

# Southern Anthropologist



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# Southern Anthropologist

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# Southern Anthropologist

Volume 22 Number 3  
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## CONTENTS

Editor's Corner	3
President's Column	5
SAS People	10
Upcoming Field Schools: Costa Rica	11
Reminder about the Upcoming meetings in Baton Rouge for '96	13
Discussion on Hiring Professional Management Associates	14
The SAS Endowment	18
The New York African Burial Ground Phenomenon by Michael L Blakey	18
The Sexual Economy of Women and HIV in Uganda: A Critical Biocultural Analysis by Ron Barrett	27
The Back Side (cartoon?) Information on <i>Flowerdew Hundred</i> 1994 Mooney Award Winner	inside back cover

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David M Johnson

## Editor's Corner

Welcome to the Fall 1995 Issue of the **Southern Anthropologist!** This is the issue which I hope reaches you just before the Spring 96 meetings in Baton Rouge, and contains material from the Spring 95 meetings, with just a little bit of material pointing to the 96 meetings. The Spring '96 issue should be full of material celebrating the first 30 years of the Society.

### This issue

This issue contains the second Keynote Speech given at the 1995 meetings, and that is Michael Blakey's report on the African Burial Ground Project, along with the Graduate Student paper winner from the meetings.

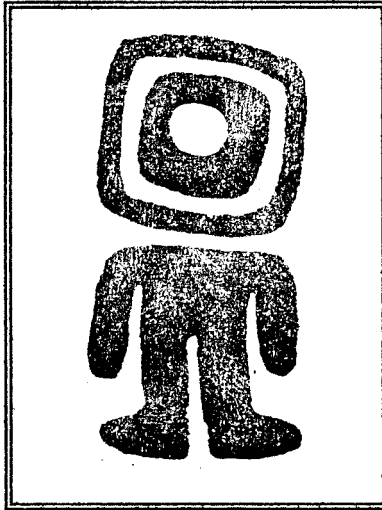
### The "SAS People"

Column continues in this issue; I welcome further reports from interested departments and people for this column.

There is also a section which gives food for thought relating to a matter that will be on the business meeting agenda at the Spring 96 meetings, and that is the issue of whether the SAS should hire Professional Management Associates (PMA) to run selected parts of the meetings and other background parts of the Society's business. Two past presidents of

the Society present their views on this issue, so please study their remarks and make up your mind so **you** can cast **your** vote at the Business meeting.

There is also a reminder from Miles Richardson about the '96 meetings and from Pat Beaver about the SAS Endowment. Please do what you can to support both of these activities of the Society!



### The Editor requests

I am still looking for two kinds of submissions to this august publication, and I reprint my requests:

(1) I invite interested anthropologists (students as well as professionals) to submit short papers on the South to me for possible inclusion in the *Southern Anthropologist*. I am interested in short papers, that can be about any subject or part of the world so long as

the theme or analysis is applied to some aspect of Southern life and culture. I have in mind papers such as appear in the Royal Anthropological Institute publication *Anthropology Today* and distributed to interested members of the American Anthropological Association. Please submit these papers to me through any of my various addresses, detailed below. I hope to hear from you soon!

(2) I am also looking for interested

persons to provide art work that I can use in the Anthropologist; I am especially interested in line art from an identifiable culture (in other words, not generic "clip art") that can be put on the cover and elsewhere in the issue. If you have something to share, contact me at the meetings or at the addresses below. 🍏

Ways to reach me:

- (1) Voice mail at (910) 334-7894 at my office, or (910) 274-7032 at home
- (2) E-mail via the Internet at [JOHNSOND@ATHENA.NCAT.EDU](mailto:JOHNSOND@ATHENA.NCAT.EDU)
- (3) Via America OnLine, my "handle" is MegabyteJ.
- (4) Office FAX number (910) 334-7197
- (5) Surface mail:

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If you wish to submit materials to the Anthropologist, my preferences are (in rank order) and if possible in more than one form:

- (1) text of MS Word file on a Macintosh floppy, along with hard copy
- (2) text or word processor file on 3-1/2 " IBM (MS-DOS) disk with hard copy
- (3) e-mail to address above
- (4) fax and/or hard copy

Material that is sent already in electronic format is less likely to have my errors in it!

My **deadline** for the Spring 1996 issue of the Southern Anthropologist is tentatively April 2 (Hey, you wouldn't want to submit your golden words on April Fools Day, would you?).

*Southern Anthropologist Staff:*  
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# President's Column

Hans A. Baer

## Higher Education and the U S Political Economy

Toward a Democratic University: Reflections Upon Corporate Influence in U.S. Higher Education

Like other spheres of U.S. society, the ideal of democracy has emerged and become prominent in higher education. Yet, often there are wide discrepancies between the ideals of a particular sociocultural system and its realities. Rhetoric aside, the vast majority of institutions of higher education in this country are ultimately controlled by their boards of trustees, which consist of national, regional, or local elites. When Charles Beard resigned from Columbia University in 1917, he stated that "the University is really under the control of a small and active group of trustees who have no standing in the world of education, who are reactionary and visionless in politics, narrow and medieval in religion" (quoted in Ross 1976:176). Of the 727 trustees of the 30 leading universities in the mid-1960s (14 of which were private and 16 public), one-third were listed in *The Social Register* and 45 percent were corporate directors of executives. One-half of the top 200 industrial corporations and financial institutions were represented on the boards of these 30 schools (Domhoff 1967:79).

Trustees of private universities

invariably consist primarily of self-perpetuating bodies of businesspeople who meet in private and do not provide a public account of their activities. Although state universities are more apt to have periodic open meetings of regents and trustees who are generally appointed by the governor, key decisions tend to be made on behind scenes in executive meetings. As Szymanski observes,

By staffing the boards of trustees of American colleges and universities, leading business people are able to directly control higher education. They select the higher officers of the colleges and universities and establish the basic educational policies which guarantee that faculty and administrators do the bidding of the upper class and that student are manipulated in the interests of the corporations (Szymanski 1978:250).

Universities have increasingly come to function as resource bases for corporations, not only in terms of training

personnel, socializing future workers for dull office jobs, and research and development but also in terms of developing marketing strategies for them. Boggs (1993:98) asserts that "[t]he appearance of Clark Kerr's 'multiversity' in the early 1960s reflected the extent to which educational institutions were being designed to fit the needs of corporate capitalism and, by extension, the requirements of domestic, military, and foreign policy." Indeed, universities have increasingly been undergoing a process of entrepreneurialization as a response to funding cutbacks by state and federal governments and corporate-based foundations. According to Ovetz (1993:71), "[u]niversities have not simply tightened and transformed their partnerships with business, but have become business themselves through various forms of profit making ventures based on university resources, faculty, and a pool of cheap and unpaid student labour." Universities often buy and sell their stocks on the market to maximize their operating expenses. Furthermore, they are often directly or indirectly involved in business ventures that developed out of campus research activities.

College and university administrations have more and more evolved into a social stratum situated between the board of trustees and the faculty and students. Like any privileged stratum, the administration earns a significantly higher income than and enjoys numerous perks not available to ordinary faculty members. University presidents, many of whom are now career administrators, function as

CEOs of their institutions and exercise delegated jurisdiction of many areas of campus life. Soley (1995:20-21) maintains that "trustees, who are often hostile to intellectualism, pick administrators who share their attitudes and corporate worldview; they do not pick left-wingers, multiculturalists, or radical feminists, despite the claims of conservative critics like D'Souza, Kimball, and Balch." Whereas in the past, high-echelon administrators generally were faculty members who had spent years in the classroom and engaged in scholarship, an increasing percentage of this privileged stratum are "career administrators" who have spent little or virtually no time working in the trenches. In reality, university administrations consist of several levels. The process of concentration in higher education means that important academic decisions formerly made by department chairs increasingly have been taken over by the office of the dean. The dean, in turn, has been losing ground as some of his or her decision-making power is being absorbed by vice-presidents and provosts. As a result of these trends, deans and particularly chairs are evolving into clerical functionaries.

The complexity of the entrepreneurial or postmodern university tends to isolate many administrators in their cubicles, and, all too often, increasingly plush offices. Faculty members, especially untenured one, have learned to watch their p's and q's while in the occasional presence of higher-echelon administrators and even department chairpersons. The power of the administration has grown tremendously at

the expense of faculty and student traditions of self-governance. Generally, faculty senates and committees ultimately act as advisory bodies to the administration. Jerry Farber likened the faculty governance body to the "kiddie steering wheel in daddy's car" (quoted in Berlowitz 1976:20). University administrators often attempt to create the aura of meaningful faculty input by inviting hand-picked faculty members to service on college- and university-wide committees. Berlowitz makes the following astute observations about the nature of faculty governance bodies:

The impotence of university governance structures, such as college senates or faculty senate, is revealed by the reluctance of people to serve on such bodies and by the ritualistic behavior of those who do serve. The only exception to the former consists of those who seek such positions for the small rewards available to those faculty and students who do an outstanding job in maintaining the sham, or more accurately, Goffmanesque, performance of "consensus formation." Hours are spent in meaningless debate on procedure -- all with an air of importance. . . Administrators and senior faculty are always present to intimidate any junior faculty or students who might raise questions (Berlowitz 1976:21).

Despite the fact that the university has increasingly adopted the centralized bureaucratic nature of large-scale organization throughout the world, various academics have noted the need for democratization within the academy. Teachers for a Democratic Society is an organization of faculty who promote discussion of democracy in the curriculum and the university. It may be contacted at PO Box 6405, Evanston, IL 60204 or (312)743-3662. Although European universities exhibit patterns of hierarchy of their own, many exhibit long traditions of faculty input. Historian Henry Steele Commager notes that "while European universities are run by their faculties, American universities are run by administrative bureaucracies, many of whose members have not the remotest notion of what a university is about" (quoted in Simons 1967:88). German universities have historically had governing boards consisting of full professors who elect the rector each year from their own ranks to administer academic affairs. Furthermore, each faculty annually elects its dean from among full professors.

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith, who is by no means a radical, once advocated faculty governance of the U.S. university rather than the present trustee system. I personally believe that just faculty should not only be able to elect their chairpersons but also their deans, presidents or chancellors, and other higher-echelone administrators. Students, staff, and the general public also needs to be included in the governance of the university. Soley advocates altering the composition

of universities' boards of trustees as one means for democratizing the academy. He maintains,

Trustees of state need to represent their populations, rather than business. One way to accomplish this change in representation would be to enact legislation mandating that these boards of trustees mirror their state's population (Soley 1995:152).

While the passage of such legislation undoubtedly would be very difficult to achieve given the strong corporate influence over the legislative process, grass roots movements of various sorts have managed at various historical junctures to successfully push for progressive reforms. The process of democratizing the academic workplace will by no means be an easy one nor is success assured. Faculty/staff unions potentially can also play a role in the democratization of the academy. This process will ultimately have to be part and parcel of efforts to create democratic structures in other areas of the U.S. political economy. J. David Singer (1900:159) calls for a "third way" in U.S. higher education. The other two ways are quite well-entrenched in the academy. One of these views the mission of university as a training ground for business, government, education, and the military. The second of these views the university as an ivory tower which provides a haven for the search of knowledge for its own sake. Singer (1995:159) envisions a third way that entails a "yet

unfamiliar blend of the first two resulting from the tension between them and the unsatisfactory nature of both." He argues,

this third way might lead to universities weighing in on one side of the underdog and the disadvantaged. Every society is full of inequities and we should be able to identify them, explain them, and suggest strategies to rectify them. Our job should not be that of cheerleaders of the dominant groups or the status quo that they often represent, but neither should it be on the barricades alongside every dissident group whose leaders assert that injustice has been inflicted. Using explicit criteria of justice (and decent human beings will quarrel over the concept and its measurement) we need rigorous and careful research to identify, account for, and try to eliminate injustice, discrimination, oppression, and brutality (Singer 1995:160).

With such changes, perhaps the university can be transformed from an appendage of the corporate economy to a site of critical thought that it often claims to be.

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**SAS  
People**



**SAS  
People**

### **Northern Kentucky University**

The Native American Studies Minor has just been started and will be housed within the Anthropology Program, which previously offered two majors: Anthropology and Applied Cultural Studies (joint with the Sociology Program) and now has four minors: Anthropology, Archaeology, Applied Cultural Studies and now the Native American Studies.

Anthropology courses are offered within several interdisciplinary majors and minors, including International Studies, Latin American Studies, Women's Studies, Environmental Studies, and others. All students in the University are required to

complete a non-Western course requirement, and most do so by taking an anthropology course. There is also a university-wide requirement for a historical perspectives course which can be satisfied by taking an archaeology course. This has meant ever-increasing student enrollments for the six full-time faculty and approximately seven part-time faculty. Students also seem to be attracted to the hands-on courses offered in anthropology, including ethnographic methods, archaeology field school, archaeology lab methods, museum methods, and applied practicum.

*[Editor's Note: This column is intended as a place for SAS members to tell others about new faculty, moves, research, and other information you would like to share with others. Please submit your information so we can hear about you!]*

NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY  
in conjunction with the Department of Anthropology at East Carolina University  
announces a  
**SUMMER ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELD SCHOOL in COSTA RICA,**  
May 8 - June 11, 1996, on the  
**ANTHROPOLOGY OF (SUSTAINABLE) TOURISM**

Costa Rica is a small Central American country that has chosen tourism as one of the principal vehicles of economic development. It has played the ecological tourism card very well and today is benefiting from large numbers of tourist arrivals, yet there are major problems that have accompanied the decision to promote tourism. But there are consequences: loss of traditional farms, water quality problems, coastal wetlands destruction, pollution, new hotels at the expense of scenic vistas and traditional culture, local loss of control over tourism development.

In this summer's work we will investigate the problems of tourism development in western Costa Rica in the villages and towns near the National Park of Manuel Antonio, Carrara and the Pacific Ocean beaches of Quepos, Jaco, Tarcoles and Puntarenas. The principal goal of this year's field work is to learn whether sustainable tourism in this area is truly possible feasible and whether Costa Rican residents are finding new economic activities to improve their quality of life. We will also question tourists about their reasons for coming to Costa Rica, what they do while there and the degree to which they enjoy, respect and learn about Costa Rican culture, society and environment.

The participants will spend one week in the Central highlands using the city of Heredia as a base to become familiar with tourism infrastructure, to prepare for fieldwork, to begin learning about Costa Rican society and culture. The following four weeks will be spent living and studying in the Manuel Antonio/Quepos region on the south Pacific coast of Costa Rica. While they learn to how to do applied, ethnographic research, and carry out their research projects, students will live with Costa Rican families. Students will also learn skills associated with organizing and carrying out applied anthropology, including systematic observation, interviewing, note-taking, rapid appraisal techniques, data analysis, use of computers in fieldwork and report writing. Students will also participate in excursions to other national parks and touristic areas of the country. English will be the language of instruction, and English speaking field assistants will be available to facilitate communication with Costa Ricans.

The program is designed for 8-10 students who may be juniors, seniors and/or graduate students from various fields. Prerequisites are six credit hours in anthropology. First and Second Year students may be admitted with permission of the instructor. No previous

experience in ethnographic fieldwork required. Students should have had the equivalent of at least one semester of college Spanish. U.S. citizens only need a valid passport to enter Costa Rica. No other documents are required. Six hours of credit will be awarded upon successful completion of the field school.

The projected cost of the five week program is about \$2350, including airfare, room and board, in-country excursions, local transportation, program fees, tuition, International Student ID and health insurance.

The instructors of the school are: Dr. Tim Wallace, Associate Professor of Anthropology at North Carolina State University, and Dr. John R. Bort, Associate Professor of Anthropology, East Carolina University. Dr. Wallace has led two previous field schools on tourism studies to Lake Balaton Hungary, and has extensive professional experience in Latin America. Dr. Bort has led an ECU tourism studies to Lake Balaton Hungary, and has extensive professional experience in Latin

America. Dr. Bort has led an ECU field school to Costa Rica for the last 15 years and frequently has done research in Costa Rica, especially on maritime fishing.

For more information or an application contact Tim Wallace at 919-781-8655(h) or 919-515-2491 or via email: [Tim\\_Wallace@ncsu.edu](mailto:Tim_Wallace@ncsu.edu). You may also write to: Tim Wallace, Costa Rica Field School, Dept. of Sociology & Anthropology, North Carolina State University, Box 8107, Raleigh, NC 27695-8107.

Or if you want to reserve place, send a deposit of \$200 and a letter introducing yourself and presenting your special interests. Include your full name, local address, permanent mailing address, local tel phone, home telephone, university attending (or last one attended), your major, year of graduation and degree. The check for the deposit (\$100 of which is non-refundable) should be made payable to NCSU. Applications will be processed as soon as the application form is received. The deadline for receipt of all fees is April 1, 1996.



## The Southern Anthropological Society Annual Meeting

February 17 - 20, 1996  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Thirty years after its founding meeting in Louisiana, the SAS returns to the bayou state just in time for Mardi Gras. The anniversary meeting will begin Saturday morning, February 17 and continue through Monday, February 19. Tuesday, Fat Tuesday, Mardi Gras, February 20, chartered buses will take (and bring back) participants to New Orleans for the world's greatest outdoor party.

The key symposium, organized by Carole E. Hill and Patricia Beaver, will consider "Cultural Diversity in the South: Anthropological Contributions to a Region in Transition." In addition, several invited sessions will look back upon our past thirty years. These include reflections on applied anthropology, biological anthropology, native American studies, higher education, and the history of anthropological institutions in the South. A session on strengthening diversity guarantees that the future is not neglected.

Individual papers will also investigate a variety of anthropological subjects in regions other than the South. Student participation is particularly high, with over 50 abstracts submitted, including a special session of undergraduate research from Guilford College.

Dr. Charles Hudson will deliver the key note address. Dr. Hudson has been a prominent member of SAS since its inception, and his speech promises to point us toward another 30 years.

During the awards ceremony, the 1995 James Mooney Award will be presented, and the awards for the most outstanding graduate and undergraduate papers will also be announced. This year the judges will include the presentations in their evaluations, so to have a chance at winning, students must concentrate on communicating their research to a live audience.

The meetings will be at the Radisson Hotel, Baton Rouge. The SAS rate is \$62.00 per night per room, which includes up to four people. The Radisson phone is 504-925-2244; the fax is 504-927-5129. To get the SAS rate, reservations must be made before January 26.

The preliminary program will go out in early January. To present a paper, you must be a current member (dues \$25, students \$15) and pay the registration fee of \$25 (students \$15). The round-trip bus ticket to New Orleans is an additional \$ 15. Bus tickets must be purchased in advance.

Please address inquiries to Miles Richardson, Program Chair, Geography-Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803, phone 504-388-6192, e-mail gamile@unix1.sncc.lsu.edu.

***COME PASS A GOOD TIME IN THE PLACE WHERE THE GOOD TIMES ROLE!***

## To PMA or Not to PMA: That is the Question!

*[Editor's note: At the Baton Rouge meetings, one of the items to be voted in is whether or not the SAS should hire the Professional Management Associates to do the managing of the Society's business affairs. In order to promote an informed electorate, discussions both for and against are presented here; YOU will be asked to study these and cast YOUR vote at the meetings!]*

### NO!

During the business meeting at Raleigh it was proposed that we consider the possibility of contracting with Professional Management Associates specifically for booking hotels, managing the meetings, collecting registration and annual membership dues, and investing endowments, and finally laying out the newsletter. Admittedly, PMA has produced results for the one association it currently supervises. In ten years it has increased membership three-fold in SfAA. Their meetings operate with flawless precision each spring.

However, I view such management unnecessary for a regional association such as SAS. As Miles Richardson put it, outside professional management would only add another level of bureaucracy. Granted, the SAS has a highly fluid membership. Except for a core of members who attend most annual meetings, many of those registered in any given year are specifically

**NO! continued next page**

### YES!

Last year, 1994-95, several of our members approached the Executive Board with a proposal concerning a means by which we might increase the management efficiency of SAS. The proposal concerned writing a contract with Professional Management Associates (PMA), located in Oklahoma City, for carrying out management services for us. PMA's President is Dr. Tom May, a sociologist, and PMA is the management organization for the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA). The SAS Executive authorized me to look into the possibility. Through the year, I was in contact with PMA concerning what they would propose. Hans Baer, Current SAS President, and I also attended one joint meeting with Tom May at the SfAA convention. Last April Dr. May also came to our annual meetings in Raleigh and spoke briefly to the Executive Board. The Executive Board decided to wait until next year to make a decision, but the proposal was brought up at the annual business meeting. People spoke both in favor and against the proposal. I am writing this to speak in favor of the proposal.

I will be brief. The PMA proposal to manage the SAS is a win-win situation for us. PMA has many years of successful-

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interested in the current topic of the key symposium. Others attending are students delivering a first paper. In general these latter participants maintain a membership for one year only. I do not disparage this participation, indeed, for it adds constant vitality to the organization. However, it is unrealistic to expect any lasting commitment from this segment. It is unlikely that a constant flow of computer-driven dues notices to former participants will significantly increase the number of continuing members.

As for the tasks of local arrangements and program organizations, the responsibility is not difficult for even rank amateurs such as ourselves. Outside of Atlanta and New Orleans, most cities in the region have only one convention center, most of which are usually on the verge of Chapter 11 from lack of convention business. Booking space and general arrangements are not complicated and local hotel management is extraordinarily accommodating to groups such as the SAS. Certainly the 100 or so paper abstracts are not difficult to arrange into sessions and a final program. The technology to expedite the project is already sitting in every academic

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ly managing the SfAA. Past SfAA President and former SAS President Tony Paredes told me that PMA got the SfAA out of a financial jam about eight years ago. Today SfAA is a large, vigorous, active organization. Formerly, "good-sized" annual meetings brought, at the most, 400 conference attendees. Last year, SfAA had more than 1000 persons attending their 1995 annual meetings in Albuquerque.

Our average annual SAS meeting attendance size just below 200 attendees, of whom approximately 40% are students. This is a good size, but probably is far below what is possible for us. There are many universities, colleges and community colleges in the South with anthropology or courses. North Carolina alone has at least 50. The Association of North Carolina Anthropologists' mailing list has about 200 names. The SAS region covers more than ten states. There should be several thousand potential academicians interested in coming to the meetings. There are many additional students that could come and there are also a large number of non-academic, practicing anthropologists in the region. We should be getting more people at our meetings. I think PMA can help us do this job effectively and efficiently.

PMA has years of experience in negotiating hotel contracts for conferences. Each time one of us volunteers to host the SAS meetings, we nearly have to reinvent the wheel. None of us, except perhaps for Tom Collins and Daryl White, have been a local arrangements person in a particular

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office.

The Newsletter and generating endowment investments are also problematic. This publication is only as good as the material submitted to the editor. Slick paper or layout does not necessarily improve the product. The challenge of investment of the endowment is first to determine how much risk SAS is ready to make and this decision will have to be made by the Executive Council regardless of who calls the investment banker.

In short, the SAS does not need the expert management. Indeed, if our limited resources are to be expended, I would propose they be used to underwrite the annual travel expenses of the three members who are required to attend all meetings: the Secretary-treasurer, the newsletter and proceedings editors. These are responsible positions, which demand effort and time and are critical in year to year continuity of the SAS.

In any case, the SAS has done well for three decades with all the imperfections of volunteer labor. Why change it now?

Tom Collins  
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Memphis, TN 38152  
collinst@cc.memphis.edu

**YES! Continued**

city more than once. PMA deals with hotels and convention businesses all year long, every year. They could get us a better deal in most cases, I believe.

PMA has years of experience in helping program chairs call for papers and organize abstracts for printing in preliminary and final programs. We can use that expertise to make our program development more efficient and effective. Local arrangements and program chairs would have more time to spend on soliciting papers and organizing the structure of the program. Printing costs can be very high; PMA could help us achieve a good-looking program at a reasonable cost.

PMA could also take over managing the mailing list. The mailing list is important because it one way we can solicit new members, and make sure that members who not attending the meetings pay their dues. Meeting fees and dues are key elements in raising funds for our association activities, programs and journal.

I must add here that our current Secretary/Treasurer, Daryl White, and our past one, Tom Arcury, have been efficient, dedicated and outstanding not only in the devotion they brought to their task, but also in the skills they have given us. They have kept us on track and brought the SAS to the doorstep of the next century. Daryl has also been program chair or local arrangements chair at least twice. Tom continues to serve the SAS directly by his role as Treasurer of the SAS Endowment Campaign.

In sum, I believe a management

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organization such as PMA could help us greatly in our annual SAS activities, particularly in the areas of: (1) increasing membership, (2) increasing attendance at our annual meetings, (3) aid us in getting the best deals for putting on our annual conferences, (4) aid us in organizing the printing of the annual SAS meetings program, (5) maintain and expand our mailing lists, and (6) assist us in running the annual meetings.

Of course, PMA will charge us a management fee for their services. I believe the cost of the management will be more than offset by the increased revenue we will get from new memberships and renewals and by the increases in registrations at the annual meetings. PMA has in fact suggested that they can do that by the end of the first two years.

The assistance of PMA would not affect our own autonomy. Let me quote a letter from Tom May (PMA) (Feb. 12, 1995) on this, "It is important to realize that in contracting with our firm one does not dilute/diminish any corporate authority. Negotiating a contract with PMA is not like "joining" the American Anthropological Association. In effect, your constitution and bylaws remain unaffected. You have simply hired a firm to perform specific tasks over a designated

period and for a particular price. In sum, our posture is that a management firm like our own can handle the rudimentary tasks and thereby allow the leadership to focus on the more important things that are central to organizational culture and long-term, strategic goals."

I suggest that we seriously consider hiring a management firm to take over the rudimentary tasks, so that we can develop the SAS. I have a vision of the SAS continuing to bring well-known figures to speak at our meetings, such as Marvin Harris, Marjorie Shostak, Jim Peacock, Michael Blakey, Johnnetta Cole, etc., of expanding to a wider audience, producing a peer-reviewed journal, doing more outreach, bringing more practicing anthropologists into our organization and helping students more with their needs about knowing how to find jobs and get into the right graduate school. Clearly we are already on that track. A management firm like PMA can help us achieve those goals sooner, more efficiently and more effectively.

Sincerely, Tim Wallace  
Current Past-President, SAS  
North Carolina State University  
email: Tim\_Wallace@ncsu.edu

Remember the

**SAS Endowment Campaign**  
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The Endowment is now in its second year of fund-raising toward a \$30,000 goal. The purpose of the endowment is to support student participation in the meetings and the student prize competition, expand the knowledge of anthropology in and of the South and to smaller colleges and universities which do not yet offer courses in anthropology, bring the message of our discipline to minority institutions through a dynamic speakers bureau, encourage minority participation in the field and at our meetings, and reward outstanding scholarship in the anthropology of the South with the annual presentation of an enhanced James Mooney prize.

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**S A S Keynote Speech**

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**The New York African Burial Ground Phenomenon****by Michael L Blakey**

*(Project Director, New York African Burial Ground Project,  
The Cobb Laboratory, Department of Sociology and Anthropology,  
Howard University)*

**P**ublic interest, in the New York African Burial Ground, has been truly extraordinary. There have been more than 500 news articles, 3 documentaries, an opera, and a children's play since 1991. There have been numerous libation ceremonies, candlelight vigils, and years of community struggle through protests, public meetings, and congressional lobbying to save this site, memorialize it, and to place its anthropological and historical interpretation in the hands of the African American community. This is a Rock (a northern Jamestown) for African Americans.

In the scientific realm, the African Burial Ground's significance is that of the largest early African cemetery in North America. The cemetery was used in the late 1600s until 1794 with possibly thousands of burials, of which 400 were excavated and made available for study. The history of the African presence and contribution to New York has been neglected and misrepresented by American public education. Our task is to restore their lives to memory. This is our "Lucy or "The Unexpected Wonder," as the Ethiopians themselves refer to *A afarensis*.

**Preliminary Findings**

Our research design calls for a biocultural approach. Biology is a very narrow window on the world when taken in isolation. The historical and cultural data sets, when related to our biological findings, will allow us to better engender and enculture the African Burial Ground population, just as we use the physical evidence from these skeletons as reflections of social conditions and cultural life. Even the contradictions between the various biological and cultural data sets may lead us to new questions that might not have been asked otherwise. Our principal questions are: where did the people buried in the African Burial Ground come from; what was the physical quality of their lives during their enslavement; and what were the biocultural transformations which took place at the origins of the African American people?

Thus far, the skeletal biology of this project has moved ahead of the other disciplinary components. The current phase of research is, therefore, essentially descriptive. Some archaeological and historical information has begun, nonetheless, to emerge.

Our findings are based on a sample

of the 300 burials that have been processed to date. Given the preliminary nature of the available data, the range of descriptive cases will be stressed rather than the statistical analysis which is likely to change as our sample grows.

Dental enamel hypoplasia (a developmental defect of dental enamel that results from childhood malnutrition and disease) is common in children under twelve years of age (over 60%). This frequency is high for children and comparable to the plantation populations studied by our laboratory and others. Approximately 49% of adult dentitions have defects that occurred during childhood. This frequency is about 1/2 that of Nineteenth Century African American plantation populations (Mack, et al 1995a). These data suggest a separate (non-New York and possibly African) context of childhood for those who died as adults as contrasted with those dying as children.

We are also finding childhood cases of rickets and porotic hyperostosis indicative of vitamin D deficiency and anemia, respectively. Those observed cases of craniosynostosis (pre-mature closure of cranial sutures) in children is well above modern rates. Children's skeletons often show combinations of two or more of these effects. Indeed, 50% of the population died by 12 years of age, approximately 35% of which died in infancy. These data on children clearly represent a high stress population (Mack, et al 1995b).

What strikes us as particularly

profound in frequency and severity is the evidence of work and load-bearing stress in adults. Both men and women often show hypertrophic muscle attachments in bones of the shoulders, arms, and legs. There are several cases of os acromioclaviculare—resulting from excessive mechanical strain on the shoulder mechanism during childhood, causing the acromion to remain unfused in adulthood. Cases of enthesopathy (resulting from the tearing of muscle and bone at muscle attachments) is evident in most individuals, male and female, in the upper and lower limbs. Heavy lifting and other work should have caused these changes. These individuals performed work that pressed the skeleto-muscular systems to its limits, and arguably beyond those limits (Hill et al 1995).

Osteophytosis of the cervical vertebrae has often been observed. We are exploring our best hypothesis for this excessive degeneration of the bones of the neck as caused by lifting and carrying heavy loads on the head (Hill et al 1995).

Finally, there are a few other cases of trauma, most of which involve women. Burial #25 is the most graphic case in point. A woman of approximately 22 years of age was found to have a musket ball in her thoracic area. The projectile appears to have entered through the upper back or side (left scapula). Blunt force fracture of the lower face and a torsion fracture due to the twisting of her right arm are also present. All trauma occurred within a short time prior to death. These data are begin-

ning to tell of the hardship of slavery in a northern colony.

Archaeological data have just begun to focus our attention on Akan speaking West African origins, with the discovery of an Ashanti adinkra symbol ("Sankofa") on the coffin lid for burial #101. This symbol can be interpreted as meaning, "look to the past to inform decisions for the future; one can correct one's mistakes" (Ofari-Ansa, 1995). Those who initially excavated the site, having little or no substantial background in African history and culture had taken this important symbol to have the meanings normally associated with the European connotations of the geometricized heart-shape (The geometricized Sankofa is a particularly elaborated "heart-shaped" symbol). The twelve cases of modified anterior dentition, comprising 7 different styles of filing, direct our attention to West and Central African societies to which these variations might be usefully compared.

Historical data have also begun to provide a context within which to consider likely explanations for the skeletal indicators of African origins and the physical quality of life of the people who worked at the docks, on the farms, cleared the land, constructed roads, walls, and buildings, maintained the European domestic sphere, rebelled, worshipped, and negotiated the establishment of their own families and communities. These were the people who built and maintained colonial New York. Yet they are also people who often had a life in Africa, the Caribbean, or the

American South, prior to arriving in New York. Our African Diasporic historians and archaeologists, conscious of this fuller life, will attempt to recreate the larger identity of these ancestors, in such a way that one might understand them as "enslaved African people" rather than simply as "slaves."

### **An Anthropology of Engagement**

In addition, our work constitutes an engaged anthropology. That is to say, we are working on behalf of the community under study, which in this case means the descendant, cultural affiliated African American community. Many members of this community, especially in New York, have been involved by reviewing drafts of our research design and contributing their criticisms, preferred questions, and stylistic elements (more on African predecessors, openness to very early dates for the cemetery's use, the term "enslaved" rather than "slave," etc.) Our research design has been improved in this way. Moreover, the public has come to share ownership of and commitment to our project by this process—it has become their project, too. An Office of Public Education and Interpretation has been established for the project, as a clearing house for information to and from the public.

The cultural and spiritual significance that these icon-like ancestral remains represent, is respected and fostered by our work with the community. Yes, we are scientists, but we accommodate religi-

ous observances, and provide information to those who see the African Burial Ground as part of a reworking of our past and present culture. While our own work is scientific, these other components of ordinary human endeavor are appreciated. They make our work more meaningful to everyone involved.

The U S General Services Administration is our client, by virtue of the Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended) which requires them to mitigate the effects of building construction which, between 1991-92, had unearthed the burials we study. While our project views the GSA as our "business" client, we are implementing the term "ethical client" to refer to the descendant community. The conditions of our relationship to the ethical and business clients is spelled out in the American Anthropological Association's Principles of Professional Responsibility and Ethics (The American Association of Physical Anthropologists has no formalized ethical statement and the archaeologist's statements seem to give priority to objects over living people). We seek to address the needs of these two types of client—in proportions equivalent to the priorities that should be given ethical vs. business concerns. Often, in our case, it is the descendant community who, through public pressure, keep our business client's tendency towards expediency in check. The comprehensiveness (and cost) of our research design, public education programs, and the memorial plans would likely not be so substantial were it not for the support of our ethical client.

Consensus does not easily emerge from a descendant community that is as diverse and embattled as African Americans in New York City. Decisions about how to develop a sacred and historical site that is under continued threat of desecration, and where the Federal Government repeatedly breached trust, tended to be wrenching. The fact that most of the anthropologists currently involved in the project are themselves descendants, has probably been essential, while insufficient, as a basis for community confidence in the conduct of research.

The approach to our project is also possible partly because it is taking place in a contract or practicing anthropology vein, within an academic institution. Unlike contract firms, the University is not wholly dependent on the continued support of contracting agencies. This frees us to be responsive to our ethical client in a manner that must occasionally aggravate our business client. Our multi-disciplinary intellectual resources, and the academic emphasis on the development of theory might also make a difference. These are the contradictions that make the African Burial Ground Project both controversial and successful by most standards. I believe there are ideas that we can all utilize from our project's experience.

A few years ago, a group of 9 anthropologists were organized by Roy Rappaport during his presidency of the American Anthropological Association. In the book that resulted from this work *Diagnosing America: The Anthropology of Public Engagement* (Forman, 1994), we

give examples of how anthropology might be made more useful to the people of the United States.

In essence: "An engaged anthropology assumes a special responsibility to the communities of persons it studies. Rather than extracting knowledge from its environment in pursuit of academic goals, knowledge developed in a community must be democratically produced, analyzed, and reported." We should "seek to give communities voice," "we have the opportunity to engage on the major social issues that are confronting our society or we can remain peripheral to them." "Applied or practicing anthropologists who apply their skills in the service of government or service organizations often face serious constraints. When organizations put anthropologists on the payroll, they have certain defined objectives in mind (Forman, 1994)." The statement goes on to point to our abeyance to institutionalized rewards for obscure technical writing and individualized, non-applied work as a detriment to engagement.

Finally, the very demography of anthropology, its near exclusionary whiteness, biases its perspectives and effects. The African Burial Ground as an African American-led project, afforded a level of self-determination and a type of discussion otherwise impossible. There are long-standing "family" discussions among people of African descent (for example, African roles in the slave trade, or reparations claims directed toward European and American governments) for which people of European descent are often seen as

either inappropriate or uninformed commentators.

Self-criticism by our field is a necessary part of the process of engagement with the broader public. Pluralism within the field will be necessary for more adequate disciplinary critique and approaches to community engagement and policy formulation. As common ground for this discussion, the Disorders panel had agreed to be guided by values of democratic participation and pluralism. Yet, we recognized that exclusionary and racist values competed with those values, across the American and anthropological landscape.

### What About Pure Science?

But why all the talk of politics and cultural values; can't we just do good objective science. Years ago I analyzed survey data from Sol Tax's 1975 Fifth International Directory of Anthropologists. From this exercise (Blakey, 1983), I learned that Eastern European archaeologists were far more involved in preservation and the use historical materialistic theory than Americans. I believed then that this emphasis related to the conscious integration of anthropology with state apparatus, which served to construct a public history that legitimated socialist political and economic structures.

At the same time, I found that American archaeologists, although more individualistic, privatized and seemingly less directly tied to the government's ideological production, ultimately showed leanings that equally made of them producers

of state ideology. Once the convenient archaeological interest in our own region of the world was removed from the picture, American archaeologists showed a preponderant interest in Europe and the Middle East. American archaeologists showed the most meager interest (2-3% of my sample of respondents) in Africa and Asia.

Western Europeans showed a primary interest in Europe and a secondary level of interest in the Middle East. These Judeo-Christian and Eurocentric interests help create notions of what are the important and unimportant societies; societies about which there were known details versus stereotypes, and societies that were important to the "American" sense of national identity (Blakey, 1983). Those same trends were and are reflected in the exhibitions of the National Museums of the United States (Blakey, 1990). Of course, these patterns equally reflect the demographic composition of American archaeologists, of whom non-Euro-Americans comprise less than .01%. None of these factors suggest archaeological neutrality, but instead define Eurocentrism as a culture-bound norm. The corrective is demographic, critical, and engaged.

There are many other examples of the deep and intrinsic subjectivity of anthropological pursuits. Indeed, the most virulent racist founders of our field seemed to believe they were acting objectively, while their intuitively racist and classist results were floated to the public (Gould 1981; Blakey 1987). One can refer to the 19th century, also for the origins of critical science and activist scholarship, that sets

an early precedent for engaged research among African American ideas. It was Frederick Douglass who, in 1854 analyzed the new physical anthropology and archaeology as contributors to the ideas that justified the perpetuation of the American institution of slavery. In conclusion, he wrote:

The relation subsisting between the white and black people of this country is the vital question of the age. In the solution of this question, the scholars of America will take an important and controlling part. This is the moral battle field to which their country and God now call them. In the eye of both, the neutral scholar is an ignoble man. Here, a man must be hot, or accounted cold, or, perchance, something worse than hot or cold. The lukewarm and the cowardly, will be rejected by earnest men on either side of the controversy. The cunning man who avoids it, to gain the favor of both parties, will be rewarded with scorn; and the timid man who shrinks from it, for fear of offending either party, will be despised. To the lawyer, the preacher, the politician and to the man of letters, there is no neutral ground, he that is not for us is against us. Gentleman, I assume at the start, that whatever else I may be required to speak with bated breath, here at least, I may speak with freedom the thought nearest my heart. (Frederick Douglass, "Address Delivered at Western Reserve College, July 12,

1854).

As a Nation, the United States have long stood, vulnerably at the cross-roads of democracy and white supremacy. As anthropologists, we have always reflected and influenced our society, admittedly or not. Claims of scientific neutrality are often asserted among arguments for the empowerment of scientific information and its exclusive manipulation and control by scientists. To speak of democracy and require exclusive control has never brought resolution to the conflicts between democracy and white supremacy. The contradiction of this characteristically Euro-American conflict, furthermore, has seldom escaped the attention of the non-dominating people of this country. And if such people have often needed to be the ones to raise these contentious issues and lead the way toward a greater democracy, then so be it. The choice is all of ours, if we will but choose.

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**Winning Entry** 1995 SAS Graduate Student Paper Competition

## **The Sexual Economy of Women and HIV in Uganda: A Critical Biocultural Analysis**

**by Ron Barrett**  
Emory University

### **Abstract**

A lens of biocultural medical anthropology is used to critically examine host-parasite coevolution in the sexual economies of Ugandan women. These women are often informed risk managers concerning sexual exchanges in relation to factors of political economy, women's status, male sexuality, and the epidemiology of the disease. Alternative landscapes of biocultural adaptation demonstrate that the longer term benefits of condom use in AIDS prevention can be substantially diminished by the shorter term morbidity associated with the unfavorable socio-economic circumstances of Ugandan women. Unless health interventions are broadened to improve these circumstances, positive feedback between cultural and biological factors will favor increased transmission of the virus.

### **Introduction**

In the last year, the total number of estimated AIDS cases has increased by over sixty percent worldwide. It is currently estimated that 16 million people have been infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), with the proportions of women and children increasing at an alarming rate (Global Programme on AIDS, 1994). More than two thirds of these infections are thought to have occurred in Sub-Saharan Africa (Quinn, 1994). In these regions, HIV infection exhibits a Pattern II epidemiology in which the virus is transmitted intra-generationally through heterosexual

contact between adults, and inter-generationally from mother to child (Mann, 1988).

Uganda has the greatest number of reported AIDS cases of any African nation, and one of the highest rates of infection per capita (WHO, 1994). Here, urban prostitution has been targeted as a locus of high risk sexual behaviors which facilitate the transmission of the disease. A number of public health interventions have been aimed at providing information and condoms to commercial sex workers and women with multiple sexual partners. Yet despite a substantial fear of AIDS, accurate knowledge of HIV transmission and access to condoms, many of these women continue to engage in unprotected

intercourse (McGrath, 1993).

This paper uses a lens of biocultural medical anthropology to critically examine the evolving host-parasite relationship between Ugandan women and HIV in the context of gender-based inequalities and increasing poverty. By taking a holistic approach to the biological and cultural context of sexually transmitted disease, it will be shown that Ugandan women act as informed risk managers in sexual exchange upon an adaptive landscape that is driven by men's sexual demands, women's socioeconomic status, and the life cycle of the virus.

### **Political Economy: Historical Relations**

One cannot understand the epidemiology of AIDS in Uganda without considering the historical events that have shaped the social landscape upon which this disease has spread. During the Berlin Conference of 1884, the major European countries reached an agreement on how they would divide the African continent among themselves. Following the Buganda Agreement of 1900, the territories of the Ganda became an official British protectorate. The foundation for colonial domination, however, had been already well-laid by the ruling Kabakas of the Ganda, who had been controlling the flow of ivory, cotton, and slaves since the 16th century, and later became important agents in the British subversion of the Central Lakes regions (Gukiina, 1972).

Uganda remained under British

colonial rule until the 1960's. During this time, infrastructural investments were geared toward the interests of settlers and large companies who exploited agricultural and mineral resources such as coffee, cotton, and copper. Territories were divided into estate-based administrative districts, often without respect to traditional cultures. Townships were established for each of these districts as centers of trade and local government (Southall & Gutkind, 1957). These townships became urban colonial bases for the recruitment of seasonal industrial labor from outlying farming communities, who had become increasingly dependent on a cash economy, due increases in trade goods and taxation payable only in currency (Larson, 1989).

Since gaining its political independence in the 1960s, Uganda has maintained much the same economic relations with its former colonial masters. Multinational corporations have overseen the exportation of raw materials under disadvantageous exchange rates for further processing in more developed nations (Alubo, 1990). Fluctuating commodities markets and a series of wars have had devastating effects on the country's economy. Although partly buffered by slightly more favorable rainfall patterns than its neighbors and major trade routes connecting the port of Mombassa to Central Africa, military conflict during the Idi Amin period in 1971-78 and the war of liberation in 1981-87 resulted in over 400,000 civilian deaths, reduced

trade, and a decline in agricultural production. During Obote's second reign, military and police expenditures comprised 44% of the national budget, and the estimated cost of war in the Sudan was a million dollars a day (Dodge, 1990).

Neocolonial reliance on cash crops has led to economic disaster following the collapse of commodities prices in the 1970's. Most nations of Sub-Saharan Africa have since tried to borrow themselves out of this situation, and then again through further loans in failed efforts to get out of increasing burdens of unpaid debts (Alubo, 1990). In 1991, Uganda's external debt was \$US 1.9 billion, over 31% of its GDP and eleven times its export earnings (Central Intelligence Agency, 1992). Uganda's GDP and exports have since shown modest gains, and inflation has been reduced from over 60% to nearly zero (Sherper, 1994). However, these numerical gains have not been without a human cost. Much of these changes have been the result of austerity programs dictated by the IMF and World Bank, which have caused dramatic declines in living standards, especially for those already living in poverty (Alubo, 1990).

### **Sexual Economy: Agency vs. Inequality**

The Ugandan woman's experience of poverty and disease has been far different from those of men. Women in Uganda have less access to education and job training than their male counterparts. Literacy

of females over the age of 15 is 35% as compared with 62% for males. Ugandan females have lower school enrollments and completion rates. Vocational training is geared toward men, with women engaging in lower paying traditional occupations (UNICEF, 1991). Commenting on the educational status of women in Sub-Saharan Africa, DeBruyn (1992) notes that illiteracy may impede the dissemination of health information if distributed pamphlets cannot be read. However, surveys conducted by USAID have found that over 80% of the adult population in Uganda understands that AIDS is a sexually transmitted disease, but that less than 2.5% use any kind of contraception (Sherper, 1994). It is therefore unlikely that pamphlets will tell very many Ugandan women what they do not already know about AIDS.

The educational status of Ugandan women is more likely to have a greater influence on employability than access to information. Family disruption due to the economic migration of males in Uganda has resulted in an increase of female-headed households to over fifteen percent (UNICEF, 1992). In rural areas of Sub-Saharan Africa, however, these women possess diminished land holdings, lower assets, and less social support for agricultural production than men (Zwi, 1993). These conditions have led to increased migration of single women, with and without children, into cities in search of employment. Once there, however, they find a dearth of economic opportunities due to a lack of skills; housing and job discrimination; and sexual harassment

among employers (Larson, 1989; Ulin 1992).

Yet these constraints of poverty and social inequality have not precluded Ugandan women from exercising agency in their lives. Sexual exchanges with men have been a major source of power for Ugandan women since pre-colonial times. These exchanges, however, are having increasing economic importance for women faced with declining opportunities and family disruption. The result is a sexual economy, wherein western notions of "prostitution" and "commercial sex work" occupy arbitrary positions along a spectrum of exchanges ranging from bride-price to gift-giving; part-time sugar daddies to full-time pay-for-sex.

Precolonial marriage patterns have had a significant influence on sexual relations in neocolonial Uganda. Among the less-stable interlacustrine marriage patterns of the Ganda, generous gift-giving is a recognized way of showing affection between lovers (Larson, 1989). These days, if the gifts are generous enough, a woman can supplement her income as a mistress of one or more men (Southhall & Gutkind, 1980; Schoepf, 1988). This is by no means restricted to Ganda women. Multiple partner strategies of economically-based sexual exchange are common among urban women in Central Africa (McGrath, 1993; De Zalduondo, 1991).

Yet among the alternatively more stable Luo-type marriages, monogamy neither removes women from the sexual-economic spectrum nor frees them from the risk of AIDS. Orubuloye and others (1993)

note the predominantly male control over land resources as the combined product of patrilineal traditions and a colonial legacy of divorce laws. Citing Obbo (1989, 1990), they note that African women will often marry in part for land if they cannot own it, and would never refuse the sexual demands of their husbands under these circumstances. Thus, a woman's decision to marry, or remain married, can be greatly influenced by economic determinants, with sexual performance as an important part of the bargain. (Southhall & Gutkind, 1980).

The shorter-term, more economically-based transactions that characterize popular notions of commercial sex work emerged out of Uganda's colonial period. Townships were carefully designed for temporary single male workers and separate enclaves for a small colonial elite. Among the housing arrangements of the working class, a Ugandan family could only live with great difficulty, and at the risk of severing ties to extended social networks in their villages (Larson, 1989). Women were not allowed to work in the cities, and the cost of urban living was high in comparison to the low wages of most available jobs. It was therefore more often the case that married men would migrate into the cities for seasonal wage work while their wives stayed home to work the land. This resulted in 20:1 ratios of men to women in urban areas. Under these conditions, colonial prostitution became a thriving business (Southhall & Gutkind, 1980).

As a holdover from colonial days,

"free women" in the cities are automatically branded as prostitutes (Schoepf, 1988; Quinn, 1994). Economic and social pressure for urban women to engage in prostitution is high, and even professional women will sometimes supplement their careers through sexual exchange (Bakwasegha, 1982). As in colonial times, seasonal migration of rural males continues to make up a significant proportion of the demand. In addition to this, however, it is now common for urban men to take "outside wives" in rural areas (Zwi, 1993).

Whether through employment or marriage opportunities, education provides women with an important means for moving up the socio-economic ladder. In Uganda, however, education comes with a significant price tag. It is a common practice among young women and girls to offer sex in exchange for money to pay for school fees and purchase books and clothes. These exchanges can range from the occasional sugar daddy to organized referral networks using other students as go-betweens (Bakwasegha, 1982). Older male clients can often be seen waiting outside of schools, preferring students for their youthful attractiveness and perceived unlikelyhood of having a sexually transmitted disease (Schoepf, 1988).

In addition to students, sugar daddies, and career women supplementing their incomes, Bakwasegha (1982, 1988) identifies five other forms of women's commercial sex work in Kampala. Bar maids are regular wage earning employees who have semi-emotional relations with a

small group of selected clients whom they may sometimes marry. Volunteer bar maids, however, are usually migrant women who are brought in by the bar owners during busy times of the year. Their earnings are solely based upon pay-for-sex, and are not as selective of the available customers. Streetwalking prostitutes charge high prices and travel in affluent neighborhoods. Streetlight prostitutes frequent transport areas under the guise of needing a ride, allowing the drivers to set the terms. At the lowest end of the economic spectrum, indoor prostitutes are destitute women who work out of single room homes while their children often wait outside.

Along this spectrum of sexual and economic exchange, Ugandan women must make choices concerning the frequency and type of risk behaviors. Larson states that, "as long as women are offering sexual service out of economic desperation....they are potentially open to negotiating with their clients for a higher fee" (1988: 727). Kampala students will charge less for sex with a durex, and neither they nor the bar maids are likely to use a condom with a potential husband. Volunteer bar maids and indoor prostitutes are often too desperate to turn down a customer under most conditions (Bakwasegha, 1982). Yet even in the upper classes of commercial sex work, the price of sex may not be related to worker autonomy. Women who work under improved economic conditions may acquiesce to their customers desires under quota pressures and the possibility of violent

retribution (De Zaluondo citing Barrows, 1986).

Married women who suggest the use of condoms can be accused of adultery, suspected of having HIV, or thought to have accused their husbands of infidelity (De Bruyn, 1992). Seidel notes that African wives insisting on fidelity or the use of condoms with their husbands may lead to violence, divorce, and abandonment (1993). Within Uganda, some communities will accept a level of violence by husbands toward their wives for refusing their conjugal rights (Orubuloye et al citing Ssekiboobo, 1993). Interviewing 130 Baganda women in Kampala, McGrath (1993) found that almost all had heard of AIDS and knew of appropriate ways to protect themselves from HIV transmission, but were afraid that they would contract the disease anyway because of their partner's infidelity. Additionally, while they reported limiting their number of partners to reduce the risk of HIV infection, most felt that there were times when they might take additional partners for economic reasons. Commenting on these two dilemmas, McGrath states: "For women who employ multiple partner strategies out of economic need, advising them to reduce their sexual contacts, without recognizing the potential harm to them, is unlikely to result in behavior change. ...in a context in which males frequently have multiple partners, women can only control their exposure to infection to a limited extent" (1993:435).

Given these circumstances, it is not

surprising that public health interventions aimed solely at AIDS education and condom promotion have had little effect on the sexual practices of women in Uganda and Central Africa. Condoms make poor magic bullets under conditions of poverty and gender-based inequality in which women lack the power to use them. The linkages between the more proximate determinants of HIV transmission, and distal determinants of the larger sexual economy, are far too intimate to be effectively addressed in isolation from one another.

### Male Sexuality

Men are an important part of the heterosexual equation. In order to effectively analyze Ugandan sexual economy in relation to HIV, it is therefore necessary to have an understanding of the motives and attitudes behind the male contribution to these relationships. Unfortunately, there exists very little data on the sexuality of Ugandan men and their attitudes toward women. While stories have begun to circulate in the popular press, reliable and emic ethnographic studies have yet to be published.

What few studies exist on male sexual attitudes and behaviors toward women in Central Africa have been focused on interactions between truck drivers and commercial sex workers. A survey of long distance truckers in East Africa revealed that 99% had heard of AIDS, 87% knew that it was sexually

transmitted, and 72% knew that condoms could prevent getting infected by the disease. Yet only 32% had ever used condoms. 61% of these men reported visiting prostitutes in addition to their wives and girlfriends (Bwayo, 1991). Interviews with customers (mostly truckers) of hotel prostitutes in Southwest Nigeria, Messersmith (1994) found that condom use decreased with increasing intimacy. While some male customers used condoms with prostitutes, they rarely did so with their lovers. It is interesting to note that only 22% of the sample reported ever having had an STD, yet all but one had contracted gonorrhea at least once.

Spending extended periods of time away from their families, and moving along major trade routes, the male truck driver could play a major role in the spread of HIV through Africa. However, if the studies of African women and AIDS are to be believed, then there are many more men who are engaging in unsafe sexual practices. Given the economic mobility of males in East and Central Africa (Larson, 1989), and the ongoing flux of foreign male visitors in cities such as Kampala (Bakwesegha, 1982), it is likely that long range transmission may be accounted for by men of many different occupations, ethnicities and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Reports of male sexual attitudes in East Africa reveal that many men consider condoms to be "unnatural," and that they may actually cause harm to the vagina and/or cause sterility. Informants state that

semen is important for the health and fecundity of women, and that frequent intercourse "ripens" the pregnancy. Semen is also associated with virility, adult male status, and the essence of fatherhood (Schoepf, 1988). Some men prefer sex with a dry vagina, increasing the risk of transmission due to breaks and tears (Seidel, 1993). The contraceptive function of condoms often runs contrary to ideologies where having many children is desirable, and sterility is feared. These culturally mediated desires are often shared by both sex partners (Leke, 1993).

Taking into account specific cultural contexts and attitudes, it may be that many African men prefer sex without condoms simply because it feels better. Assuming that knowledge of AIDS and HIV transmission is not a limiting factor in these circumstances, these men would present a risk refractory attitude toward sexual behavior not unlike that of tobacco use. Utilizing mathematical models derived from game theory, Kaplan and Hill (1992) have put forth an optimal behavior theory of human decision making with a predictive bias toward human actors who are risk adverse. A life history model may better explain the differences between the reality of male sexual behaviors vs. the predicted difference curves of this theory by linking risk-prone motivation with age-specific tradeoffs between extrinsic adult mortality and reproductive function (Hill, 1993). Both of these latter issues are directly linked to the sexual transmission of HIV. But what are the relationships

between age, marital status and cultural group of males who are risk prone vs. risk refractory with regards to sexual behavior? What are their conceptions of purity and pollution, women, and mortality? More in-depth ethnographic research on male sexuality will have to be conducted before testing any of these models, or transforming them into effective interventions toward preventing the further spread of the disease.

#### **HIV: Virus As Biocultural Parasite**

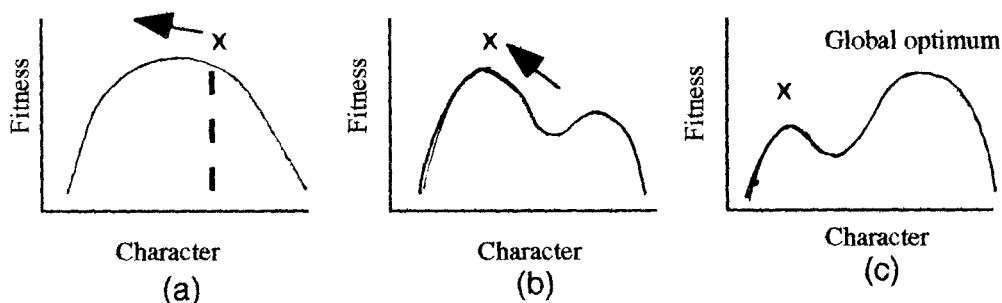
Despite being a newcomer to the evolutionary scene, HIV is becoming well-adapted to the sexual economy of Uganda. Its arrival had been prepared along the infertility belt of Africa, where high incidences of pelvic inflammatory disease due to STD's such as chlamydia, gonorrhea, and syphilis have existed long before AIDS was discovered (Leke, 1993). Genital ulcers facilitate the transmission of the disease by increasing contact with blood and body fluids (Piot, 1988). Once it has entered its host, the virus integrates its genome with those of monocytes and T cells in the very systems which are designed to fight off disease (Fauci, 1988).

Unlike the use of antibiotics with bacterial infections, antiviral therapies have yet to inhibit the life-cycle of HIV, and no vaccine is known to immunize potential human hosts against this pathogen (Benenson, 1990). In 1996, WHO is planning to conduct the first human HIV

vaccine trials in five developing countries. But given the logistical costs of production and distribution, even a "cure" is not likely to impede the spread of the disease any time soon (Esparza, 1993). Judging from the historical effectiveness of vending drugs as encapsulated cures, the lessons of syphilis should make us wise to any magic bullet approaches to AIDS. Biochemical solutions are not the panacea when it comes to sexually transmitted diseases (Brandt, 1988).

Noting the cross-reactivity of HIV surface receptors with those of SIV, a simian analog that does not cause symptoms in infected African green monkeys, Essex & Kanki discuss a precedent for disease-free coevolution in a closely related retrovirus (1988). There are, however, other successful strategies in parasite-host evolution which do not result in selection toward the direction of attenuation as long as the combination of virulence and transmissibility is favorable to the reproductive fitness of the pathogen (Anderson, 1982). On the side of the host, the most optimistic model for human genetic adaptation to AIDS is the Mendelian inheritance of a single dominant gene conferring resistance to the disease. It is estimated that if such a gene were to mutate into existence today, it would take 960 years for it to reach a frequency of 50% in human populations worldwide assuming the most rapid scenario of a single mating pool, and extreme differences in the reproductive fitness of persons with and without the disease (Levine, 1992).

Figure 1

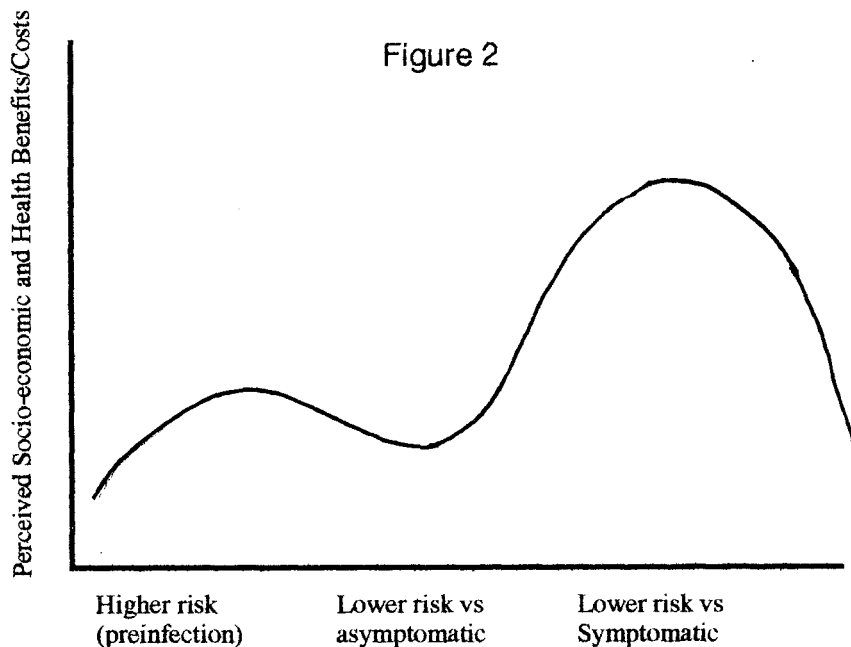


On the side of the virus, HIV possesses a highly dynamic RNA genome with a tolerant polymerase and no proteins for correcting mistakes in replication. Because of this, HIV is genetically capable of evolving at a million times the rate of DNA-based viruses (Holland et al, 1982). Given the situation in Uganda, it is possible that genetic adaptation of the virus toward maximizing its numbers may exceed the memetic adaptation of potential human hosts toward minimizing them. Subacute diseases like Kuru have shown a remarkable adaptability to human decisionmaking by means of a long latency period (Alpers, 1992). Given the difficult long and short term decisions faced by Ugandan women, the preexisting tendency of HIV to have a long proviral stage, and the large mutational leap required in achieving improved alternatives to asymptomatic infection, this author predicts that the present form of sexual economy will provide cultural selection for strains with increasing latency. This will result in increasing the probability of sexual transmission by extending the long-term health consequences of risk decisions based upon the extended time from infection to the

recognition of symptoms.

### **Analysis: Risk Management Along a Rugged Sexual Economic Landscape**

This section introduces a framework for analyzing the decisions faced by Ugandan women regarding sexual risk behavior among factors of socioeconomic autonomy, male sexual demand, and the latency period of the virus. This framework is inspired by an adaptive landscape model first put forth in 1932 by Sewell Wright. This model topographically maps frequencies of multiple alleles on to an artificial landscape containing high frequency adaptive peaks and low frequency valleys. A given allele is plotted on this landscape, usually beginning at one of the peaks. Since selection moves toward increased fitness, it continually acts to increase the allele's frequency upon slopes with positive curves, and decrease its frequency upon slopes with negative curves (Province, 1986). An important implication arises when using this model: evolutionary changes may have to cross less adaptive valleys before reaching more adaptive peaks. The deeper the valley, the less likely



the probability for such a change to occur, albeit one that is beneficial (Ridley, 1993; Wittenberger, 1981) [See figure 1 above].

Figure 1. Three landscapes of adaptation. (a) Selection favors a single "global optimum" (the most adaptive character) for population *x* in a given environment. (b) The adaptive topography varies to include less-than-optimal alternative characters. Frequency changes between these characters continue to trend toward the global optimum. (c) Adaptive topography where population *x* is stranded at a less-than-optimal local peak because evolution to the global optimum would entail traversing a costly valley during intermediate changes (Modified from Ridley, 1993: 343).

These models are not restricted to biological analyses of genetic alleles.

Lumsden & Wilson (1980) have used adaptive landscapes to examine how epigenetic rules of individual behavior might canalize larger scale social patterns in the testing of sociobiological hypotheses. More recently, a similar approach has been used to model the coadaptation of symbolic and agricultural systems in Balinese water temple networks (Lansing & Kremer, 1993). Likewise, a landscape model can be helpful in understanding the complex biocultural relationships between female sexual decisionmaking and the coevolution of HIV [See figure 2 above].

Figure 2. Landscape model of sexual decisionmaking among Ugandan women. The two peaks represent sexual behaviors in terms of higher or lower risk for HIV exposure with heights determined by perceived

economic, social, and health benefits. The valley between them represents perceived costs of protected sex during what would otherwise be a period of asymptomatic infection.

The landscape model above is not meant to show either the emic thought processes which underlie sexual decisions of individual Ugandan women, nor quantitative reports of sexual behaviors and socio-economic status. Such data would be highly suspect given the methodological limits involved. This model, however, is very useful in explaining the issues discussed in this paper as complex forces which Ugandan women must face when acting as informed risk managers during sexual exchange.

For example, the height of the larger peak in the previous landscape follows the assumption of most public health providers: namely, that Ugandan women will recognize the greater health benefit of safer sex once they are educated in the germ theory of AIDS transmission and proper use of condoms. Yet while this model might end at a single-optimum landscape such as that of figure 1a, the landscape in figure 2 expands the scenario to show the biocultural costs and benefits of sexual decisionmaking under the constraints of three important factors: 1) the height of the less-than-optimal peak of higher risk sexual behavior, which is strongly driven by the sexual demands of male partners; 2) the depth of the valley, which is driven by the relative socioeco-

conomic autonomy of women; and, 3) the width of the valley, which is driven by the latency of the virus between the time of transmission to the manifestation of recognized symptoms. Unless public health interventions are broadened to take these factors into account, the sexual economy of Uganda will continue to select for larger titers of better-adapted parasites, resulting in mutually potentiating increases in human mortality and poverty.

### Conclusion

Kleinman (1994) states that the unique contribution of anthropologists to public health issues will come through theoretical insights within a multidisciplinary discourse. This makes sense given the holistic nature of health and suffering, and the position of anthropologists as interdisciplinary bridges to the mystery of the human equation. Within the subfield of medical anthropology, however, a number of criticisms have been raised regarding biomedical biases that are exclusive of social criticism - biases which either ignore or naturalize some of the macroparasitic conditions of inequality that often contribute more to human illness than microparasitic organisms (Singer, 1989; Scheper-Hughes, 1990; Turshen, 1984).

This paper attempts to demonstrate that biological insights can play a synergistic role in critical medical anthropology when integrated with other perspectives. The coevolution of humans and HIV in Uganda is a complex equation

involving multiple interactive systems that are continually shaped by both biological and cultural forces. Discrete dichotomies of "safe vs. unsafe sex" and "monogamy/abstinence vs. prostitution/promiscuity" diffuse across the spectra of risk management decisions and sexual-economic exchange. By themselves, the epidemiological data do not speak to the historic relations of colonialism and neo-colonialism which inform the sexual economy in which the virus is evolving. Likewise, the proximate determinants of HIV transmission do not lend themselves to neat "interventions" involving the dissemination of "biologically correct" information. Nor are the roles of Ugandan women as informed actors (and resisters) in the management of their insemination likely to find advocacy in unilinear models of male-dominated capitalist hegemony imposed upon them by the academic bourgeoisie.

An adequate understanding of the sexual-economic and epidemiological relations between women and HIV in Uganda is best achieved through a theoretical lens which is as holistic as the subject and object of inquiry: human health. Medical anthropologists are well-positioned to contribute such a lens, provided that we do not succumb to a false dichotomy of biomedical vs. critical analysis. A biocultural dialectic presents anthropologists with an opportunity to create theoretical bridges between disciplines of biomedicine, ethnomedicine, nursing, the social sciences, politics, and by all means,

the informants themselves. It is at this level of collaboration that the improved welfare of human beings can be effectively advocated and achieved.

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# The Back Side

by dmj



Incredibly,  
When he perfected his time  
machine, Dr Johnson never thought  
it would end like this.

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