The India Story HIV in a Highly Populated Country

a presentation to IAPOS, November 1999

from:

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Business Exchange on AIDS & Development



Africa — Dev'g countries — All countries

Businesses

Anglo American
Booker Tate
Cargill
C.D.C.

Mixed membership &

A business focus:

- Contacts & introductions
 - Policy Guidelines
 - Library & seminars
 - Management studies: Micro impact & LSHTM

Businesses

Glaxo Wellcome

Guinness

Heineken

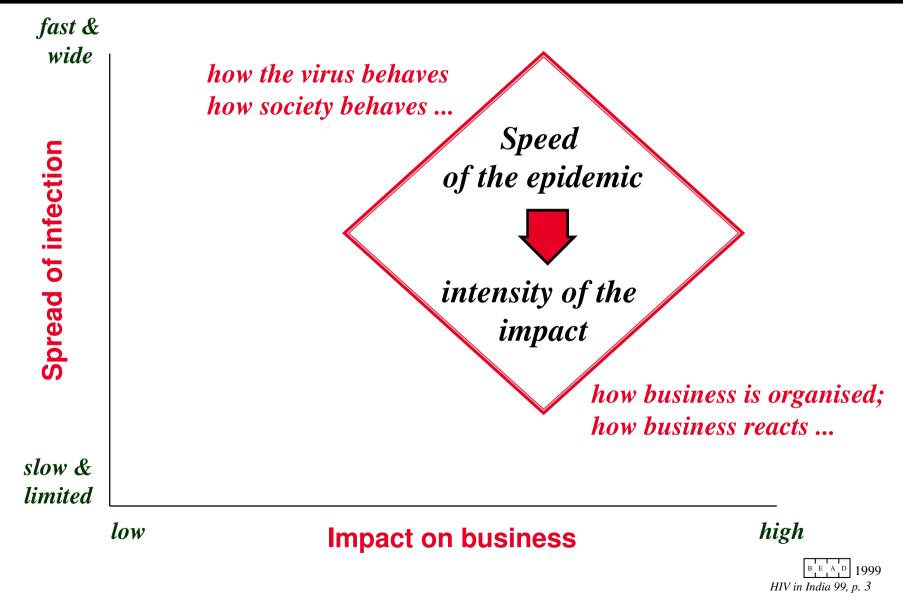
Standard Chart'd

Unilever

HIV/AIDS — Costly — Infectious diseases



The Uncertainties of AIDS & Its Impact



Outline of Talk

I. The virus & the disease

II. The epidemic

III. Impacts on business

IV. Corporate responses

V. Conclusion

I. The virus & the disease

The Virus & Its Survival

Transmission of the Virus*

	<u>India</u>
 Sexual transmission 	75%
 Perinatal transmission & breast-feeding 	
 Infected blood & blood products 	12%
Dirty syringes	6%

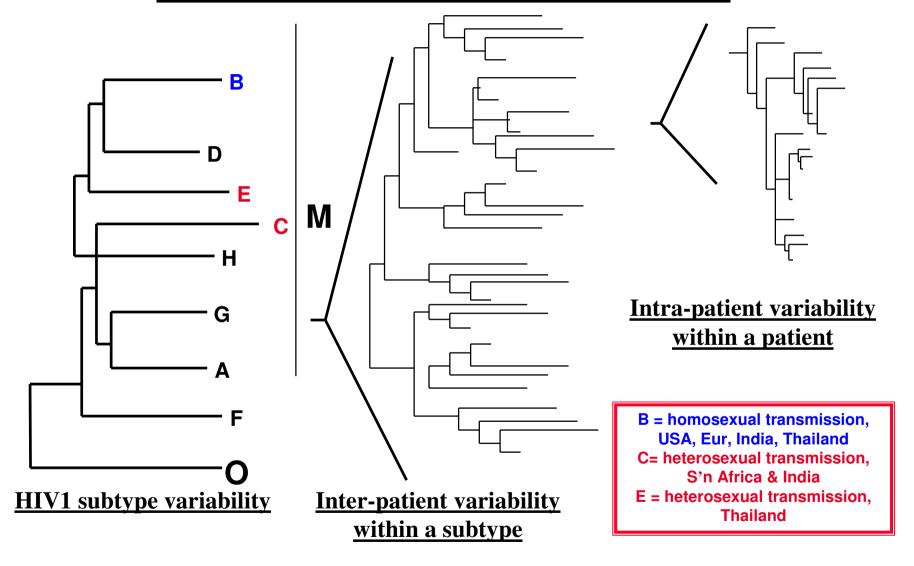
The Ecology of Transmission

Rapid evolution of the HIV virus

- More rapid partner change => more virulent variants of HIV
 - Higher risk of transmission of HIV with STD lesions
 - Higher STD rate with poor sanitation & poor health care

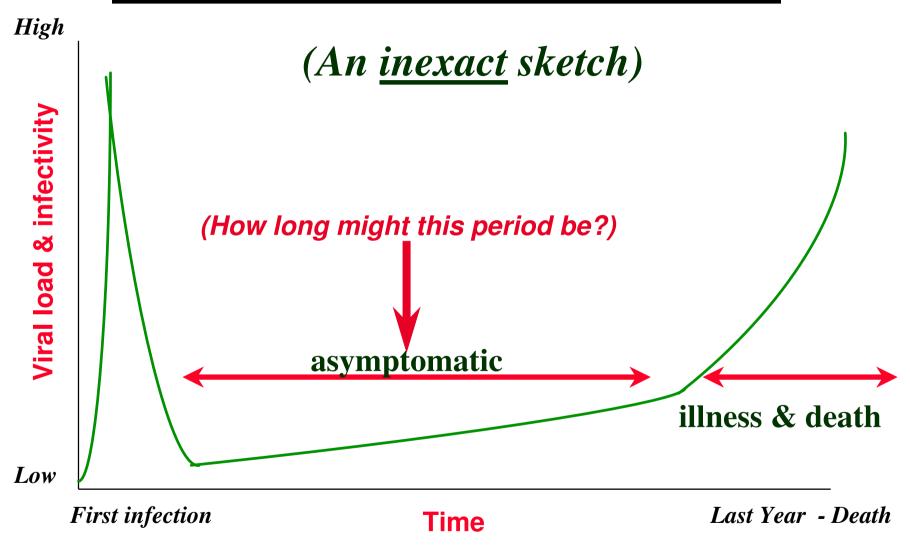


Rapid Evolution of HIV1





Infectivity & Natural History





Acute, Newly Acquire HIV Infections

Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene & Public Health tested Pune STD patients for p24 antigen "Patents who test positive for p24 antigen are likely to have been infected within the last two to three weeks."

Findings

*p24 antigen-positive patients, compared to p24-negative*HAD

- unprotected sex with commerical sex workers (5x more likely)
 - active genital ulcers (3x more likely)
 - fever & joint pain.

BUT NO CLEAR ASSOCIATION WITH: enlarged lymph nodes, oral thrush, diarrheoa & rash



WHO Stages of the Disease

Stage 1 Asymptomatic

Stage 2 Minor symptoms

Stage 3 More severe symptoms Stage 4
Other AIDSdefining
conditions

(USA: before combination therapies)

10 years to serious illness

2 years to death

Africa: lack of reliable data, but experience suggests:

7 years to serious illness 5 years with HIV 1-C in Southern Africa





India is still an unknown.



Early Manifestations of the Disease

AFRICA

in Tanzania & Botswana:

Herpes zoster*

("A lot of my workers have been getting a rash...")

in Kenya, among sex workers:

Pneumonia**

Most common manifestation in Africa is tuberculosis

<u>INDIA</u>

HIV 'markers' in Mumbai***

Tuberculosis Diarrhoea

Hepatitis



Notes on Progression of the Disease

"In India the prevalence of tuberculosis infection is 40% as evinced by tuberculosis testing. Of reported AIDS cases, 56% had tuberculosis of one or more organs."

Source: Shiv Lal & B.B. Thakur (National AIDS Control Organisation, Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, New Delhi) "The Problem of HIV and AIDS in India" in <u>Current Science</u>, vol. 69, no. 10, 25 November 1995

"It is reported that there are over 14 million persons with active tuberculosis in India." (citing the <u>Annual Report</u>, MOHFW, p. 167, 1996-97)

Source: "The Epidemic in India: An overview" in <u>The Looming Epidemic: The Impact of HIV & AIDS in India</u>, edited by Peter Godwin, 1998, Mosaic Books, New Delhi.

"The common first condition reported was TB. Among the other important clinical conditions reported were herpes zoster, herpes simplex and candidiasis. ... Most respondents mentioned more general illnesses, which could be either because the doctors did not diagnose the clinical conditions or did not convey the neames to the respondents. It is also possible that the respondents did not remember the exact names. It is interesting to note that many individuals said they suffered from headaches, fatigue or fever. These could be the precursors to more serious conditions. Diarrhoea was another very common condition mentioned along with other stomach problems."

Source: Indrani Gupta "Planning for the Socio-economic Impact of the Epidemic: The Costs of Being Ill." in <u>The Looming Epidemic</u>, 1998, op. cit.

Common Opportunistic Infections in Madras

100 symptomatic HIV+ patients

with multiple opportunistic infections 1987-1993, Chennai (Madras)

Most common opportunistic diseases seen:

Tuberculosis 36.7%

Oral Cadidiasis 24.6%

Diarrhoea 14.4%

Others, but a small proportion:

herpes zoster

cyptococcal meningitis

· fungal infections of the skin

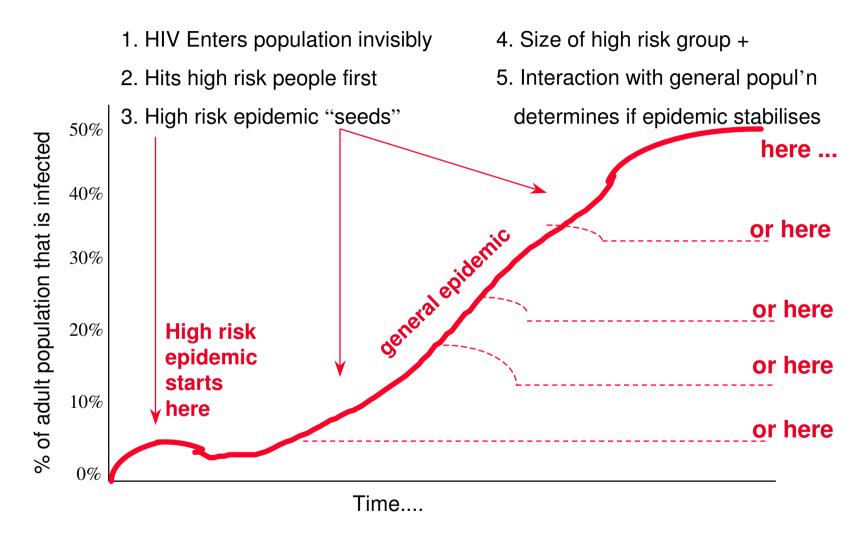
75.7% of total

prevalence of TB in India *



II. Nature of the epidemic

Simple Mechanics of an AIDS Epidemic

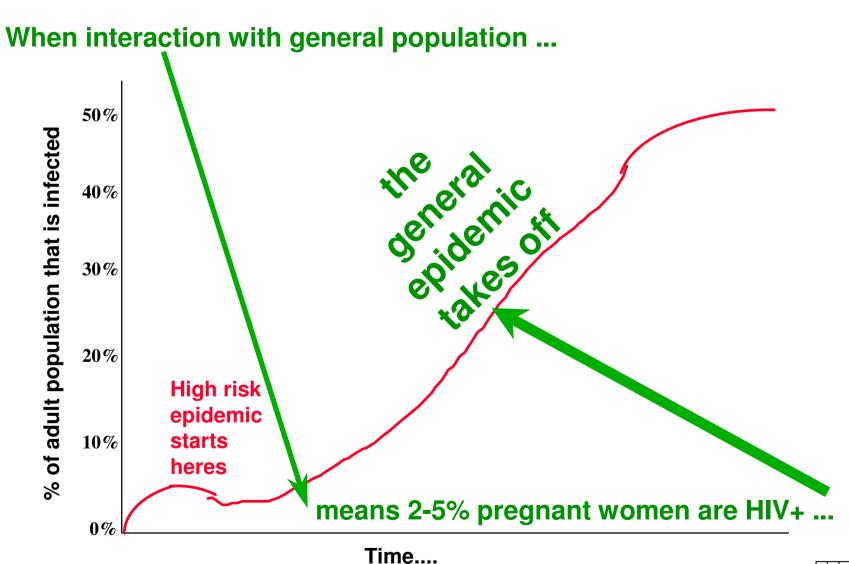


Disruptions of development mean:

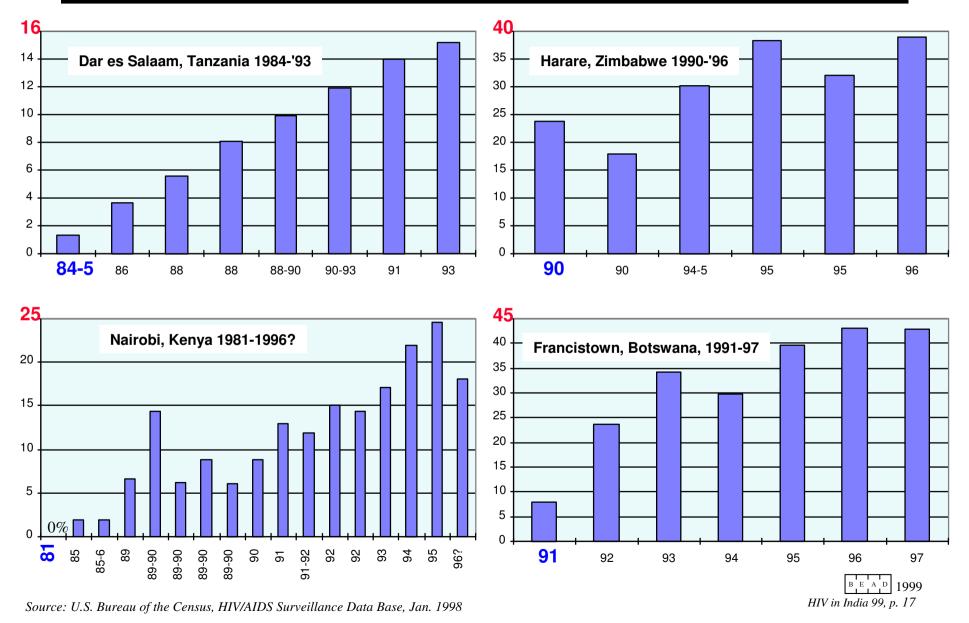
- high risk group MAY be large,
- interaction MAY be frequent.



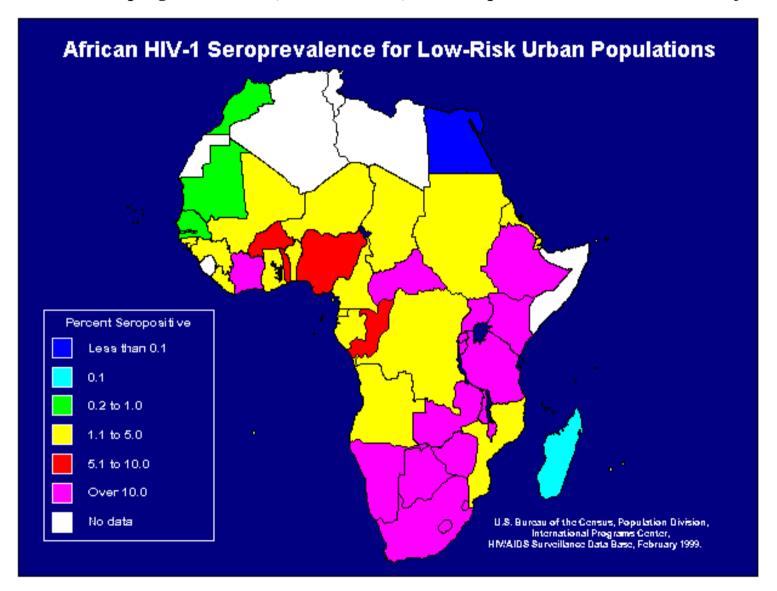
A Possible Turning Point:



Pregnant Women in Africa: % HIV+

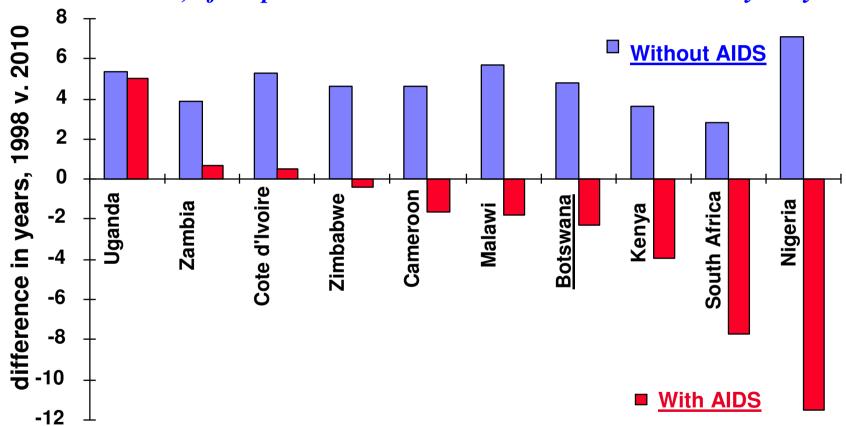


NB: Low risk = pregnant women, blood donors, or other persons with no known risk factor



Projected Changes in Life Expectation

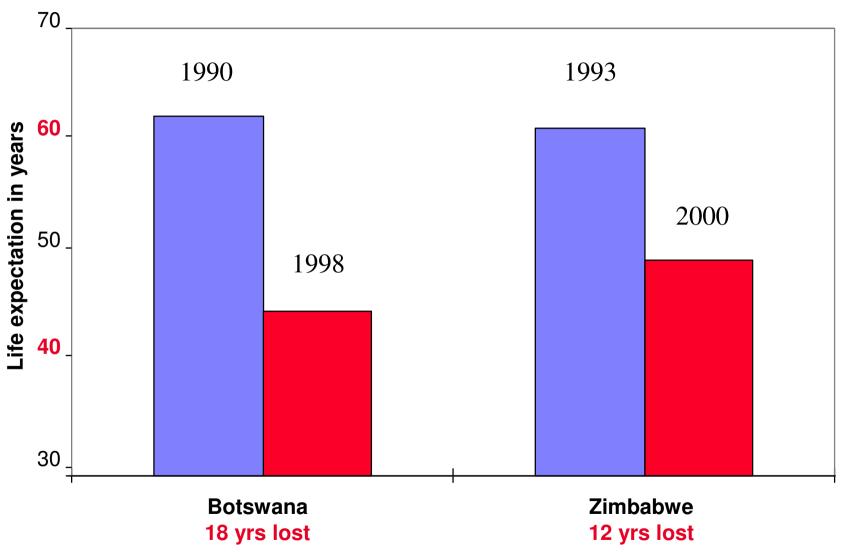
"Without AIDS, life expectation in Botswana would have RISEN by 4.8 yrs."

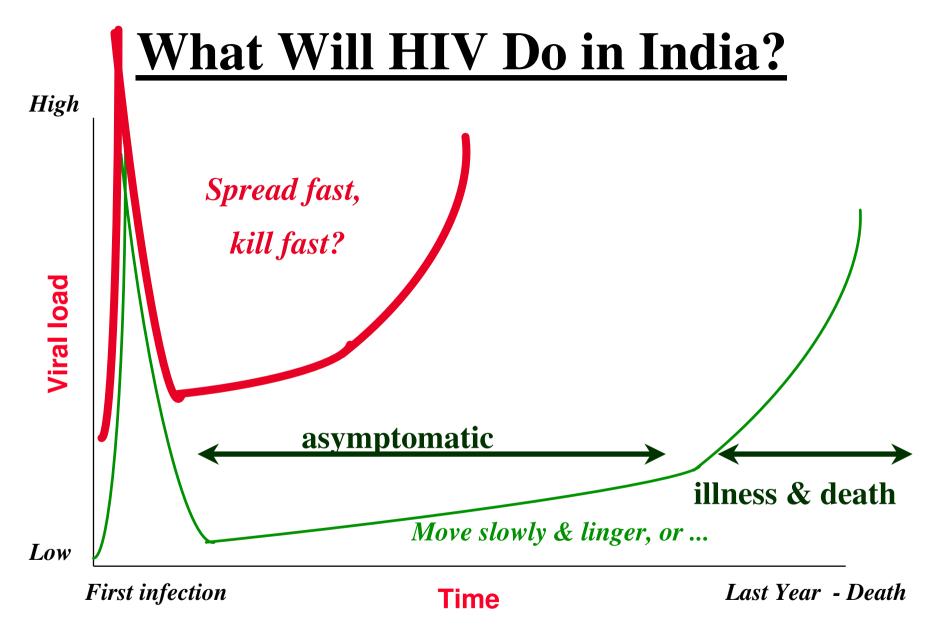


"With AIDS, life expectation in Botswana is expected to FALL by 2.3 yrs."

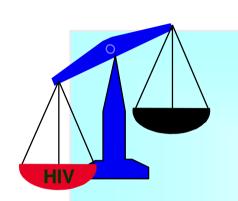


Actual Changes in Life Expectation, 1990s



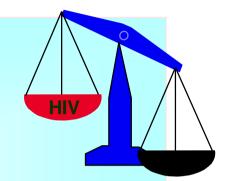


Opening Questions re: Epidemic



Unique

What is unique in India?



Indian Sexual Networks

Will they be like Africa or Thailand?

Diversity & Hierarchy

Will sexual mixing stay within social boundaries?

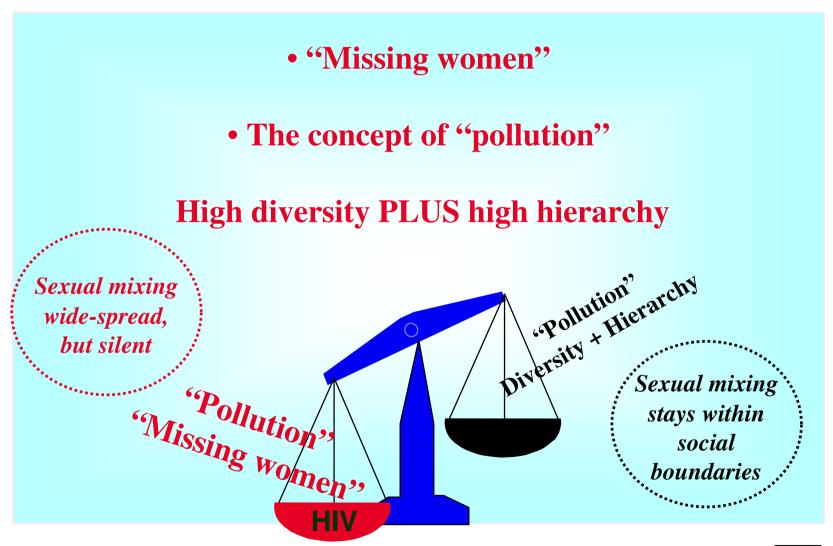
Unknown, but Dangerous

Why is the Indian epidemic unknown, but dangerous?

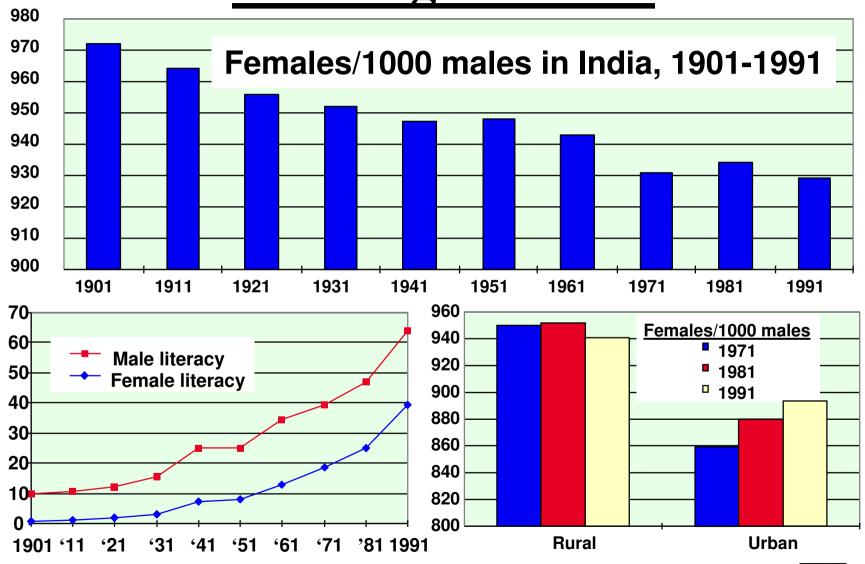
Speed & Intensity

How quickly might HIV spread in India?

What Is Unique in India?



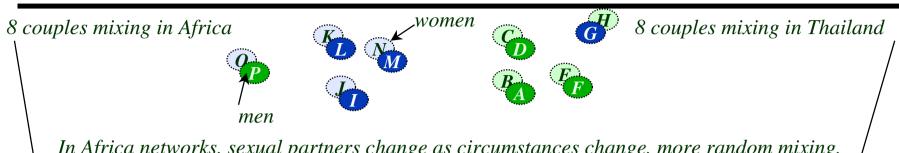
"Missing Women"



HIV in India 99, p. 24

Source: <u>Demographic Dynamism in India</u> by Smita Bhutani, 1995, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, pages 87,93,105

Sexual Networks: Like Africa or Thailand?



In Africa networks, sexual partners change as circumstances change, more random mixing.

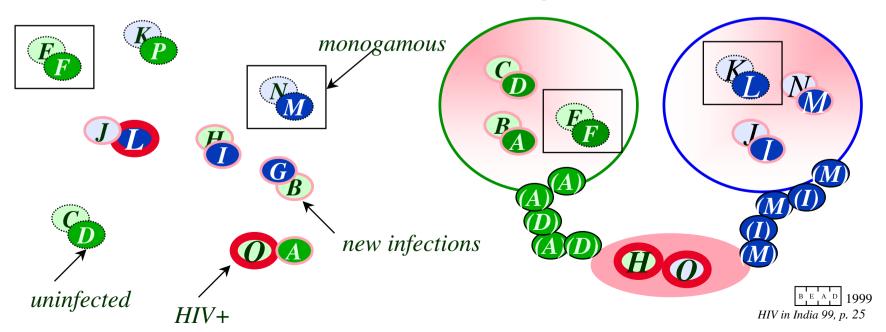
In Thailand, most women are monogamous, most men are experienced;

experience is gained through organised commercial brothels.

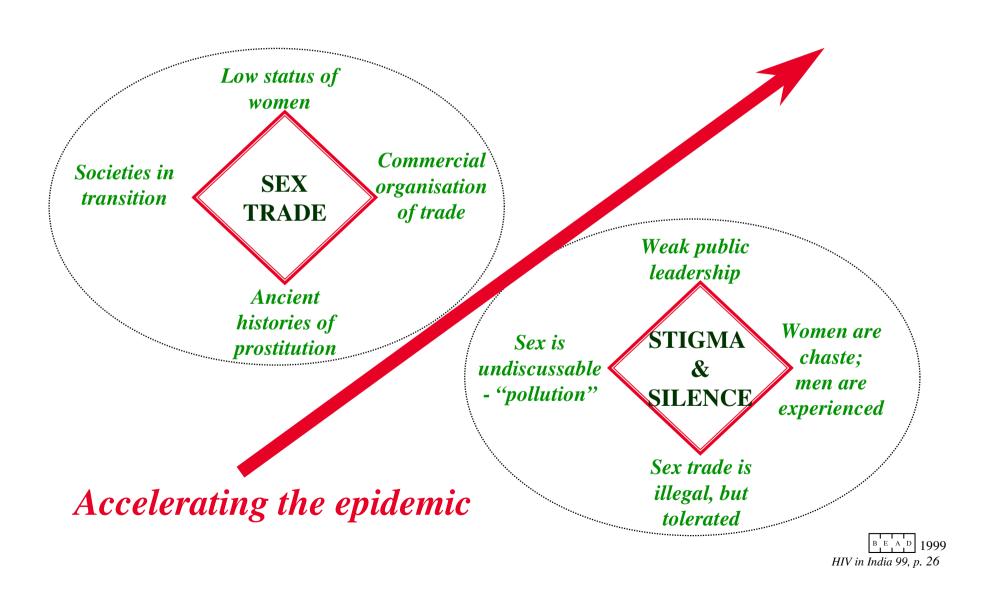
Africa: "Like this & like that" Thailand: "Like industrial production"

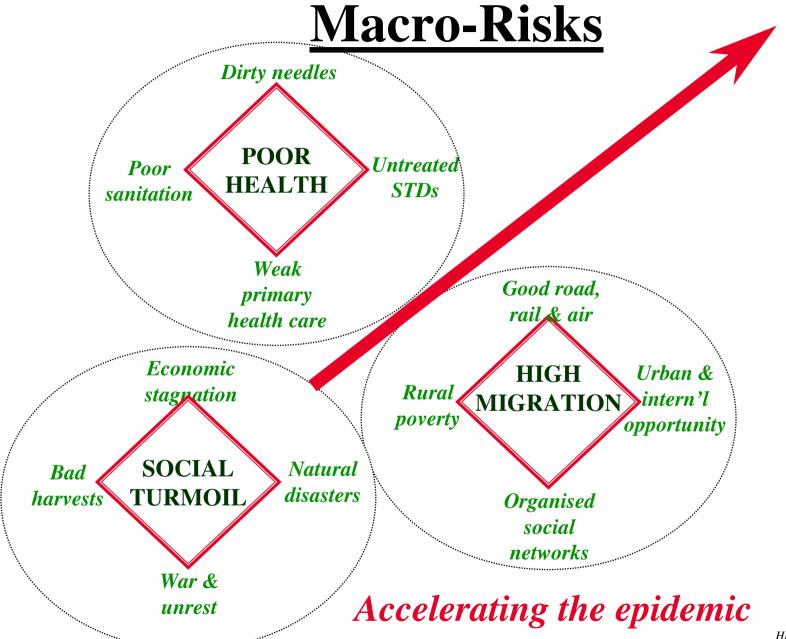
Semi-random & casual

Organised & commerical



Sex Trade & Silence





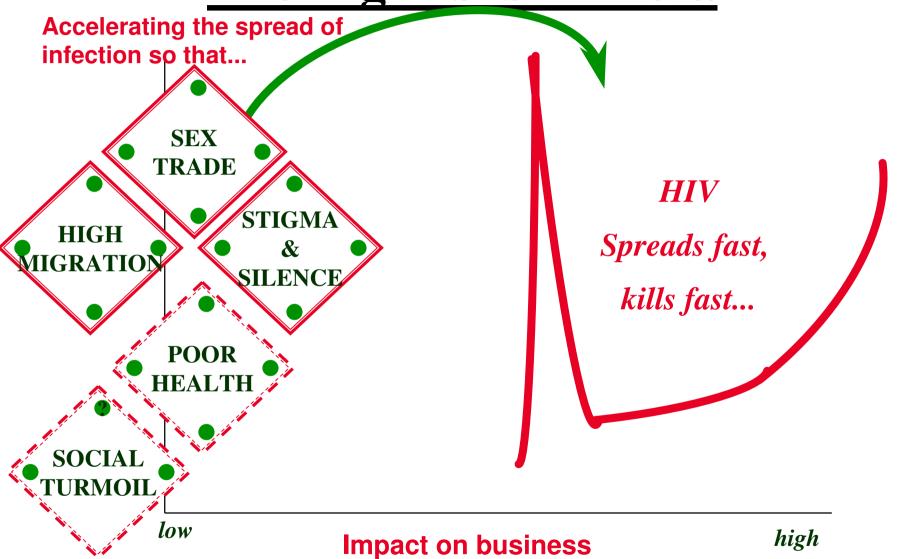


Notes on Dirty Needles

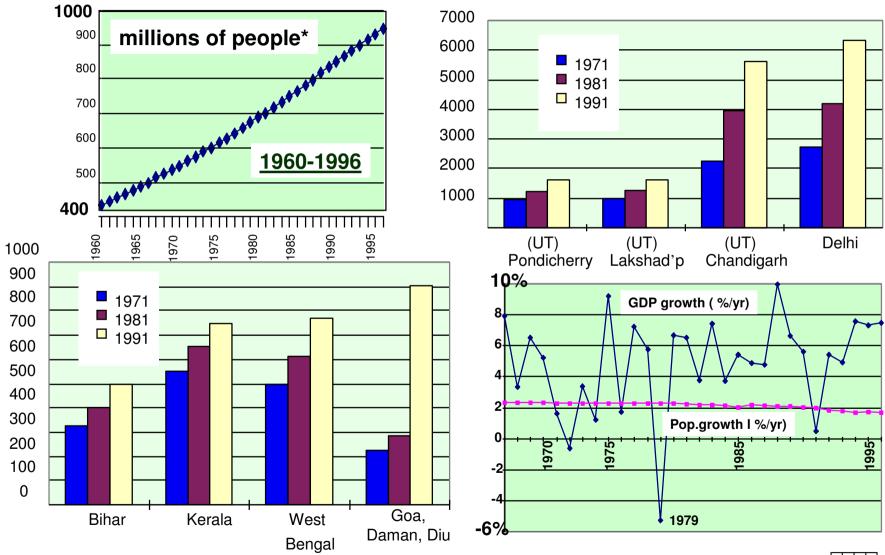
"... One study in the Jalgaon district of Maharashtra (Duggal and Amin 1989) found that in its sample, 72 per cent of diarrhoea patients, 67 per cent of malaria patients, 61 per cent of those with measles, and 76 per cent of patients with heart ailments received injections. In our study, more than 60 per cent of respondent households had members who had needed an injection or an intravenous drip in the last two years (and even this may be an underestimate), and in only about half of these cases did the respondent know with certainty that the medical staff had used a disposable needle. (Whether so-called disposable needles are ever completely disposed of or are repackaged and find their way back into hospitagls or drug stores in another issue and one that has been a matter of some concern in the popular press in recent time.)"

Source: Alaka M. Basu et al "The Household Impact of Adult Morbidity and Mortality: Some Implications of the Potential Epidemic of AIDS in India", in <u>The Economics of HIV and AIDS: the case of South and</u> South East Asia, edited by David E. Bloom, Peter Godwin. Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 119.

The Big Risks in India



Population: Growth, Density & Economy



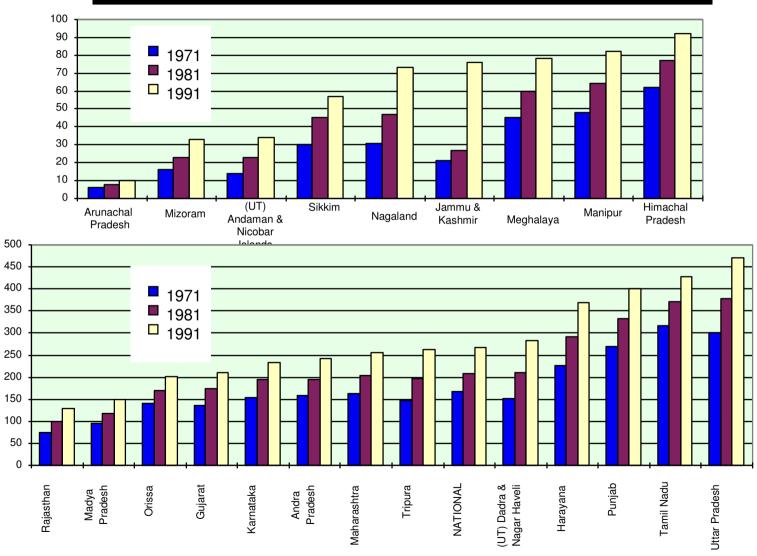
Source: <u>Demographic Dynamism in India</u> by Smita Bhutani, 1995, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, pages22, 27, 184; World Development Indicators 1998 (growth & population to 1996), World Bank



MIGRATION



Density of Population/Km2

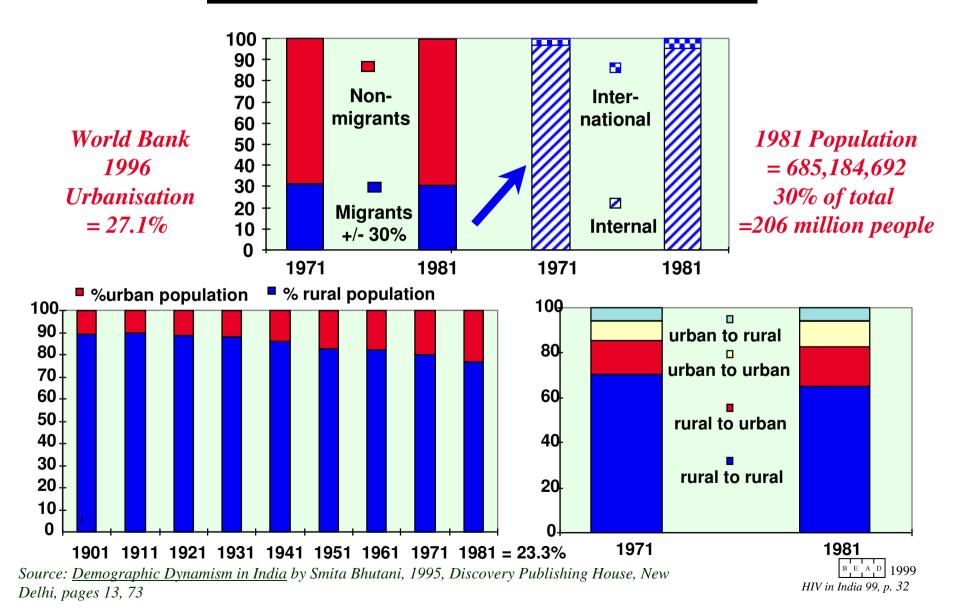




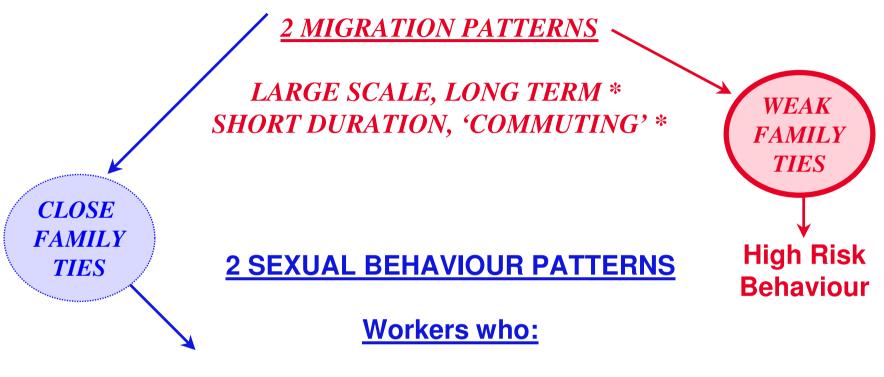




High Migration in India



Migration & Sexual Behaviour - 2 Kinds



live with family

50% less likely

to visit

commercial sex workers

visit their families often

less likely

to visit

commercial sex workers

Sources: from articles in <u>The Looming Epidemic</u>, ed. by Peter Godwin, 1998, op. cit. * Tony Barnett, "The Epidemic in Rural Communities", p. 153; **Unpublished study by Centre for Operations Research and Training, UNDP Regional HIV Project, New Delhi, 1994/5, quoted in Subhash Hira, et al "HIV Infection in the Workforce ...", p. 140-42.



MIGRATION

Migration & Sexual Behaviour - 2 Kinds

LARGE SCALE, LONG TERM *

Inter-regional migrants
(1981 Census)
10% were resident <1 year
60% were resident > 10 years

SHORT DURATION, 'COMMUTING'

56 villages in Bihar 10% resident < 3 months 47% resident 4-6 months 16% resident > 10 months

CLOSE FAMILY TIES

CORT STUDY**

of migrant workers in Mumbai & Delhi 20% of migrant workers live alone

<u>Mumbai</u>

- 46% of workers are migrants
- 56% of migrants from a distant state
 - Workers living with family
 50% less likely
 to visit commercial sex workers

Delhi

- 65% of workers are migrants
- 26% of migrants from a distant state
- Workers who visit their families often less likely

to visit commercial sex workers

Sources: from articles in <u>The Looming Epidemic</u>, ed. by Peter Godwin, 1998, op. cit. * Tony Barnett, "The Epidemic in Rural Communities", p. 153; **Unpublished study by Centre for Operations Research and Training, UNDP Regional HIV Project, New Delhi, 1994/5, quoted in Subhash Hira, et al "HIV Infection in the Workforce ...", p. 140-42.



WEAK

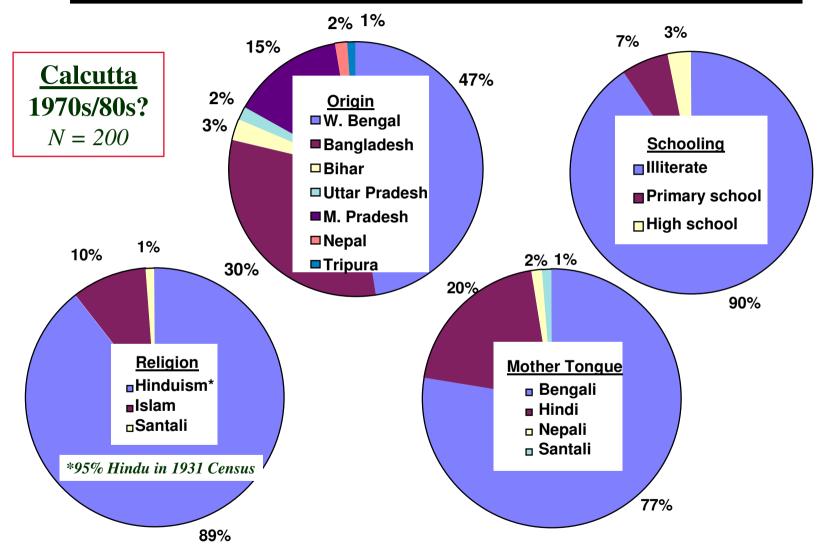
FAMILY

TIES

AIGRATION



Social Characteristics of Prostitutes









The Sex Trade: Highly Organised

++ The landlord ... the procurers or traffickers ... the police ++

The Brothel Keeper

"the brothel keeper stands in the position of an employer..."

1988 study
estimated the
sex industry was a
Rs 500 crore business
= Rs5 billion*

<u>Mashi</u>

"she runs the business"

Self-employed prostitute

"very few in number"

Adia

"Adia means half"

Chukri

"no better than a slave."





The Sex Trade: Highly Organised

++ The landlord ... the procurers or traffickers ... the police ++

1988 study
estimated the
sex industry was a
Rs 500 crore business
= Rs5 billion*

The brothel keeper

"Every brothel is run on a commercial basis. In fact, the brothel keeper stands in the position of an employer... In our country sex selling for the interest of a third party is illegal so the prostitutes have no trade union rights."

Mashi

"The male brothel keepers appoint a Mashi -- the superintendent of the brothel, for the smooth functioning of the brothel house. ... the 'Appointed Mashi' has to pay the lion's share to the male brothel keeper in whose house and on whose behalf she runs the business."

Self-employed prostitute

"... the 'self-employed' ... are <u>very few in number</u>. An Adia prostitute can become self-employed prostitute, if she can constantly raise her voice and claim 'slef-employed' status and ultimately satisfy the Mashi. This is the general rule."

Adia

"The term <u>Adia means half</u>. But, in the brothel world it means a prostitute who gets half of her income. the <u>rest half</u> goes to the credit of the Mashi concerned."

<u>Chukri</u>

"The Chukri prostitute has to satisfy all the customers ... In fact, the conditions of a Chukri prostitute is no better than a slave."

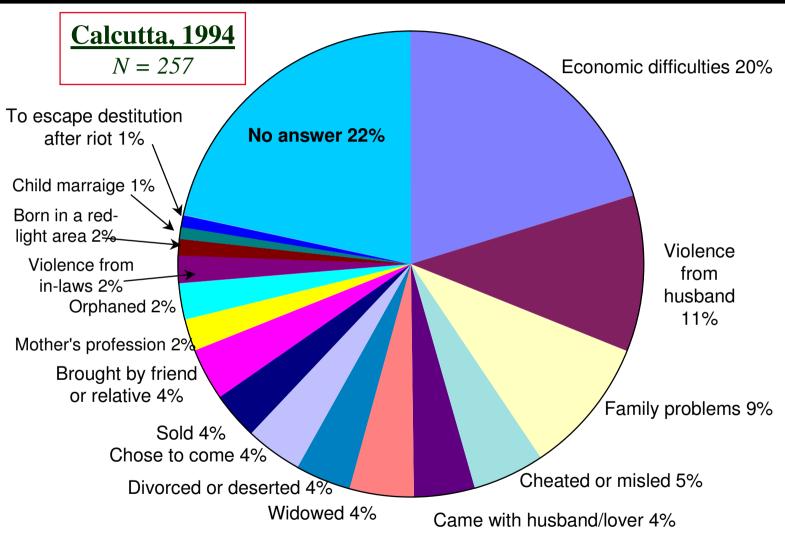






1929	U.P. Nayak Girls Protection Act	
1930	Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act	
1933 Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic		
	U.P. Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act	
1934	Bombay Devadasi Protection Act	
1935	Punjab Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act	
1947	Madras Davadasi Act	
1936	Mysore Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act	
1948	Bihar Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act	
1950	U.P. Naik Girls Protection Act	
1952	Saurashtra Preventon of Prostitution Act	
	Hyderabad Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act	2004 B.K.
1953	M.P. Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act	Patiala Suppression of Immoral
	Ajmer Prevention of Prostitution Act	Traffic Act
1956	All India Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act	
1978	All India Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Amendment Act	

Reasons for Becoming a Sex Worker



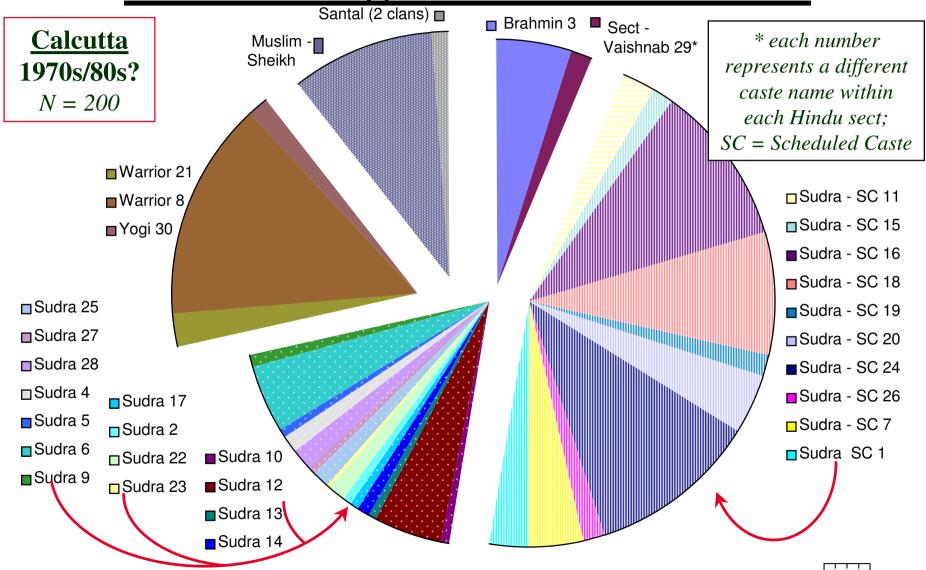


SEX TRADE

Source: Sanlaap Survey, 1994, quoted in Carolyn Sleightholm & Indrani Sinha, <u>Guilty without Trial</u>, Rutgers U. Press, 1996, p.16



Caste among Calcutta Prostitutes



Source: B. Joardar, <u>Prositution in Historical and Modern Perspectives</u>, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1984, p. 93.

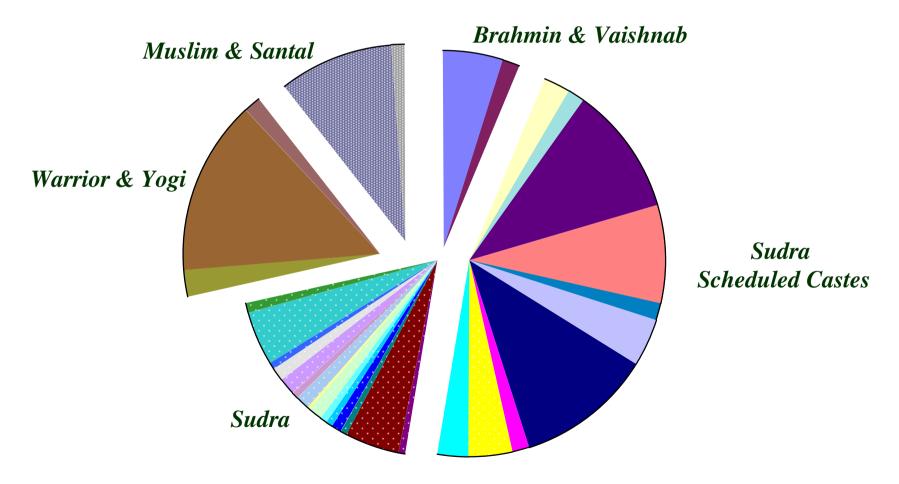




Caste among Calcutta Prostitutes

"Here, no one bothers <u>or ought to bother</u> about the caste and such like things.

But caste in Indian society dies really hard."







Inter-caste Mixing in Brothels?

The Question Remains Unanswered ... 1970s/80s?

"In West Bengal the caste rigidity in interdining has declined in the conventional world. The same is the case inside the brothel. But like conventional societies of West Bengal caste hierarchical sentiment is still there.

"In the 19th century and the beginning of this century, the prostitute used to maintain caste hierarchy and never used to take rice from the lower caste prostitutes. ... Here, no one bothers or ought to bother about the caste and such like things. But caste in Indian society dies really hard. Really, it is surprising indeed that in brothels a prostitute who is a Brahmin by her caste is held in great esteem than that of a non-Brahmin, specially lower caste prostitutes."





Stigma and Silence

The Risks of "Fieldwork"

1970s/80s?

"A few days after this I met him again and I enquired about his good news. I can till now remember that at this he was bubbling with anger and replied "Please don't talk. You are a good boy -- I thought. I could not dream of 'that' that you are" He stopped.

"...Suddenly it came in my mind that he might have seen me coming out of any brothel area. ... in fact, a few months back after doing field work in a brothel ... when I was crossing the boundary wall of the brothel area with the help of a country made ladder ('mai'), he saw me from the suburban train."

Biswanath Joardar on being snubbed by the elder brother of a friend while doing his fieldwork for <u>Prostitution in Historical and Modern Perspectives</u>, published 1984, New Delhi, quoted on p.3

Silence and Stigma in the Workplace

Interview: Peter Godwin & "S", who is HIV+

1990s

S: "Well, the private sector speaks quite 'supportively' in public, but responds in quite the opposite way when it comes to their own workforce. ... When the word gets around, employers and employees alike are panic-striken. 'His presence will affect our business' is the common reaction by employers. It is worse with the employees. People don't want to associate with him (though there are exceptions). Most people will say that they are uncomfortable working with an HIV positive employee."

Initial Answers re: Epidemic



Diversity & Hierarchy

We don't know if sexual mixing stays within social boundaries.

Unknown, but Dangerous

Silence makes the Indian epidemic unknown, but dangerous.

Speed & Intensity

How quickly might HIV spread in India?

Social Forces =>Fast Epidemic High **Powerful** driving forces indicate HIV will spread fast, kill fast ... Viral load asymptomatic illness & death There is a chance that HIV will move slowly, but ... Low First infection Last Year - Death **Time**



IV. What Is the evidence for HIV in India?

Comments & questions on U.S. Bureau of the Census data or a subscription to the CD/Rom

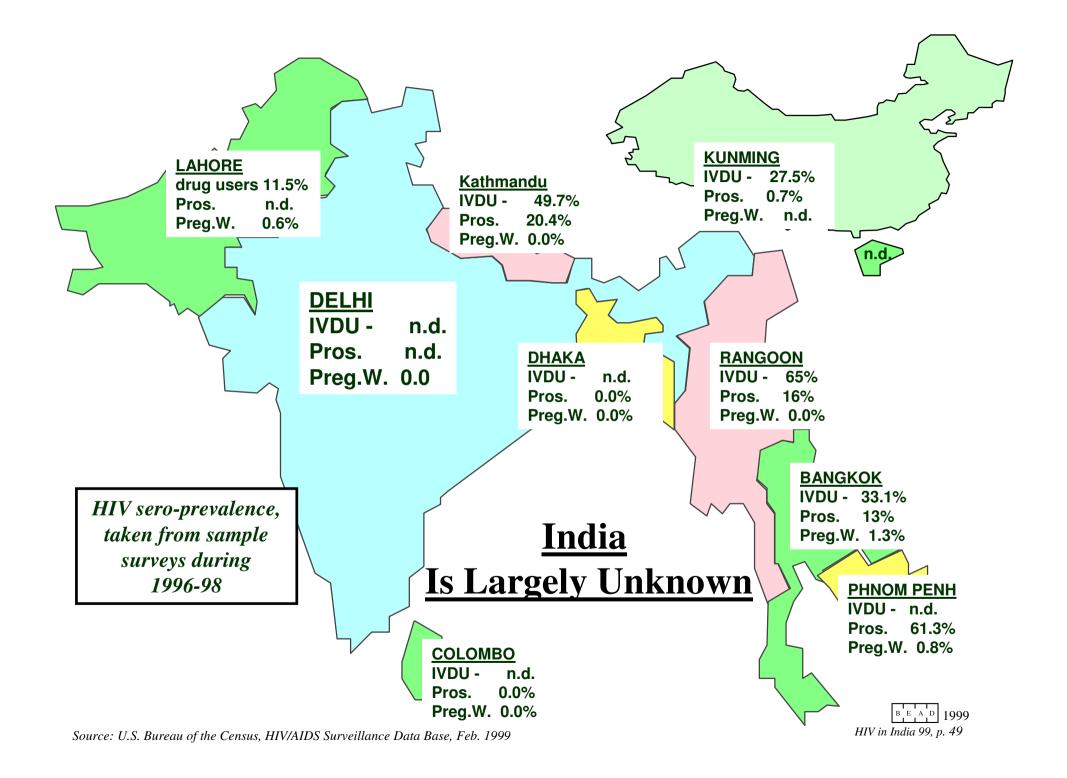
to

Karen A. Staneki (kstaneck@census.gov)

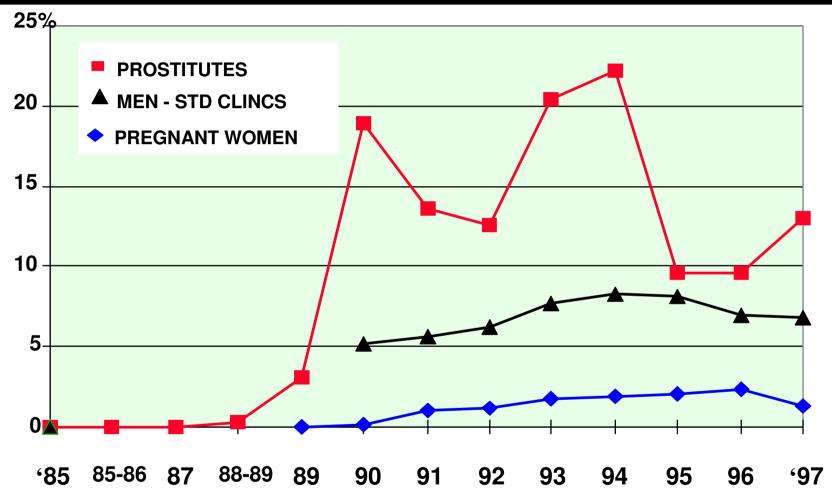
Karen A. Stanecki, Chief Health Studies Branch International Programs Center Population Division U.S. Census Bureau Washington, D.C. 20233-8860

tel: +1 301-457-1406

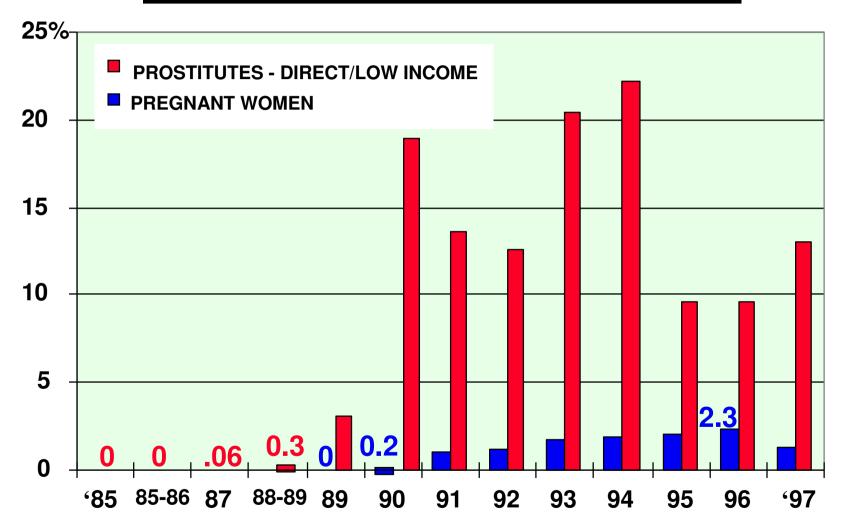
fax: +1 301-457-3034



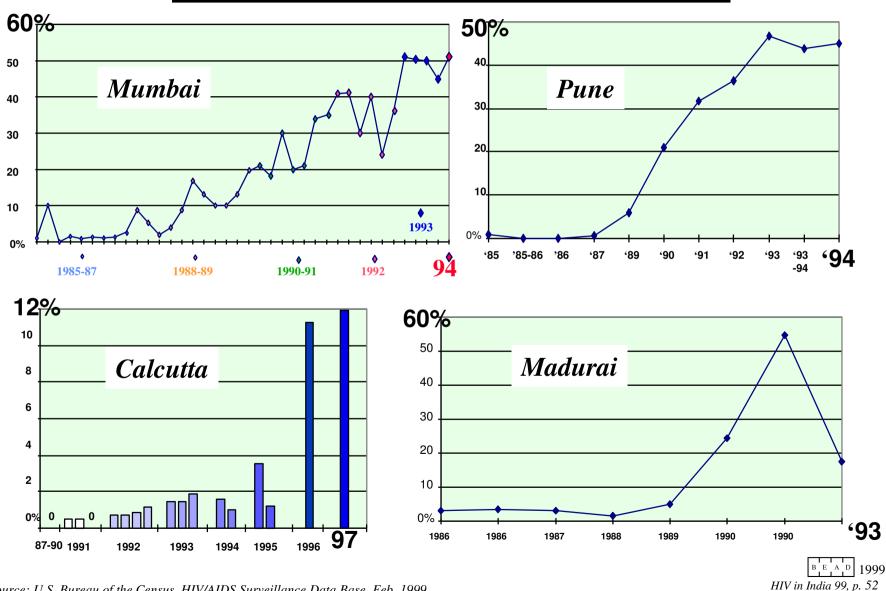
Shifts in the HIV Epidemic - Bangkok



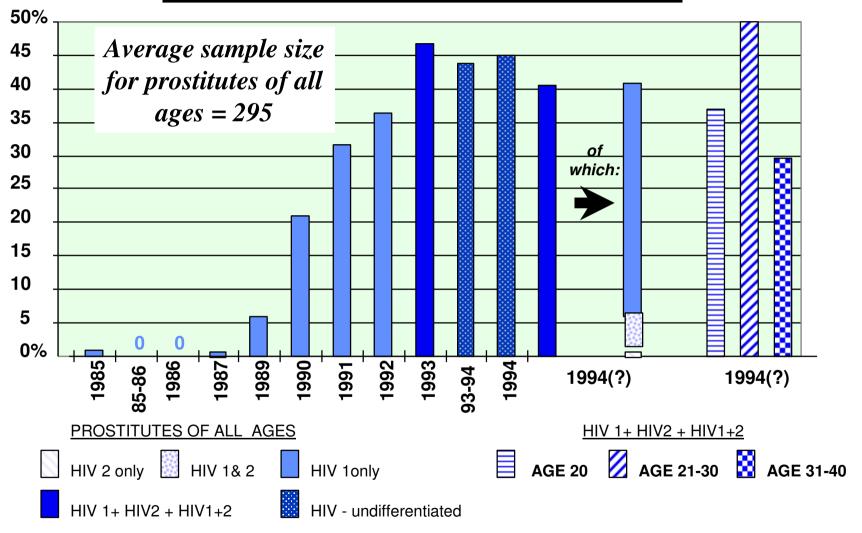
HIV+ Women in Bangkok



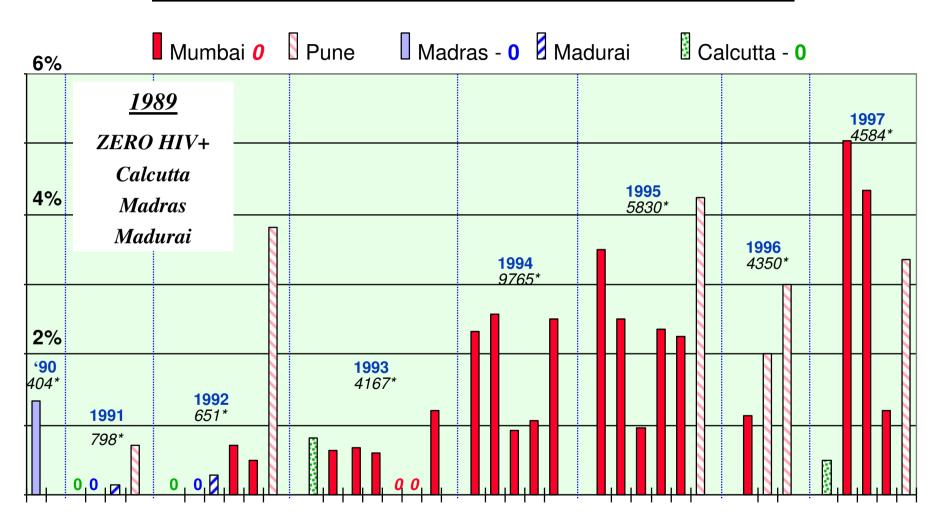
HIV+ among Prostitutes



HIV+ in Pune Prostitutes



HIV+ among Pregnant Women



^{*}average sample size, where given



At Least Five Different Epidemics

Male to Male

Noticed in Chennai (Madras)

International Migration

via Saudi Arabia & other Gulf states

Northeast, Diguised Epidemic

IVDU epidemic crossing borders with Manipur

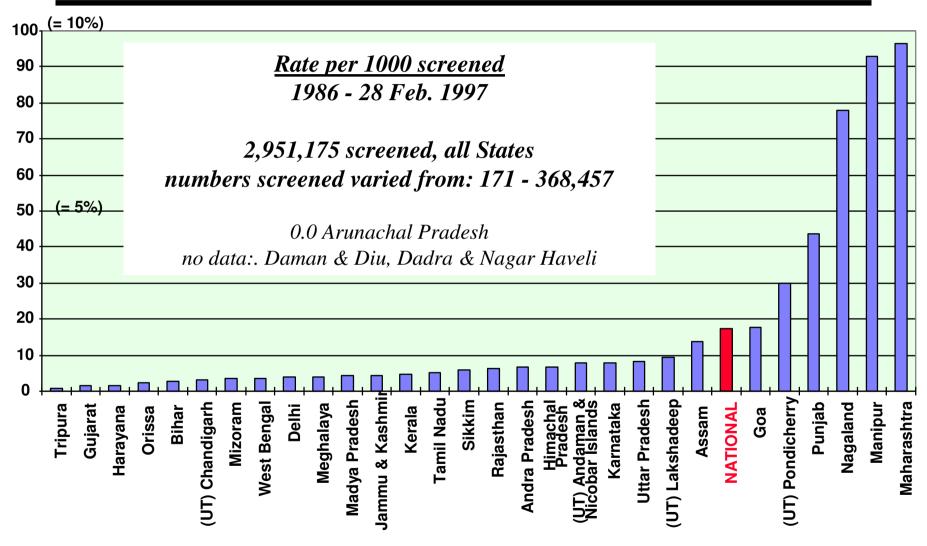
Unnoticed Rural Epidemic

Migrating & 'commuting' workers between town & country

Urban Sex Workers ==> Middle Classes

Commerical sex trade spreading HIV more widely

Cumulative HIV Statistics for India

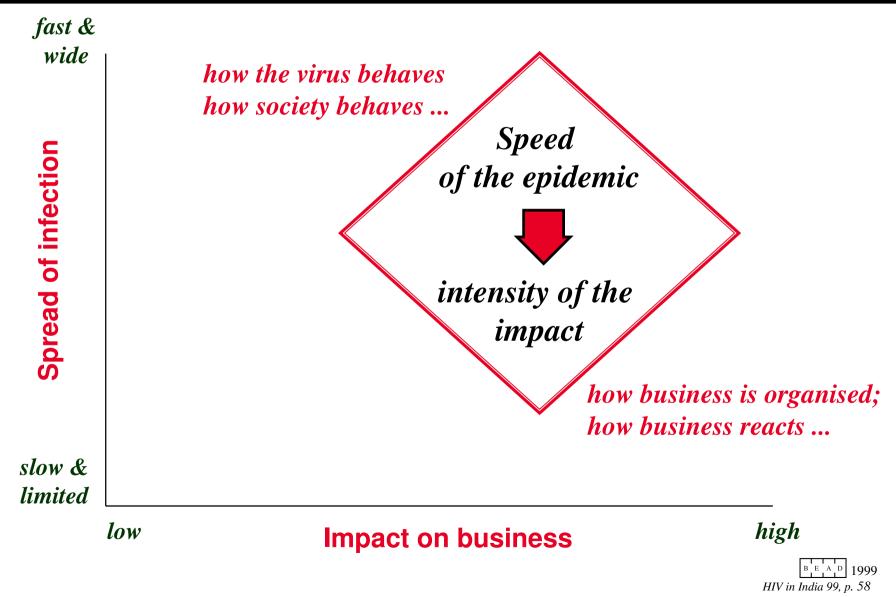


N.B. These numbers are probably biased towards high risk populations.

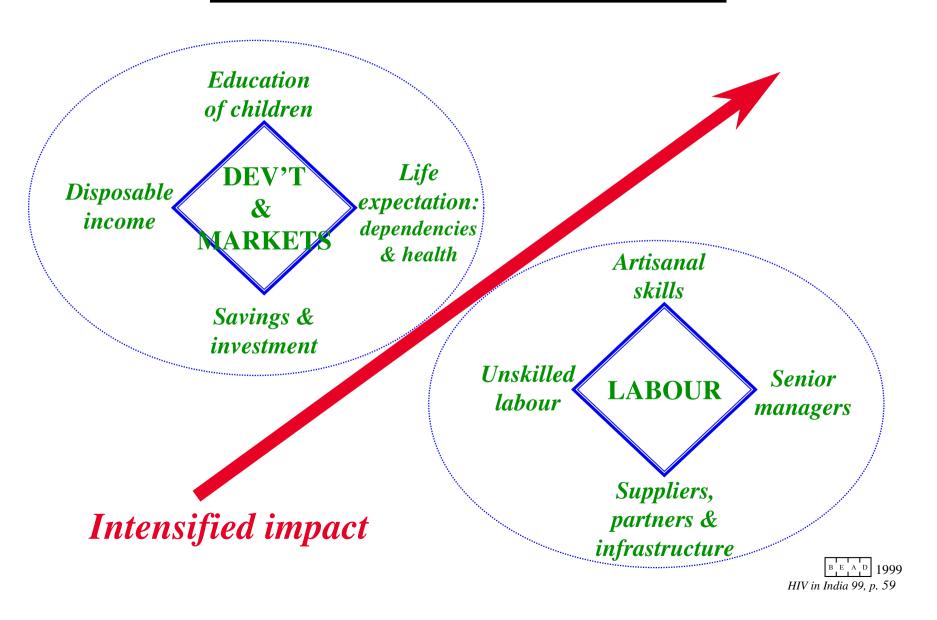


III. Possible Impacts

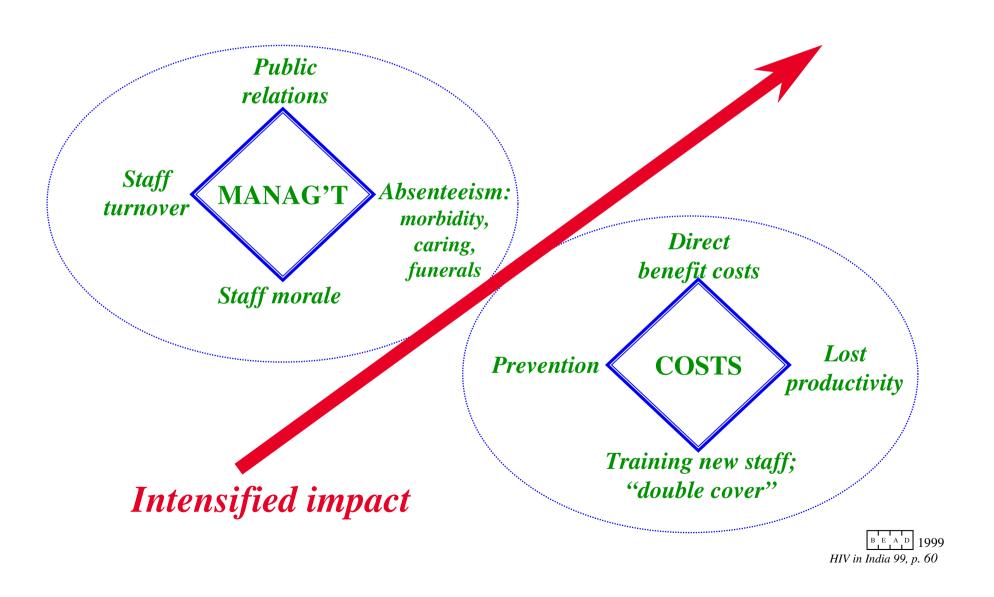
The Uncertainties of AIDS & Its Impact



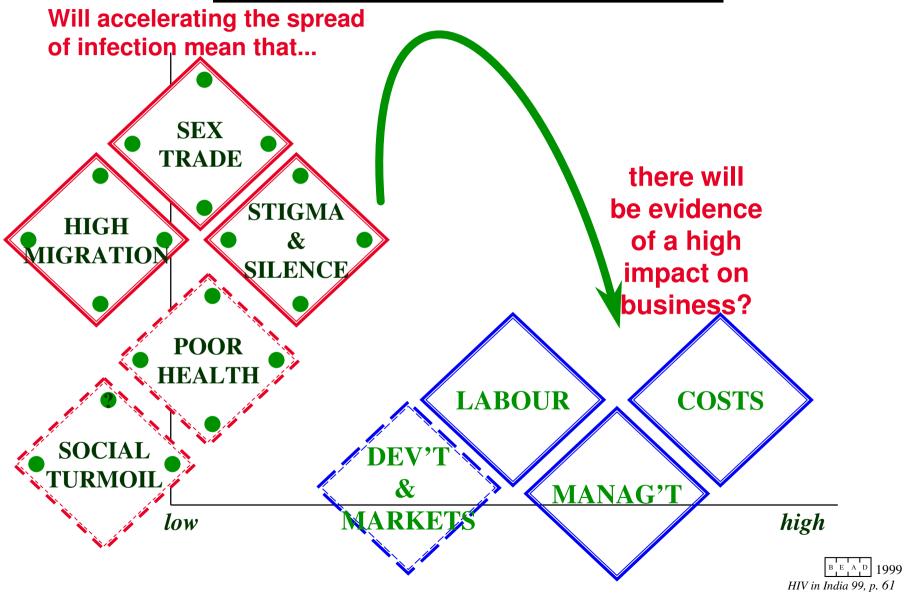
Possible Wide Impacts



Possible Immediate Impacts



The Big Risks in India



Low Impact on GDP Growth?



"Not withstanding the consensus ... there are good reasons to suspect that [studies of the impact of AIDS on GDP growth] overstate the seriousness and immediacy of the threat ..."

Backed by statistical model showing that AIDS had a:

Five Reasons:

1. Surplus labour

may mitigate output loses.

2. HIV/poverty link

better educated will take precautions

3. Normal adjustments

(both social & economic) will mitigate costs.

4. AIDS-related medical care costs

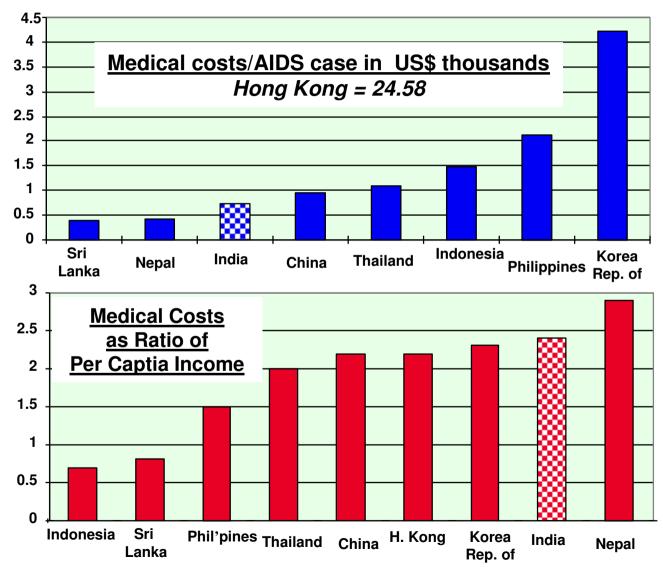
will not hit savings in longer run.

5. AIDS case projections are overstated

c.f. Thailand & USA

"statistically insignificant effect on ... growth ... controlling for other factors"

Comparative Cost of AIDS in Asia







majority from Andra Pradesh & Tamil Nadu

167 people living with HIV

mean age: 33 yrs (range: 19-65 yrs old) 82% male; 64% married; 32% single 72% had at least one child

53% had at least a bachelor's degree

(non-health)

Expenditure/month

Food 44%
Personal 25%
Rent 21%
Utilities 10%

2,257 Rs

85%

did not know when infected 26 months - knowledge 40 months infection

37% at least one condition/illness

(all conditions)

Health Expenditure

Medicines 54%

Consultations 20%

Diagnostics 18%

Transport 7%

4,017 Rs







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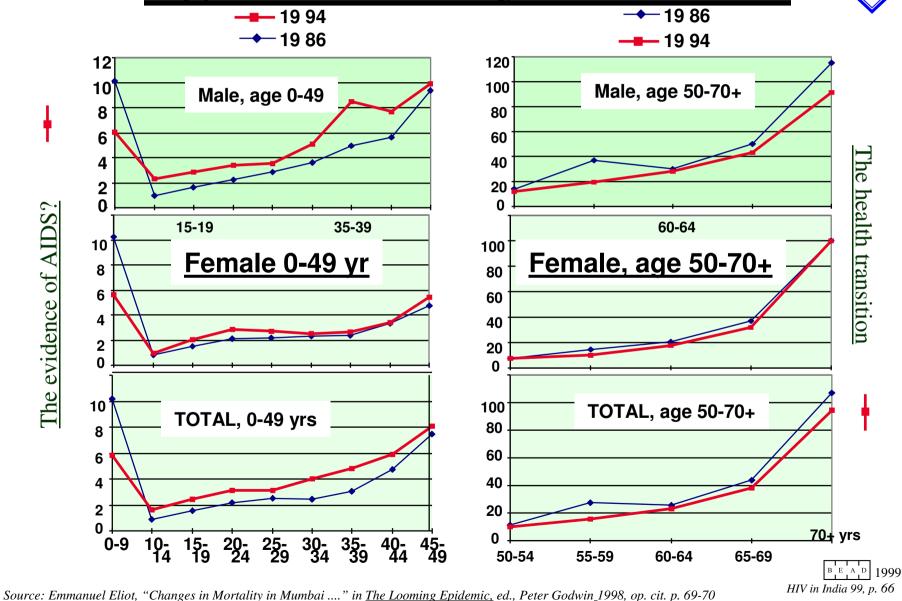
Health Expenditure

4,017 Rs

Deaths per 1000

Age & Mortality in Mumbai







Occupations/Education of HIV+

Among 3520 HIV+ people referred to AIDS Research & Control Centre, J.J. Hospital, Mumbai (p. 142)

HIV+ Individuals:	Males	Females
- High school or higher ed.	27%	18%
- In skilled work	41%	
- Housewives		68%

Studies of Industrial labour in Madras, Delhi & Mumbai Transport workers in Bengal & Indian Railways - 1994/95

Engaged in multi-partner sex	Workers
- Self-reporting	20-25%
with condom use	5%
- Said colleagues did	54%
- HIV+ truck-drivers Calcutta & Kashmir	7-10%





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Occupations/Education of HIV+

1994/95 studies of Industrial labour in Madras, Delhi & Mumbai & Transport workers in Bengal & Indian Railways

54%

"of colleagues"

Engaged in multi-partner sex	Workers
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Household Cost of HIV

Interview: Peter Godwin & "S", who is HIV+ 1990s

S: "In my own preliminary survey of costs with 47 people in Madras city, 14 women and 33 men, I found that treatment costs were 56% of household expenditure -- that is more than half of what the household was spending on survival. ...

"One of the most important effects of HIV/AIDS here in India starts right from the diagnosis. ... people with HIV frantically start to search for treatment, for a cure, right from their day of diagnosis. Consequently they exhaust all their resources. Because of this, households experience some impact even before, or without any illness or death among their own members."





Among 167 HIV+ People

mean number of days of illness = 193 days over 26-40 months*

Among Three Companies in Madras**

Medical Cause	% of all lost hours
1 case of AIDS	3%
TB	11%
Viral fever	62%
Accidents/injuries	8%
· ·	

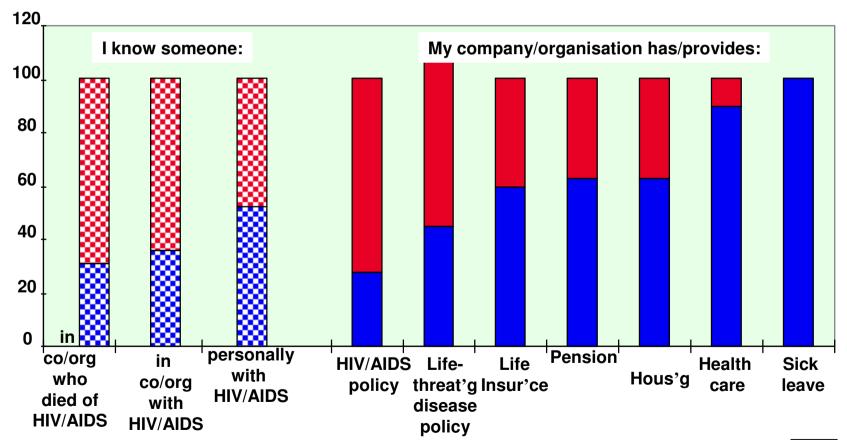
Experience with HIV/AIDS



■%no

■%yes

Among participants at HIV/AIDS Workshop organised by Confederation of Indian Industries & British Council, New Delhi, 1996



Employment Costs of HIV/AIDS

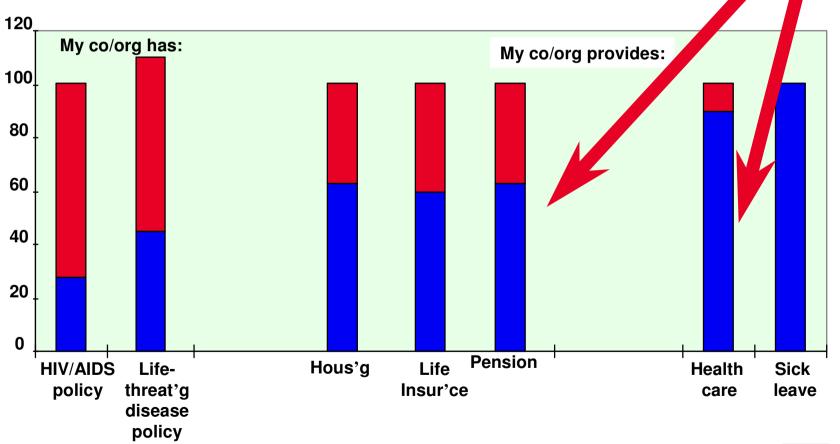
COSTS

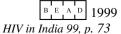


■%yes

Among participants at HIV/AIDS Workshop organised by

Confederation of Indian Industries & British Council, New Delhi, 199





V. Corporate responses

Business Coalitions

Thailand

Malaysia

Botswana

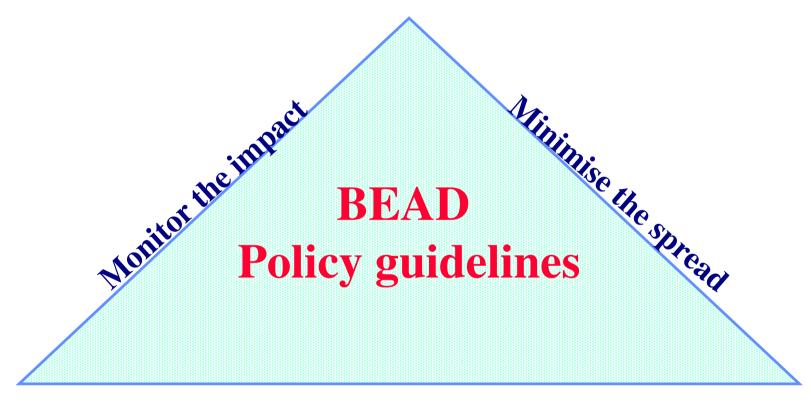
South Africa

United States

London - BEAD

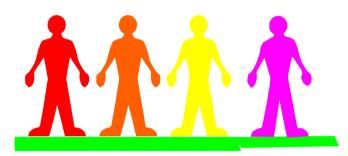


"Costly Diseases in Developing Countries"



Manage the consequences

Monitor: "Inform Yourself"



Profile of the work force: age, sex, health, availability

Employment costs & benefits

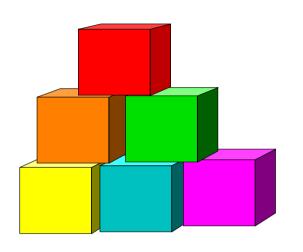




Profile of community health

Sources of help and information

Minimise the Spread



Simple Measures

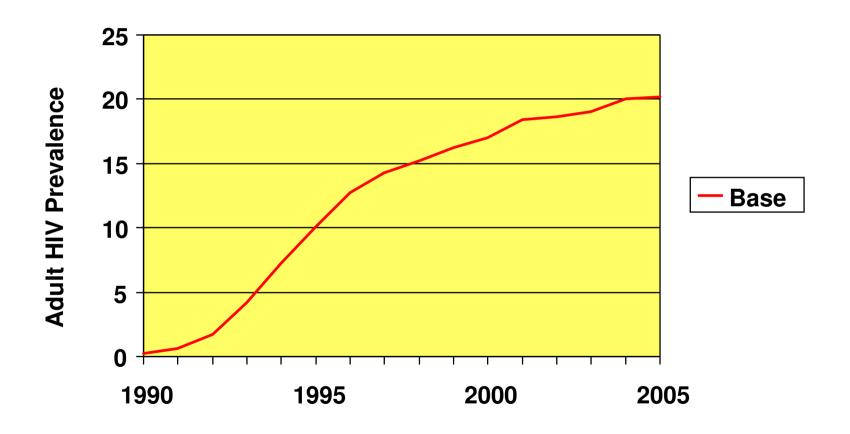
- free/cheap condoms
- clean/disposable needles
- clean water for bathing
 - treat STDs
- general education on hygiene

Education in Work Force & Community

- management committment
- work force participation
 - continuity
 - appropriate messages
 - peer education

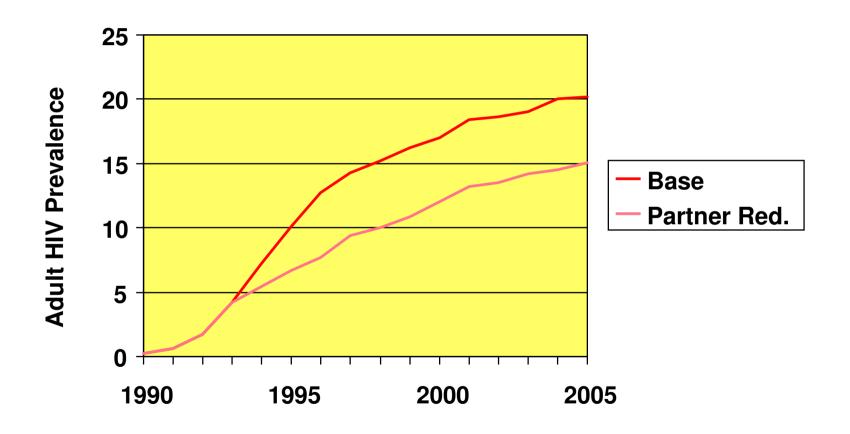


Work with others



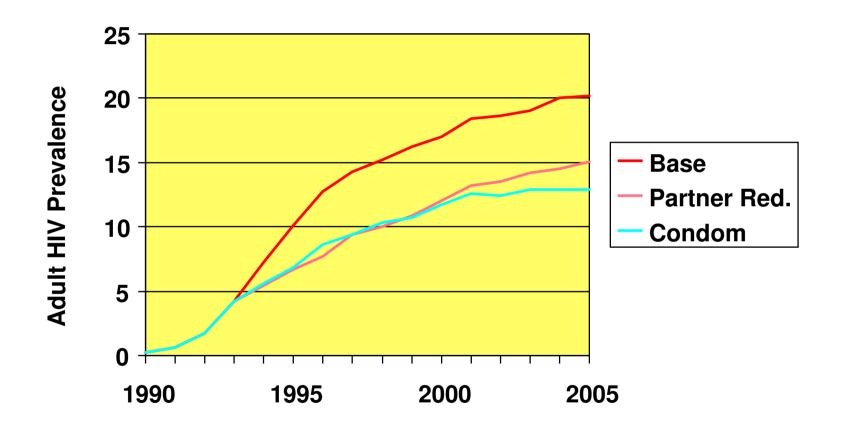
Based on simulation modeling of typical high prevalence urban areas.

Source: AIM 1999



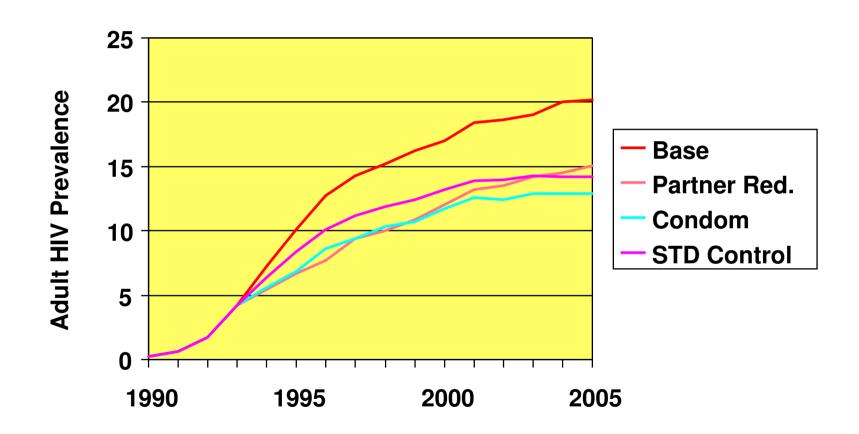
Based on simulation modeling of typical high prevalence urban areas.

Source: AIM 1999

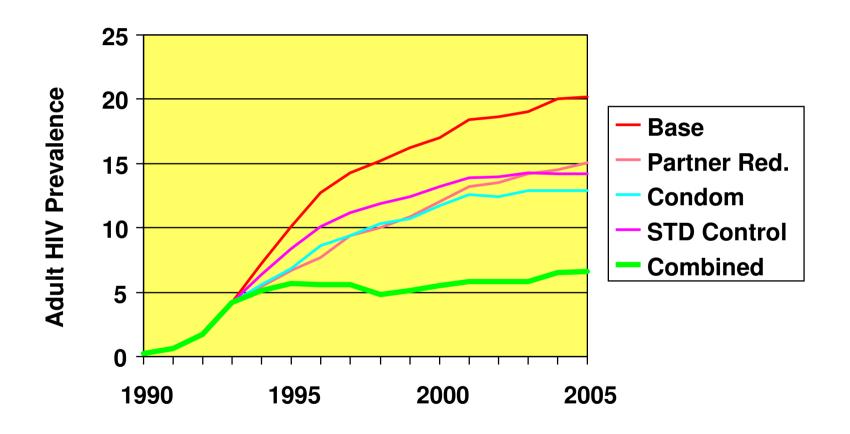


Based on simulation modeling of typical high prevalence urban areas.

Source: AIM 1999

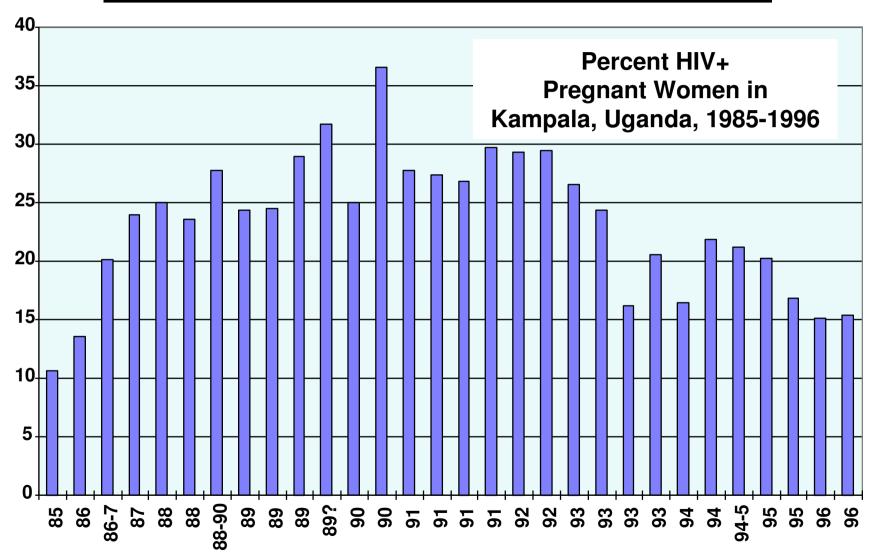


Based on simulation modeling of typical high prevalence urban areas.

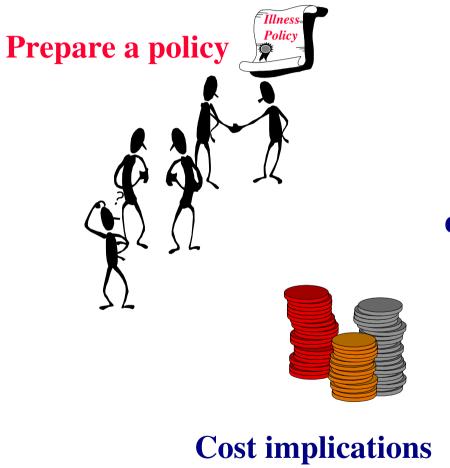


Based on simulation modeling of typical high prevalence urban areas.

The Achievements of Uganda



Manage the Consequences





Sickness & disability at work



Recurrent dilemmas



Managing the Consequences

Prepare a policy on serious illness

- Who is responsible?
- Who should be consulted?
- Work force involvement
- What are the financial limits?
- What are the time limits?

Cost implications

- The need for monitoring
- Medical
- Insurance
- Provident funds
- Pension funds
- Recruitment, training & productivity
- Education

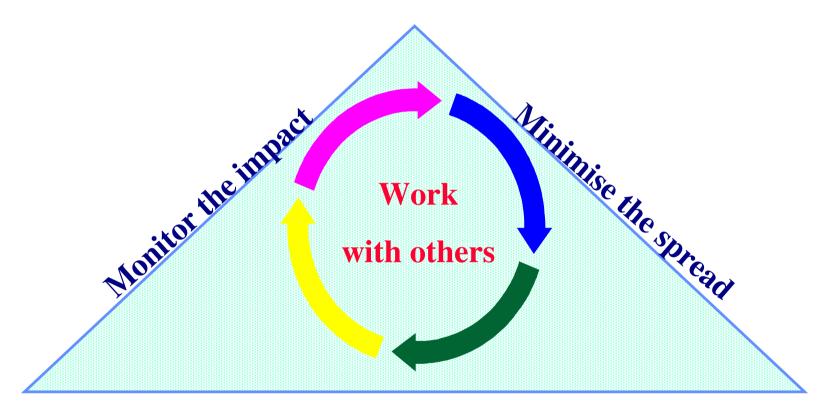
Sickness & disability at work

- Confidentiality
- Absence due to chronic illness
- Medical treatment
- Other entitlements

Recurrent dilemmas

- Pre-employment medicals
- Special risks
- Victimisation
- Strategic Review

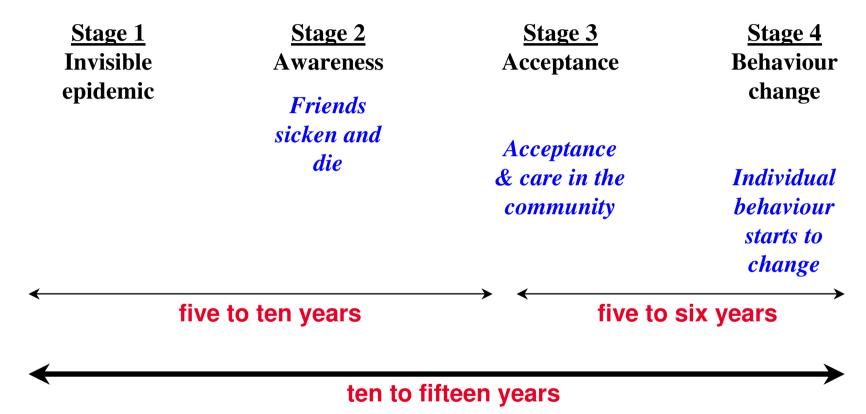
We CAN Reduce the Potential for Disease



Manage the consequences

The Lesson of AIDS

Time needed to change behaviour



The Paradox of AIDS:

No sign of disease -- no sign of success

Source: First BEAD Group Seminar, April 1992

B E A D 1999 HIV in India 99, p. 88

V. Conclusion

Silence is deadly.