

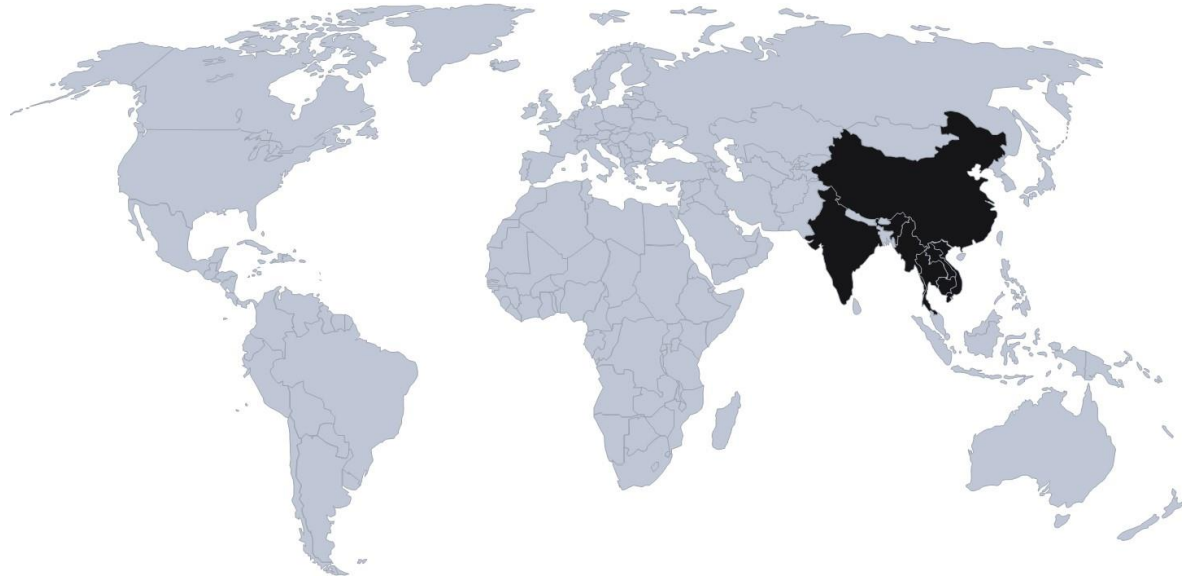
What if hardship causes drug resistance?

A development studies research agenda to inspire innovative global health policy solutions

Dr Marco J Haenssger | University of Warwick | 02 June 2020

Background





Personal background

- Development studies and management
- Interdisciplinary and mixed-methods research
- Interest in health behaviour and contextual change
- Geographical focus on Southeast Asia

<https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/schoolforcross-facultystudies/gsd/aboutus/people/new/marcohaenssger>





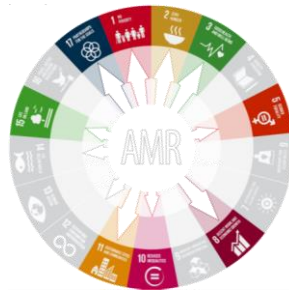
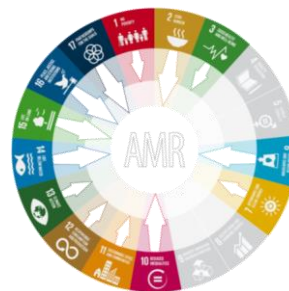
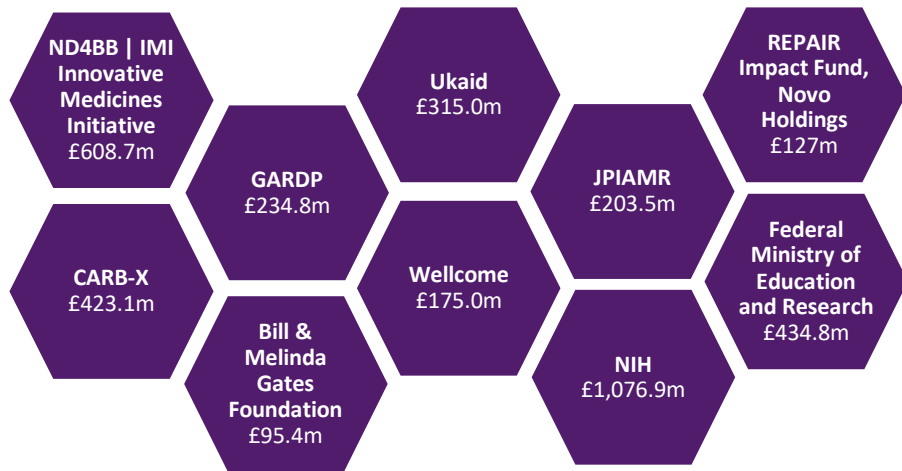
“We need to:

*1.
Undertake a
massive global public
awareness campaign”*

*(The Review on
Antimicrobial Resistance,
2016, p. 17)*

Motivation for this seminar

- AMR as globally recognised health priority
- Policy response shaped by focus on intuitive solutions with potentially harmful overemphasis of individual knowledge deficits
- Starting point: *AMR policy is development policy*



Motivation for this seminar

- Extensive funding pledges
- Behavioural science and non-medical approaches
- Improved measurement of disease burden
- Subscription-based financing models
- Pharmaceutical companies pulling out of development

Berthe, F. C. J., Wadsworth, J., Thiebaud, A., Marquez, P. V., & Baris, E. (2019). *Pulling together to beat superbugs: knowledge and implementation gaps in addressing antimicrobial resistance*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Clift, C. (2019). *Review of progress on antimicrobial resistance: background and analysis*. London: Chatham House.

Limmathurotsakul, D., Dunachie, S., Fukuda, K., Feasey, N. A., Okeke, I. N., Holmes, A. H., et al. (2019). Improving the estimation of the global burden of antimicrobial resistant infections. *The Lancet Infectious Diseases*, 19(11), E392-E398. doi: 10.1016/S1473-3099(19)30276-2

Pinder, R., Sallis, A., Berry, D., & Chadborn, T. (2015). *Behaviour change and antibiotic prescribing in healthcare settings: literature review and behavioural analysis*. London: Public Health England.

<https://www.businessinsider.com/major-pharmaceutical-companies-dropping-antibiotic-projects-superbugs-2018-7?r=US&IR=T>

Interdisciplinary issues consistently obscured by the primacy of biomedicine

Governance

Individualistic and knowledge deficit biases

What counts as actionable data

Securitisation of health

Inter-sectorial cooperation beyond One Health

North-South relationships

Hegemonic medical discourses and practices

Economic

Economic frameworks for drug development

Assessing costs and benefits of drug resistance

Economic contexts shaping medicine use and behaviour

Production and marketing systems for agri- and aquaculture

Social

Relationships of “experts” vs. “lay people”

Social purposes and political appropriation of health technologies

Non-health solutions for health problems

Ethical dilemmas in medicine prescription and use

Unintended social consequences of medical intervention

Environmental

Human-animal co-existence

Drug disposal behaviour

Role of climate change, biodiversity loss, pollution

Impact of development processes on environmental factors of AMR

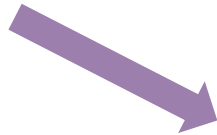
Conceptual issues



Some basic premises

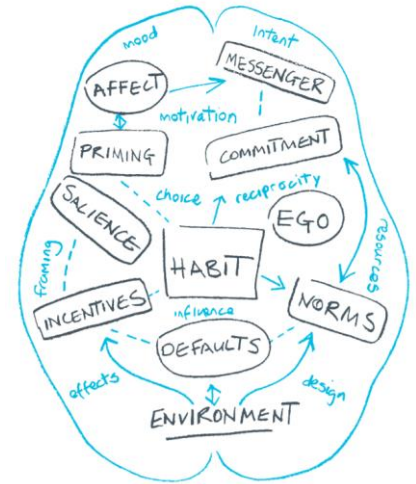
1. The **landscape** of healthcare providers is **fragmented** and obscure.
2. Preferences and **means to access** healthcare **vary** within the population.
3. When navigating these obscure health systems, **people share a social space** within which they **collaborate** and **compete**.
4. New healthcare solutions at the patient – health system interface will always have to **compete with existing solutions**.
5. Social, economic, and technological **change** can affect treatment-seeking behaviours in **unforeseen** ways.
6. Solutions for “problematic behaviour” need **not** be **confined to the health sector**, but they can plausibly have similarly (or more effective) substitutes in other sectors.

Behaviour as:



Decision making

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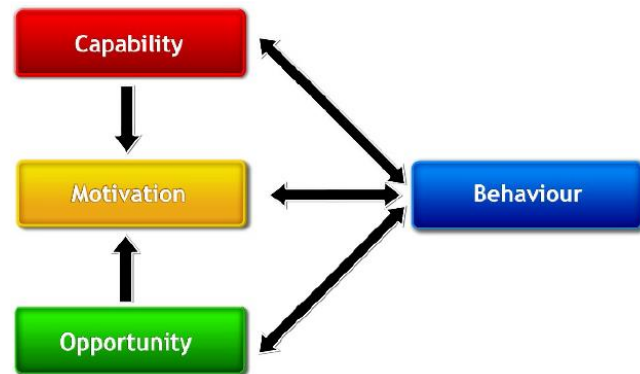
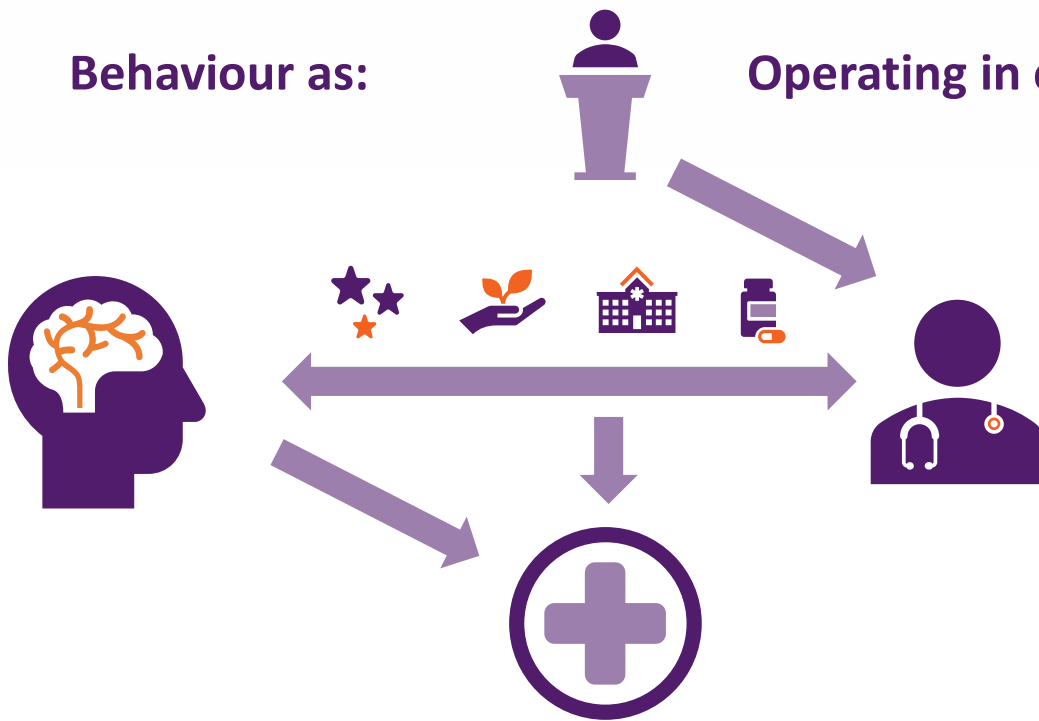




Behaviour as:

Operating in context

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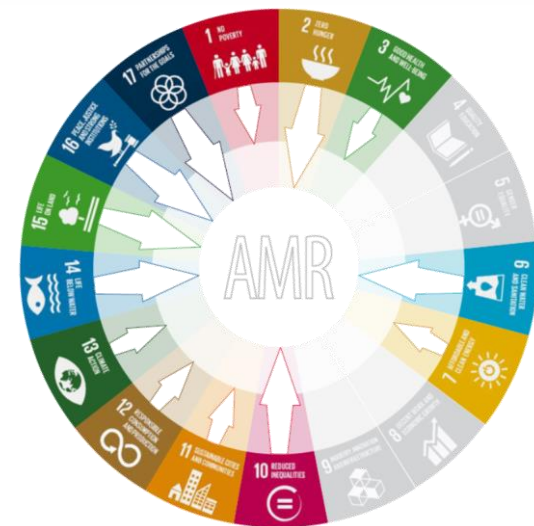
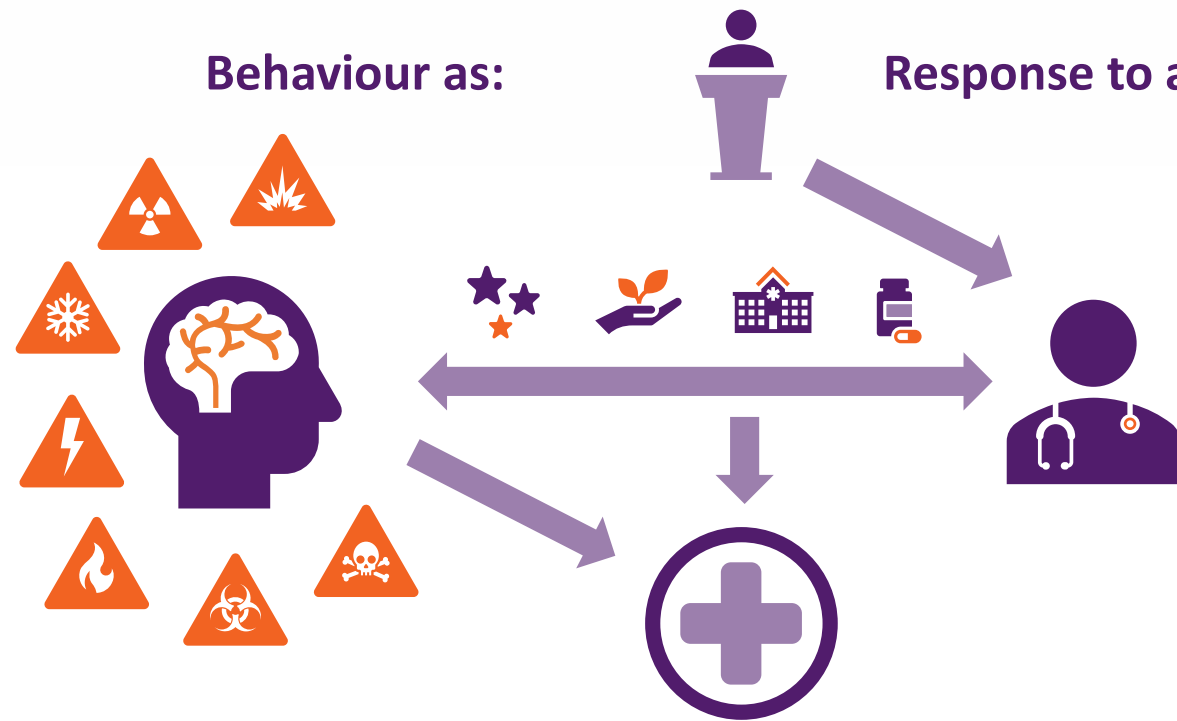


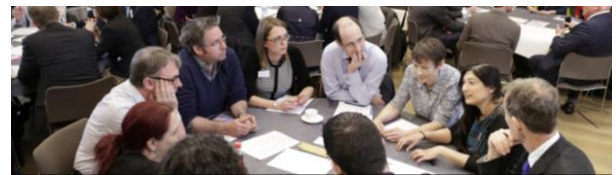


Behaviour as:

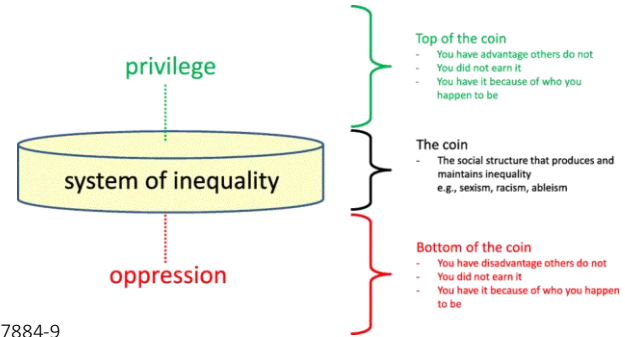
Response to adversity

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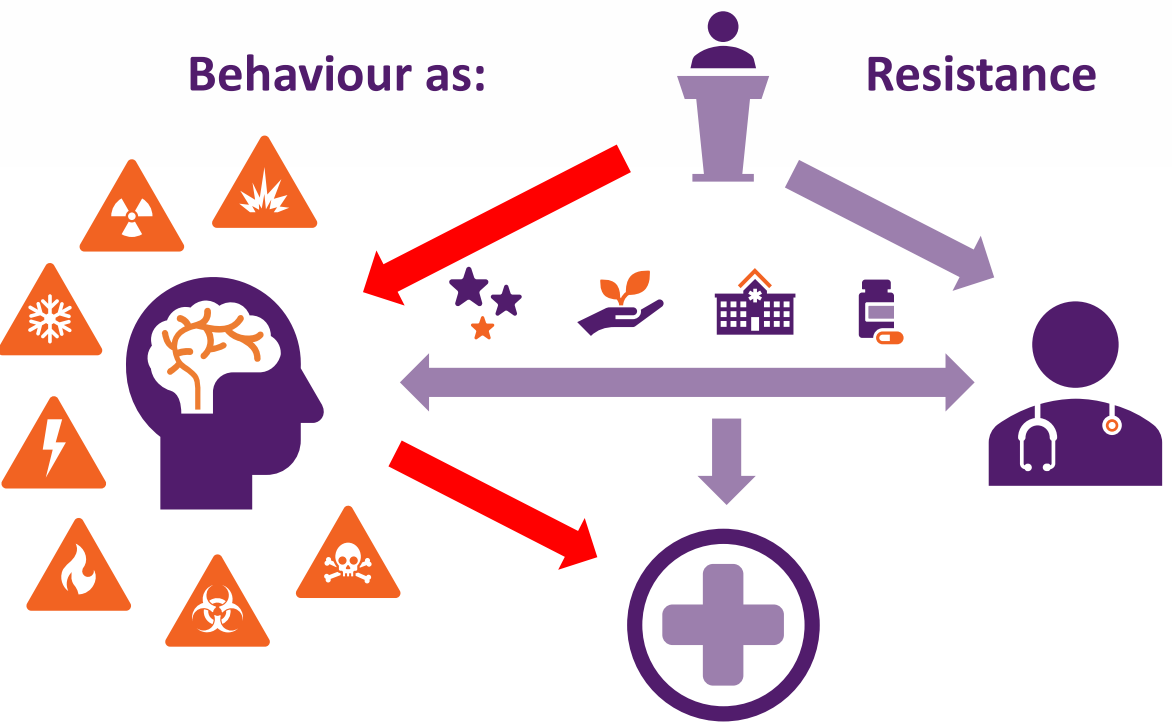


*"The goal is not to move people from the bottom of the coin to the top, because both positions are unfair. Rather, the goal is to **dismantle the systems** (i.e., coins) causing these inequities."* (Nixon, 2019:3)



Behaviour as:

Resistance



<https://www.imperial.ac.uk/patient-safety-translational-research-centre/patient--public-involvement/>

Nixon, S. A. (2019). The coin model of privilege and critical allyship: implications for health. *BMC Public Health*, 19(1637). doi: 10.1186/s12889-019-7884-9

Hardship: poverty, marginalisation, precarity, stress?

Poverty

- Relative concept
- “Being deprived”
- Typically considered in one-dimensional terms as monetary poverty
- Represents barriers to healthcare access

Marginality / Marginalisation

- Relative concept (static / dynamic)
- “Being situated at the social / economic / political / ecological / geographic margins of society”
- Intrinsically multi-dimensional

Precarity

- Absolute concept
- “Pernicious self-dependence, undermining control over life & ability to flexibly respond to crises”
- Focused on work, but also applies to livelihoods in high-/ middle-/ low-income countries

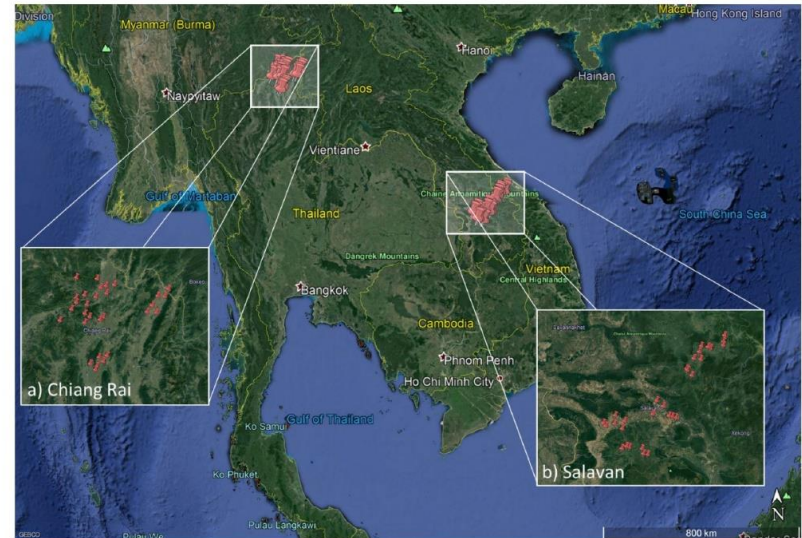
Stress

- Absolute concept
- Evidenced to be linked to sub-optimal decision-making processes
- Argued to be one main mechanisms underlying precarity (owing to work focus), but similarly applies to experience of poverty

Study data

Overview of related projects

- **Antibiotics and Activity Spaces**
- The social role of biomarker testing
- Supply-induced demand for antibiotics among marginalised populations
- What if precarity causes drug resistance?
- (Mobile phone diffusion and rural healthcare access in India & China)



Field sites and sampled villages in Thailand and Lao PDR.

Relevance of Southeast Asia for AMR

- Geographic origin of antimalarial resistance
- Thailand “posterchild” in tackling AMR, but region (incl. TH) persistently labelled hotspot and at “high risk” of AMR
- 110m int’l tourist arrivals, 9% of global int’l air passengers in 2016 – risk of cross-border spread (e.g. multi-drug-resistant *Neisseria gonorrhoeae*)

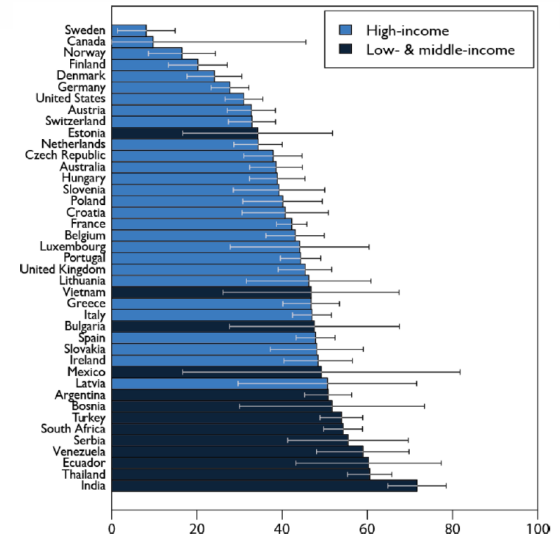


Figure 2 Drug Resistance Index (DRI) across countries.

Thailand and Lao PDR

	Thailand	Lao PDR	LMIC average
Gross domestic product per capita (US\$ in purchasing power parity)	\$17,910 (2017)	\$7,038 (2017)	\$11,013 (2017)
Poverty rate (US\$1.90/day, in purchasing power parity)	0% (2017)	23% (2012)	12% (2015)
Poverty rate (US\$5.50/day, in purchasing power parity)	8% (2017)	85% (2012)	55% (2015)
Literacy rate (% of adult population)	93% (2015)	85% (2015)	84% (2016)
Mobile phone subscriptions (per 100 people)	176 (2017)	54 (2017)	99 (2017)
Access to at least basic sanitation (% of population)	95% (2015)	73% (2015)	62% (2015)
Total health expenditure (US\$ per capita in purchasing power parity)	\$635 (2016)	\$155 (2016)	\$534 (2016)
Out-of-pocket health expenditure (US\$ per capita in purchasing power parity)	\$77 (2016)	\$72 (2016)	\$219 (2016)
External health expenditure (US\$ per capita in purchasing power parity)	\$1 (2016)	\$28 (2016)	\$7 (2016)
Life expectancy at birth (years)	75 (2017)	67 (2017)	71 (2017)
Under-5 mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	10 (2017)	63 (2017)	43 (2017)

Survey research methods



Rural Chiang Rai & Salavan



Representative satellite-aided
multi-stage sampling



5,885 survey participants



50 cognitive interviews



Single-/multi-level regression
Difference-in-difference analysis



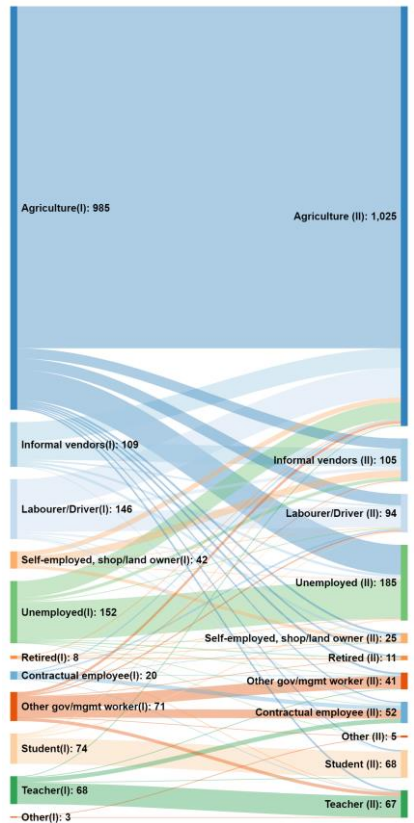
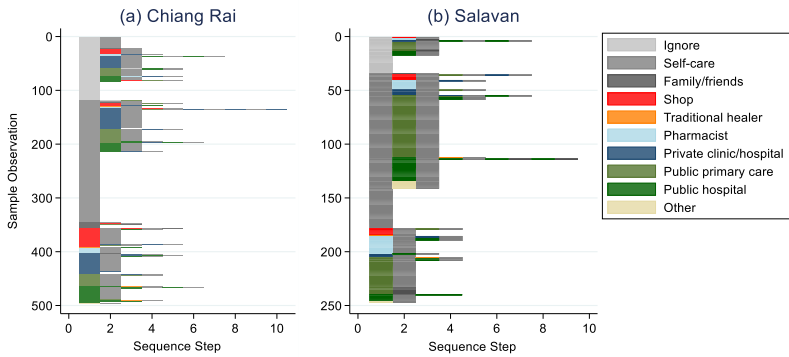
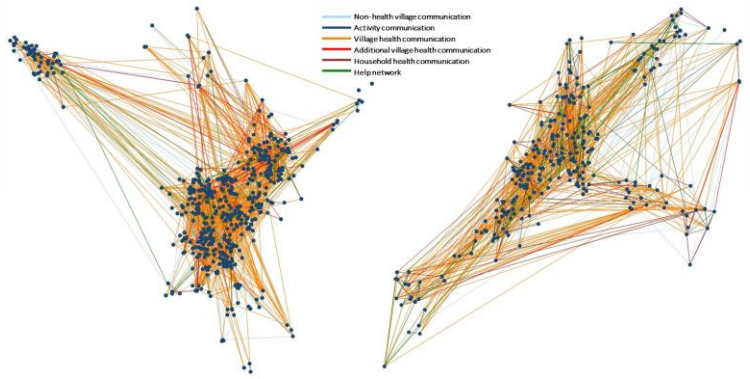
Social network analysis



Qualitative triangulation



Public engagement activities



Data
Data
Data

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A close-up photograph of a person's hand pouring a dark liquid from a black pot into a glass bottle. The pot is on a gas stove with a blue flame. The person's hand is dark-skinned and has a red string tied around the wrist. In the background, there is a white plastic container. The image is partially obscured by a purple text box on the left.

Education
Marginalisation
Precarity
**Contextual
change**

Education

“knowledge of antibiotics was positively associated with antibiotic consumption from private sources in Chiang Rai and from public and informal sources in Salavan”

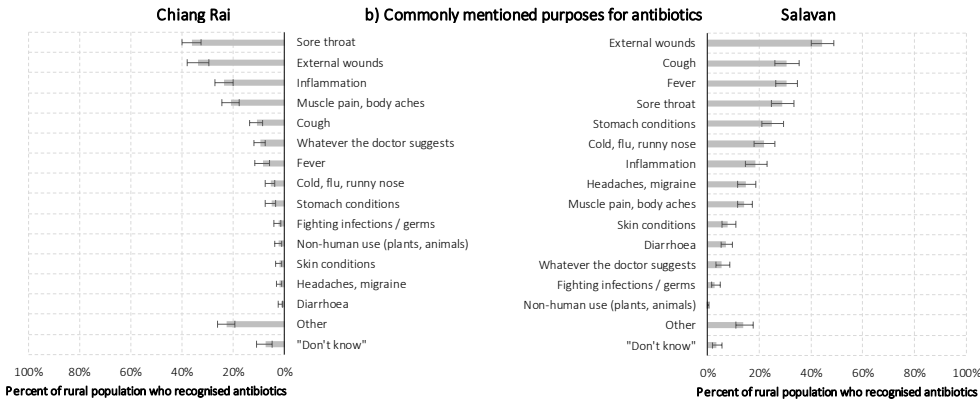
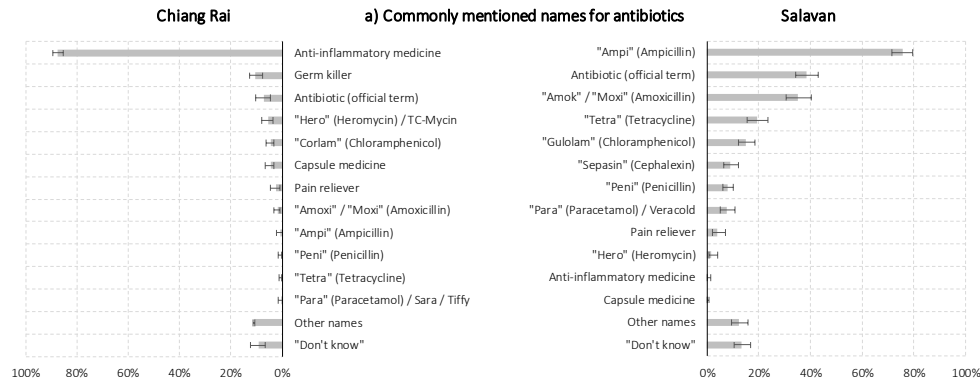
BMJ Open Antibiotic knowledge, attitudes and practices: new insights from cross-sectional rural health behaviour surveys in low-income and middle-income South-East Asia

Marco J Haenssger,^{1,2,3,4} Nutch Charoenboon,⁵ Giacomo Zanello,^{6,7} Mayfong Mayxay,^{8,9,10} Felix Reed-Tsochas,^{3,4,11} Yoel Lubell,^{1,5} Heiman Wertheim,^{12,13} Jeffrey Lienert,^{3,4,14} Thippaphone Xayavong,^{15,16} Yuzana Khine Zaw,¹⁷ Amphayvone Thepkhamkong,⁸ Nicksan Sithongdeng,⁸ Nid Khamsookthavong,⁸ Chanthasone Phanthavong,⁸ Somsanith Boualaiseng,⁸ Souksakhone Vongsavang,⁸ Kanokporn Wibunjak,⁵ Poowadon Chai-in,⁵ Patthanant Thavethanuttanawin,⁵ Thomas Althaus,^{1,5} Rachel Claire Greer,^{5,18} Supalert Nedsuwan,¹⁹ Tri Wangrangsimakul,^{18,20} Direk Limmathurotsakul,²⁰ Elizabeth Elliott,^{21,22} Proochista Ariana¹

60 research

2141 villages

2141 observations
964 illness episodes



Education

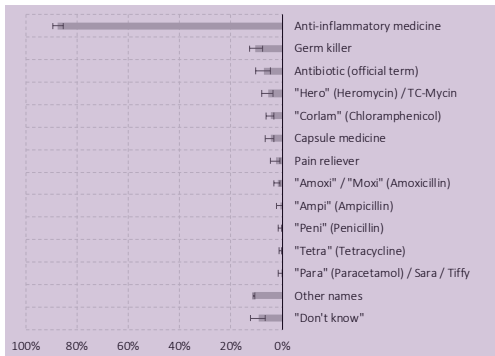
Fragmented notions of antibiotics & drug resistance
 complicate awareness raising

$N = 1851$, including respondents who indicated that they had seen the presented medicine (i.e. common antibiotics) before. Population-weighted statistics. Multiple response permitted. Error bars indicate 95% confidence interval

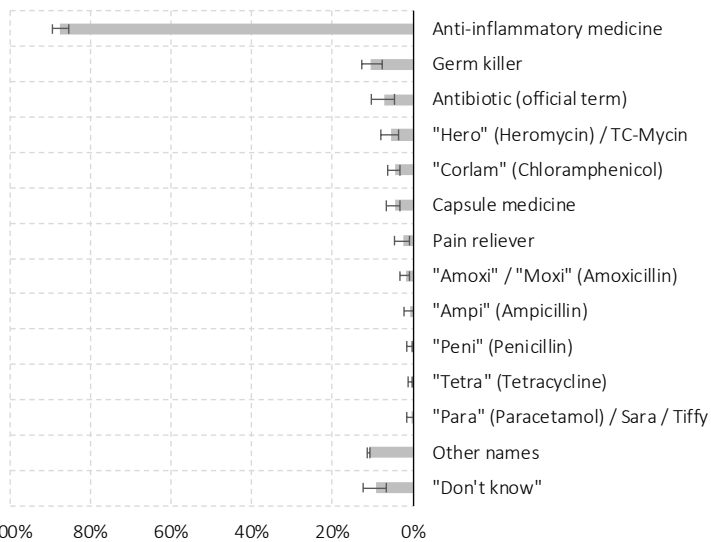
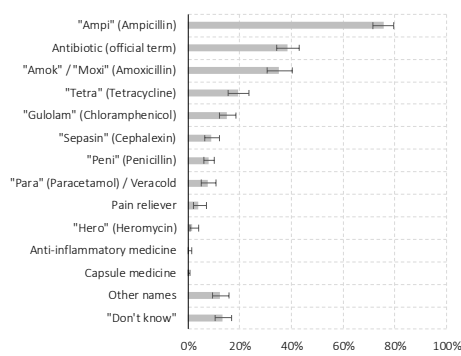


Chiang Rai

a) Commonly mentioned names for antibiotics

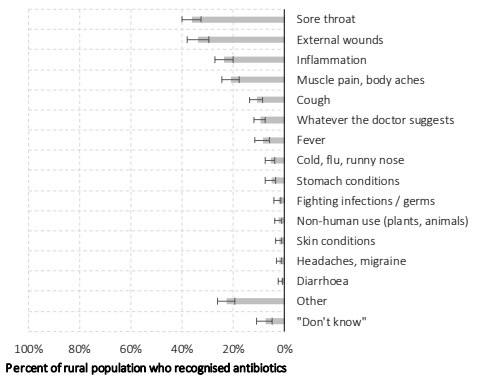


Salavan

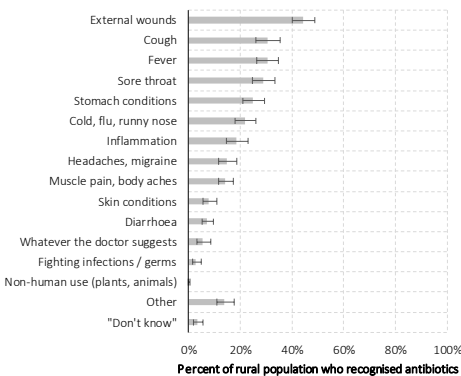


Chiang Rai

b) Commonly mentioned purposes for antibiotics



Salavan

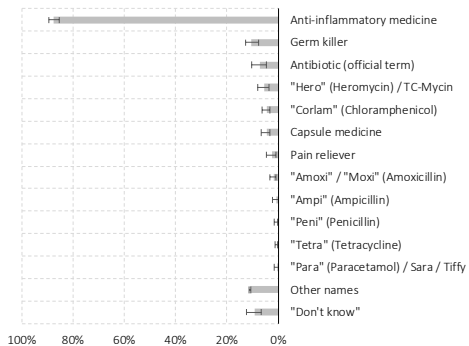


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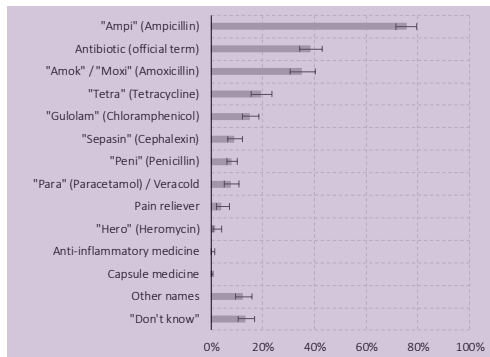


Chiang Rai

a) Commonly mentioned names for antibiotics

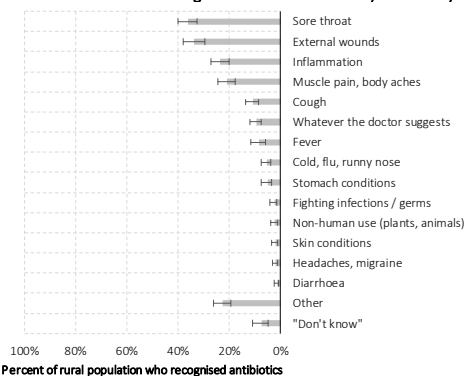


Salavan

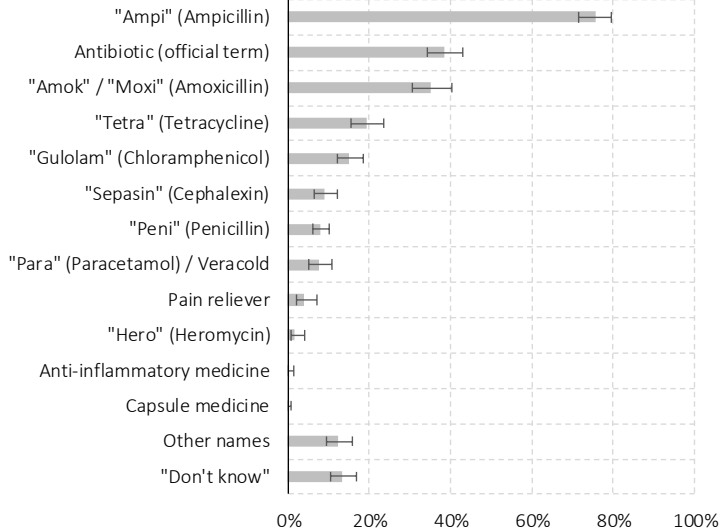
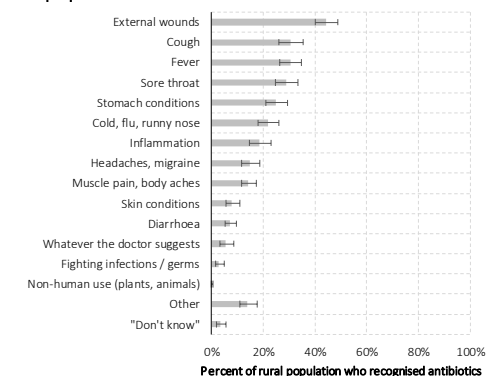


Chiang Rai

b) Commonly mentioned purposes for antibiotics



Salavan

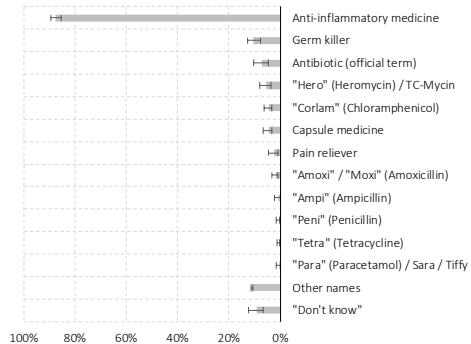


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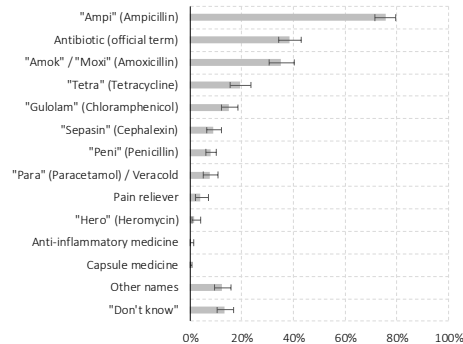


Chiang Rai

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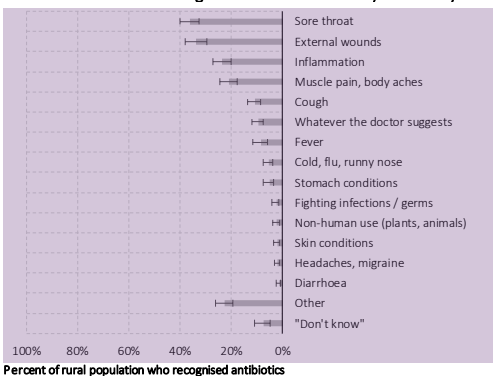


Salavan

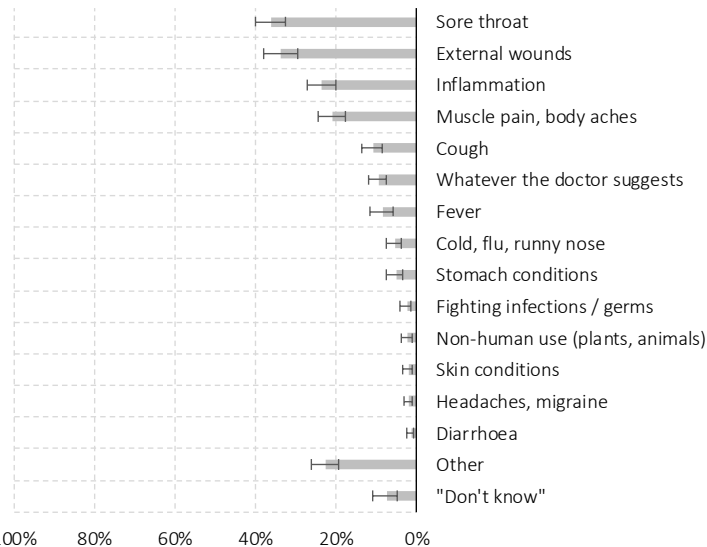
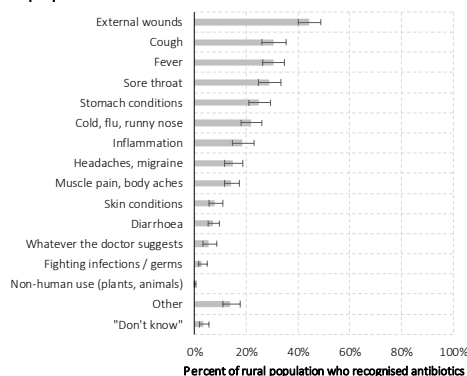


Chiang Rai

b) Commonly mentioned purposes for antibiotics



Salavan



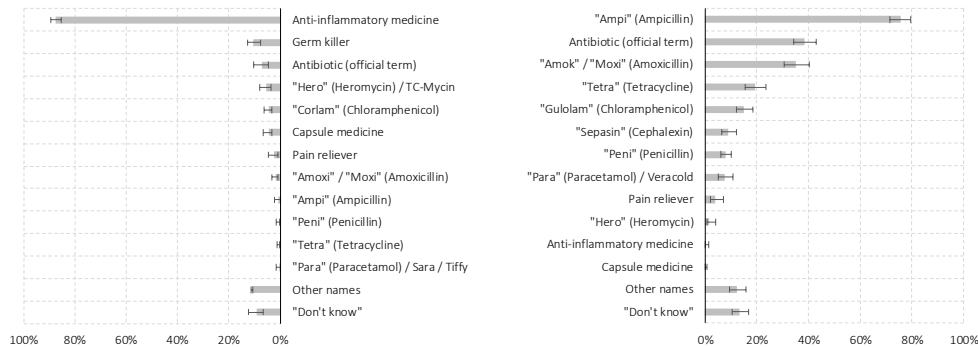
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Chiang Rai

a) Commonly mentioned names for antibiotics

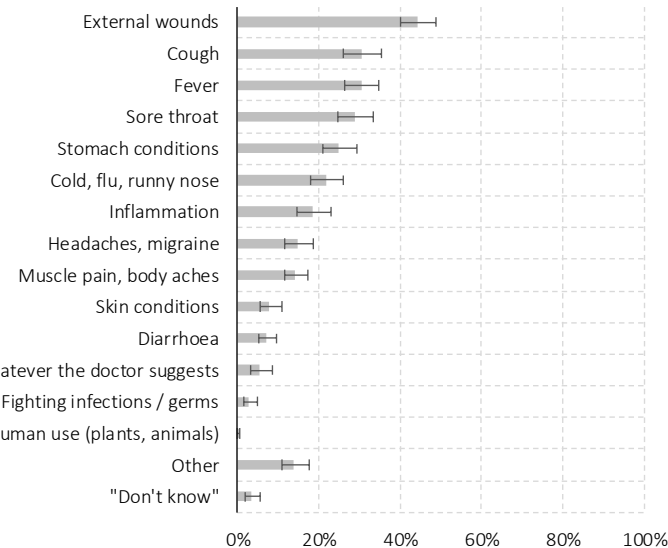
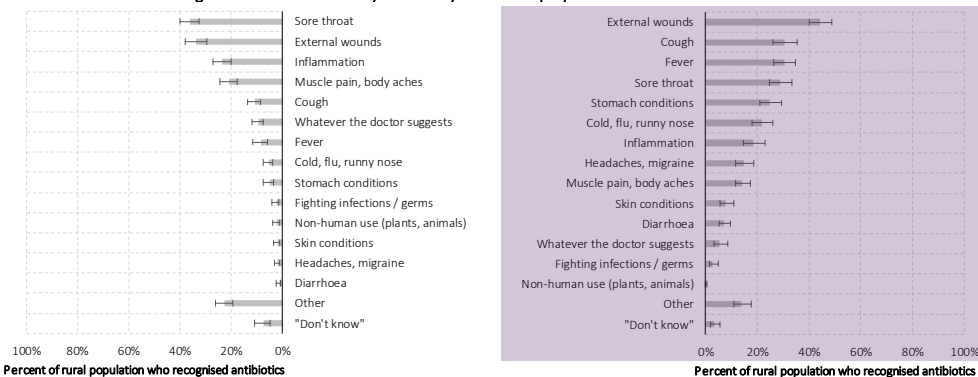
Salavan



b) Commonly mentioned purposes for antibiotics

Chiang Rai

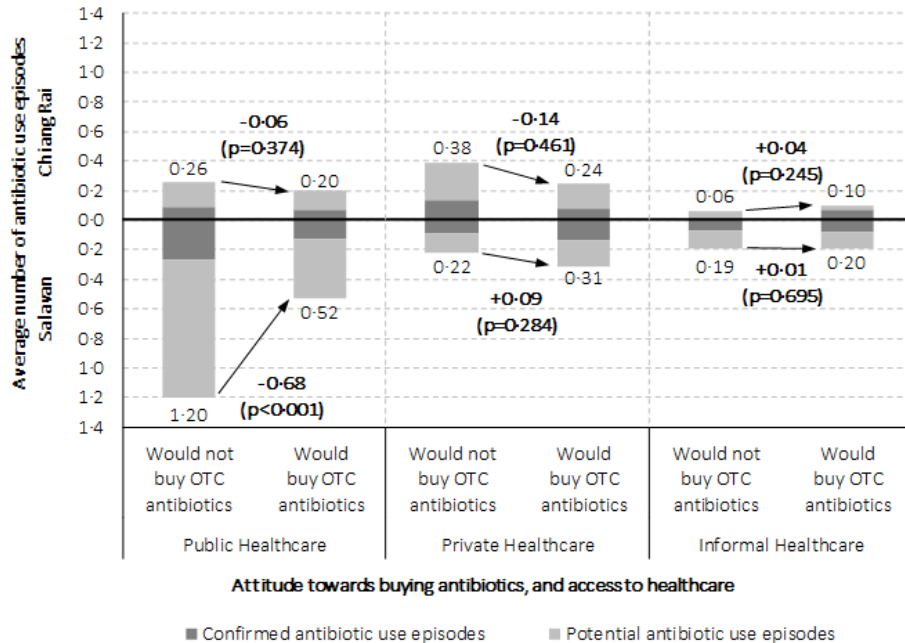
Salavan



$N = 1851$. including respondents who indicated that they had seen the presented medicine (i.e. common antibiotics) before. Population-weighted statistics. Multiple response permitted. Error bars indicate 95% confidence interval



Antibiotic use episodes across field sites and channels of antibiotics access, by attitude towards buying over-the-counter antibiotics



Education

Fragmented notions of antibiotics & drug resistance **complicate awareness raising**

Ambiguous links between antibiotic use and education / attitudes **undermine campaign logic**

N = 964. Population-weighted statistics. Group comparison using Wilcoxon rank-sum tests. Arrows illustrate differences and do not imply a causal relationship. OTC=over-the-counter.



Marginalisation

60 villages
2141 observations
964 illness episodes

You've Got a Friend in Me: How Social Networks and Mobile Phones Facilitate Healthcare

Access Among Marginalised Groups in Rural Thailand and Lao PDR

Marco J HAENSSGEN ^{a, b, f, *}

Nutcha CHAROENBOON ^{c, g}

Giacomo ZANELLO ^{d, e, h}

“disproportionate uptake of public healthcare among marginalised groups with social and mobile phone support”

Work in progress



Social

Economic

Spatial

Education

Ethnicity

Household
wealth

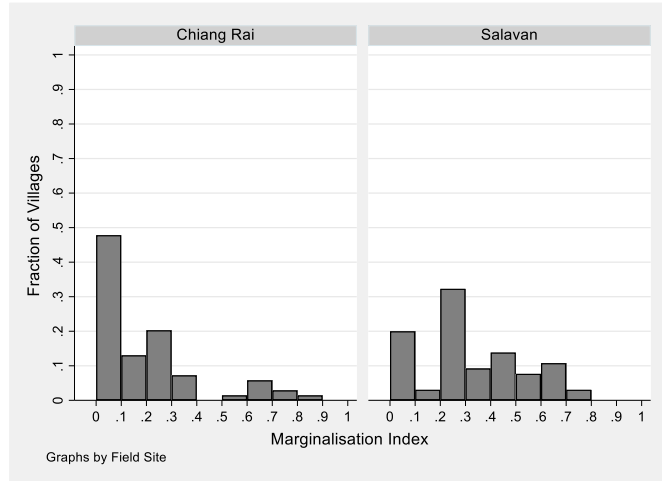
Travel time

Remoteness

Marginalisation

(using a 5-dimensional index)

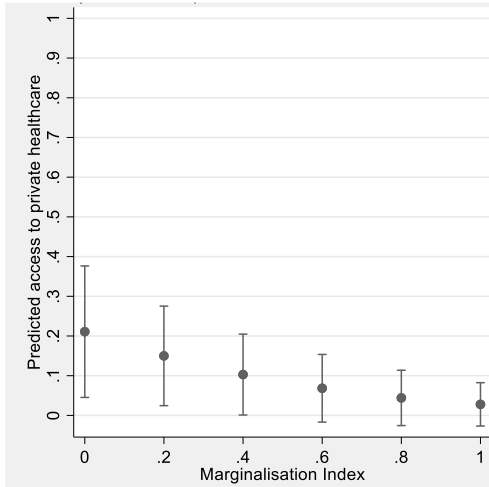
Marginalisation is **common**



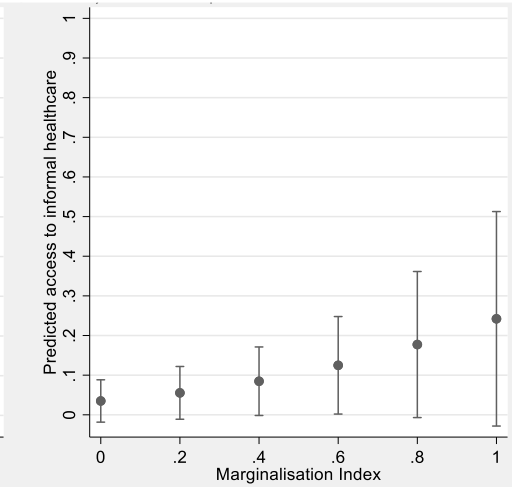
$N = 134$ (administrative villages). Population-weighted statistics.



Private healthcare



Informal healthcare



(Salavan)

Marginalisation

Marginalisation is **common**
M linked to **lower private** and
higher public healthcare

N = 964. Predicted results. Error bars indicating 95% confidence interval.



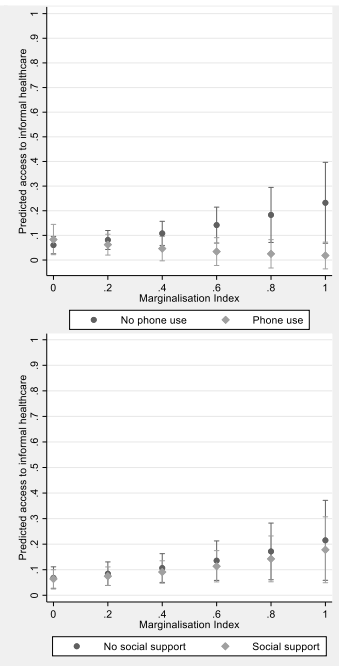
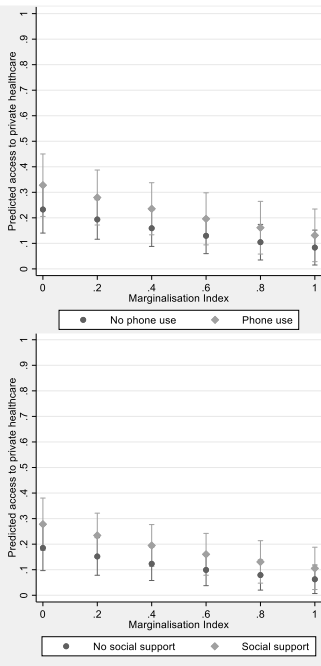
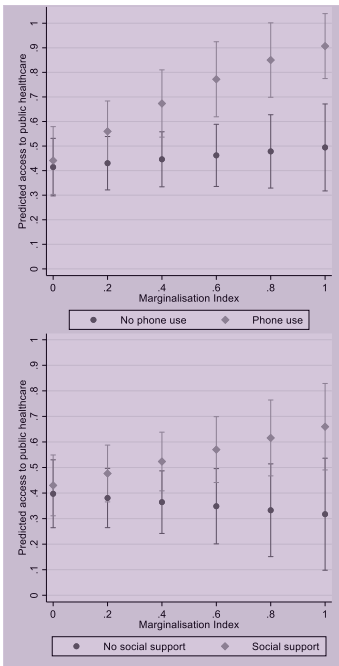
Mobile phones

Social support

Public healthcare

Private healthcare

Informal healthcare

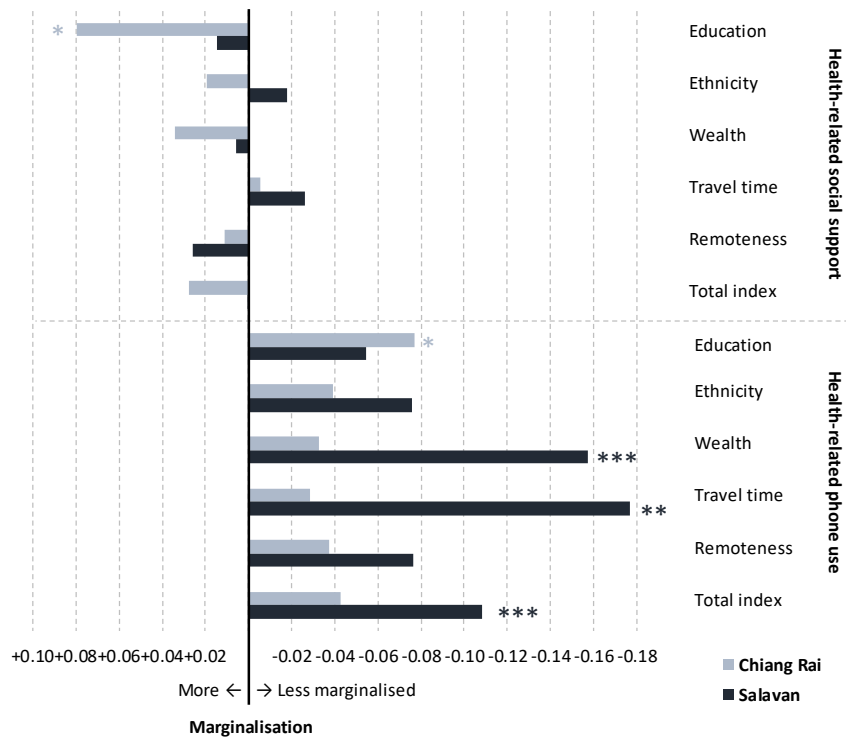


Marginalisation

Marginalisation is **common**
 M linked to **lower private** and **higher public** healthcare
 Tech and social support linked to **higher public healthcare access** for M'ed groups

N = 964. Predicted results. Error bars indicating 95% confidence interval.





Marginalisation

Marginalisation is **common**
 M linked to **lower private** and **higher public** healthcare

Tech and social support linked to **higher public healthcare access** for M'ed groups

But: **inequitable** phone uptake

N = 964. Population-weighted statistics. Hypothesis tests using Pearson χ^2 tests for binary variables and two-sided t -tests for total marginalisation index. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.



Precarity

5 villages
1421 illness episodes

Precarity and clinical determinants of health behaviour and antibiotic use in Southeast Asia

Marco J HAENSSGEN ^{a, b, f, *}

Nutcha CHAROENBOON ^{c, g}

Thomas ALTHAUS ^{d, e, h}

“patients experiencing precarity were significantly more likely to engage in clinically sub-optimal forms of antibiotic use in the presence of situational facilitators”



- Healthcare access
- Informal healthcare
- Antibiotic use
- Clinically inadvisable access
- Clinically inadvisable antibiotic use

Outcomes



- Infection
- Respiratory symptoms
- Common cold
- Fever
- Neurological sympt.
- Digestive presentation
- Uro-gynaecol. sympt.
- Traumatism

Clinical presentation



- Insecure income
- Inflexible work
- No adults in HH
- No health social network
- No HH mobile phone
- No advanced motor transport

Precarity



- No formal education
- Minority ethnicity
- Bottom 20% wealth

Marginalisation



- Social support
- Any phone use
- Advanced motor transport

Facilitation (during illness)



- Illness severity/duration
- Illness of child/adult
- Sex of respondent
- Distance to formal care

Other controls



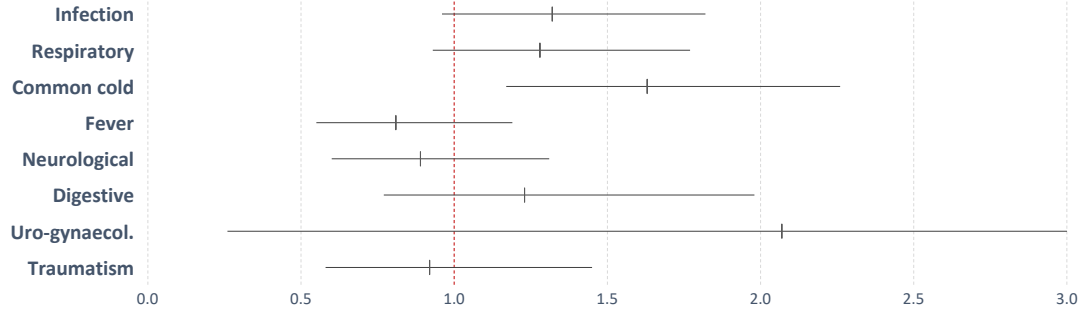
Precarity

(using a 6-dimensional index)

Precarity among **clinical** factors, marginalisation, facilitators



Any formal or informal healthcare access during illness episode

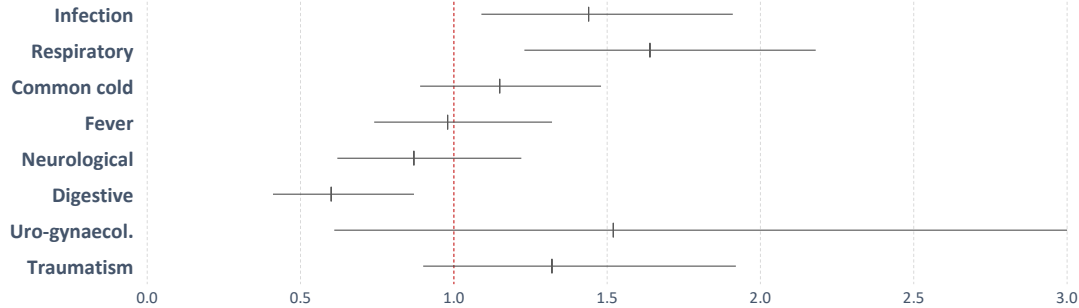


Precarity

Precarity among **clinical** factors, **marginalisation**, **facilitators**

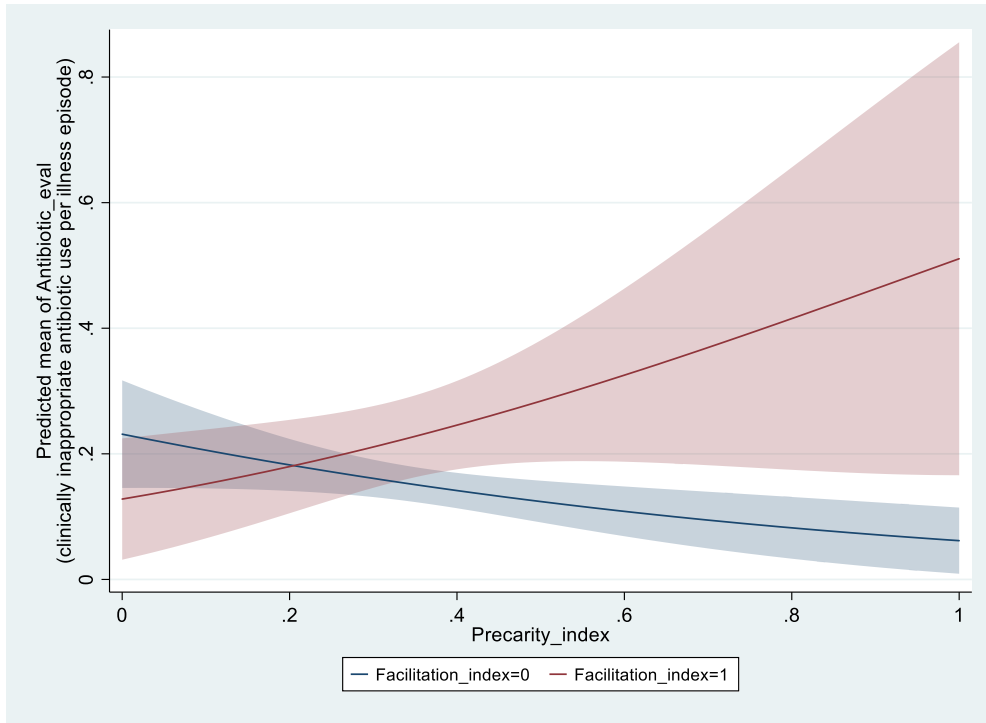
Antibiotics linked to **infections** and **respiratory symptoms**

At least one antibiotic use episode during illness



N = 1421. Adjusted odds ratio with 95% confidence intervals, controlling for marginalisation, facilitation, field site, and other control variables.





Precarity

Precarity among **clinical** factors, **marginalisation**, **facilitators**

Antibiotics linked to **infections** and **respiratory symptoms**

Clinically inappropriate AB use driven by **situational facilitators** in presence of **precarity**

N = 1421. Predicted and interpolated results, controlling for marginalisation, clinical determinants, field site, and other control variables. Shaded areas indicate 95% confidence intervals.



Contextual change

“the process of digital inclusion delivers tools that intensify the competition for scarce healthcare resource among deprived populations”



Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

World Development

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/worlddev

The struggle for digital inclusion: Phones, healthcare, and marginalisation in rural India

Marco J. Haenssger ^{a,b,c,d,*}

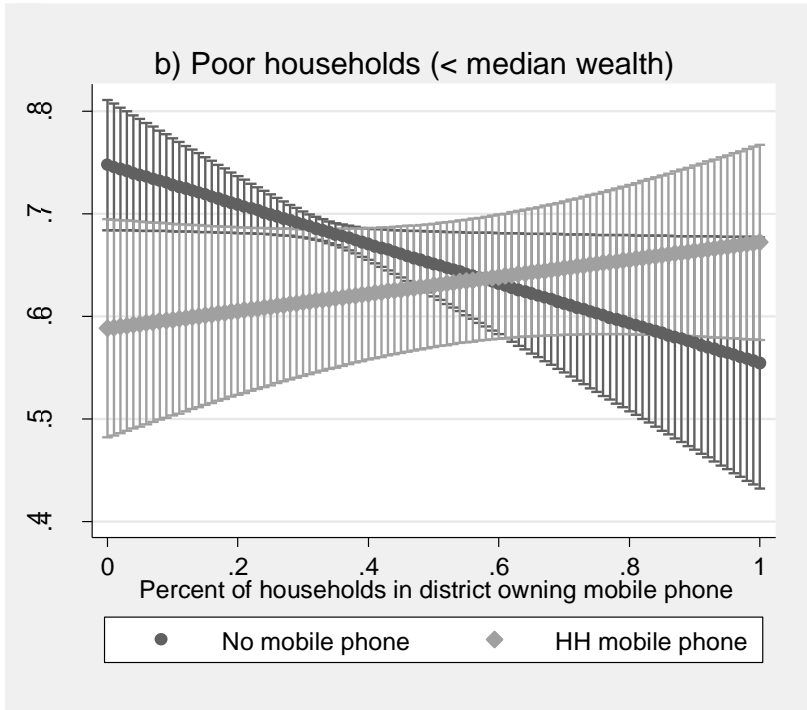
What Global Health Policy can Learn From Strategic Management: Tackle Antimicrobial Resistance

Marco J HAENSSGER ^{a, b, c, *}



97 villages
6683 observations
3056 illness episodes

Rural India wide
2005 – 2012
24,006 observations

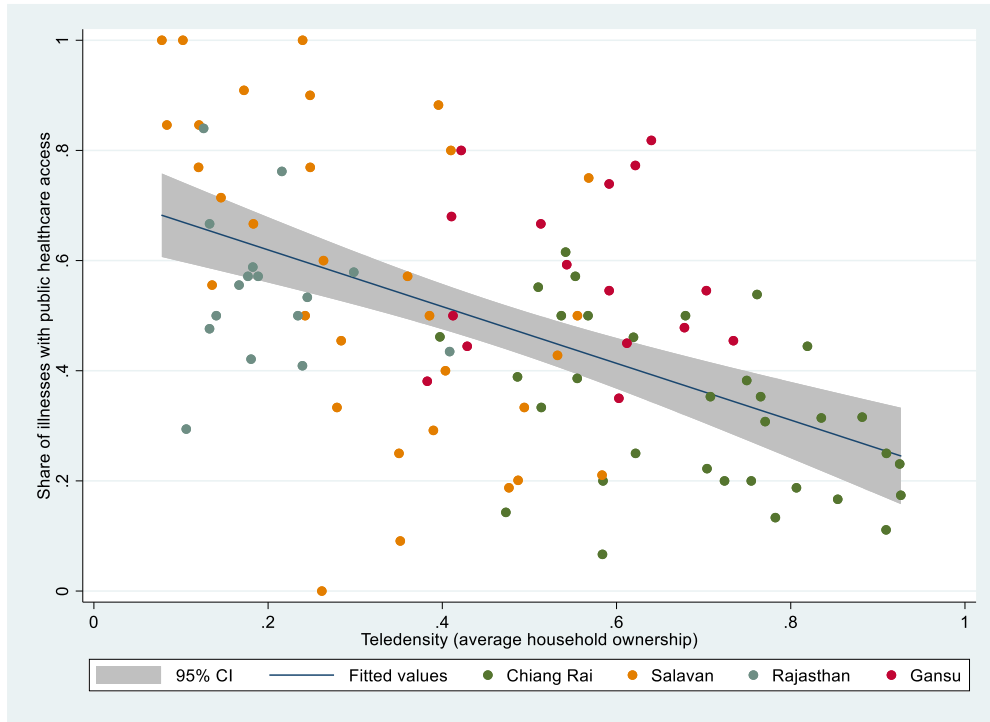


Contextual change

Tech diffusion **raises healthcare barriers** for excluded segments.

$N = 24,006$. Predicted relationship between district-level phone diffusion, household phone ownership, and private healthcare access.





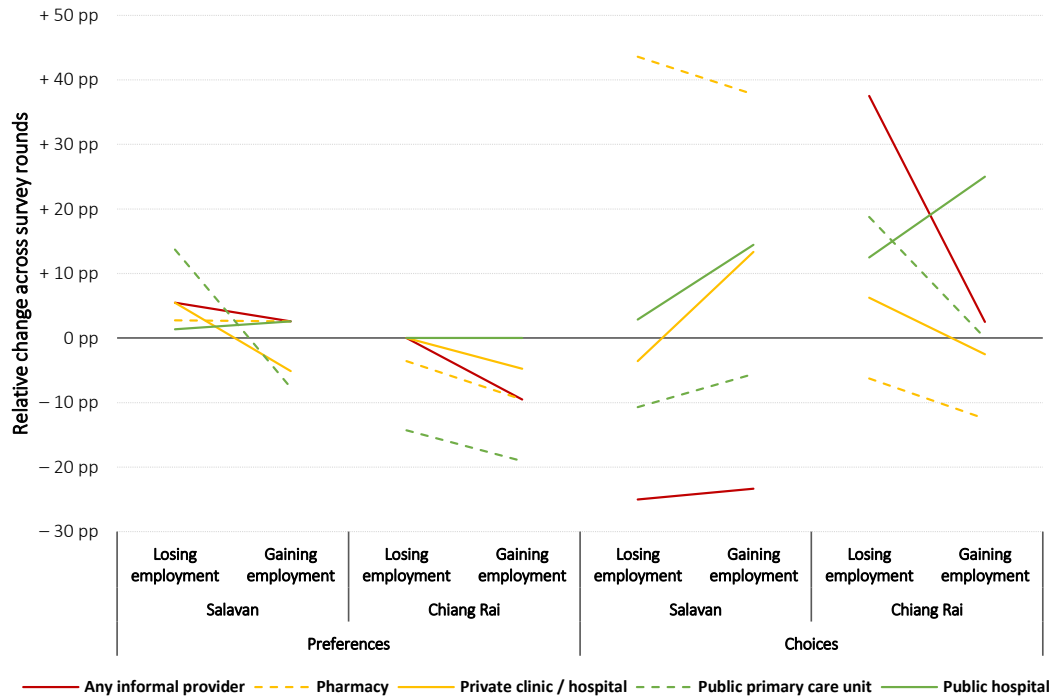
Contextual change

Tech diffusion **raises healthcare barriers** for excluded segments.

Widespread **phone use** links to **lower public healthcare** access.

$N = 97$. Trendline indicating linear fit with 95% confidence interval in grey. Data aggregated from 3056 illness episodes across all field sites.





N = 876. Period change compared across people who lost and gained employment.

Contextual change

Tech diffusion **raises healthcare barriers** for excluded segments.

Widespread **phone use** links to **lower public healthcare** access.

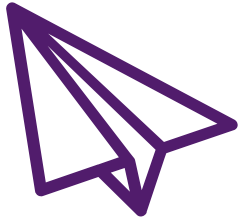
Job loss raises demand for healthcare but pushes people **away from hospitals**, towards primary & informal providers.



Policy implications



Summary



“Massive awareness campaigns” speak to a **fraction of health behaviours**



Ungoverned **contextual change** entails unforeseeable & potentially **problematic health behaviour**



Health policy alone is **unable to solve contextual drivers of AMR**



So what?

Understand the drivers of human behaviour before trying to alter them.

- Steer away from **neo-colonial and elitist** interventions by checking your privilege and taking local populations serious
- Involve local social scientists and development workers to **understand health behaviours**
- Consciously **avoid biased interventions** (urban bias, modernisation bias, knowledge deficit assumptions)

Explore the role of AMR-sensitive interventions as health policy alternative.

- **Social and labour protection schemes** (e.g. sick leave) could alleviate pressure to depend on “quick fix” pharmaceuticals
- **Access to finance** (e.g. cash transfer programmes) could help overcome healthcare access constraints
- **Community outreach** through development organisations could help to ground interventions in local context

We don't know nearly enough about AMR!



Opportunities for future research

Opportunities for future research



Ethnography

- Conceptual development of “precarity” across contexts
- Gradual transformation of livelihoods
- Lived experiences of various dimensions of precarity, both on the side of patients and healthcare providers



Longitudinal secondary data analyses

- Macro-level relationship between contextual change that mitigates/reinforces precarious livelihoods and aggregate health behaviours / outcomes
- E.g. event study of sub-national labour law impacts on aggregate antibiotic consumption



Observational mixed-method research

- Documenting (on the micro level) the complex treatment-seeking behaviours; gradual and seasonal fluctuations in social structure, livelihoods, community interactions, and their relationship to behaviours; evolving patient – provider interactions



Experimental / intervention research

- Micro-level relationship between (health) policy and behavioural outcomes
- Community-level development interventions and their impact on precarity and behaviour, even if this impact is not originally intended



Evaluation research

- Broaden knowledge base on limitations and unintended consequences of knowledge-deficit approaches
- Use balanced and transparent evaluation criteria: from effectiveness and efficiency towards broader impact, relevance, coherence, and sustainability of health action



Thank you.

Questions?

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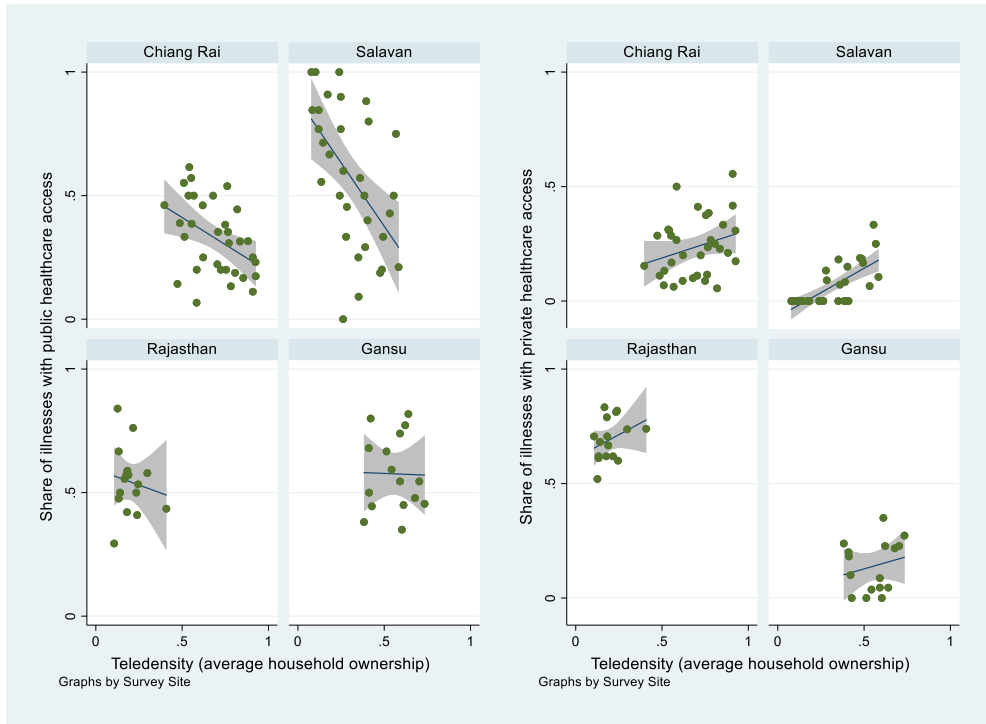
Twitter@ @HaenssgeJ

Web: <http://warwick.ac.uk/mjhaenssge>

Dr Marco J Haenssge | University of Warwick | 02 June 2020

Backup: Survey data overview

Country	Survey design	Villages	Respondents	Illness episodes	Degree of representation
1. China	3-stage cluster random sample (09-10/14)	16	400	356	Rural Gansu province, 2 districts (2,700,000 adults)
2. India	3-stage cluster random sample (08-09/14)	16	398	315	Rural Rajasthan state, 2 districts (1,900,000 adults)
3. Lao PDR	3-stage cluster random sample (02-05/18)	30	983	356	Rural Salavan province (190,000 adults)
4. Thailand	3-stage cluster random sample (12/17-03/18)	30	1,158	608	Rural Chiang Rai province (522,000 adults)
5. Lao PDR	2-round census survey (12/17-02/18 & 03-05/18)	2	2,480	796	All adult members of 2 villages (1,342 adults)
6. Thailand	2-round census survey (11-12/17 & 03-04/18)	3	1,264	625	All adult members of 2 villages (694 adults)
Total		97	6,683	3,056	



Backup: Contextual change

Whereas public healthcare access and village-level mobile phone diffusion were linked negatively in most field sites, private healthcare access had a mildly positive association with phone diffusion.

$N = 97$. Trendline indicating linear fit with 95% confidence interval in grey. Data aggregated from 3056 illness episodes across all field sites.

