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Alternative medicines for AIDS in resource-poor settings: insights from exploratory anthropological studies in Asia and Africa

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Abstract

The emergence of alternative medicines for AIDS in Asia and Africa was discussed at a satellite symposium and the parallel session on alternative and traditional treatments of the AIDS Impact meeting, held in Marseille, in July 2007. These medicines are heterogeneous, both in their presentation and in their geographic and cultural origin. The sessions focused on the role of these medications in selected resource poor settings in Africa and Asia now that access to anti-retroviral therapy is increasing. The aims of the sessions were to (1) identify the actors involved in the diffusion of these alternative medicines for HIV/AIDS, (2) explore uses and forms, and the way these medicines are given legitimacy, (3) reflect on underlying processes of globalisation and cultural differentiation, and (4) define priority questions for future research in this area. This article presents the insights generated at the meeting, illustrated with some findings from the case studies (Uganda, Senegal, Benin, Burkina Faso, China and Indonesia) that were presented. These case studies reveal the wide range of actors who are involved in the marketing and supply of alternative medicines. Regulatory mechanisms are weak. The efficacy claims of alternative medicines often reinforce a biomedical paradigm for HIV/AIDS, and fit with a healthy living ideology promoted by AIDS care programs and support groups. The AIDS Impact session concluded that more interdisciplinary research is needed on the experience of people living with HIV/AIDS with these alternative medicines, and on the ways in which these products interact (or not) with anti-retroviral therapy at pharmacological as well as psychosocial levels.
with notions of traditional health culture and nature in a
syncretic way. They consist mainly of herbs and nutri-
tional substances and are packaged as 'modern' pharma-
ceuticals: capsules, tablets, and solutions. The names of
these alternative treatments reflect their reference to bio-
medicine: Immunocomplex, Viralgic, Virjint, etc. Their
accompanying leaflets provide detailed information on
substance, as well as dosage, indications, and biomedical
efficacy claims. Their diffusion follows contemporary
paths in the global economy and makes use of new infor-
mation technologies. In this paper, we will use the term
"alternative" to consider a generic category including
medicines that recently appeared for AIDS which have not
been authorised by drug regulatory authorities, nor rec-
ommended by WHO. Other terms, such as neo-traditional
or neo-phytotherapeutic, may be discussed for the
characterization of some of these treatments, related to
their local meanings or their social status.

The emergence of alternative medicines for AIDS in Asia
and Africa was discussed at a satellite symposium and the
parallel session on alternative and traditional treatments
of the AIDSImpact meeting, held in Marseille, in July
2007. We were especially interested in the role of these
medications since the introduction and rapid scale-up of
highly active anti-retroviral therapy (HAART) in resource
poor settings.

Twenty anthropologists and health researchers attended
the satellite session and presented exploratory findings
from Asia and Africa (Uganda, Senegal, Benin, Burkina
Faso, China and Indonesia). The aims of the satellite, the
results of which were presented at the parallel session [2],
were to (1) identify the actors involved in the diffusion of
these alternative medicines for HIV/AIDS, (2) explore uses
and forms of these medicines, and the way they are given
legitimacy, (3) reflect on underlying processes of globali-
sation and cultural differentiation, and (4) define priority
questions for future research in this area. We present here
some findings generated at the meeting, illustrated with
some findings from the studies that were discussed.

Modernization of traditional medicine
There has been an increased professionalisation and com-
mercialisation of traditional medicine in response to the
development of biomedicine. This trend is not specific to
AIDS and not necessarily a recent development. Social sci-
entists first noted this trend in the late 1980s: Charles Les-
lie [3] for example has shown how, in India, in response
to an increased authority of biomedicine and the globali-
sation of health markets, Unani and Ayurvedic medicine
production changed; and Afshahl and Welsch [4] described
the rise of 'modern' jamu in Indonesia. Jamu is the tradi-
tional term for Indonesian indigenous medicines usually
prepared from herbal medicines such as leaves, bark, roots
and flowers. Nowadays a multimillion dollar industry is
involved in the production of Ayurvedic and Unani med-
icines in India, and of jamu in Indonesia. A rapidly
expanding assortment of powders, creams, pills, capsules
and cosmetics has been manufactured both in small cot-
tage industries as in large factories with increasingly
sophisticated technologies [3,4]. The modernization of
the manufacturing of these drugs has been accompanied
with more modern biomedical modes of presenting their
efficacy [5]. Under globalization, similar trends occurred
in other regions and these products diffused more rapidly.

At the seminars in Marseille, we discussed the ways in
which such alternative remedies operate in the therapeutic
domain of AIDS care. In the first decade of the AIDS epi-
demic there was no effective treatment for HIV/AIDS and
patients were faced with nearly certain premature death.
At that time, there were regular hypes offering hope for
life. But with the introduction of ART, alternative treat-
ments are now marketed for many additional purposes
too: to prevent AIDS, to kill viruses, to delay the need for
ART, to restore and enhance health while on ART, to treat
opportunist infections, and to alleviate adverse side
effects of other treatments. Biomedical practitioners gen-
erally discourage the use of alternative medicines, fearing
interactions with ART and also through the concern that
patients may stop using ART.

Supplying alternative medicines for HIV/AIDS
At the AIDSImpact sessions Egrot and colleagues [6] pre-
sembled findings on the supply of what they label "neo-tra-
ditional medicines" to refer to the boundary-crossing
nature of these treatments in West Africa. The "designers"
of the inventoried products are extremely heterogeneous.
In some cases these people are nationals of African coun-
tries who present themselves as healers. Some say they
have undertaken "research" on the basis of therapeutic
products that were already known locally. Others refer to
a dream revelation (classic in the universe of healers in
Africa) of a plant composition that is "efficacious" against
AIDS, while yet others speak of a divine revelation. Physi-
cians, scientists and academics are solicitated, brought
into involvement or spontaneously engage themselves in
the exploitation of neo-traditional products. The case
studies in West Africa show that other treatments, such as
Immunocomplex or Aloe Vera, originate in Europe and the
USA. Alternative medicines from Europe and the USA
occupy the same shelves in ordinary pharmacies as those
originating from Africa and China, often along with a few
‘immune-boosting’ food products (honey, olive oil). Spe-
cialized "bio", "natural health" and "health food" shops
make these products available to the more affluent. The
distributors and marketing men of these products also tar-
get health workers and clinics directly. The West Africa
case studies noted that health workers also have started to
prescribe alternative products such as Immuboost (NHi2T) or Viralgic (Pharma Concept) (see Figure 1).

A case study from Uganda showed how health workers operating an anti-retroviral treatment program adopted a locally available traditional ointment as an alternative medication for skin problems of people living with HIV and AIDS. The skin problems result from adverse effects of ART or symptoms of opportunistic infections. The health workers obtained the recipe from local traditional healers (patients had told them that the cream works well), and the patients helped collect the ingredients. They 'repackage' this traditional remedy into what is now called 'mobile cream' (to make clear it is produced by the so called 'Mobile' ART program). One of the nurses reports:

"The mobile cream, which we ourselves prepare either at our chief nurse's home or here at the office depending on how busy we are at the office, is very efficacious for many kinds of skin related conditions. We are quick to prescribe it to the patients because we know it works and it is popular among patients too because it works for them[7]."

Content analysis of drug information leaflets, advertisements, product catalogues, and brochures distributed by medical representatives in the West Africa case studies [6,8] casts light on the range of effects that are attributed to these drugs. Most commonly cited (biomedical) properties are immune-stimulation and antioxidant. Some manufacturers suggest that the products have antiviral properties as well. The antiviral dimension refers either to the opportunistic infections such as herpes (mentioned for example in the product information for Immuboost) or eventually to the immunodeficiency syndrome itself.

Indeed, some products boldly claim anti-HIV activity as well, and are marketed as natural ART (see Figure 2).

However, such efficacy claims are not static. The producer of Virusinest (Nesto-Pharma) recently withdrew the antiviral claim, stating in its information leaflet: "the analyses carried out among patients do not allow the anti-HIV assertion to be upheld". There may be also inconsistencies between various information sources. The brochure for Viralgic (Pharma Concept) says that this is a product which renders the virus undetectable, but the website of the manufacturer presents the drug as immunostimulant (result of trials published on the web site), and present the product as treatment for opportunistic infections: "anti-herpes...for healthy persons".

The demand for alternative medicines
A case study on Indonesia [9] dealt with the demand for alternative medicines among PLWA. As AfDhal and Welsch noted two decades ago, Indonesia has a thriving market for jamu. Jamu are sold for a wide range of indications: common colds, influenza, headaches, aches and pains, high blood pressure, beauty, improvements in sexual performance, and recently to treat and prevent HIV-related health problems. AIDS prevalence is below 1% (i.e. this is a low prevalence area), but the disease is stigmatised, because of its association with intravenous drug use and prostitution. Hardon and her colleagues conducted interviews with women and men who live with HIV and use anti-retroviral therapy, mainly intravenous drug users and their partners. All of them had better health since taking these modern drugs. Nonetheless, all of them see the need to take jamu as well. They do so in...
part out of their intention to live positively (i.e. eating and sleeping well, and keeping a positive outlook on life), as promoted by many of the support groups in which PLWA participate. The respondents do not make distinctions between modern medicines and *jumu* in these health maintenance and restoring practices. Rather they distinguish the drugs by their effects. They use popular *jumu* to treat side effects of HAART, such as itchiness. These *jumu* are not specifically promoted for HIV and AIDS in Indonesia, perhaps partly because the disease is so stigmatised.

However one neo-traditional preparation stood out in the narratives of our respondents as a product which can treat HIV/AIDS: virgin coconut oil. Ceri, for example, started using coconut oil shortly after she found out she was HIV-positive. She says:

> Actually, the effect is not only for your immune system. So, I feel better, don't feel tired, and have more energy. I think what influences most is self-suggestion. It's self-suggestion that matters...

She stopped taking the oil because it is very expensive.

Mia (a 28 year old woman from Jakarta) was given virgin coconut oil by a friend from Yogjakarta:

> I got 70 boxes. A box contains 60 capsules. It took it every day until I felt sick, but there was no effect. My CD4 level did not increase. Three months, three months made me look like a coconut you just needed to squeeze (laughing). I became very oily. The good effect when you take VCO is that your skin is silk smooth, your face is fairer and if you take a shower, you don’t need any lotion, because your skin is naturally oily. That is the positive effect. Your hair is also stronger.

But Buli, a 29-year-old ex-drug user from Karawang, one of the most active members of the support group in Karawang says:

> The coconut oil, I was also suggested it, but I don’t dare to try it, because I thought I’m taking ARV now, so it’s better if I just continue.

In Indonesia, the drug sellers were not very willing to discuss the effects of VCO. They would acknowledge that indeed these drugs are used by PLWA, or they would deny knowing anything about the drugs. But their pharmacies are full of advertisements for the products and they have prominent positions on their shelves (see Figure 3).

Content analysis of the package information for VCO in Indonesia revealed that they are marketed as real ‘cure-alls’, i.e. to kill viruses and bacteria and/or strengthen the immune system, efficacy claims that we also found in West Africa. For example the package leaflet for Vicofit (manufactured by Sumber Dinamis in Bogor) states that the drug has "a high content of lauric acid which has antivirus, anti-bacterials and anti-protozoa properties." And that it is "believed to help improve the health condition of those with cholesterol, diabetes, coronary heart disease, hepatitis C, HIV positive, cancer, prostate, uric acid, osteoporosis, influenza and weight problems". The package for Virjint (produced by PT Vermindo International) states that the medicine is safe for daily use and without side effects. It lists two dosages: one for prevention (2 × 2 capsules per day) and another for treatment (2 × 3 capsules per day). The leaflet stipulates that the indications are:

- "to increase energy and body stamina
- to increase body resistance (Meningkatkan daya tahan tubuh) against bacterial, viral and fungal pathogens
- to reduce weight
- anti-oxidant, anticancer, and anti-HIV
- to overcome uric acid, hypertension, stroke, heart disease, atherosclerosis, osteoporosis, influenza, hepatitis, chickenpox, herpes, TB, diabetes, epilepsy, eczema, liver, haemorrhoids, kidney, peradangan (burning sensation), infection, degenerative disease."

The packages cite clinical research conducted elsewhere (Philippines, USA) to give legitimacy to the products. For example the leaflet of Holistic Virgin Coconut Oil states: "Based on research conducted in the Philippines, Holistic Virgin Coconut Oil is very effective to fight against SARS and AIDS".
Conclusion
One of the key characteristics of alternative medicines in Asia and Africa is that they move from one cultural and geographic space to another, apparently without being constrained by trade-barriers, or regulatory mechanisms. Some governments promote the production and diffusion of neo-traditional medicines. They do so for economic reasons: alternative medicines are big business, but they also do so for ideological reasons: neo-traditional medicines reflect an attractive hybrid of modernity and national heritage, providing a sense of national identity in the globalized health economy [10]. The governments of India, China, Indonesia, and some African countries support research programs to further advance these neo-traditional products, and facilitate market diffusion. While registered pharmaceuticals are regulated heavily upon market entry (proof of efficacy is assessed by national drug regulatory authorities), this is not the case for alternative medicines. ART programs, which are sponsored by the same governments, usually discourage the use of alternative medicines, fearing the toxicity of the drugs, or that these medicines will interact with anti-retroviral medication and lead to discontinuation of ART therapy [11]. Governmental agencies may have contradictory attitudes towards the use of alternative medicines for AIDS, discouraging it within ART programs and supporting it within divisions of traditional medicine. An exception is the Chinese government, which officially supports a complementary medicine program for AIDS care and research [12].

Mass-produced alternative medicines meet an increasing demand for health products, a trend which has been labelled the "commodification of health" [13,14]: from the slums of Djakarta to rural settings in Burkina Faso, people believe more and more that they need pharmaceutical 'things' to protect their health and to treat illness symptoms. People living with HIV and AIDS are particularly uncertain about their health and their future: ART may be accessible and improve health now, but they wonder if this will be the case in the future. This uncertainty makes them an attractive market for the 'best of both worlds', alternative medicines, which come with assertions of 'natural' safety and 'biomedical' efficacy [15]. However the case studies presented in Marseille suggest that people especially want to use alternative medicines to delay onset of ART, treat opportunistic infections, restore health and alleviate adverse effects once on ART. Immune-booster are popular, though our case studies suggest that PLWA are often ambivalent about alternative medicines that claim anti-HIV efficacy.

The case studies make clear that the market of alternative medicines for HIV/AIDS is dynamic. It adapts to progress in biomedicine, which has produced potent anti-retrovi-

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