

HIV and sex-work related stigma and discrimination: women's experiences from 14 sites across Zimbabwe

Hargreaves JR, Busza J, Mushati P, Fearon E, Cowan FM

James Hargreaves

Director, Centre for Evaluation LSHTM
evaluation.lshtm.ac.uk

Reader in Epidemiology and Evaluation

Department of Social and Environmental Health
Faculty of Public Health and Policy



What is stigma?

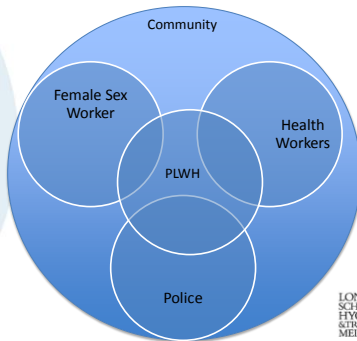
- "the co-occurrence of labelling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination in a context in which power is exercised"

Link & Phelan

- Manifestations include internalised stigma (e.g. feeling of shame) and enacted stigma (e.g. gossip, verbal abuse, denial of health services, physical abuse)
- Discrimination is a constitutive feature of stigma
 - Individual level: unequal treatment that arises from membership in a particular social group
 - Structural level: societal conditions that constrain an individual's opportunities, resources, and well-being



Intersecting stigma

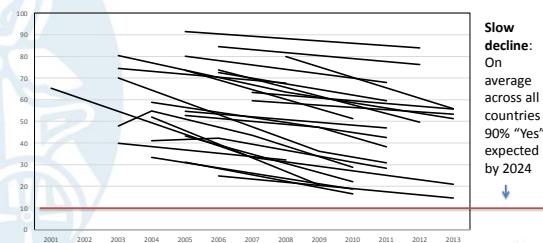


- Different forms of stigma can overlap or layer, building on existing attitudes in society
- Sex work is stigmatised and under legal restriction in many countries
- Legal frameworks can perpetuate / condone human rights violations and re-enforce negative attitudes about sex work
- HIV stigma reduction, in multi-media and training of health workers, has emphasised that anyone can be infected



Normalising HIV?

% "No" responses to the question "Would you buy fresh vegetables from a shopkeeper or vendor if you knew that this person had the AIDS virus?" among women from 62 nationally-representative surveys in 24 countries (2001-2013)



Countries included: Benin, Cameroon, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, DRC, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe



Aim

- To explore
 - Prevalence of stigma manifestations among female sex workers with a high burden of HIV in Zimbabwe
 - Differences in whether stigma manifestations are reported as associated with living with HIV or working as a sex worker



Methods

- Respondent driven sampling surveys of female sex workers from 14 sites (6-8 seeds, 5 waves), conducted as part of the SAPHH-Ire trial in Zimbabwe
- Calculate prevalence of stigma manifestations across all sites
 - Because “of my work as a sex worker”
 - Questions asked only of those reporting a previous positive HIV test about “how you feel about your own HIV positive status”
- Manifestations
 - Internalised stigma:
 - Have you felt ashamed?
 - Have you lost respect or standing?
 - Experienced stigma
 - Have you been talked badly about?
 - Have you been denied health services?
 - Have you been verbally assaulted?



Characteristics

Characteristics (%)		Self-reported HIV Positive	Self-reported negative/never tested
		1118	1604
Age (years)	(mean)	34.4 (31.6-36.5)	28.6 (25.4-32.1)
Highest education	None/primary	44.0 (26.7-67.1)	31.7 (13.1-36.9)
	Secondary	56.0 (32.9-73.3)	68.3 (53.1-86.9)
Marital Status	Formerly married	86.7 (71.9-97.9)	77.9 (50.9-91.6)
	Currently married/living together	1.0 (0-5.1)	1.0 (0-3.6)
	Never married	12.2 (2.1-28.0)	21.1 (8.4-47.5)
Tested HIV positive		96.2 (84.7-100)	34.0 (18.5-50.0)
Age began sex work	(mean)	26.2 (24.3-28.4)	23.4 (22.2-24.8)
No. clients per week	(median)	4.4 (3-7)	4.4 (3-7)

*Mean of 14 site estimates, (minimum, maximum)



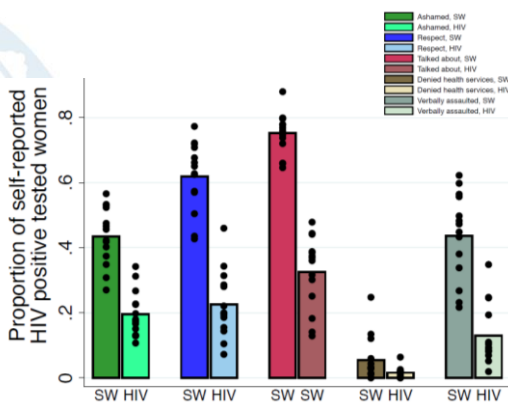
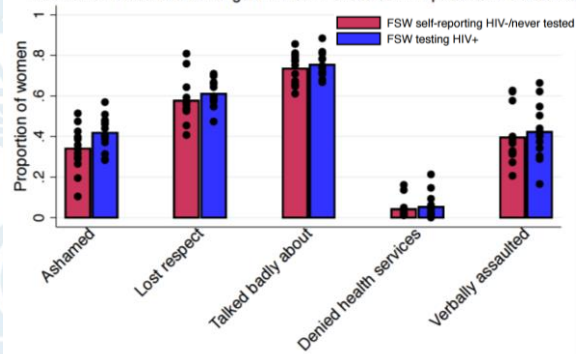
Harassment, stigma and violence

	Self-reported HIV Positive	Self-reported HIV negative/never tested
Ever physically assaulted for being HIV+	4.1 (0-19.8)	-
Ever physical partner violence	43.9 (14.9-70.9)	38.4 (14.8-62.6)
Ever physical violence from a client	30.8 (7.6-54.5)	26.2 (8.0-52.0)
Experienced physical violence from police last 12 months	10.2 (1.8-27.0)	9.2 (1.5-24.1)
Experienced sexual violence from police last 12 months	4.3 (0-9.7)	4.6 (0-10.6)
Raped in the last 12 months	5.2 (0.5-9.3)	2.8 (0-9.8)

*Mean of 14 site estimates, (minimum, maximum)



Sex work related stigma amongst FSW reporting they are HIV negative or had never tested and amongst women who tested HIV positive in the survey



Discussion

- Female sex workers in 14 sites in Zimbabwe have a very high prevalence of HIV
 - Experience high levels of both “internalised” and “experienced” stigma
 - Some evidence that self-reported HIV-positive women are 2-3 times more likely to report these experiences because of their involvement in sex work than because of their HIV-infection status
 - This is preliminary work ... we welcome thoughts
 - Are these patterns reflective of successful anti-HIV-stigma campaigns, but residual stigma in relation to sex work
- “You are wasting our drugs” quote from Mtetwa, 2014



Acknowledgements



Funders

