US government in particular, to influence them in the direction of making the new treatments available and affordable to those without access in the United States and globally.²⁹ Voices from the United States joined voices such as Nelson Mandela’s in South Africa calling the world to make ARTs available and accessible to all who needed them. Largely because of the work of these activists, the price of ARTs has fallen significantly since the year 2000 with the manufacturing of generic drugs in India, South Africa, and Brazil for a fraction of the cost of the original medications.³⁰ Still, issues of distribution and availability continue to complicate access to such drug therapies for many across the United States and the world.

Until 1999 HIV & AIDS had been presented in the US media almost exclusively as a health/science story.³¹ But economic disparities and other sociocultural impacts began to become apparent as the pandemic neared the beginning of its third decade. During 1999 and 2000, UNAIDS implemented programs looking at longer-term impact. Because of the groundswell of domestic advocates on the “field” and the strategic move to link the pandemic to economics and security issues, HIV & AIDS became news again.³²

The recognition that the pandemic is related to structures and systems far more broadly reaching than biomedical processes is an important one. This recognition was also a strategic move on the part of HIV & AIDS advocates and activists as the issue again got the attention of the “general population”

and nations of the “first world,” primarily Europe and North America. This approach emphasized connectivity and hinted that even if one were not seen to be particularly susceptible to contracting the virus, no one was immune to the broader impacts that the pandemic might have on the economic and security structures of an increasingly connected world. Fear gets results. “When the rich lose their fear, they are not willing to invest in the problems of the poor.”³³ This seemed to be the case as interest in the United States rose again.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s more African leaders were also publicly acknowledging the disease/illness and its impact and calling for help from the global community. The response, however, was mixed. “Everybody agreed it was important. But nobody was willing to fight for it.”³⁴ The untimely Lewinsky scandal in 1998 caused the Clinton administration to drop all such political risks and “circle the wagons,” thereby further inhibiting their ability to put in place any meaningful political change.³⁵ This remained the status throughout the remainder of the second Clinton term, setting the stage for a presidential and political party change in 2000.

THE THIRD DECADE

Upon taking office after a historically close and controversial election, George W. Bush started out uninterested in HIV & AIDS, noting that it was simply not a priority of his.³⁶ In the year 2000, however, many in the United States became interested in issues surrounding the pandemic again. Included among these were those in the public health community, African American communities, those concerned for socioeconomic development, and, most importantly for President Bush, faith-based organizations.³⁷ When it became apparent that HIV & AIDS would be an issue upon which his “merit as a ‘compassionate’ conservative would be judged,” Bush made a turnaround.³⁸

Many activists and advocates in the United States who had had little hope for the George W. Bush administration were encouraged by his apparent turnaround on the issue. Momentum seemed to be on their side. But “then 9/11 happened and everything froze.”³⁹ Indeed, with the experiences of 9/11, US foundations in general seemed to be rocked and “[w]ith a serious economic recession, a prodigious tax cut, an ambitious war on terrorism, and two impending wars, the prognosis for ‘peripheral’ or ‘long-term’ issues like global AIDS suddenly seemed dire.”⁴⁰ Progress appeared to slow and the media had plenty of options to cover other than the global or even domestic HIV & AIDS epidemics. However, the international community had become too involved with the pandemic to allow it to entirely disappear from the political radar.

In 2001 and 2002 Kofi Annan, the secretary-general of the United Nations, called for a ten-fold increase in spending on HIV & AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria in “developing” nations. As a result, the Global Fund was established.⁴¹ By 2002 voices in the US Christian right changed their message from condemnation of homosexuals, drug users, and other moral

“deviants” to begin declaring that their faith “demanded that they help.”⁴² The increasing reality that married women and children were becoming infected in great numbers across the globe brought these voices to the conclusion that their Christian theology necessitated involvement in assuaging the suffering of these “innocent victims.” Even Senator Helms made a turnaround, calling people to respond as the “Good Samaritan” had.

Much to the surprise of many HIV & AIDS advocates and activists, George W. Bush became the most acting US president on the issue to date. The US PEPFAR (President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief) funding was established in 2003 committing \$15 billion over five years to fight the pandemic in some of the most afflicted nations in Africa and the Caribbean. This pledge amounted to tripling the level of US funding at the time, which was already greatly increased from any other previous administration.⁴³

The WHO and UNAIDS also launched the “3 by 5 Initiative” in 2003 with the hopes of providing ARTs to 3 million people in lower- and middle-income countries by 2005. The initiative hoped to increase and integrate access to treatments, testing, counseling, and prevention options for those most affected by HIV and with limited access to such services. However, the overarching goal was to achieve universal access to such treatments and prevention options as a matter of human rights. Although beyond the target date now, elements of this initiative are continued by WHO’s continued HIV treatment and prevention efforts.⁴⁴

Although Bush’s policies offered more assistance than any previous US president, many HIV & AIDS advocates recognize that what has been done is still not enough and is focused on particular US interests.⁴⁵ It is perhaps no accident that the resurgence of US political interest in the pandemic coincided with the move of the virus in great numbers to China, the former USSR, and India during the late 1990s and early 2000s. In fact, all five of the “next wave countries” were “key US strategic partners or strategic competitors.”⁴⁶ This indicates that the United States has had multiple levels of interest in the history of this pandemic, some reaching beyond humanitarian or religious compassion.

With the change in presidency as Barack Obama took office after the 2008 election, HIV & AIDS policy again adjusted. The issue remains on President Obama’s agenda as evidenced in his *Act Against AIDS* campaign and 2010 National HIV/AIDS Strategy for the United States. These efforts, combined with other recent campaigns and strategies, such as the Clinton Foundation’s commitment to “strengthening integrated health systems in the developing world and expanding access to care and treatment for HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis,”⁴⁷ and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton’s 2011 call for an “AIDS-free generation,” although without a clear sense of a funding strategy in the second case,⁴⁸ leave many advocates hopeful even in the midst of the difficult economic climate.⁴⁹ The impact of these campaigns and the Obama administration’s efforts on the global HIV & AIDS pandemic, however, is yet to be seen.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION—BEGINNING AGAIN

1. Laurel C. Schneider, *Beyond Monotheism* (London: Routledge, 2008), 124.
2. In this book I choose to use “HIV & AIDS,” except where quoting others, to recognize the concerns that people and communities living with HIV and/or AIDS have raised regarding the signifier “HIV/AIDS” as potentially leading to the assumption that all people with HIV seropositivity have AIDS, which is not the case, but which has led to significant confusion at times. However, I am also including the “&” in order to link the two in recognition that people of both HIV+ status and those with AIDS experience similar social injustices and to indicate my stance on the interconnectivity of the two in contradistinction to those who claim there is no connection between the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS).
3. *Disease* is the diagnosis. *Illness* is the experience. For further definitions of the terms see Appendix B.
4. “At an individual level, the campaign will strive to help people recognize their own risk and take action. At a community level, the campaign will work to create and sustain norms that are supportive of successful HIV prevention, and at a national level, the campaign will seek to remind all Americans of the continued toll of HIV in our nation and the need for collaborative action. The campaign will be evaluated and refined over time based on its ability to motivate action, change knowledge and awareness, and ultimately change HIV prevention practices.” Division of HIV/AIDS Prevention and the National Center for HIV/AIDS, Viral Hepatitis, STD, and TB Prevention, “Act Against AIDS: Refocusing National Attention on the HIV Crisis in the United States” at <http://cdc.gov/hiv/aaa/refocusing.htm>, April 7, 2009.
5. Or SIDA for French, Portuguese, and Spanish speakers.
6. For an overview of the basics about HIV & AIDS, see Appendix A.
7. Alan Whiteside, *HIV/AIDS: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.
8. Paul Farmer, *Infections and Inequalities: The Modern Plagues* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1999), 51.

9. For the definitions and brief discussion of the terms “pandemic” and “epidemic,” see Appendix B.
10. Merrill Singer and Hans Baer, *Introducing Medical Anthropology* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2007), 204.
11. Singer and Baer, 205.
12. Whiteside, 39.
13. Whiteside, 22.
14. See Appendix C.
15. Kelly Brown Douglas, *What’s Faith Got to Do with It? Black Bodies/Christian Souls* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005), 219.
16. The terms “West” and “East” are being replaced by “North” and “South” in disciplines such as anthropology and postcolonial studies in thinking about the ordering of the world and world systems. The power differentials in the world tend to be organized with the nations in the North holding more power and those in the South having less, particularly in the realm of economics. For example, many southern, formerly colonized, nations now house active metropolises and industries but the economic structure of a globalized economy often still maintains significant power differentials reminiscent of former colonial relationships. Therefore, to recognize this shift in language, I will be using the signifier “West/North” to represent those nations, primarily of Europe and North America, that are lumped into the categories of “the West,” “developed nations,” “First World,” and so on.
17. Emilie M. Townes, “Walking on the Rim Bones of Nothingness: Scholarship and Activism,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 77, no. 1 (March 2009): 9.
18. Townes, “Walking,” 9ff.
19. Greg Behrman, *The Invisible People: How the U.S. Has Slept Through the Global AIDS Pandemic, the Greatest Humanitarian Catastrophe of Our Time* (New York: Free Press, 2004), xi.
20. For a summary of these perspectives, see Patricia L. Wismer’s essay “For Women in Pain: A Feminist Theology of Suffering” in *In the Embrace of God: Feminist Approaches to Theological Anthropology*, ed. Ann O’Hara Graff (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995), 138–158.

CHAPTER 1

1. Quoted in Martin E. Marty, “Tradition and the Traditions in Health/Medicine and Religion” in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 5. Emphasis removed from the original.
2. Simon Watney, *Practices of Freedom: Selected Writings on HIV/AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), xviii.

3. Gerald M. Oppenheimer, "In the Eye of the Storm" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 270.
4. Oppenheimer, 271.
5. Oppenheimer, 271.
6. Paula A. Treichler, "AIDS, Gender, and Biomedical Discourse" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 200.
7. Treichler, 202.
8. Treichler, 198.
9. Treichler, 192.
10. Oppenheimer, 282. Emphasis Oppenheimer's.
11. Oppenheimer, 282.
12. Oppenheimer, 282.
13. Watney, 24.
14. Cindy Patton, *Last Served? Gendering the HIV Pandemic* (London: Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 1994), 9.
15. Dean of the University of California at San Francisco in 1985, qtd. in Watney, 98.
16. Dennis Altman, "Legitimation Through Disaster: AIDS and the Gay Movement" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 302.
17. Cindy Patton, *Globalizing AIDS* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 2002), xi.
18. Charles E. Rosenberg, "Disease and Social Order in America: Perceptions and Expectations" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 13.
19. Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the Twenty-First Century: Disease and Globalization*, 2nd edition (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 65.
20. Barnett and Whiteside, 67.
21. Barnett and Whiteside, 67.
22. Cathy J. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 128.
23. Cohen, 132.
24. Cohen, 135.
25. Cohen, 136.
26. For a brief political history of the HIV & AIDS pandemic in the United States see Appendix C.
27. This is the "swine flu" scare of the late 1970s and early 1980s in which an epidemic never really materialized for the general population, not the H1N1 flu that was of concern in 2009–2010. Cohen, 142.

28. See Appendix C.
29. Cohen, 130.
30. Oppenheimer, 268.
31. Oppenheimer, 268.
32. Oppenheimer, 267ff.

CHAPTER 2

1. Allan Brandt, "AIDS: From Social History to Social Policy" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 167.
2. Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the Twenty-First Century: Disease and Globalization*, 2nd edition (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 77.
3. Paula A. Treichler, "AIDS, Gender, and Biomedical Discourse" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 202.
4. Gerald M. Oppenheimer, "In the Eye of the Storm" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 269.
5. Guenter B. Risse, "Epidemics and History: Ecological Perspectives and Social Responses" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 56.
6. See Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox, eds., *AIDS: The Burdens of History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988).
7. Barnett and Whiteside, 86.
8. Barnett and Whiteside, 86.
9. Barnett and Whiteside, 86.
10. Barnett and Whiteside, 86.
11. Barnett and Whiteside, 145.
12. Barnett and Whiteside, 146.
13. Barnett and Whiteside, 147.
14. Barnett and Whiteside, 149.
15. Barnett and Whiteside, 149.
16. Barnett and Whiteside, 150.
17. Barnett and Whiteside, 150.
18. Homosexual acts are illegal in Uganda, punishable by up to 14 years in prison, and this bill considered in early 2010 calls to increase terms to life imprisonment and includes the death penalty for "aggravated homosexuality" defined when a participant is an HIV+ person, minor, disabled person, or a "serial offender." President Museveni, however, has distanced himself from the bill saying it does not represent the views of his government.
19. Barnett and Whiteside, 88.

20. Barnett and Whiteside, 88.
21. Barnett and Whiteside, 84.
22. Barnett and Whiteside, 17.
23. Barnett and Whiteside, 79. Emphasis Barnett's and Whiteside's.
24. Paul Farmer, *Infections and Inequalities: The Modern Plagues* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1999), 84.

CHAPTER 3

1. Simon Watney, *Practices of Freedom: Selected Writings on HIV/AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), xxii.
2. Darrel W. Amundsen and Gary B. Ferngren, "Medicine and Religion: Pre-Christian Antiquity" in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 62.
3. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Pre-Christian Antiquity," 63.
4. Darrel Amundsen and Gary Ferngren, "Medicine and Religion: Early Christianity Through the Middle Ages" in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 94.
5. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 95.
6. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 95.
7. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 110.
8. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 115.
9. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 116.
10. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 117.
11. Ronald L. Numbers and Ronald C. Sawyer, "Medicine and Christianity in the Modern World" in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 135.
12. Numbers and Sawyer, 142.
13. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 110.
14. Greg Behrman, *The Invisible People: How the U.S. Has Slept Through the Global AIDS Pandemic, the Greatest Humanitarian Catastrophe of Our Time* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 17.
15. Paula A. Treichler, "AIDS, Gender, and Biomedical Discourse: Current Contests for Meaning" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 202.
16. Behrman, 26.
17. Behrman, 27.
18. Behrman, 27.
19. Behrman, 27.
20. Behrman, 27.
21. Behrman, 27.

22. James Woodward, "Introduction" in *Embracing the Chaos: Theological Responses to AIDS*, ed. James Woodward (London: SPCK, 1990), 1.
23. Stephen Pattison, "To the Churches with Love from the Lighthouse" in *Embracing the Chaos: Theological Responses to AIDS*, ed. James Woodward (London: SPCK, 1990), 12.
24. Both of these people worked in collaboration with others across ecumenical lines and were followed by those such as Emilie Townes, Kelly Brown Douglas, Donald Messer, Maria Cimperman, Elias Bongmba, Musa Dube and the entire Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians, among others.
25. Behrman, 245.
26. Behrman, 248.
27. Behrman, 257.
28. Behrman, 267.
29. Behrman, 267.
30. Behrman, 270.
31. Luke 10:30–35.
32. See the organization's website www.samaritanspurse.org.
33. Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Time to Break Silence" in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1986), 241.
34. King, "A Time," 241.
35. Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 113.
36. Lindberg, 114.
37. For more on the influence of the King James Bible, see Alistair McGrath, *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible and How It Changed a Nation, a Language, and a Culture* (New York: Doubleday, 2001).
38. Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the Twenty-First Century: Disease and Globalization*, 2nd edition (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 375.
39. Thomas Parran quoted in Elizabeth Fee, "Sin Versus Science: Venereal Disease in Twentieth-Century Baltimore" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 129. Emphasis Parran's.

CHAPTER 4

1. Frances E. Wood, "'Take My Yoke upon You': The Role of the Church in the Oppression of African-American Women" in *A Troubling in My Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil & Suffering*, ed. Emilie M. Townes (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 43.

2. Frederick C. Tilney, M. D. speaking on the polio epidemic of 1916 in New York and quoted in Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox, eds., *AIDS: The Burdens of History* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), v.
3. Allan Brandt, "AIDS: From Social History to Social Policy" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 156.
4. Hans Küng, *On Being a Christian* (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1984), 31.
5. Martin E. Marty, "Tradition and the Traditions in Health/Medicine and Religion" in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 19.
6. Elizabeth Fee, "Sin versus Science: Venereal Disease in Twentieth-Century Baltimore" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 124.
7. Laurel C. Schneider, "Setting the Context: A Brief History of Science by a Sympathetic Theologian" in *Adam, Eve, and the Genome*, ed. Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003), 18.
8. Schneider, "Setting," 20.
9. Schneider, "Setting," 22.
10. Darrel W. Amundsen and Gary B. Ferngren, "Medicine and Religion: Pre-Christian Antiquity" in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 73.
11. Hippocrates is considered by many to be the "father of medicine." He was a contemporary of Plato who mentioned him in his dialogues. See Amundsen and Ferngren, "Pre-Christian Antiquity," 73.
12. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Pre-Christian Antiquity," 82.
13. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Pre-Christian Antiquity," 89.
14. Lisa Isherwood and Elizabeth Stuart, *Introducing Body Theology* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 1998), 64.
15. Isherwood and Stuart, 65.
16. Isherwood and Stuart, 66.
17. Catherine Keller, *Face of the Deep: A Theology of Becoming* (London: Routledge, 2003), 69.
18. Kelly Brown Douglas, *Sexuality and the Black Church: A Womanist Perspective* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), 26.
19. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 27.
20. Schneider, "Setting," 24.
21. Laurel C. Schneider, "What Race Is Your Sex?" in *Disrupting White Supremacy From Within: White People on What We Need to Do*, ed. Jennifer Harvey, Karin A. Case, and Robin Hawley Gorsline (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2004), 147.

22. See Jean Comaroff, "Healing and the Cultural Order: The Case of the Barolong Boo Ratshidi of Southern Africa," *American Ethnologist*, 7, no. 4 (November 1980): 637–657 or Diedre Helen Crumbley, "‘Power in the Blood’: Menstrual Taboos and Women’s Power in an African Instituted Church" in *Women and Religion in the African Diaspora: Knowledge, Power, and Performance*, ed. R. Marie Griffith and Barbara Dianne Savage (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
23. Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1983), 79.
24. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 29.
25. Darrel W. Amundsen and Gary B. Ferngren, "Medicine and Religion: Early Christian History" in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 121.
26. For more on this, see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
27. Schneider, "Setting," 31.
28. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 115.
29. Amundsen and Ferngren, "Early Christianity," 113.
30. Schneider, "Setting," 34.
31. Schneider, "Setting," 33.
32. Schneider, "Setting," 34.
33. Schneider, "Setting," 35.
34. Schneider, "Setting," 34.
35. Schneider, "Setting," 46.
36. In Darwin’s theory, evolution was not a foregone conclusion for all creatures as a matter of "natural development," however. Rather, unique and sometimes catastrophic elements needed to come together to create a circumstance for mutation and therefore evolution.
37. Isherwood and Stuart, 73.
38. Kelly Brown Douglas, *What’s Faith Got to Do with It? Black Bodies/Christian Souls* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005), 37.
39. Brown Douglas, *What’s Faith*, 41. This power was achieved particularly with the reign of Constantine in the fourth century C.E., was maintained overtly for centuries, and is still held although more diffusely and often unarticulated.
40. Brown Douglas, *What’s Faith*, 46.
41. Robert Crawford, "A Cultural Account of ‘Health’: Control, Release, and the Social Body" in *Issues in the Political Economy of Health Care*, ed. John B. McKinlay (New York: Tavistock Publications, 1984), 70.
42. Alan Whiteside, *HIV/AIDS: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 117.
43. For more on the germ theory of disease and nineteenth century US life, see Nancy Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and*

- the Microbe in American Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
44. Fee, 141.
 45. Commentary about sex and HIV & AIDS is far more common than commentary about drugs and HIV & AIDS, however, which has been couched more frequently in addiction and, therefore, illness language itself, therefore removing some of the direct responsibility of the infected person for his or her “deviant” behavior. This luxury has not typically been the case regarding sex and HIV & AIDS.
 46. Quoted in Charles E. Rosenberg, “Disease and Social Order in America: Perception and Expectations” in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 28.
 47. Simon Watney, *Practices of Freedom: Selected Writings on HIV/AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 5.
 48. Musa Dube, *The HIV & AIDS Bible* (London: The University of Scranton Press, 2008), 56.
 49. Grace Jantzen, “AIDS, Shame, and Suffering” in *Embracing the Chaos: Theological Responses to AIDS*, ed. James Woodward (London: SPCK, 1990), 25.
 50. Carter Heyward quoted in Elias K. Bongmba, *Facing a Pandemic: The African Church and the Crisis of AIDS* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 21.
 51. Watney, 89.
 52. Watney, 105.
 53. John E. Fortunato, *AIDS: The Spiritual Dilemma* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 86.
 54. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 1.
 55. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 67. Emphasis Brown Douglas’s.
 56. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 68.
 57. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 22.
 58. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 24.
 59. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 31.
 60. Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 35.
 61. Dube, *The HIV & AIDS Bible*, 173.

CHAPTER 5

1. Emilie Townes, *Breaking the Fine Rain of Death: African American Health Issues and a Womanist Ethic of Care* (New York: Continuum, 1998), 174.
2. Greg Behrman, *The Invisible People: How the U.S. Has Slept Through the Global AIDS Pandemic, the Greatest Humanitarian Catastrophe of Our Time* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 65. See Appendix C.
3. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge, 1966), 44.

4. See Gale Yee, *Poor Banished Children of Eve* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003).
5. See Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonial Imagination & Feminist Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005) and Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
6. See Jean Comaroff, "Healing and the Cultural Order" or Isabel Mukonyora, "Women of the African Diaspora Within: The Masowe Apostles, an African Initiated Church" in *Women and Religion in the African Diaspora: Knowledge Power, and Performance*, ed. R. Marie Griffith and Barbara Dianne Savage (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
7. McClintock, 25ff.
8. L. J. Jordanova, "Natural Facts: A Historical Perspective on Science and Sexuality" in *Nature, Culture and Gender*, ed. Carol P. McCormack and Marilyn Strathern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 66.
9. Jordanova, 65.
10. Carol Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 107.
11. Cindy Patton, *Last Served? Gendering the HIV Pandemic* (London: Taylor & Francis, Ltd, 1994), 9.
12. Patton, *Last Served?*, 2.
13. See Allan Brandt, *No Magic Bullet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
14. Patton, *Last Served?*, 54.
15. Patton, *Last Served?*, 56ff.
16. Patton, *Last Served?*, 53.
17. Patton, *Last Served?*, 65.
18. Patton, *Last Served?*, 107.
19. Patton, *Last Served?*, 108.
20. Patton, *Last Served?*, 109.
21. Cindy Patton, *Sex & Germs: The Politics of AIDS* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1986), 82.
22. McClintock, 152ff. Emphasis McClintock's.
23. Lee H. Butler, Jr., "Loving . . . Body and Soul Together," convocation address delivered December 2004, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, IL.
24. Butler, Jr., "Loving . . . Body and Soul Together."
25. This ignores the reality that it is often the sex tourist that introduces the virus in these systems. Rita Nakashima Brock and Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite, *Casting Stones: Prostitution and Liberation in Asia and the United States* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996), 7.
26. Brock and Thistlethwaite, 7.

27. Simon Watney, *Practices of Freedom: Selected Writings on HIV/AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 105.
28. M. Douglas, 120.
29. Carol Vance quoted in Evelyn Hammonds, "Black (W)holes and the Geometry of Black Female Sexuality," in *Feminism Meets Queer Theory*, ed. Elizabeth Weed and Naomi Schor (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), 144ff.
30. Brandt, *No Magic*, 5.

CHAPTER 6

1. Simon Watney, *Practices of Freedom: Selected Writings on HIV/AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 116.
2. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 5. Emphasis McClintock's.
3. Laurel C. Schneider, "What Race Is Your Sex?" in *Disrupting White Supremacy from Within: White People on What We Need to Do*, ed. Jennifer Harvey, Karin A. Case, and Robin Hawley Gorsline (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2004), 144ff.
4. Schneider, "What Race," 153.
5. Schneider, "What Race," 158.
6. Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press, 1984), 114.
7. Lorde, 114ff.
8. Frantz Fanon quoted in Sharon V. Betcher, *Spirit and the Politics of Disablement* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 108.
9. Martin E. Marty, "Tradition and the Traditions in Health/Medicine and Religion" in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 19.
10. Cornel West, *Prophesy Deliverance!* (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1982), 53.
11. That is, the privileging of body-based categories such as "woman" or "African American" rather than "entrepreneur" or "professor." Oyeronke Oyewumi, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses* (Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 17.
12. John and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 218.
13. West, 58.
14. John and Jean Comaroff, 219.
15. West, 54.
16. West, 64.
17. John and Jean Comaroff, 54.

18. Oyewumi, 122.
19. Oyewumi, 152.
20. The use of the word “man” instead of humankind in this instance is maintained deliberately as further evidence of the absence or invisibility of women in this system.
21. McClintock, 237.
22. My retelling of the story is summarized and adapted from McClintock’s analysis in *Imperial Leather*.
23. McClintock, 234.
24. Diseases/illnesses of the colonists further reinforced this, and there emerged a tension of ideas between Africans seen as carriers of disease and, therefore, of risk to colonists and still somehow being immune to those same diseases and able to maintain strength and health.
25. Joe Eyer, “Capitalism, Health, and Illness” in *Issues in the Political Economy of Health Care*, ed. John B. McKinlay (New York: Tavistock Publications, 1984), 39.
26. Eyer, 40.
27. René Dubos, “Determinants of Health and Disease” in *Culture, Disease, and Healing*, ed. David Landy (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1977), 32.
28. Dubos, 34.
29. Although for others, this resulted in the “fittest” simply striving to eliminate the “less fit.” Betcher, 108.
30. McClintock, 46.
31. Mercy Amba Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing: Theological Reflections on Christianity in Africa* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986), 29.
32. Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing*, 37.
33. John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969), 303.
34. Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing*, 37.
35. Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing*, 38.
36. John and Jean Comaroff, 84.
37. Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing*, 39ff.
38. Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing*, 39ff.
39. Betcher, 49.
40. Jean-Marc Ela, *African Cry*, trans. Robert J. Barr (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1986), 18.
41. Ela, 26.
42. John and Jean Comaroff, 37.
43. John and Jean Comaroff, 41.
44. John and Jean Comaroff, 41.
45. Isaac Sindiga, Mary P. Kanunah, Eric M Aseka, and Gladys W. Kiriga, “Kikuyu Traditional Medicine” in *Traditional Medicine in*

- Africa*, ed. Isaac Sindiga, Chacha Nyaigotti-Chacha, and Mary Peter Kanunah (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1995), 136ff.
46. John and Jean Comaroff, 280.
 47. John and Jean Comaroff, 290.
 48. John and Jean Comaroff, 43.
 49. John and Jean Comaroff, 160.
 50. Jamie T. Phelps, "Joy Came in the Morning Risking Death for Resurrection: Confronting the Evil of Social Sin and Socially Sinful Structures" in *A Troubling in My Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil & Suffering*, ed. Emilie M. Townes (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 50.
 51. Phelps, 50.
 52. See John Wesley's "A Calm Address to our American Colonies" in *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Thomas Jackson, vol. 11 (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1872; reprint. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2007), 80–89. See also Wesley's "Thoughts upon Slavery," in *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Thomas Jackson, vol. 11 (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1872; reprint. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2007), 59–79.
 53. Phelps, 50.
 54. Phelps, 51.
 55. Phelps, 51.
 56. Phelps, 52.
 57. Phelps, 53.
 58. For a discussion of "Afrophobia" before the European colonial project see Dianne Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), chapter 2.
 59. See Kelly Brown Douglas's *Sexuality and the Black Church: A Womanist Perspective* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), for more on the signification of black sexuality.
 60. Cindy Patton, *Inventing AIDS* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 83.
 61. Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), 115.
 62. David Theo Goldberg, "Racial Rule" in *Relocating Postcolonialism*, ed. David Theo Goldberg and Ato Quayson (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2002), 91.
 63. Watney, 106.
 64. Watney, 108.
 65. The term was coined first by Patton in her article, "Inventing African AIDS" in *Inventing AIDS*.
 66. Watney, 110ff.
 67. Sander Gilman qtd. in Watney, 117.
 68. Watney, 118.

69. See Elias K. Bongmba, *Facing a Pandemic: The African Church and the Crisis of AIDS* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007).

CHAPTER 7

1. Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the Twenty-First Century: Disease and Globalization*, 2nd Edition (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 36.
2. Barnett and Whiteside, 72.
3. Barnett and Whiteside, 29.
4. Barnett and Whiteside, 6.
5. Paul Farmer, *Infections and Inequalities: The Modern Plagues* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1999), 50.
6. Jamie T. Phelps, "Joy Came in the Morning Risking Death for Resurrection: Confronting the Evil of Social Sin and Socially Sinful Structures" in *A Troubling in My Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil & Suffering*, ed. Emilie M. Townes (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 48.
7. Phelps, 49.
8. Frances E. Wood, "'Take My Yoke upon You': The Role of the Church in the Oppression of African-American Women" in *A Troubling in My Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil & Suffering*, ed. Emilie M. Townes (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 38.
9. Emilie M. Townes, *Breaking the Fine Rain of Death: African American Health Issues and a Womanist Ethic of Care* (New York: Continuum, 1998), 133.
10. Townes, *Breaking*, 52.
11. Delores S. Williams, "A Womanist Perspective on Sin" in *A Troubling in My Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil & Suffering*, ed. Emilie M. Townes (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 146.

CHAPTER 8

1. Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Makes This World: Mischief, Myth, and Art* (New York: North Point Press, 1998), 7ff.
2. Hyde, 14.
3. Hyde, 10.
4. Hyde, 13.
5. John and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 155.
6. John and Jean Comaroff, 155.
7. Sharon V. Betcher, *Spirit and the Politics of Disablement* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 3.
8. Betcher, 11.

9. Betcher, 4.
10. Betcher, 5.
11. Renée Sabatier, *Blaming Others: Prejudice, Race, and Worldwide AIDS* (London: The Panos Institute, 1988), 43.
12. Sabatier, 43.
13. Emilie M. Townes, *Breaking the Fine Rain of Death: African American Health Issues and a Womanist Ethic of Care* (New York: Continuum, 1998), 98.
14. Townes, *Breaking*, 105ff.
15. Such as the “Feast of Fools” of the European Middle Ages or the “carnival” of Mardi Gras just before Lent. “Carnival” celebrations, such as these “despite their actual bawdiness and filth, are profoundly conservative. Especially in highly ordered and hierarchical societies, carnival reinforces the status quo . . . Mocking but not changing the order of things, ritual dirt-work operates as a kind of safety valve, allowing internal conflicts and nagging anomalies to be expressed without serious consequence.” Hyde, 187.
16. Hyde, 196.
17. Hyde, 183.
18. Catherine Keller, *From a Broken Web: Separation, Sexism, and Self* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1986), 224.
19. Kathleen M. Sands, *Escape from Paradise: Evil and Tragedy in Feminist Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994), 67.

CHAPTER 9

1. Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States: 1492-Present* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1980), 38.
2. Quoted in Donald Messer, *Breaking the Conspiracy of Silence: Christian Churches and the Global AIDS Crisis* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2004), xi.
3. Renée Sabatier, *Blaming Others: Prejudice, Race, and Worldwide AIDS* (London: The Panos Institute, 1988), 149ff.
4. For example, while first drafting this project, Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr., was arrested entering his home after returning from a long trip in July 2009. The story sparked a resurgence of commentary about race relations and racial profiling in a nation that has elected its first African American president and wants to declare itself a “post-racial society,” at least in part because of that fact. However, this story is perhaps not all that noteworthy because people of African American and Latin American heritage continue to have higher likelihoods of being arrested, subjected to force, and prosecuted in this nation. The issue with Professor Gates was touted as one of race, but is also one of class. The dozens or hundreds or thousands of others arrested that

- night, whether rightly or wrongly, did not have a high enough profile to make the news.
5. Jamie T. Phelps, "Joy Came in the Morning Risking Death for Resurrection: Confronting the Evil of Social Sin and Socially Sinful Structures" in *A Troubling in My Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil & Suffering*, ed. Emilie M. Townes (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 56.
 6. Frances E. Wood, "'Take My Yoke upon You': The Role of the Church in the Oppression of African-American Women" in *A Troubling in My Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil & Suffering*, ed. Emilie M. Townes (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 44.
 7. Chung Hyun Kyung, "Dear Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Letter" in *Bonhoeffer for a New Day: Theology in a Time of Transition*, ed. John W. de Gruchy (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997), 18.
 8. Keith Boykin quoted in Kelly Brown Douglas, *Sexuality and the Black Church: A Womanist Perspective* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), 106.
 9. Keith Boykin quoted in Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 107.
 10. John and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 120.
 11. Lisa Isherwood and Elizabeth Stuart, *Introducing Body Theology* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 1998), 57.
 12. Isherwood and Stuart, 58ff.
 13. Mercy Amba Oduyoye, *Introducing African Women's Theology* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2001), 56.
 14. Martin E. Marty, "Tradition and the Traditions in Health/Medicine and Religion" in *Health/Medicine and the Faith Traditions*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982), 22.
 15. I include this in recognition of the notion of the interdependence of human "nature" with human culture. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 49.
 16. Cheryl Townsend Gilkes quoted in Brown Douglas, *Sexuality*, 73.
 17. Isherwood and Stuart, 34ff.
 18. Isherwood and Stuart, 39ff.
 19. Theodore Runyon, *The New Creation: John Wesley's Theology Today* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1998), 156.
 20. John Wesley, "What Is Man?" in *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Thomas Jackson, vol. 7 (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1872; reprint. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2007), 225ff.
 21. Isherwood and Stuart, 37.
 22. Lee H. Butler, Jr., "Dreaming the Soul: African American Skepticism Encounters the Human Genome Project" in *Adam, Eve, and the Genome*, ed. Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003), 142.

23. Musa Dube, "Adinkra! Four Hearts Joined Together: On Becoming Healing-Teachers of African Indigenous Religion/s in HIV & AIDS Preventions" in *African Women, Religion, and Health*, ed. Isabel Apawo Phiri and Sarojini Nadar (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006), 140ff.
24. Masamba Ma Mpolo quoted in David W. Augsburger, *Pastoral Counseling Across Cultures* (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1986), 79.
25. Benjamin C. Ray, *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual, and Community* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), 132.
26. Dube "Adinkra!," 140ff.
27. Merrill Singer and Hans Baer, *Introducing Medical Anthropology* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2007), 76.
28. John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969), 141.
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28. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Act and Being*, trans. by H. Martin Rumscheidt and ed. Hans-Richard Reuter (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996), 120. Emphasis Bonhoeffer's.
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34. Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1994), 147. Emphasis Maddox's.
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37. Theodore W. Jennings, Jr., *Good News to the Poor: John Wesley's Evangelical Economics* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1990), 155.
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41. See John Wesley's "Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions," in *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Thomas Jackson, vol. 11 (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1872; reprint. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2007), 53–58.
42. See Wesley's famous tract *Primitive Physic: An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases*, 22nd edition (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003).
43. Maddox, 242.
44. Jennings, *Good News*, 152ff.

45. Gilbert W. Stafford, "Holy Cow! Or Holy God; Holy Moses! Or Holy People; Holy Rollers! Or Holy Life," sermon delivered November 27, 2007, Anderson School of Theology, Anderson, IN.
46. Wesley, "On Visiting the Sick," 7:117.
47. Jennings, *Good News*, 62.
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49. Donald Messer, *Breaking the Conspiracy of Silence: Christian Churches and the Global AIDS Crisis* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2004), 165.
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55. See Wesley's sermon on "The Danger of Riches," in *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Thomas Jackson, vol. 7 (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1872; reprint. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2007), 12.
56. Runyon, 227ff.
57. Runyon, 230.
58. Runyon, 231. Emphasis Runyon's.
59. Runyon, 231.
60. Jennings, *Good News*, 151.
61. Jennings, *Good News*, 146.
62. Jennings, *Good News*, 54. Emphasis Wesley's.
63. Wesley, "On Visiting the Sick," 7:119.
64. Wesley, "On Visiting the Sick," 7:120ff.
65. Wesley, "On Visiting the Sick," 7:121.
66. Wesley, "On Visiting the Sick," 7:121ff.
67. Wesley, "On Visiting the Sick," 7:122.
68. Wesley, "On Visiting the Sick," 7:127.
69. Irving Greenberg said of European Jewish experience during World War II: "To talk of love and of a God who cares in the presence of the burning children is obscene and incredible; to leap in and pull a child out of a pit, to clean its face and heal its body, is to make the most powerful statement—the only statement that counts." Quoted in Heyward, 99.

70. Kathleen M. Sands, *Escape From Paradise: Evil and Tragedy in Feminist Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994), 88.
71. Heyward, 135.
72. Townes, *Breaking*, 184.
73. Heyward, 136.
74. Heyward, 136.

APPENDIX A

1. Alan Whiteside, *HIV/AIDS: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 23.
2. Whiteside, 28.
3. Whiteside, 23.
4. Whiteside, 24.
5. At the time of this writing, there is no scientific evidence or treatments that will completely remove the virus from the infected person's body and it is largely believed that HIV seropositivity is and will remain a permanent condition for the remainder of one's life after the point of infection.
6. Whiteside, 27.
7. Whiteside, 28.
8. Whiteside, 32.
9. Ann E. Kurth, Connie Celum, Jared M. Baeten, Sten H. Vermund, and Judith N. Wasserheit, "Combination HIV Prevention: Significance, Challenges, and Opportunities" (NIH-PA Author Manuscript, National Institutes of Health, 2011), 8.
10. Whiteside, 37.
11. Whiteside, 38.
12. Kurth et al., 9.

APPENDIX B

1. Merrill Singer and Hans Baer, *Introducing Medical Anthropology* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2007), 65.
2. Singer and Baer, 65.
3. Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside, *AIDS in the Twenty-First Century: Disease and Globalization*, 2nd edition (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 101.
4. Singer and Baer, 204.
5. Singer and Baer, 205.

APPENDIX C

1. Greg Behrman, *The Invisible People: How the US Has Slept Through the Global AIDS Pandemic, the Greatest Humanitarian Catastrophe of Our Time* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 17.
2. Behrman, 18.
3. Paula A. Treichler, "AIDS, Gender, and Biomedical Discourse: Current Contests for Meaning" in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988), 202.
4. Behrman, 26.
5. Behrman, 29.
6. Alan Whiteside, *HIV/AIDS: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 107.
7. Whiteside, 107.
8. Behrman, 43.
9. Behrman, 113. This includes the current policy decisions under consideration regarding the legality and discipline of homosexual acts. Homosexual acts are illegal in Uganda, punishable by up to 14 years in prison and the bill considered in early 2010 called to increase terms to life imprisonment and includes the death penalty for "aggravated homosexuality" defined when a participant is an HIV+ person, minor, disabled person, or a "serial offender." President Museveni, however, has distanced himself from the bill saying it does not represent the views of his government.
10. Behrman, 44.
11. Behrman, 45.
12. Behrman, 46.
13. Whiteside, 106.
14. Behrman, 125.
15. Behrman, 65.
16. Behrman, 65.
17. Behrman, 67. Emphasis Behrman's.
18. Behrman, 71.
19. Quoted in Behrman, 72.
20. Behrman, 74.
21. Behrman, 79.
22. Behrman, 90.
23. Behrman, 223. Emphasis Behrman's.
24. Behrman, 128ff.
25. Behrman, 132. This splitting of the global community of people living with HIV & AIDS was perhaps somewhat akin to the splitting within the homosexual community in the US that occurred when the first HIV tests came out, therefore, providing the ability to affirm seropositivity for some and seronegativity for others rather than a unified effort of fighting the virus with serostatuses unknown.

26. Emilie M. Townes, *Breaking the Fine Rain of Death: African American Health Issues and a Womanist Ethic of Care* (New York: Continuum, 1998), 137.
27. Behrman, 135.
28. Behrman, 168.
29. Behrman, 140.
30. Whiteside, 109.
31. Behrman, 184.
32. Behrman, 176.
33. Behrman, 173.
34. Behrman, 214.
35. Behrman, 223.
36. Behrman, 245.
37. Behrman, 248.
38. Behrman, 257.
39. Behrman, 267.
40. Behrman, 267.
41. Whiteside, 110.
42. Behrman, 270.
43. Behrman, 307.
44. The World Health Organization, "The 3 by 5 Initiative," <http://www.who.int/3by5/en/>, accessed April 25, 2012.
45. Behrman, 312.
46. Behrman, 297.
47. William J. Clinton Foundation, "Treating HIV/AIDS and Malaria: Clinton Health Access Initiative," <http://www.clintonfoundation.org>, accessed April 25, 2012.
48. Donald G. McNeil, Jr., "Clinton Aims for 'AIDS-Free Generation.'" *The New York Times*, November 8, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/09/health/policy/hillary-rodham-clinton-aims-for-aids-free-generation.html?_r=1, accessed April 25, 2012.
49. See the Introduction.

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