Original Research Article

² Assessing the attitude and perception of

3 community members and health workers

4 regarding leprosy stigma

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ABSTRACT

Aims: To measure the attitudes and the perception of community members and health workers towards leprosy and to provide baseline data for those who are interested in launching de-stigmatizing interventions.

Study design: Comparative study.

Place and Duration of Study: Raj Pracha Samasai Institute and Chaiyaphum province, Thailand, 14-17 August 2011.

Methodology: The study was done using qualitative and quantitative methods in four subdistricts. Interview guidelines, a predefined script and the Explanatory Model Interview Catalogue (EMIC) stigma scale were used as data collection tools. For qualitative data collection, community members were selected by maximum variation sampling based on sex, age and socio-economic status; health workers were selected by including those who were present at the sub-district health promotion hospital at the time of interviewing, and those who were responsible for leprosy and tuberculosis at the district hospital. Focus Group Discussions were conducted among health volunteers who had people affected by leprosy in their responsible areas. For quantitative data collection, community members were selected by systematic sampling. Health workers were selected by convenience sampling. Content analysis was used for qualitative information. A t-test, a Chi square and multiple regressions were used for quantitative data.

Results: There was significant difference at the 5% level (p=0.007, Chi2 test) in the proportion of community members and that of health workers who perceived stigma. An association was found between age, education, number of family members and type of house, and perceived stigma. Community members and health workers perceived leprosy as a disease characterised by dirtiness, bad odour, oozy wounds, unpleasant skin and impairments. Most community members thought leprosy was hereditary and incurable. **Conclusion**: The stigma against leprosy may result in reduced quality of life for those affected and hampers their access to health care services. The authors propose that destigmatizing interventions be prioritised, taking local beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions into

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consideration.

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Keywords: assessment, attitude, perception, stigma, leprosy

11 **1. INTRODUCTION**

13 In Thailand, leprosy incidence has steadily declined, with only 405 newly detected cases in 14 2010. However, the proportion of new cases with grade 2 disability over the last five years 15 fluctuated between 11.5 to 14.8% (Raj Pracha Samasai Institute, 2011, Unpublished report). 16 This relatively high proportion suggests delayed presentation of new leprosy cases (1). 17 Studies carried out to identify the causes of this delay revealed that stigma related to leprosy 18 was partly to be held responsible (2;3). Stigma also has a negative impact on the people 19 concerned in terms of physical, psychological and socio-economic aspects. They may suffer 20 mental stress and anxiety leading to depression and even attempt suicide in some cases (4). 21 They may lose economic stability, their marriage, or opportunities for further education. To 22 prevent stigma from occurring as well as to ameliorate the manifestations that cause so 23 much suffering to individuals and their families, effective interventions are needed. Many 24 attempts have been made to reduce stigma attached to leprosy. For instance, leprosy 25 services have been integrated into the general health care system to reduce the differences 26 between people affected by leprosy and those suffering from other health conditions (5). 27 Alternative terms have been used instead of 'leprosy', such as 'Anaesthetic skin disease 28 (Raj Pracha Samasai Institute, 2003, Unpublished workshop proceeding). Significant funds 29 have been spent on the effort to reduce stigma attached to leprosy through information 30 dissemination (Raj Pracha Samasai Institute, 2002-2010, Unpublished annual report). It is 31 unclear whether stigma attached to leprosy actually decreased as a result of these efforts. 32 Stigma is still present. In recent years, leprosy-affected persons were still reported to be 33 stigmatized by their neighbours and by health workers (6). Some leprosy patients were 34 shunned and refused treatment of their ulcers by nurse aids, resulting in delay in diagnosis 35 and poor compliance with treatment by many of them (7). However, according to an 36 intensive literature review, so far no study has been conducted to assess stigma towards 37 leprosy in Thailand (8). 38

The aim of this study was to measure the perception of community members and health workers regarding leprosy stigma in the community, to study possible determinants of stigma, and to provide baseline data for those interested in launching de-stigmatizing interventions.

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44 2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

46 This comparative research was conducted using both qualitative and quantitative methods. 47 The study areas were four sub-districts of four different districts of Chaiyaphum province in 48 the North-eastern region of Thailand. They were selected as study areas because they have 49 a higher number of people affected by leprosy than other sub-districts. Respondents for the 50 qualitative interviews were 19 persons affected by leprosy, 24 community members selected 51 by maximum variation sampling based on age, sex, and socio-economic status, and 6 health 52 care workers who were present at the sub-district health promotion hospital at the time of 53 data collection. Two health workers who were responsible for leprosy and tuberculosis at the 54 district hospital were also included. Focus group discussions were done with health 55 volunteers selected because of the people affected by leprosy living in the areas for which 56 they were responsible. Quantitative respondents were community members who lived in the 57 same village as people affected by leprosy. They were selected by systematic sampling, 58 which was conducted by obtaining a list of names from a local health officer. The number of 59 eligible people of each sub-district varied from 500 to 700. As the required number of 60 respondents was 60 from each sub-district, every 8th-11th name in the list was selected. 61 62 Another group of quantitative respondents were the 236 health workers who worked at the 63 health units where people affected by leprosy attended health services. Those who were 64 present at the time of data collection were interviewed. Those not willing to participate and 65 those who were unable to answer the questions due to physical or mental problems were excluded. The sample size of quantitative respondents was calculated based on an 66 67 estimated prevalence of community members who have negative attitudes towards leprosy 68 of 96% found in the study of Srisak and a desired width of the 95% confidence interval of +/-

69 70 5% (9;10).

Data collection tools comprised of interview guidelines for semi-structured interviews, a predefined script for focus group discussions and the EMIC stigma scale for the quantitative sample. Before using the *EMIC* scale, the questions were translated into Thai and then translated back into English language to check the correctness of the translation. The tools were piloted among 30 health workers and 30 community members with similar characteristics to the study groups.

Analysis of qualitative information was done by content analysis. Quantitative data entry and
analysis was done using SPSS version 16. To look for associations between the EMIC score
and personal factors, multiple regression was performed. A p-value of <0.05 was considered

81 indicative of a statistically significant difference or association. A T-test was applied to

compare the mean EMIC scores of community members with those of health workers. Chi

83 square was used to compare the proportion of community members and health workers who

84 had negative attitudes and perceived stigma.

85

86 The EMIC scale consists of 15 questions covering different aspects of stigma and has four 87 answer options: 'yes', 'possibly', 'no', and 'don't know'. The score for each answer is 2,1,0,0 88 respectively. We chose EMIC cut-off point for perceived stigma at 8 which means that the 89 respondents are considered to perceive existing stigmatization in the community when they 90 answered at least 4 questions with 'yes', or 8 questions with 'possibly', or the combination of 91 both answers with sum score at 8. The reason for choosing 8 is to increase the specificity of 92 the cut-off point. If a respondent answer 'yes' or 'possibly' to fewer questions, there would be 93 a high risk of false positives. A minimum of 0.70 was set as an acceptable reliability, and a 94 ceiling or floor effect of 15% or less was set as an acceptable validity of the EMIC scale (11).

95

96 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

- 97 98 <u>3.1 Results</u>
- 99

100 **Qualitative results**

101 In this section, attitudes and perceptions about leprosy among community members and

102 health workers are presented first. This is followed by a description of the stigma practices,

103 that is the way people behave in response to perceptions of stigma, first of people affected

104 by leprosy and then of community members and health workers.

105

106 Attitudes and perceptions about leprosy among community members and health

107 workers

108 In the perception of community members and health workers; leprosy is a disease with

109 dirtiness, bad odour, oozy wounds, unpleasant skin, and impairments. The local term for

110 leprosy is 'Khi thut'. 'Khi' translated as 'faces'. 'Khi thut' refers to disease or people with the

111 mentioned characteristics, particularly with shortening of fingers and toes or contractures of

112 hands and feet. When we mentioned the early signs of leprosy, they said that this is not

113 leprosy it is merely a skin disease.

114

115 With the exception of health workers and some health volunteers, all respondents, even

116 persons affected by leprosy themselves, did not know the cause of leprosy. Most of them

117 thought it is hereditary. An eighteen year-old woman said "I saw an old man with clawed and

118 shortened hands. I asked my mother why he had hands like that. She told me it is

- 119 *hereditary*". This belief was confirmed by a young man who was better educated than
- 120 general community members. He was deputy head of a village. He said "I always share a
- 121 glass of whisky with my friend who has leprosy, but I am not infected because leprosy is
- 122 *hereditary*". In addition, most villagers, even some persons affected by leprosy themselves,
- thought leprosy is incurable. One male with leprosy-related disability who had already
- 124 completed treatment, kept asking for leprosy drugs as he thought he had not been cured yet.
- 125

126 In focus group discussions with health volunteers who knew the cause of leprosy through

127 training, they said leprosy is fearsome because they did not know how to protect people from

- this disease. In our in-depth interview with one female villager, she said she feared leprosy
- 129 because she had no knowledge about leprosy.
- 130

131 Stigma practices of people affected by leprosy

After being diagnosed as having leprosy, people affected responded by keeping others fromknowing and avoiding social contact.

134

135 Keep others from knowing

136 If possible, people diagnosed as having leprosy would not let others know their disease137 status. While collecting the data from health officers, we met a colleague from the national

138 leprosy organization, who had carried out a disability survey in another sub-district. She had

139 interviewed a woman affected by leprosy at the hospital, instead of at her house as planned,

- because the interviewee did not allow her to visit her at home. The reason given was that
- she did not want to damage the reputation of her relatives who were key members of the
- community. People whose parents had leprosy were not able to accept this disease. We
- 143 were told by health officers and health volunteers that a female villager, wife of a local
- 144 policeman whose parents used to have leprosy, strongly refused to cooperate with the
- process of contact examination. She announced that she would sue anyone who says shehas leprosy.
- 147
- 148 According to health workers and health volunteers, even children of people affected by
- 149 leprosy did not accept household contact examination. People with suspected symptoms did
- 150 not reveal themselves. A female health provider told us,
- 151 "Their children do not come for contact examination, because this area calls the disease Khi

Thut. They are afraid of community rejection. I used to detect one suspected leprosy case, a
30 year-old man. I told him to be back again to get referral documents to the district hospital
for diagnosis but he did not follow the appointment, he disappeared ".

155

Health workers told us that many people seek leprosy treatment far from their homes. The
reasons for this might include a good reputation for leprosy treatment in that place, but also
that they did not want the community to know about their disease.

159

160 Avoiding social contact

Uncle [M], the 76 year-old man with leprosy-related disability said *"I am afraid to talk with*strangers because I fear that they will talk about my disability and talk behind my back".

163 Because of fear of stigmatization, many affected persons dared not go outside their houses.

164 They reported that they did not visit their relatives' houses, did not join celebrations

165 organized by their neighbours or by the community, and did not join in religious events.

166 When we asked for the reason for not doing so, a man with leprosy related disability said "I

167 don't want to go, I afraid they will find me disgusting". They said that sometimes they wanted

to join the said events, but their families forbade them to do so, as they did not want other

169 villagers to talk or behave badly towards people affected by leprosy. However, there were

some people with leprosy-related disability who managed to join the events as they lived

alone and there was no one who forbade them. In the course of the events, people with

172 leprosy-related disability did not mix with other villagers. They ate separately or took food

173 offered by the host or villagers to be eaten at home. Uncle [O], a 76 year-old person with

severe leprosy-related disability, said "I understand them; if I were them, I would also feel

175 *disgust*". This man was, like many others, unmarried. He said "I dare not woo any woman,

176 because my body is like this".

177

178 When they go to the health centre, people with leprosy-related disability reported they felt

179 uncomfortable with a number of eyes staring at them negatively. They were the eyes of

180 villagers who came to visit health workers for their health problems or their relatives. Some

181 people talked badly to them. Uncle [X], a 70 year-old man with leprosy related disability,

talked to a research assistant who was also affected by leprosy.

183

184 Research assistant: "Are you ashamed because you have got this disease?"

185 Uncle [X]: "ashamed and afraid people would be disgusted with me".

186 Research assistant: "We do not like it when people stare at us. We are shy towards people,

187 but not towards a doctor, aren't we?"

Uncle [X]: "Yes (laugh), staring with disgust". 188 189 190 Uncle [Y], another person with leprosy-related disability, said "doctors were not disgusted with us, but villagers were, they said we are disgusting". 191 192 193 People affected by leprosy did not use health care services as often as their neighbours. A 194 female health provider said the outpatient cards of people affected by leprosy were thinner 195 than those of other customers of their age. And if they have to go to see a doctor, they dared 196 not to comment or ask a doctor about their health problems. They obeyed and followed a 197 doctor's suggestions without objection or comment. Aunt [Z], a female people with leprosy-198 related disability told a research assistant "I dare not go to see a doctor. I bought drugs from 199 pharmacist when I was sick. I was afraid that they would be disgusted with me". 200 201 Most of people who had leprosy-related disability reported they developed their impairments 202 little by little. When they had ulcers, some of them did not visit a doctor. They bought drugs 203 from pharmacy and took care of their own wounds. Those who visited a sub-district hospital 204 tried to avoid mixing with other community members as much as possible by visiting in the 205 late afternoon and sitting separately. Some of them were afraid that health workers would be 206 disgusted with them, so they just asked for wound cleaning materials to do wound care by 207 themselves at home. At the time of our first visit, Uncle [M] had one large-size ulcer on his 208 right sole and one large callous on the other. He had told a health provider that his daughter 209 would take care of his wounds. The wound was worsening. Health workers at the peripheral 210 health centre said they understood this situation. They said that for the sake of people with 211 leprosy-related disability, they should separate the leprosy and tuberculosis clinic from those 212 of other diseases. At the higher health care level, the district hospital, the leprosy and 213 tuberculosis clinic had already been separated. The reason given for doing so was to let 214 affected people talk and learn from each other about their problems. However, they found 215 that the customers of this separated clinic tried to spend as little time as possible there. They 216 just stopped by and told the health provider that they would come again to collect drugs to 217 take back home. They did not wait while the health provider was running the drug dispensing 218 process. 219 220 Stigma practices of community members and health workers 221 Most health workers said that they did not have a negative attitude towards people with 222 leprosy. This matches the information obtained from people with leprosy-related disability.

223 However, there was still one health care provider of a peripheral health centre who frankly

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admitted that stigmatizing behaviour was present in his workplace. Some health workers
tried to move people with leprosy-related disability from their service spots as soon as
possible by talking less or quickly terminating the conversation. The reasons given were that
people with leprosy-related disability have poor hygiene, and that their wounds were
smelling badly. The same health provider said "*these people are dirty, their families also dirty*". According to the comment of a 70 year-old woman, "villagers avoid these people
because they are dirty. When you are dirty whatever disease you have, people avoid you".

231

232 Villagers did not show their negative feelings towards people with leprosy-related disability 233 openly. They just ignored them, talked behind their backs, kept a distance, did not visit their 234 houses, did not greet them or respond to their greetings and did not sit next to them. A 56 235 year-old man whose friend has suspected signs of leprosy said, "if his hands become clawed 236 and shortened, I will stay in a far distance. I am not disgusted, but I am afraid to be infected 237 and transmit it to my grandchildren. If he has only skin symptoms, I am not disgusted, but a 238 woman may be". Most villagers said they did not want to share a meal with people with 239 leprosy-related disability, but they did not refuse an animal hunted by people with leprosy-240 related disability. A majority of informants said they will forbid their children to marry 241 someone whose parents had leprosy. A 56 year-old woman, who had one leg amputated 242 because of diabetes, said the following "People avoid people with leprosy, because they 243 have disability and are dirty; even me. Because I have one leg, I dare not visit my daughter 244 in Bangkok. I am afraid she will be ashamed because of having a disabled mother". 245 246 Uncle [N], a 75 year-old man affected by leprosy, told a researcher, "I never fear anyone, but 247 I want to die. People talk to me badly". Some people whose impairments had become worse

as they got older had been abandoned by their family. A 55 year-old man told a researcher

that his wife and his children moved away, because he could not feed a family.

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251 Quantitative results

252

253 Characteristics of the community members

Of the 236 community members, 153 (64.8%) were female, 163 (69.1%) completed only

primary school, 186 (78.8%) were married, 186 (78.8%) were aged between 40-79 years.

256 Characteristics of the health workers

257 Of 236 health workers, 180 (76.3%) were female.

258

259 Validity of the data collecting tool

260 The internal consistency of the EMIC scale was good with an alpha score of 0.87, which 261 indicates high internal consistency (11). No floor or ceiling effects were found. Only 6.8% of 262 respondents scored the lowest EMIC score, while only 4.7% scored the highest EMIC score. 263 264 The EMIC score among community members and health workers 265 The mean of the EMIC score of community members was 15.4 (95%CI 14.25-16.55; n=236), 266 with a median of 16. The mean of the total EMIC score of health workers was 14.8 (95%CI 267 14.76-13.89; n=236) with a median of 15.5. The difference between the means was not 268 significant (2-tailed p-value=0.387, t-test). 269 270 Factors associated with the attitude and perception regarding leprosy stigma 271 Multiple regression was used to investigate an association of personal data with EMIC score. 272 A positive association was found among community members between the EMIC score and 273 being over 80 years old, having had primary and secondary school education, and living in a

- family with more than 5 members. A negative association was found between the EMIC
- score and living in types of houses other than a cottage or shelter.
- 276
- Table 1. Multiple regression for personal factors to investigate an association with EMIC
 score in community members.
 - Sig Model Unstandardized Coefficients В SE 1.039 1.340 Sex .439 Age 30-39 -1.113 3.121 .722 2.911 .770 40-49 -0.852 50-59 2.984 .501 2.012 60-69 2.339 3.199 .465 70-79 .152 4.857 3.376 80 3.931 *.049 7.791
- 280
- 281

282 Table 1. (continued)

Model	Unstandardized	Sig
	Coefficients	

	В	SE	
Education			
- Primary school	5.797	1.890	*.002
- Secondary school	6.596	2.456	*.008
Marital status	-0.307	1.624	.850
Number of family members			
- 2-4	3.193	2.035	.118
- 5	4.285	2.146	*.047
Types of house			
- Small house with weed roof	-21.362	7.727	*.006
- Small house with tile and zinc roof	-17.012	6.452	*.009
- Concrete house	-18.674	6.654	*.005
- Others (Wooden house with high lifted floor	-19.855	6.544	*.003
Income/month (THB)			
- 2 001-5 000	1.067	1.768	.547
- 5 001-10 000	786	1.990	.693
- >10 000	1.213	2.869	.673
- Do not answer	-1.649	3.167	.603
Occupation			
- Trading	-3.949	4.061	.332
- Agriculture	1.682	1.741	.335
- Unemployed	-2.497	2.421	.303
- Others	-1.819	3.116	.560

284 ^a Dependent variable : Total leprosy EMIC score

285 *Predictor in the model

286

287 Community members and heath workers' perception on leprosy stigma

The percentage of CM with EMIC score 8 was 75.4 (95%CI=69.9-80.9), while that of HW
was 85.6(95%CI=81.1-90.1). This difference was significant at the 5% level (p=0.007, Chi2
test).

291

292 Graph 1 demonstrates the views of community members and health workers on how they

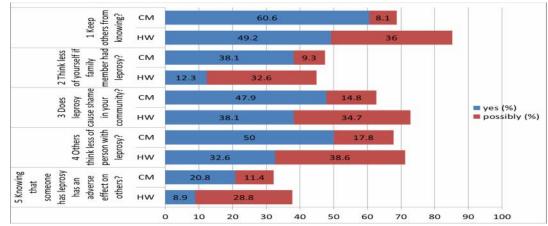
and other people feel about having people affected by leprosy in their family or community.

294 Respondents were 236 community members, and 236 health workers of 4 districts in

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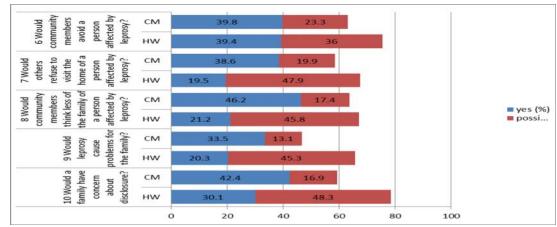
- Chaiyaphum province. More than 60% thought that people with leprosy would keep others from knowing their condition, that leprosy would cause shame, and that others think less of people with leprosy.

Graph 1. Perception of stigma among CM and HW; item 1-5





Graph 2 shows that more than a half of community members and health workers believed that community members would avoid a person with leprosy, refuse to visit their homes, and think less of the family of a person with leprosy. They also thought that a family of a person with leprosy would be concerned about disclosure. More than 60% of health workers thought that leprosy would cause problems for the family, while 46.6% of community members viewed in the same way. Graph 2. Perception of stigma among CM and HW; item 6-10



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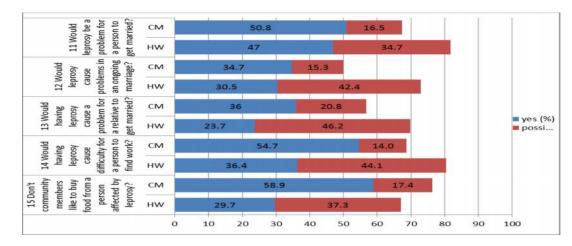
Graph 3 shows the views of community members and health workers on how leprosy affects 323 people and their families in terms of marital and work prospects. Over 60% thought that 324 325 leprosy would be a problem for a person affected in terms of marital and work prospects. 326 The same percentage thought that community members would not like to buy food from a 327 person affected by leprosy. In addition, around 50% of community members believed that 328 leprosy would cause problems in an on-going marriage of people affected, and having 329 leprosy would cause problems for a relative wanting to get married. Around 70% of the 330 health workers had a similar view.

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Graph 3. Perception of stigma among CM and HW; item 11-15

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337 3.2 Discussion

338

339 Most informants and respondents linked leprosy with disability and dirtiness because in their 340 community they had only noticed those people affected who also have disability and poor 341 hygiene. People who have never seen people affected by leprosy themselves perceived this 342 image from their parents and the media. Disability and dirtiness are stigmatised in 343 themselves according to one woman whose leg was amputated. She did not have leprosy 344 but was ashamed of her disability. Another woman said that people who are dirty are 345 stigmatized whatever disease they have. Therefore, it is not surprising that the quantitative 346 result showed that a large majority of both community members and health workers 347 perceived people affected by leprosy to be stigmatized. This finding supports the results of 2 348 different studies of Peedaswat and Poopook conducted in different areas of Thailand, 349 showing that people affected by leprosy who had disability were more likely to be 350 stigmatized than those who did not (7;12). In any stigma reduction attempt, it is important to 351 address the community's perception that links leprosy with dirtiness and disability. 352 353 The belief of the community that leprosy is hereditary and incurable may be another reason 354 for stigmatization (13). Because leprosy occurs in one particular family and because 355 disability cannot be restored, people thought leprosy was hereditary and incurable. The 356 belief that leprosy is hereditary was found also by Leerapun, Idawani, and de Stigter in 357 Thailand, Indonesia, and Nepal, respectively (14-16). The qualitative data showed that the 358 current respondents also believed that leprosy is hereditary. 359 360 In our in-depth interviews, we found that people do not want other villagers to know that they 361 have leprosy. This finding was supported by the results gathered with the EMIC scale 362 showing that more than 60% of respondents thought that people with leprosy would keep

others from knowing their condition. They also thought that popsy would cause shame, and
that others would think less of people with leprosy. Because of these attitudes and
perceptions, some people who have leprosy preferred getting treatment far away from home.

In addition, some household contacts of people affected by leprosy refused to cooperate inthe examination of contacts. People affected by leprosy showed evidence of internalised (or

368 self-) stigma by not participating in community activities. Stigma studies by other researchers

- 369 yielded similar findings. In Nigeria, Alubo found that people affected preferred to get
- treatment from a place that they did not know (17). In Indonesia and in Nepal, the studies of
- 371 Idawani and of Heijnders found that people affected avoided certain social contact (15;18).
- 372 Idawani found that villagers in Indonesia thought that people affected by leprosy would
- 373 remain indoors (15). An extreme form of self-stigma was described in Nonthanum's study in
- Thailand, who found a woman affected by leprosy who had hidden herself in a house more

than 60 years (Nonthanum B, 2008, Unpublished study report). Self-stigma may result in
delayed treatment, which may in turn lead to disability and further stigma (19).

377

378 More than 50% of the community members and health workers believed that community 379 members would avoid a person with leprosy. This is supported by information from a villager 380 who said he would keep a distance if it is confirmed that his friend has leprosy. In-depth 381 information from health officers also revealed that health officers tried to spend as little time 382 as possible in providing care to people with leprosy-related disabilities. These findings are 383 similar to the study of Primkaew in Thailand who found that health workers told people 384 affected by leprosy to sit outside the clinic away from other people and failed to provide ulcer 385 care to people with leprosy-related disability (20). These stigmatizing behaviours of 386 community members and health workers may be the main reason for people affected by 387 leprosy to internalize stigma and to start behaving accordingly. This in turn may lead to 388 further deterioration of their impairments.

389

390 Over 60% of community members and health workers thought that leprosy would be a 391 problem for a person affected in terms of marital prospects and relationships, and also in 392 work prospects. More than 50% and 70% of community members and health workers, 393 respectively, believed that leprosy would cause problems in an on-going marriage of people 394 affected, and that having leprosy would make it difficult for a relative to get married. These 395 quantitative findings were confirmed by the information from the in-depth interviews that men 396 affected by leprosy dare not start a relationship with women. One affected husband was left 397 by his wife because of not being able to earn enough income to feed his family. The belief 398 that leprosy is hereditary may be a reason for respondents to think that having leprosy would 399 affect the marriage prospects of relatives. However, from our observations and in-depth 400 interviews, the children of people affected did not seem to have a problem finding a spouse. 401 402 It is important to note that, even though there was no difference between the attitudes and 403 perception of community members and health workers, the percentages of health workers 404 who answered "possibly" to every question were much higher than those of community 405 members. This may be because some of health workers were not sure about the attitudes 406 and perception of community members as they lived in the town far from their workplace.

407

408 It is also important to note that there was significant difference in the proportion of

409 community members and health workers who have negative attitudes and perceived stigma.

410 A higher proportion of health workers had negative attitudes and perceived stigma than

411 community members. Stigma in health services was also reported in the literature review of
412 Heijnders and Van Der Meij (21). This is important, since health workers are expected to
413 lead by example when it comes to behaviour towards people with illnesses. It also indicates

- that specific interventions are needed to address stigma among health workers.
- 415

416 There was a positive association between age and perceived stigma. The people who were 417 over 80 years old may have known people affected by leprosy for a long time, possibly since 418 the early stages of their disease. At that time, there was no effective treatment. They may 419 have seen people affected gradually developing impairments. They may have observed that 420 leprosy occurred in particular families. They were familiar with the stigmatizing behaviour of 421 the community that may have also included themselves. This impression may be an 422 explanation for this association. This result support the study of van Brakel et al in Indonesia 423 who also found an association between age and stigma (22).

424

425 Some other personal factors were also associated with perceived stigma. People who lived 426 in a better quality dwelling perceived less stigma than those who lived in a shelter or cottage. 427 This may be because they have a better chance to access information related to disease or 428 health than those who lived in a cottage or a shelter. From our observation, cottages or 429 shelters were often situated in more remote areas of the community or in the rice fields, far 430 from daily sources of information such as neighbours, a village broadcasting post, or a 431 visiting mobile education team. Access to recent education or information regarding the 432 disease may have contributed to less perceived stigma. However, the effect of the level 433 education appears to show the opposite: we found that people with primary and secondary 434 level education scored higher on perceived stigma than those with a lower education level. 435 This may be because people with higher education have a higher level of general awareness 436 of the stigma of leprosy as they have more chance than those with lower education to hear 437 about stigma related to leprosy from other sources. For instance, they may be reading 438 newspapers that often use stigmatized terms concerning leprosy. 439

People who lived in a family with more than five members perceived more stigma than those lived in a smaller family. In the community's perception, leprosy may affect other family members in terms of shame and marriage opportunities. This may mean that the bigger the family, the more leprosy may be perceived as a threat to the family integrity. This notion may reinforce the stigma perception of those with many family members.

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446 Stigmatization resulted in a reduced quality of life of people affected as they avoided social 447 contact, attended health services as little as possible, and experienced negative interaction 448 from people in community including health workers. These negative effects were also found 449 in the study of Tsutsumi et al. in Bangladesh and the study of Joseph & Rao in India (4;23). 450 Leprosy-related stigma needs to be addressed in order to improve the quality of life of those 451 affected. A tailor-made de-stigmatizing approach has been shown to be effective in reducing 452 stigma towards leprosy, for example using a social marketing campaign in Sri Lanka and 453 socio-economic rehabilitation in Nepal and Nigeria (24-26). 454

455

4. CONCLUSION 456

457 Both people in leprosy-endemic communities and health workers associated leprosy with 458 disability and dirtiness and thought leprosy was incurable and hereditary. This resulted in a 459 majority expressing negative attitudes and perceptions regarding leprosy. This stigmatization 460 in turn affects the quality of life and the access to health care services of persons affected. 461 To prevent the occurrence of this phenomenon, local beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions need 462 to be taken into consideration in designing de-stigmatizing interventions.

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ETHICAL APPROVAL 464

466 The study was approved by the ethics committee of the Department of Disease Control.

- 467 Ministry of Public Health of Thailand. After explaining the study, the participants were asked
- 468 to give informed consent. The participants could refuse to answer any specific questions, if 469 they wanted to.
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