

Situational Analysis

HIV rates are increasing in the general population in India. A major source of transmission is men who become infected through unprotected sex with infected women, or other men or both, and transmit infection to other partners.

Alcohol use is rising exponentially across all classes and states in India due to international and internal recognition of a growing market for beer, wine and hard liquor. In Maharashtra, a wine growing state, the government desires to increase tax revenue by promoting the sale and use of wine. Part of the promotional campaign involves reframing wine as "non-alcohol". International and India-based research strongly suggests the role of alcohol as a facilitator of unprotected sex and thus HIV transmission in India and elsewhere.

In the Mumbai metropolitan area, a recent crackdown on homebrew and bar girls shifted use of alcohol to cheap, sometimes adulterated country liquor, and has decentralized although not disrupted the informal sex trade.



Bombay's barmaids stage protest. BBC South Asia, Aug. 20, 2004

Maharashtra shuts dance-girl bars

The state of Maharashtra says it is closing its numerous dance bars because they are a breeding ground for crime and prostitution. "It has been seen that a lot of youths in these [rural] areas splurge money in these bars and indulge in crimes. On an immediate basis, the licenses of these bars will be cancelled," Mr Patil said. BBC South Asia, March 2005

Bombay's barmaids stage protest

In an effort to regulate their work, the Maharashtra government recently announced a slew of restrictions in dance bars. It proposed a three-foot wall, in addition to a minimum five-foot distance between the dancing girls and their patrons; a ban on short and revealing clothes; no tips directly to the girls; and the maintenance of a record of all dancers. The state government wants these restrictions to be implemented immediately. However, dance bar owners say they want time, and that they would like to discuss the matter with the government.

Presentation AIMS

ASHRA is a qualitative/quantitative study that assesses the role of alcohol in facilitating sexual behavior and unprotected sex among men between the ages of 18 and 40 in low income/slum areas of Mumbai. Selected qualitative data obtained from social and cognitive mapping and in-depth interviews are used:

- To examine spatial relationships between alcohol accessibility and sexual opportunities.
- To describe the cultural associations between men's social activities, drinking and sex using cognitive mapping techniques.
- To identify cultural scripts for drinking and for sex in association with alcohol use in key informant interviews (N=49).
- To identify interpersonal scripts that highlight protected and unprotected sexual situations, in individual level critical events (N=48).
- To outline implications for HIV risk prevention

Study Methods

Qualitative methods (Year I) to identify social context of alcohol use, and community and individual beliefs about and alcohol use and sex:

- Social mapping
- Geographic mapping of locations where risky activities occur
- In-depth key informant interviews
- Participant observation in bars and community locations
- In-depth interviews with drinking men
- In-depth interviews with wives of drinking men

Quantitative methods (Year II) to determine predictors of alcohol use and unprotected sex, and to identify activity sequences that differentiate alternative social and spatial pathways to sexual risk:

- Pilot survey on predictors of drinking and sexual risk exposure in men between the ages of 16 and 40
- Conduct survey with 800 alcohol users

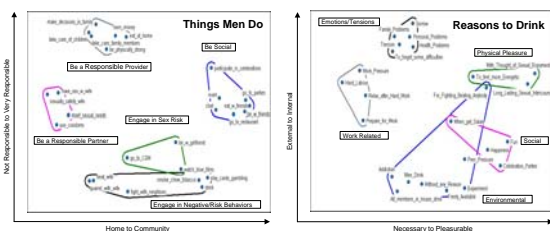
Cognition and Scripting

Cultural scripts are shared, patterned cognitive representations of events and event sequences applied to a cultural domain such as sex. They are summaries of larger shared sets of cultural assumptions, beliefs and understandings about behaviors, events and their explanations that are cognitively stored and drawn upon for use in specific situations. They integrate cultural meanings and rules for sexual and drinking behavior with constructed notions of sexuality, perceived sexual opportunities and actual responses and internalized beliefs and attitudes about sex, sexual meaning and gender roles. Script theory has been applied primarily to the study of sexuality but until now, rarely applied to other cultural domains such as substance use.

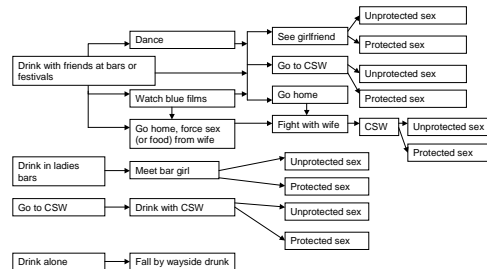
Following Simon and Gagnon (1985) we note that scripts function at the cultural level (cultural scenarios), the interpersonal level (interpersonal scripts) and the individual (intrapyschic) level. They are operationalized below as event sequences and exemplified through brief case examples at the cultural (perceived) and individual interpersonal (behavioral) levels. Interpersonal responses are subject to contextual influences and differ from cultural responses, over time, by setting and by partner.

Cognitive Maps

Cognitive maps reflect relationships among items in a cultural domain based on free listing. Multi-dimensional scaling and cluster analysis produce a cultural level picture of proximities among items. These maps illustrate the cultural level associations among activities men engage in, and their reasons for drinking. Clusters are labeled.



Cultural Level Behavioral Sequences: Married Men

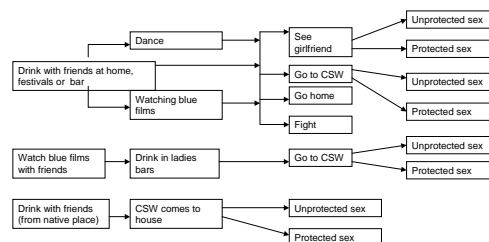


"If anyone stops indulging in risk behavior after marriage his friends start commenting that you have become slave to your wife and they lure him back to his old habits. None have good jobs so it is quite common that their newly-wed wives start complaining about lack of money to run household and other family expenses. Constant fights and regular arguments lead to disharmony in their relationship leading to heavy alcohol consumption by husband and incidences of domestic violence. Over a period of time husband starts indulging in risk behavior once again."

Dimensions of Cultural Scripts

- Alcohol
 - Has social and sexual benefits
 - Is widely accepted
 - Can/should be controlled
 - Cost is associated with social status and prestige
 - Is a component of festivals
- Sex
 - Men have performance concerns in relation to perception of women's desires
 - Men expected to initiate sex with wives but not with CSWs
 - Blue films are a valued source of information on desirable sexual behaviors
- Male Gender Roles
 - Financial responsibilities to household; sexual to wife
 - Right to obtain desires including food and sexual satisfaction on demand
 - Right to pursue other partners if spouse refuses
- Food (especially meat and spices) balances alcohol consumption
- Youth-specific scripts
 - Youth should contribute to families
 - Youth who leave school get involved in risk behavior (drink, gamble, pickpocket, roaming, teasing girls)
 - Youth commonly drink and visit commercial sex workers
- Condoms
 - Reduce pleasure
 - Must be used with CSWs, not wives (not with "my property")

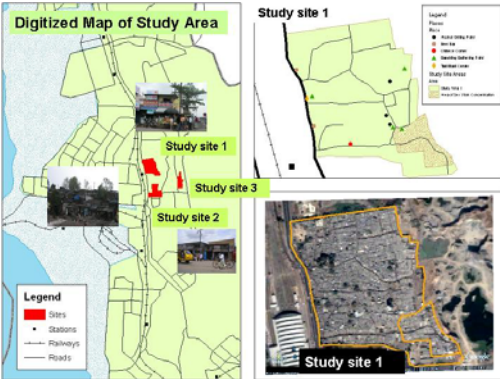
Cultural Level Behavioral Sequences: Unmarried Youth



"Very rarely youth study up to graduation. They do not get the good and permanent job afterwards. Because now in India permanent jobs are very very less as compared to ever increasing population....there are more school drop outs....more unemployed. They develop bad habits like charas, ganja, drinking, and pick pocketing. So to get rid of their 'bad hits' and to satisfy their own needs, youth do not give money to their parents for running the house. They waste their earnings on the drinking, ganja and friends."

Description of Study Area

The study area consists of three slum communities in greater Mumbai, each of which has a different history and residential/ business pattern. The communities are readily accessible via rail and highway routes and situated near major shopping center and beaches, a large wholesale market and a central sex work area. A nearby industrial zone employs local full time and daily workers consisting of approximately 120,000 residents, mainly migrant workers from North, West and South India. Each community includes wine shops, drinking establishments, sites where "risky" lifestyle behaviors occur (gambling, watching blue films, drinking and having sex) and includes public and private locations where drinking and sex coincide.



Social Mapping

Social mapping is a data collection process where researchers ask local residents about important cultural landmarks and high risk sites in their area, and to identify these locations on a conceptual or actual map. These pictures can be used with GIS to digitize locations on a map. The process provides ethnographic data on the community and introduces researchers to potential key informants.



Places where people go for drinking and sex

Alcohol Used in Study Communities

Types of alcohol

- Bottled Beer
- Wine
- Foreign liquor
- Country liquor (sold in labeled bottles and unlabeled quarter bottles, 180 ml)
- Hath bhatti (home brew sold in plastic bags, 6 peps, 750 ml)
- Tari Madi Kendra (date wine)



Indian Whisky



Licensed County Liqueur



Bag of Hath Bhatti



Indian Beer

Alcohol & Sex Opportunity Structures

Each study community offers formal and informal locations where opportunities to purchase and drink alcohol and have sex converge.

Formal



CSW zone

Informal

- Restaurants & Bars
- Truckers cabs
- Open Spaces
- Festivals
- Aunty ka'addas
- Homes



Above: Festival scene



Right: Truckers' halt



Quarry/bushy areas



Interpersonal Level Scripts (Critical Events)

Distance married men

P21	wife	alcohol	sex	protected
	girlfriend	no alcohol	sex	protected
P34	CSW	no alcohol	sex	protected
	CSW	alcohol	sex	protected
P43	wife	no alcohol	sex	unprotected
	CSW	alcohol	sex	unprotected

P43 "I never had alcohol in presence of my wife. She knew about my consumption and some times requests me stop consuming alcohol. She is very homely and very good in household work. She cares well of my children and relatives. I feel depressed because, she never behaves as per my expectations during sex in the bed. Though I had few desires to fulfill, such as, taking bath together, have sex completely naked, sleep together without clothes never fulfilled in my life. I expressed all these desires to her, but she never encourages me and feels shy to remove her clothes. We slept closely till morning 7am next day. She enjoys the sexual intercourse in dark but she feels shy to involve in the light."

"I often bring sex worker to my room and have sex. Whenever I bring them to my room I provide food and drinks in addition to enjoy watching blue films. Last time, I had sex with Tara in my room. She charges Rs500/- for whole night. ...At the time of our last encounter, I brought one full bottle of Mc.Dowell No. 1 whisky and chicken pakoda from outside. I had already prepared rice, dal and sabji in the room. She came around 10pm. She was so cute and looking sexy in her jeans and kurbit. Both of us took one peg and started watching Hindi movie in Sony channel. We were sitting side by side on the bed and slowly she started fondling my hair and became too close to me. I was excited and we hugged each other. ...For almost 10 minutes we had sexual intercourse and after that we cleaned the genital organs in the bathroom. I started to have another peg and this time she did not have separate peg and she shared the same peg with me. We almost had five pegs each. I was feeling sleepy, but due to her active initiation, she was tempting me by touching and kissing my body parts. I enjoyed her closeness, husky voice and erotic chatting with her. After consuming alcohol, she becomes too open and talks about sex freely, which encourages me to have more and more. So I usually prefer Tara to be my sex partner for ever. When I compare Tara to my wife, I will always feel uneasy about my wife who feels shy to remove clothes in front of husband. So I enjoy my sexual life with Tara and I can say that almost I am bound to her in sex."

Married men living with wife

P8	wife	alcohol	sex	forced	protected
		no alcohol	sex	nonforced	unprotected
p10	wife	with CSW	no alcohol	sex	protected
	wife	no alcohol	sex	unprotected	

P10 "Since it was a weekly off I was sitting and chatting with my friends at Turbhe Naka after a while we came to Janta Desi Bar and all of us had alcohol. One of my friends was talking about some new girl (commercial sex worker) at Tekri area. He had heard about her and said she is quite young and very attractive and gives full service. We were talking among ourselves. He asked me if I want to come along with him but I said no and after finishing drink I returned back to my home. I was sexually aroused because of the talk we had at Turbhe Naka and at bar about the new girl. I told my wife to finish household work early so that we can spend some time together. She understood what I want and we all had early dinner after that we went to bed. After kids slept we had sex. That day all my kids slept with their mother and I was sleeping alone in the small room where generally my son sleeps with me. After kids slept my wife came to my room and we had sex. All the time she was telling me to do it fast or else kids will wake up. She worries for kids more than caring for my feelings. (unprotected sex with wife under the effect of alcohol)

"After a month passed of my wife left for native place, I talked to her over phone and told her to come back but she said she couldn't come back. We had a fight on phone and I felt she is not caring for me. During that period I went to Tekri area and had sex with commercial sex workers. During that period I visited Tekri area seven times. I had no other option. Till the time you have not had sexual intercourse you can somehow manage to control your sexual desire but after enjoying it nothing else gives real pleasure. ...My wife never agreed and felt comfortable for oral sex but commercial sex workers never say no rather they ask you how you want to enjoy with them?"

"There is prevalence of sex between boys and girls. Youths are not having sex with girlfriend openly. But they take them in the open spaces like SV in Sector eight. ...They are going in the bars around the community for it."

"This is the age when they want see the blue films, they want to know about female body. The peer groups add to this. Such activities leading to indulging them into risky behaviors and ultimate result is spread of STDs. After drinking alcohol youth considers himself as a king."

"Using condom is very difficult as friends make fun of an individual if he tells them he is using condom. Even if one carries condom he is taunted and comments are passed on him. Condom is not easily available, those who want to get it from municipal hospital they feel shy. There are many people who feel hesitant in buying condoms from medicine shops.also. Some people think it reduces sexual pleasure and they do not want to use it. In red light area condom is distributed free but people go there for fun so they do not want to use it."



Youth

P1	girlfriend	alcohol	sex	protected
	girlfriend	no alcohol	sex	unprotected
P32	new bar girl	alcohol	sex	unprotected
	girlfriend	no alcohol	sex/room	unprotected
P39	girlfriend	alcohol	sex	unprotected
	CSW	alcohol	sex	protected

P1 "An unmarried male decided to have sex with his girlfriend and had already booked a room in low a cost lodge away from home. His girl friend demanded beer from him. So he gave a little (of his beer). ... Respondent started kissing her on her face after he drank quarter of the beer. She started responding positively after taking small peg of the beer. After some time respondent started pressing her breasts by hugging her. Respondent opened her underwear under the waist and started fondling her vagina and inserted his finger. Then he pulled down his pants, put on the condom and had penetrative sex with her for five minutes.

Respondent took his girl friend to 'SV' in V area at 6 o'clock in the evening. They sat near a tree at a lonely place. Respondent asked his girl friend to seat by resting her on his chest. ...While talking respondent described one emotional scene from the movie. ...Then he kissed her on her lips for about two minutes. She also started kissing respondent on face and on the chest through the open shirt. Then respondent fondled her breast. ... Due to the response from his friend and rubbing of the penis by her within few minutes respondent's penis got the erection. After some time, he hoisted her lower part of dress and forced to sit on his erected penis. ...After that respondent withdraw his penis from her vagina and ejaculated outside her vagina.

P32 He told me, "When I was driver of travel car and also involved in antisocial work like stealing goods and others two number work like smuggling charras (hashish), ganja and other things. At that time I earned much money from that profession and I spent money on alcohol and sex. Once my friend told me that there has been one new girl come in B.B. Bar and is a regular customer of that bar. ... I fix her rate 7000 Rs. for one night. I drank alcohol with my friend Sunil near about one bottle 750 ml. and expend near about 1000 Rs. for alcohol and food. After drinking my friend went with other girl and I went with that particular girl. ... During that period I tried to insert penis inside the vagina. When whole penis was inside the vagina then I stopped for few minutes and then started ejaculation slowly and gradually ejaculation speed became fast. I found that she was in hilarious mood and said to me chalo-chalo (go go!). We played the game near about one hour and took rest for 10 minutes and after that she was interested for penetrative sex. ...We played three game (intercourse) at that day."

He told me he has done three times penetrative sex with that girlfriend Simtra, and last time he did sex with her on 5th march, 2006 and it was the Sunday. (they sat the date two days before) He told me, "I met her on Sunday. ... I met Simtra inside the community and said to her, we should go out side the community. ... I then my friend, ... arranged one room in his lodge. We went there and paid 150 Rs. for lodge. When we entered inside the room then I locked to the room. ...After for longly I push my penis inside her vagina and start ejaculation speedily. She was in full cooperation and she was kissing me blindly. When I started second play I did anal sex firstly and then vaginal sex. I established four times sexual intercourse with her at that day. When we became fully satisfied then stopped the game. ...We came (home) about 8 o'clock evening."

Role of Alcohol in Facilitating Sexual Risk

- Drinking precedes visits to CSWs and sexual encounters with girlfriends and/or wives. It is often connected with other behaviors that together result in sex, protected or unprotected.
- Men use alcohol to improve sexual experience (innovation, duration).
- Within marriage, alcohol is associated with forced sex.
- Men are ambivalent about condoms and believe that women transmit disease. Hence, the perception that a woman is "safe" provides an excuse to avoid using a condom.
- In brothels targeted by HIV prevention, CSWs require condom use and provide them. Condoms are not required or are used inconsistently in non-targeted brothels (e.g. outside of Mumbai) or non-brothel based sex work associated with bars. Condoms are not used with wives except for birth control.
- The same man often makes different decisions regarding drinking, sex, and condom use under different sets of conditions. These must be studied in greater detail.

