

Un Análisis Socio-Criminológico de la Epidemia del VIH

de

Bruno Meini



Bridging Languages and Scholarship

Serie en Sociología



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Introducción

La salud, y especialmente el virus de la inmunodeficiencia humana (VIH), se ha convertido en un problema mundial que requiere soluciones que todos los países puedan acordar. La mayoría de las infecciones mundiales en 2018 se produjeron entre las poblaciones clave y sus parejas sexuales. Las poblaciones clave constituyen un pequeño porcentaje de la población general, pero son las que corren mayor riesgo de adquirir o transmitir el VIH, independientemente del entorno legal y político. Los datos disponibles sugieren que el riesgo de adquirir el VIH entre los hombres homosexuales y otros hombres que tienen relaciones sexuales con hombres fue 22 veces mayor en 2018 que entre todos los hombres adultos. Del mismo modo, el riesgo de contraer el VIH para las personas que se inyectan drogas fue 22 veces mayor que para las personas que no se inyectan drogas, 21 veces mayor para los profesionales del sexo que los adultos de 15 a 49 años y 12 veces mayor para las personas transgénero que los adultos de 15 a 49 años (ONUSIDA 2019, 9).

En base en lo anterior, se deduce que la expansión de los mercados de la droga y sexo ha desempeñado un papel esencial en la propagación del VIH a casi todos los rincones del mundo, lo que ha llevado a las organizaciones internacionales a tomar iniciativas a escala global (OMS 2019; OMS 2015). La comunidad internacional ha operado directamente a través de la acción de organismos especializados, como la Organización Mundial de la Salud (OMS) (Kim 2015). También ha logrado que el tema de la salud se incorpore a las agendas de las cumbres internacionales y de los principales convenios internacionales, así como a algunos documentos del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas. En este contexto, el tema de la calidad en los sistemas de salud está adquiriendo gradualmente proporciones universales. En la mayoría de los países, la calidad se ha vuelto fundamental en la realización de políticas adecuadas de servicios sociales y de salud. Las organizaciones internacionales han tenido un papel importante en la promoción de proyectos de desarrollo de servicios de salud cualitativos en países de bajos ingresos (Beigbeder 2004, 1-7).

La dimensión global del VIH se puede inferir por la propagación del virus por todo el mundo. A finales de 2018, había 37,9 millones [32,7 millones – 44,0 millones] de personas que vivían con el VIH. De ellos, alrededor del 61% se encuentran en África subsahariana, la región más afectada por la epidemia (ONUSIDA 2019, 16-17). El número de personas seropositivas está aumentando a medida que más personas viven más tiempo debido a la terapia antirretroviral, junto con el número de nuevas infecciones por el VIH que, aunque está disminuyendo, sigue siendo muy alto (Ghys et al. 2018). A nivel mundial, las nuevas infecciones por el VIH entre las mujeres jóvenes de 15 a 24 años se

redujeron en un 25% entre 2010 y 2018. Sin embargo, estos datos alentadores no pueden pasar por alto lo que sigue siendo inaceptable, concretamente, el hecho de que cada semana 6.000 adolescentes se infectan con el VIH (ONUSIDA 2019, 2).

El VIH sigue siendo uno de los virus más temidos en la sociedad y, a menudo, alimenta la llamada fobia al sida, que es el miedo irracional a infectarse con el VIH o el miedo a que ya se haya infectado a pesar de la evidencia de lo contrario. A partir de esta fobia, a veces pueden surgir reacciones colectivas de histeria y pánico porque el VIH es el virus que causa la enfermedad mortal SIDA (Hood 2013). Sin embargo, estas reacciones no justifican actitudes injustas hacia aquellos grupos sociales que ya están socialmente excluidos debido a sus conductas, especialmente en los países en desarrollo (Chingwaru y Vidmar 2018). Este proceso de etiquetado puede llevar a sospechar de cualquier individuo que entre en contacto con poblaciones clave con mayor riesgo de exposición al VIH y esté influenciado por un sentimiento de repulsión por los modos por los cuales una persona sana puede ser infectada por una persona VIH positiva (Mawar et al. 2005). Las desaprobaciones morales no solo afectan a quienes presentan un estado de salud precario, sino que terminan por incluir también aquellas conductas que más aumentan el riesgo de transmitir o ser infectado por el virus, como tener sexo sin protección vaginal, anal o sexo oral (Kalichman et al. 2007), tener múltiples parejas sexuales casuales sin usar condón durante las relaciones sexuales (Steffenson et al. 2011), tener relaciones sexuales sin protección con una pareja que se inyecta drogas (Chikovani et al. 2013) y tener relaciones sexuales sin protección con profesionales del sexo (Mulieri et al. 2014).

En la vida cotidiana, desde ver los medios de comunicación hasta hablar en los bares, el VIH rara vez está fuera de la conciencia pública. El volumen de cobertura varía bastante de un país a otro. En la década de 1980, el interés inicial excesivo de los medios de comunicación por la enfermedad se desvaneció pronto. Posteriormente, a principios de la década de 1990, las noticias tendieron a adoptar un tono más sensacionalista y extremo que en el pasado. Esta nueva tendencia contribuyó considerablemente a que pareciera cada vez más e inequívocamente evidente que, las personas más expuestas a la infección eran aquellas poblaciones que, mucho antes de la llegada del VIH, ya estaban discriminadas, socialmente excluidas y estigmatizadas dentro de cada sociedad, como los hombres gay y otros hombres que tienen relaciones sexuales con hombres, trabajadores sexuales, personas transgénero y personas que se inyectan drogas (Aggleton et al. 2005).

El estigma y la discriminación relacionados con el VIH afectan negativamente a las personas que viven con el VIH y que se consideran peligrosas debido a su estado patológico (Phillips y Saewyc 2010, 369–370). En consecuencia, la reducción del estigma y la discriminación relacionados con el VIH puede mejorar drásticamente

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Lista de acrónimos

ACNUDH	Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, UNHCHR y OHCHR por sus siglas en inglés)
AIS	AIDS Indicator Survey (Encuesta de Indicadores de SIDA)
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Centros de Control y Prevención de Enfermedades)
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey (Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud)
DOMP	Departamento de Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz (Department of Peacekeeping Operations, DPKO por sus siglas en inglés)
FDA	Food and Drug Administration (Administración de Alimentos y Medicamentos)
GRID	Gay-Related Immunodeficiency (Inmunodeficiencia Relacionada con los Homosexuales)
ITS	Infecciones de Transmisión Sexual (Sexually Transmitted Infections, STIs por sus siglas en inglés)
KDHS	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud de Kenia)
LEAHN	Law Enforcement and HIV Network (Aplicación de la Ley y Red de VIH)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (Lesbianas, Gays, Bisexuales y Transexuales)
PCP	Pneumocystis Pneumonia (Neumonía por Pneumocystis)
PEP	Post-Exposure Prophylaxis (Profilaxis Posterior a la Exposición)
PrEP	Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis (Profilaxis Previa a la Exposición)
SAPS	South African Police Service (Servicio de Policía de Sudáfrica)
SIDA	Síndrome de Inmunodeficiencia Adquirida (Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome, AIDS por sus siglas en inglés)
TAR	Terapia Antirretroviral (Antiretroviral Therapy, ART por sus siglas en inglés)

TB	Tuberculosis
OMS	Organización Mundial de la Salud (World Health Organization, WHO por sus siglas en inglés)
ONU Mujeres	Entidad de las Naciones Unidas para la Igualdad de Género y el Empoderamiento de la Mujer (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, UN Women por sus siglas en inglés)
ONUSIDA	Programa Conjunto de las Naciones Unidas sobre el VIH y el SIDA (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS, UNAIDS por sus siglas en inglés)
PNUD	Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations Development Programme, UNDP por sus siglas en inglés)
UN	United Nations (Naciones Unidas, ONU)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura)
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund (Fondo de Población de las Naciones Unidas)
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund (Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para los Niños)
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (Oficina de Drogas y Crimen de las Naciones Unidas)
VOCS	Victims of Crime Survey (Encuesta de Víctimas de Delitos)
TARGA	Terapia Antirretroviral de Gran Actividad (Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy, HAART por sus siglas en inglés)
VIH	Virus de Inmunodeficiencia Humana (Human Immunodeficiency Virus, HIV por sus siglas en inglés)

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