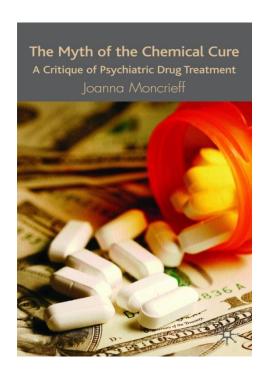
The Myth of the Chemical Cure: explaining the real nature of psychiatric drugs and the consequences of their use

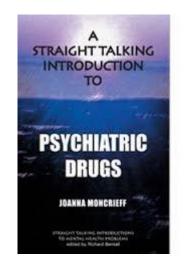
Joanna Moncrieff, Oslo, 13th Nov 2018

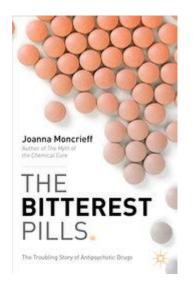
Aims of talk:

 Look at assumptions that underpin the current view of drug treatment for mental health problems

 Present alternative way of understanding and using prescribed drugs for mental distress

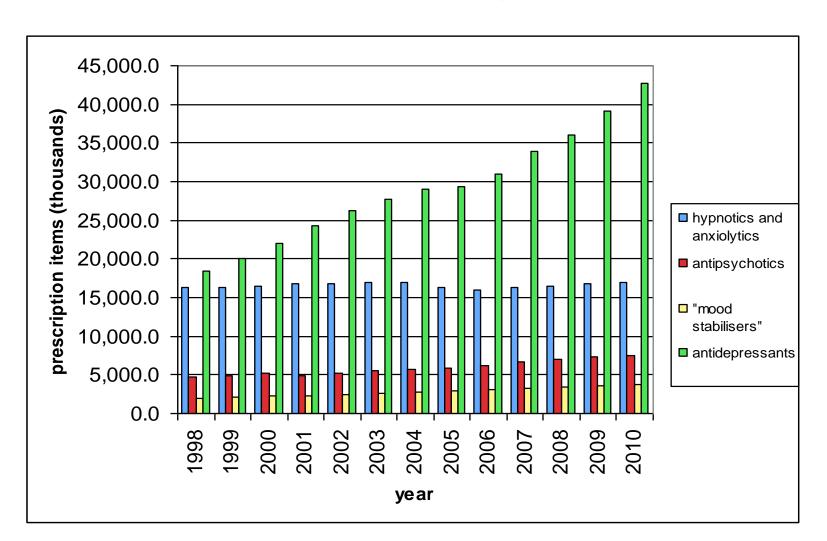






There has been an increase in the use of prescription drugs for mental disorders:

Trends in prescriptions in England 1998-2010



This increase is associated with a strong message that drugs work by correcting a chemical imbalance

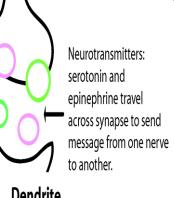


 "Paxil CR helps balance your brain's chemistry" PaxilCR.com, 2009

Mechanism of drug action in psychiatry:

 Current view is that drugs target and correct an underlying biological abnormality

 Abnormality is proposed to be of neurotransmitters (chemical imbalance)
 Axon cuitry or unspecified



 There is no evidence that any class of psychiatric drug works by targeting the underlying biological mechanism of the disorder or symptoms

Why?

- We don't know the mechanisms underling any disorder or even any 'symptoms'
- Placebo controlled trials do not confirm that drugs act in this way- differences from placebo can be accounted for in other ways
- Other evidence that drugs might have mechanism targeting effects is lacking
- There are other ways of explaining drug action

Models of drug action

Disease centred model	Drug centred model
Drugs correct an abnormal brain state	Drugs <i>create</i> an abnormal brain state
Drugs target specific diseases or abnormalities	Psychiatric drugs as psychoactive drugs
Therapeutic effects of drugs arise from their effects on disease pathology <i>or</i> the biological mechanism s that produce symptoms	Useful effects are a consequence of drug-induced changes to normal brain functioning
Example (general medicine): asthma treatments, insulin for diabetes, aspirin, paracetamol	Examples: alcohol for social anxiety, opiate anaesthetics

Psychoactive drugs

- Altered mental states: changes in cognition, emotion and behaviour
- Linked physical alterations (eg druginduced sedation has mental and physical components)
- Can produce euphoria or dysphoria to different degrees

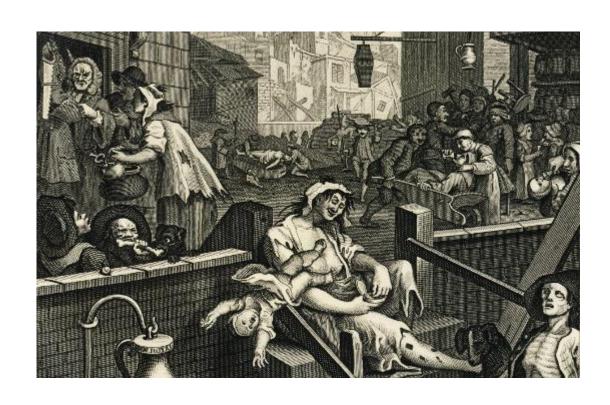


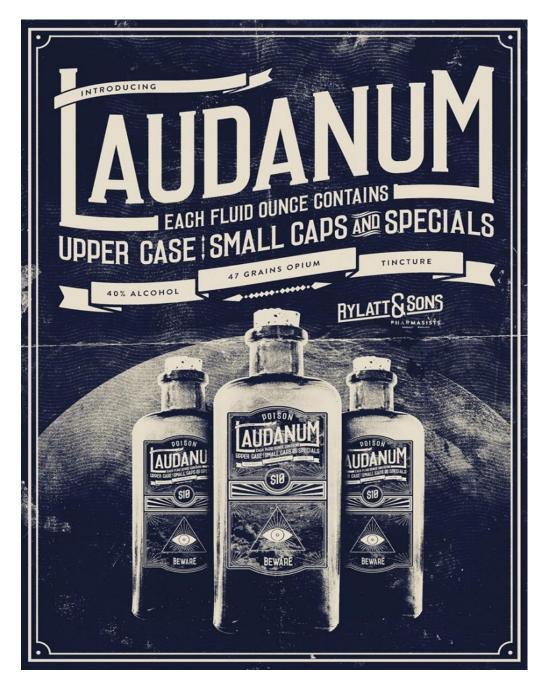




•

People have used psychoactive substances to alleviate misery for millenia







MARIANI WINE Quickly Beauties | MAZIANI WINE REALTH, STRENGTH,

ENERGY & VITALITY.

FORTIFEIR STRENGTHERS OFFICELATED & REPUBLIES THE BODY & BRAIN

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is delivered free to all parts of the United Kingdom by WILCOX & CO., 63. Nortimer Street, London, W., price 4- per Single Bellie, 20 is buildered, 43- these, and is sold by Chemica and Street.



IT RELIEVES EXHAUSTION

When the BRAIN is running under full pressure send down to the FOUNTAIN for a glass of



you will be supprised how quickly it will ease the Tired Brain-soothe the Rattled Nerves and restore Wasted Energy to both Mind and Body.

It enables the entire system to readily cope with the strain of any excessive demands

made upon it.

AT ALL FOUNTAINS 5c.

IN MILD PSYCHOGENIC DEPRESSIVE STATES . . .

IN MINUTES ... WITH

RAPHETAMINE **PHOSPHATE**

Brand of Amphetamine Phosphote

· Smooth, fast acting Raphetamine Phosphate aids in restoring mental alertness, cheerfulness and optimism in mild psychogenic depressive states . . . and in the management of obesity.

With contraindications chiefly limited to hypertension, cardiac defects, or hypersensitivity to ephedrine-like compounds, henefits may be prolonged.

Newly accepted parenteral Raphetamine Phosphate can successfully be used in treating barbiturate intoxication because of its immediate action.

Clinical supply of both dosage forms available on request. Write to Medical Service Department, R. J. Strasenburgh Co., Rochester 14, N.Y.

5trasenburgh



MENTAL ALERTNESS

OPTIMISM



tablet: Rapheramine Phosphase tablets containing 5 mg. monobasic racemic amphetamine phosphate per tablet are available in bottles of 100, 500 and 1000.







WHEN

Crisis

DEMANDS QUICK-ACTING HYPNOTICS

Bath medications are repolled in two paternies

PENTOBARBITAL SODIUM and Benzyl Alcohol

2% grs. in 1 cc. Ampol Solution 5 grs. in 2 cc. Ampul Solution

PHENOBARBITAL SODIUM

and Benzyl Alcohol

25 grs. in 1 cc. Ampul Solution 5 grs. in 2 cc. Ampul Solution

For Intramacular Use

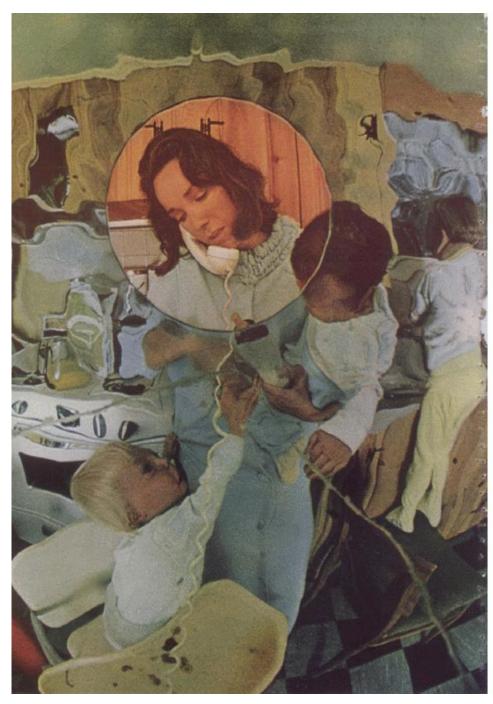
In criscs where immediate composure is imperative, Pentobarbital* and Phenobarbital*, Lakeside, have been found to be quick-acting hypnotics. And, they have the advantage of being stable solutions, ready for instant use ... no measuring or mixing required.

Propylene Glycol, the solvent used in these solutions, is completely miscible in water and diffuses rapidly in muscular tissue with the result that the medication acts essentially as though it were in aqueous solution. Yet these solutions remain stable, do not hydrolyze and decompose. Benzyl alcohol is added as a local anesthetic, Lakeside Laboratories, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

*Pentobarbital
Sodium and Benzyl Alcohol



LAKESIDE



Syndromes of the Sixties

The battered parent syndrome

She's the paradox of our age. Compared to her mother, she has more education, more usable income and more labor-saving devices. Yet she is physically and emotionally overworked, overwrought and—by the time you see her—probably overwhelmed.

What went wrong? Is parenthood something other than the rosy fulfillment pictured by the women's magazines? Is anxiety and tension fast becoming the occupational disease of the homemaker?

Some say it's unrealistic to educate a woman and then expect her to be content with the Cub Scouts as an intellectual outlet.

Or to grant that she is socially, politically and culturally equal, while continuing to demand domestic and biological subservience.



Or to expect her to shoulder the guilt burden of this child-centered age without unraveling around the emotional edges.

Or to compete with her husband's job for his time and involvement.

But whatever the cause, the consequences—anxiety, tension, insomnia, functional disorders—fill waiting rooms. Sometimes it helps to add 'Miltown' to her treatment—to help her relax both emotional and muscular tension. It's no substitute for a week in Bermuda, or for emotional readjustment. But it will often make the latter easier for her, as well as for the physician.

And 'Miltown' has been doing just that—for a dozen years now—with substantial success.

Indications: Effective in relief of anxiety and tension states; adjunctively when anxiety may be causative or disturbing factor. Fosters normal sleep through anti-anxiety and muscle-relaxant properties.

Contraindications: Previous allergic or idiosyncratic reactions to meprobamate. (Brief summary of prescribing information is continued on next page.)

Wallace Pharmaceuticals/Cranbury, N.J.

MILTOWN (MEPROBAMATE) when reassurance is not enough

Ritalin gently overcomes mild depression and the fatigue so often associated with it. This is one agent that really brightens mood and improves performance, helps restore alertness, enthusiasm, and drive. Patients often report that fatigue and worry seem to vanish; they are able to go all day without becoming tired.

Acts in minutes Unlike other antidepressants, Ritalin usually brings relief with the very first dose. Your patients need not wait days

or even weeks to begin feeling better, Ritalin also . . .

Offers outstanding safety Unlike amphetamines, Ritalin rarely affects blood pressure or heart rate. It has not been associated with muscle tremors or urinary retention as have the potent MAO

inhibitors or tricyclic compounds. And toxic or adverse effects on blood, urine, liver or kidney function are not to be anticipated. For these reasons, Ritalin . . .

Proves especially valuable for the elderly This time-tested agent is well tolerated, even by older patients. It rarely affects appetite or causes rebound depression.

Dosage Oral: Initially, two 10-mg. tablets in

Dosage Oral: Initially, two 10-mg, tablets in the morning, one at noon, and one more, if necessary, at 5:00 p.m. For maintenance, revise as needed.

Side-effects Nervousness or insomnia, if present, can be avoided by dosage-reduction or by omitting Ritalin in the afternoon. Reports note a few cases of anorexia, dizziness, headache, palpitations, drowsiness, skin rash, overt psychotic behavior and psychotic dependency. psychotic behavior and psychic dependency, Cautions Not recommended for severe depres-sions, except in hospital under close super-versely. Use cautiously in the presence of marked anxiety or tension. Ritalin may potentiate the effect of pressor agents, exercise care in the effect of pressor agents, exercise care in amide. While oral Ritalin has little or no effect on normal blood pressure, use cautiously in patients who have hypertension.

Supplied
All forms contain methylphenidate hydrochloride.
Tablets of 10 mg. (pale blue, scored); bottles
of 100 and 500.
Tablets of 20 mg. (peach, scored); bottles of
100 and 500. Ampoules of 20 mg. (lyophilized); boxes of 10 and 100.

Helps relieve chronic fatigue and apathy quickly



You can't set her free. But you can help her feel less anxious.

You know this woman.

She's anxious, tense, irritable. She's felt this way for months.

Beset by the seemingly insurmountable problems of raising a young family, and confined to the home most of the time, her symptoms reflect a sense of inadequacy and isolation. Your reassurance and guidance may have helped some, but not enough.

SERAX (oxazepam) cannot change her environment, of course. But it can help relieve anxiety, tension, agitation and irritability, thus strengthening her ability to cope with day-to-day problems. Eventually—as she regains confidence and composure—your counsel may be all the support she needs.

Indicated in anxiety, tension, agitation, irritability, and anxiety associated with depression.

May be used in a broad range of patients, generally with considerable dosage flexibility.

Contraindications: History of previous hypersensitivity to oxazepam. Oxazepam is not indicated in psychoses.

Precautions: Hypotensive reactions are rare, but use with caution where complications could ensue from a fall in blood pressure, especially in the elderly. One patient exhibiting drug dependency by taking a chronic overdose developed upon cessation questionable withdrawal symptoms. Carefully supervise dose and amounts prescribed, especially for patients prone to overdose; excessive prolonged use in susceptible patients (alcoholics, ex-addicts, etc.) may result in dependence or habituation. Reduce dosage gradually after prolonged excessive dosage to avoid possible epileptiform seizures. Caution patients against driving or operating machinery until absence of drowsiness or dizziness is ascertained. Warn patients of possible reduction in alcohol tolerance. Safety for use in pregnancy has not been established.

Not indicated in children under 6 years; absolute dosage for 6 to 12 year-olds not established.

Side Effects: Therapy-interrupting side effects are rare. Transient mild drowsiness is common initially; if persistent, reduce dosage. Dizziness, vertigo and headache have also occurred infrequently; syncope, rarely. Mild paradoxical reactions (excitement, stimulation of affect) are reported in psychiatric patients. Minor diffuse rashes (morbilliform, urticarial and maculopapular) are rare. Nausea, lethargy, edema, slurred speech, tremor and altered libido are rare and generally controllable by dosage reduction. Although rare, leukopenia and hepatic dysfunction including jaundice have been reported during therapy. Periodic blood counts and liver function tests are advised. Ataxia, reported rarely, does not appear related to dose or age.

These side reactions, noted with related compounds, are not yet reported: paradoxical excitation with severe rage reactions, hallucinations, menstrual irregularities, change in EEG pattern, blood dyscrasias (including agranulocytosis), blurred vision, diplopia, incontinence, stupor, disorientation, fever, euphoria and dysmetria.

Availability: Capsules of 10, 15 and 30 mg, oxazepam.

To help you relieve anxiety and tension



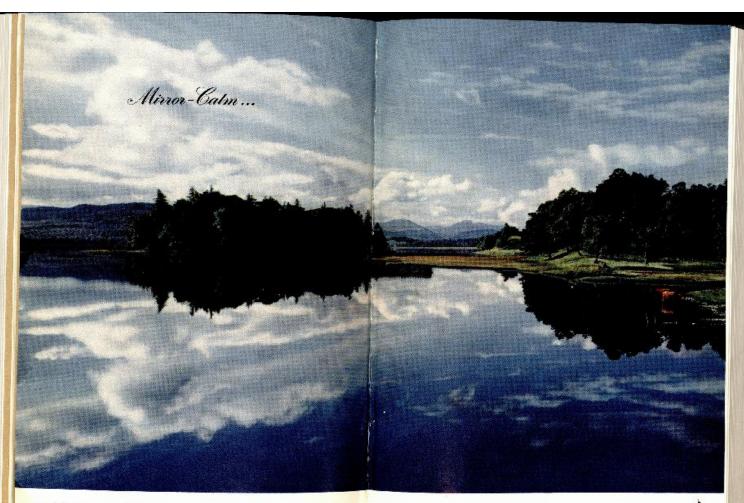


Wyeth Laboratories Philadelphia, Pa.

Chlorpromazine was introduced into psychiatry in France in 1952

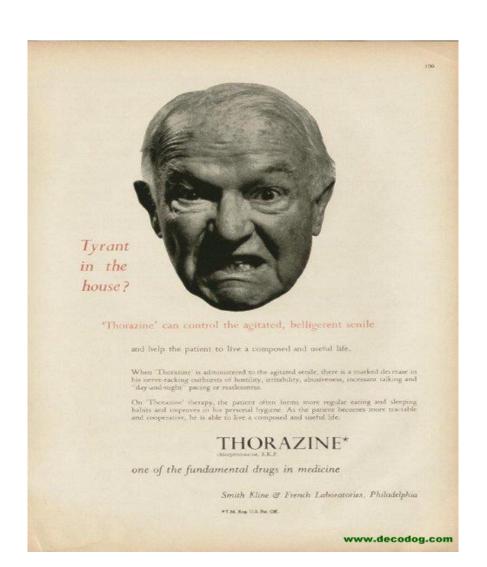
At first it was regarded as a special sort of sedative

It was referred to as a "neurological inhibitor," then as a "neuroleptic"



Melleri the tranquilliser pure and simple

Neuroleptics were widely advertised for agitation in the elderly and behavior problems in children up to 1970s



Specificity of neuroleptics

• "they appear to do more than tranquilise" (Henderson & Gillespie 1962).

 "the drugs penetrate much closer to the site of mechanism of the disease itself than any other procedure applied hitherto" (Mayer-Gross, Slater, & Roth 1960).



in acute schizophrenia

Melleril

strikes promptly at the target symptoms: disorders of thought, affect, behaviour and perception

Melleril is a major tranquilliser with an impressive clinical record in the treatment of acute schizophrenia. Response to Melleril is rapid and predictable. Within 24 hours a tranquillising effect occurs. Within 3-4 days the patient becomes calm, co-operative and sociable. Within 7 days target symptoms begin to respond. An important aspect of Melleril therapy is to start with an adequate "loading" dose. Full information on Melleril, including dosage details and clinical summaries, will be supplied on request. Tablets of 25 mg., 50 mg., and 100 mg. Thioridazine Hydrochloride B.P. Also available: Syrup

there is no anti-psychotic more effective than Melleril

transfer of the second second

Sandoz Products Limited, Sandoz House, 23 Great Castle Street, London, WIN 8AE



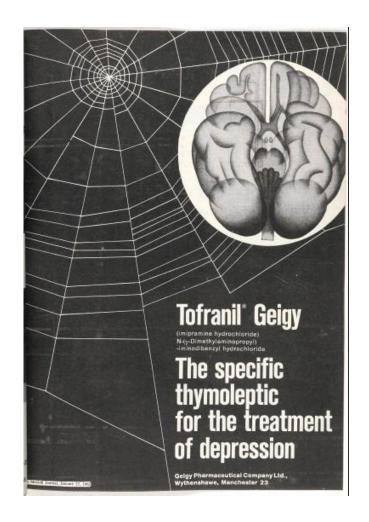
A similar process occurs with 'antidepressants'

 The first drugs commonly referred to as antidepressants were stimulant-like substances (iproniazid)

 Early papers refer to these properties, but later ones only report them as 'side effects'

Specificity of antidepressants

- antidepressants
 "appear to act
 specifically against
 depressive symptoms"
 (Dally, 1967)
- "much more specific" than stimulants (Psychopharmacology conference 1962, Goldman, (1966),



Views about how psychiatric medicines worked changed from the 1950s onwards, and the disease-centred model was adopted.

Pre 1950s- drug centred:

Sedatives

Stimulants

Post 1950s- disease centred:

- Antipsychotics
- Antidepressants
- Anxiolytics
- Mood stabilisers
- Hypnotics
- Treatment resistant psychosis

This transformation does NOT occur because of accumulating evidence for the disease-centred model

There was, and is, very little support for the disease-centred model (the idea that drugs target underlying abnormalities)

Placebo controlled trials do **not** distinguish disease-centred from drug-centred model

The drug-centred model- how do psychiatric drugs 'work'?

- Interaction of psychoactive effects and symptoms
- Placebo and 'amplified placebo' effects

- Both may produce differences from placebo in RCTs.
- But are they worthwhile?

Understanding and treating depression: is depression caused by a chemical imbalance?

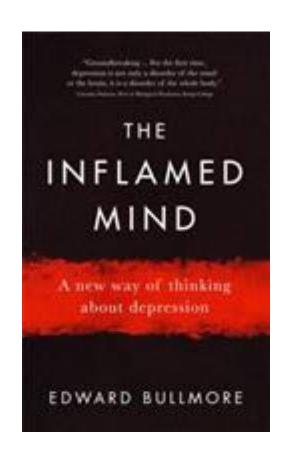
- Serotonin and noradrenalin abnormalities have been proposed (monoamine theories of depression)
- Antidepressant efficacy cited as main supporting evidence (Skildkraut 1965; Mahli et al, 2005)
- Independent evidence of serotonin or noradrenalin function in depression is highly contradictory

Serotonin 1A receptor studies

- Lower levels in depressed people compared to 'normals' (Drevets et al, 1999; Sargent et al, 2000)
- Higher levels (Parsey et al, 2006; Reivich et al, 2004)
- No difference (Meyer et al, 2009; Parsey et al, 2006)
- Suicide victims: also inconsistent (Lowther et al, 1997; Matsubara et al, 1991; Stockmeier et al, 1997)

Serotonin depletion studies

- Tryptophan depletion: does not produce depression in volunteers (Murphy et al, 2002). Some studies show depression in people previously treated for depression with SSRIs (Delgado et al, 1999)
- Parachlorophenylalanine studies: reduced serotonin associated with insomnia, aggression, hypersexual behaviour, irritability, hypersensivity to the environment, paranoia (Mendels and Frazer, 1974)



Depression and inflammation

- Depression is associated with deviations in some inflammatory markers
- They are also associated with social class, obesity, exercise, sleep deprivation etc
- A causal association specific to depression has not been demonstrated

So what are antidepressants and are they helpful?

Psychoactive effects of "antidepressants"

(Herrmann, W.M. & McDonald, R.J. 1978)

Tricyclic antidepressants (e.g. amitriptyline; clomipramine; lofepramine)

- Profound sedation
- Cognitive and motor impairment
- EEG slowing
- Dysphoria
- Complex effects on numerous neurotransmitter systems
- Some have dopamine blocking activity (esp. amitriptyline and clomipramine

Psychoactive effects of SSRIs and venlafaxine (Efexor):

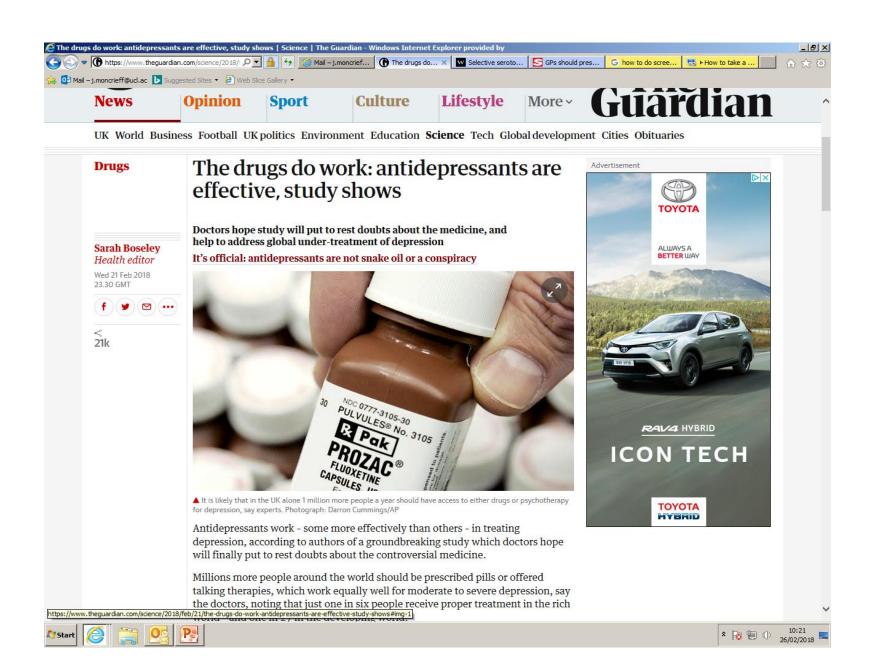
- "listlessness and lethargy"
- "Total loss of libido"
- "inability to care about anything"
- "general numbness/mental blankness"
- "sleepy all the time"

- "Increased anxiety.., borderline panic, mild insomnia"
- "sometimes suicidal"
- "mood swings"
- "irritability"

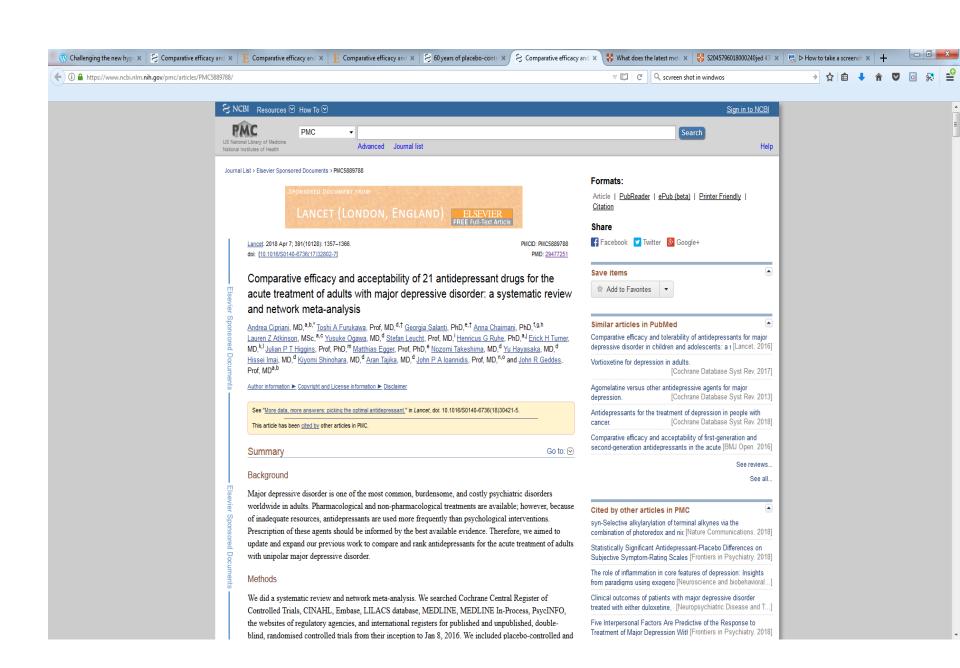
(Goldsmith & Moncrieff, 2011)

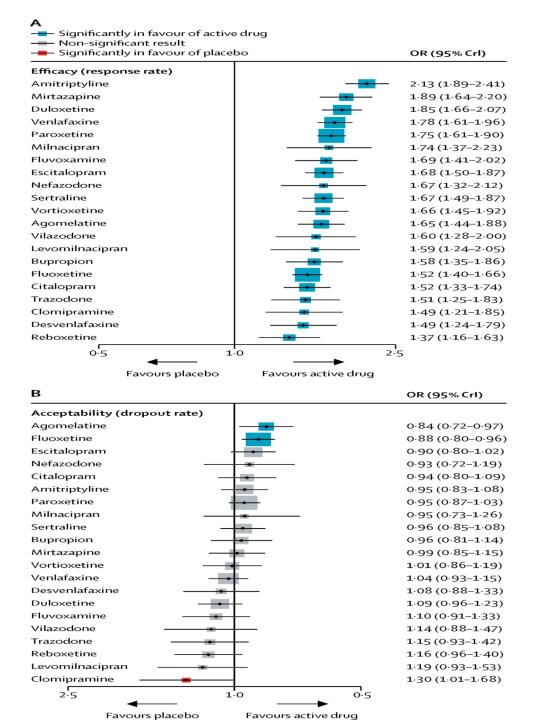
Are these effects useful?



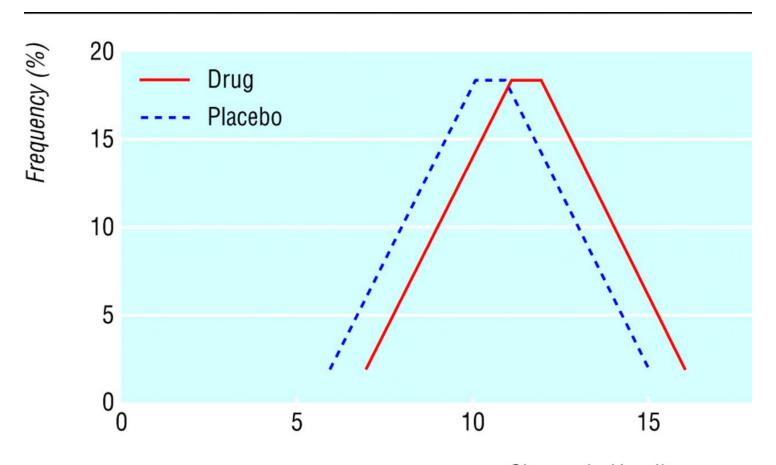








Inflation of differences through categorisation of outcome measures

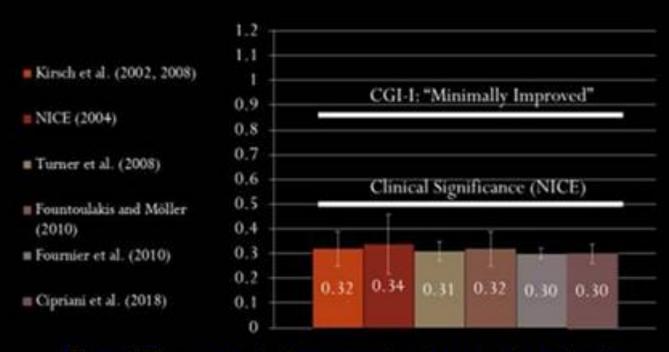


Change in Hamilton score

 Response defined as minimum 12 point reduction in HRSD (approx 50% reduction in typical baseline depression score)

- Response on active drugs: 50%
- Response on placebo: 32%

Everyone gets the same results



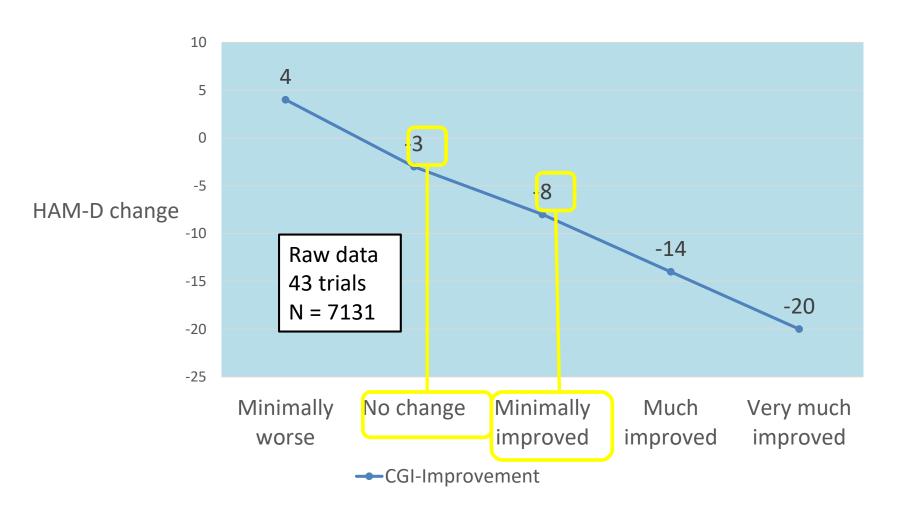
The difference between drug and placebo is small

Are antidepressant effects useful in depression?

- Difference from placebo is very small. Effect size around 0.3; translates to HRSD difference of 1.5-2.5 (max score 54)
- And undetectable using other measures of clinical improvement (HRSD effects of <3 points are clinically undetectable. Minimal improvement on CGI=8 points on HRSD (Leucht et al, 2013; Moncrieff & Kirsch, 2015).
- Also easily accounted for by "amplified placebo effects" or drug-induced effects like emotional flattening

HAM-D and CGI-Improvement (Leucht et

al., 2013)



Unblinding

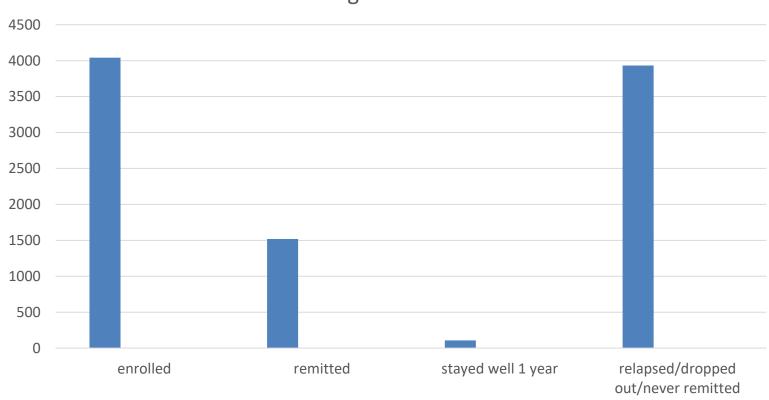
Rabkin et al, 1986: imipramine, vs phenelzine vs placebo

78% patients, 87% psychiatrists correctly distinguished active drug from placebo

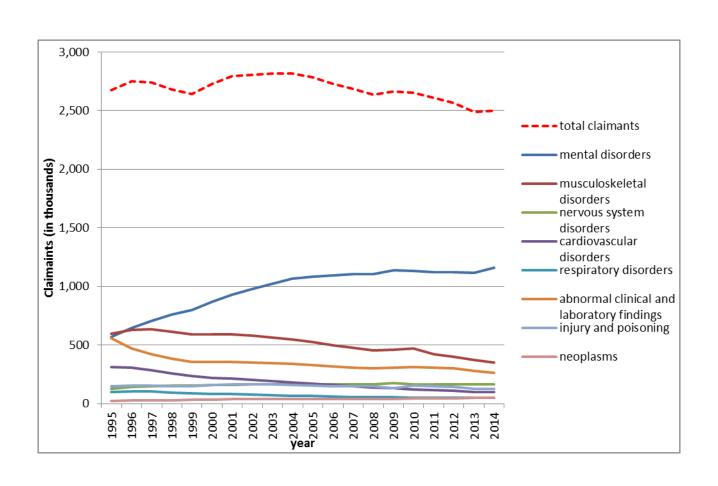
Marini et al, 1976: Lithium vs placebo
 70% patients correctly identified whether they were on lithium or placebo

STAR*D trial outcomes (Pigott, E.H. 2010)

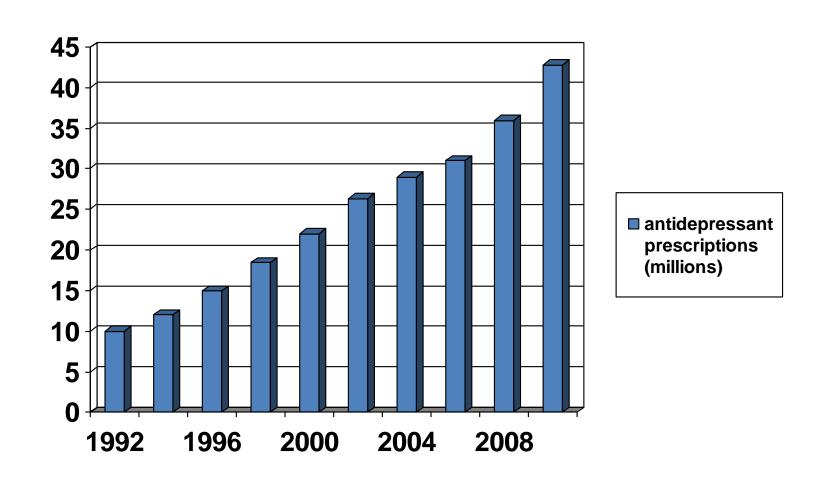




UK sickness and disability benefit claimants 1995-2014



Trends in antidepressant prescribing 1992-2010



Adverse effects of antidepressants

- Sexual impairment in humans is common (60% in some studies). Includes erectile dysfunction, genital anaesthesia, ejaculatory anhedonia and loss of libido
- Can persist after discontinuation (Bolton et al, 2006; Kaufmann, 2008; Farnsworth & Dinsmore, 2009; Csoka et al, 2008).
- Withdrawal effects: sometimes severe and prolonged years (Fava et al, 2014)
- Increased suicidal thoughts and actions especially in young people
- Psychological effects: psychological dependence may increase risk of recurrence or of non-remission
- Possibly fetal malformations with some SSRIs

Long-term behavioural effects of antidepressants: animal behaviour studies of SSRIs

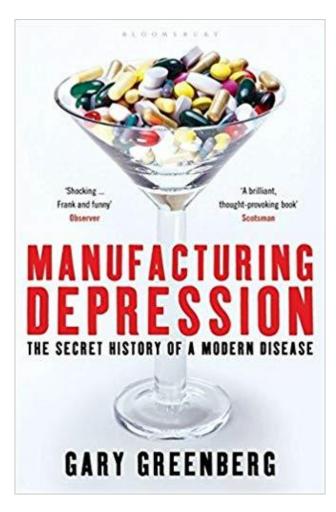
Offspring of pregnant rats given SSRIs during pregnancy show long-term behavioural effects consisting of:

- Reduced sexual behaviour
- Decreased exploration
- Decreased social interaction
- Some evidence of increased anxiety/ over-activity (Kiryanova et al, 2013- review)

Treatment of depression from a drugcentred perspective

- Antidepressants may produce some emotional restriction or flattening
- This may or may not be perceived as helpful
- Serious adverse effects exist but are under-researched
- Sedative drugs may be useful for agitation and insomnia temporarily - but beware dependence
- Learning to be happy (Greenberg)?
- But, being in a drug-induced, altered state for a prolonged period may hinder self management and learning, and may make people more chronically ill

Manufacturing Depression, Gary Greenberg





Are antidepressant-induced alterations useful? Patient information

The standard view:

- The antidepressant will help normalise your serotonin levels
- The antidepressant will improve your depression

The drug-centred view:

 This medicine alters the way people think and feel (not just people with depression), but we are not sure how. It may dampen down your emotions, reduce your sex drive and make you feel demotivated and lethargic.

Early accounts of antipsychotics

- Chlorpromazine first used by French psychiatrists Jean Delay and Pierre Deniker in 1950s (Hôpital St Ann, Paris)
- At first it was regarded as a special sort of sedative
- Referred to as a "neurological inhibitor," then as a "neuroleptic"; also "major tranquilisers"



Antipsychotic drug-induced effects

 Animal/healthy volunteers studies¹⁻⁷

Antipsychotics

reduce:

Subjective

effects:

Movement

Attention

Reaction times

Co-ordination

Intellectual

abilities

Spontaneous

activity

Sedation

Emotional

flattening

Indifference

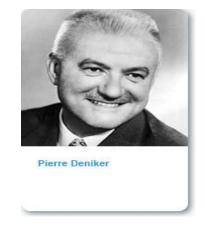
- Reduced

initiative

^{1.} Baldessarini, 1985; 2. Gemperle et al, 2003; 3. Rosengarten et al, 2002; 4. Fagan et al, 1991; 5. McClelland et al, 1990; 6. Ramaekers et al, 1999 etc. 7. Healy & Fard 1990 rV

Healy and Farquhar, 1998

 'A general feeling common to all subjects was some extent of disengagement - a feeling of uninvolvement with the tasks at hand. Mental effort appeared to be difficult with all subjects reporting some problems with concentration'



- Deniker (and others) proposed the effects of classical neuroleptics were an attenuated form of Parkinson's disease
- They worked because the emotional suppression or indifference they produced reduced the impact of psychotic symptoms: 'patients simply lose interest in their delusions'

'Experimental neurological syndromes and the new drug therapies in psychiatry' *Comprehensive Psychiatry*, volume 1, 1960.

Patient accounts of the alterations produced by typical 'antipsychotics' and risperidone

Comments from 'askapatient.com'

- Mental and physical stagnance
- Emotionally empty, dead inside
- A weird spacey empty feeling
- Lethargy and indifference

(Moncrieff et al, 2008)

"Although I felt very well, I felt as if I had absolutely nothing to talk about. I kept wondering about whatever [it] was that had been so interesting during most of my life that I had suddenly lost... But I was very much in contact with reality and for that I was thankful" (haloperidol)

"Rottenly normal" (Oliver Sack's brother)

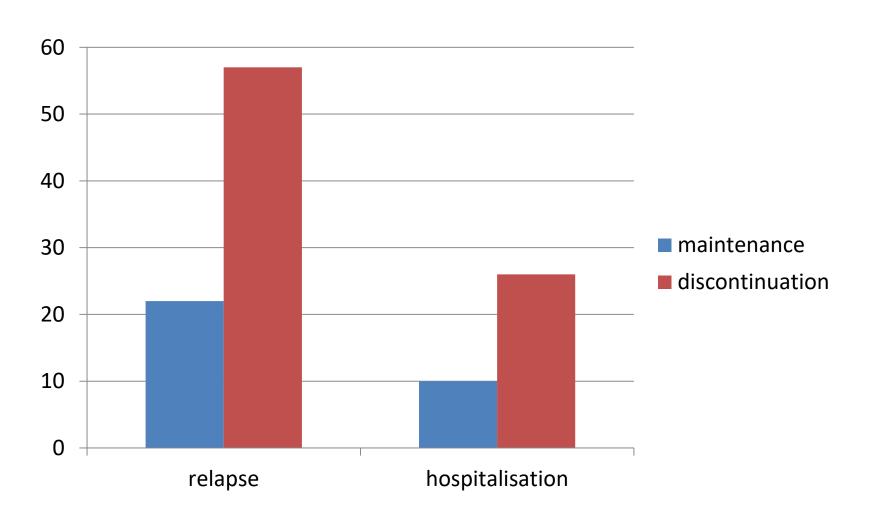


A drug centred approach to the treatment of psychosis

 Effects of antipsychotics may be useful to suppress acute symptoms

 Long-term the impairment and adverse physical effects may outweigh possible advantages for some, maybe many

Antipsychotic discontinuation trials, Leucht et al, 2012



Limitations of antipsychotic maintenance studies

- Evidence consists of antipsychotic discontinuation studies, which are confounded by adverse effects of discontinuation
- Most studies less than 6 months only 6/65 trials in Leucht et al lasted > 1 year
- Little data on outcomes other than relapse

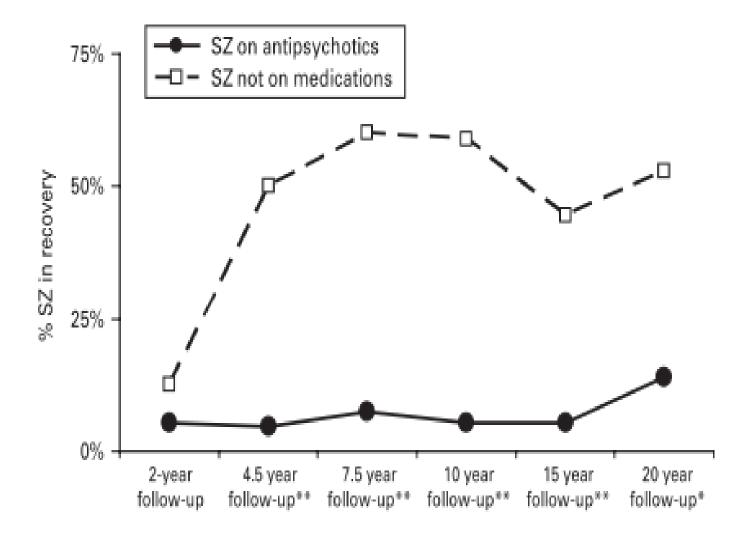


Figure 1. Relationship between recovery and use of antipsychotics in schizophrenia (SZ). *p < 0.01, **p < 0.001

7 year follow-up

From: Recovery in Remitted First-Episode Psychosis at 7 Years of Follow-up of an Early Dose Reduction/Discontinuation or Maintenance Treatment Strategy: Long-term Follow-up of a 2-Year Randomized Clinical Trial

Clinical TrialJAMA Psychiatry. 2013;70(9):913-920. doi:10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2013.19

Table 2. Recovery, Symptomatic Remission, and Functional Remission After 7 Years of Follow-up

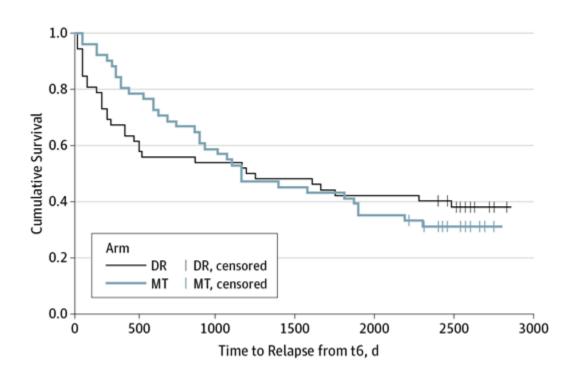
Characteristic	No. (%)		
	DR (n = 52)	MT (n = 51)	Total Sample (n = 103)
Recovery	21 (40.4)	9 (17.6)	30 (29.1)
Remission			
Symptomatic	36 (69.2)	34 (66.7)	70 (68.0)
Functional	24 (46.2)	10 (19.6)	34 (33.0)

Abbreviations: DR, dose reduction/discontinuation; MT, maintenance treatment.

Figure Legend:

Recovery, Symptomatic Remission, and Functional Remission After 7 Years of Follow-up

Wunderink et al, 2013



Antipsychotics and brains: there is now conclusive evidence that antipsychotics produce brain shrinkage: **Animal studies**

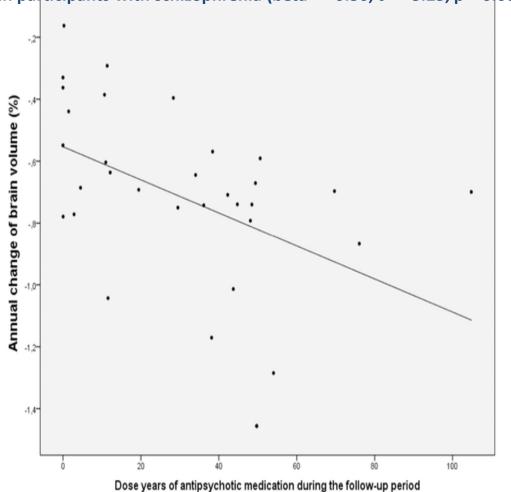


 Dorph-Petersen et al, 2007: Macaque monkeys, 18 months.

Brains of drug treated monkeys were 8-11% lighter

 Vernon et al, 2011: Rats treated for 8 weeks. 6-8% decrease in WBV, mostly in frontal cortex

Figure 3. Linear regression between dose years (equivalent to daily 100 mg chlorpromazine) of antipsychotic medication and annual change in brain volume (%) in participants with schizophrenia (beta = -0.50, t = -3.23, p = 0.003).



Veijola J, Guo JY, Moilanen JS, Jääskeläinen E, Miettunen J, et al. (2014) Longitudinal Changes in Total Brain Volume in Schizophrenia: Relation to Symptom Severity, Cognition and Antipsychotic Medication. PLOS ONE 9(7): e101689. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0101689

TENTH ANNIVERSARY

http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0101689



The RADAR tria National Institute for Health Research

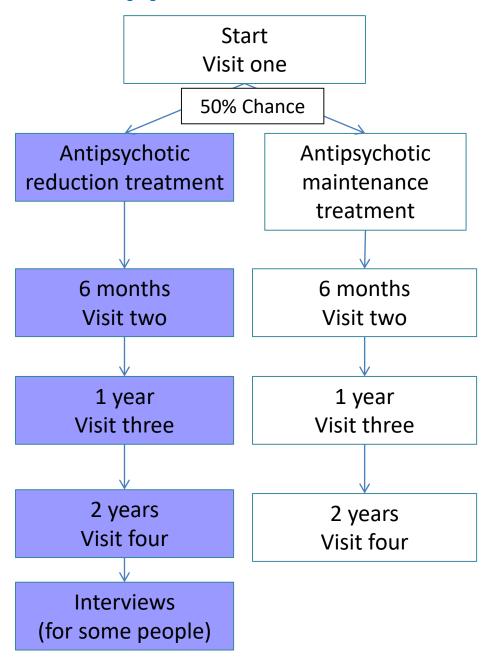
- Randomised controlled trial of gradual antipsychotic reduction and discontinuation vs maintenance in people with recurrent or long-term non-affective psychosis or schizophrenia
- 402 participants; 2 year follow-up initially
- Outcomes: social functioning; relapse; symptoms; neuropsychological performance; adverse effects; service use etc

RADAR Trial: what will happen



Antipsychotic reduction treatment

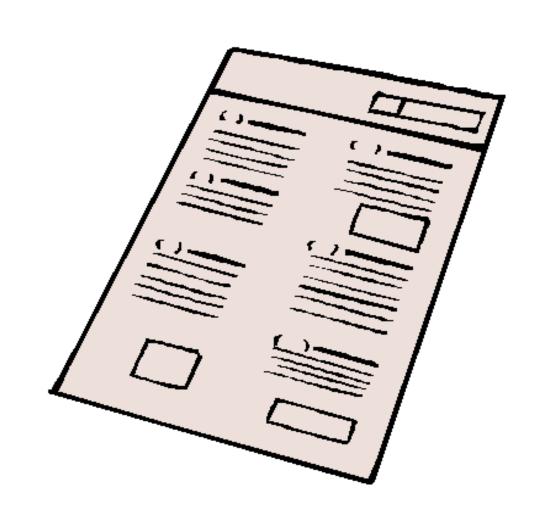
- Participants will, with their psychiatrist, reduce and, potentially, stop taking their antipsychotic medication.
- The reduction can be done more slowly or quite quickly over ~ 6-12 months
- At the end of the study, some people who received the antipsychotic reduction treatment will be asked to talk to a member of the research team about their experience of taking part in the study



Treatment of bipolar disorder from a drug-centred perspective: classical "manic depression" (bipolar 1)

- 'Neurosuppressants' (lithium, valproate, antipsychotics) reduce symptoms of acute mania
- They may reduce the recurrence of mania, but trials are flawed (discontinuation effects)
- Naturalistic studies show rates of relapse are higher now than pre-1950s (Winokur et al, 1975; Healy et al, 2005)
- No logical reason why these drugs would reduce the occurrence of depression and may exacerbate it
- No evidence that they reduce mood variability (in fact negative trials with lithium)

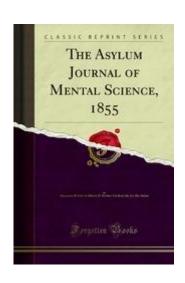
Bipolar symptoms test

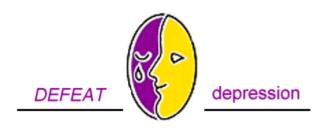


Why did the disease-centred model of drug action catch on?

- Professional interests
- Pharmaceutical industry
- Politics

Professional interests





Distinguishing psychiatric treatment from recreational drug use





COUNTERTHINK



The benzodiazepine crisis



 'antipsychotic medicines are believed to work by balancing the chemicals found naturally in the brain'
 Eli Lilly, zyprexa.com, 2011





ABBREVIATED PRESCRIBING INFORMATION: Risperdal® Consta™ Injection (Risperidone) Please read Summary of Product Characteristics (SmPC) before prescribing. Presentation: Prolonged release injection containing risperidone. Three strengths available. Uses: Schizophrenia. Other psychotic conditions, in which positive and/or negative symptoms are prominent. Not licensed for behavioural symptoms of dementia. Dosage (IM): Adults: 25 mg every two weeks (alternate buttocks); consider 37.5 mg if stabilised on more than 4 mg/day oral. Consider 12.5 mg increase after four weeks. Maximum; 50 mg every two weeks. Ensure prior tolerability with oral risperidone. Supplement with oral risperidone for first three weeks as appropriate. Elderly: 25 mg every two weeks, plus oral cover as above. Renal and hepatic impairment: Caution. 25 mg every two weeks if minimum 2 mg oral tolerated following titration. Children and adolescents under 18 years: Not studied. Contraindications: Hypersensitivity to the product or diluent. Warnings and Precautions: Not recommended for behavioural symptoms of dementia A JANSSEN-CILAG because of three-fold risk of

cerebrovascular adverse events. If history of CVA/TIA, consider risk carefully. Care with other risk factors for cerebrovascular disease. Orthostatic hypotension. Cardiovascular disease. Drugs prolonging QT. Reduce dose if hypotension. If tardive dyskinesia consider stopping all antipsychotic drugs. Parkinson's disease. Epilepsy. If Neuroleptic Malignant Syndrome, stop all antipsychotics. Monitoring in diabetics and those with risk factors for diabetes advisable. Advise of potential for weight gain. Advise not to drive or operate machinery if alertness affected. Acute withdrawal symptoms, recurrence of psychoses. Recommend gradual withdrawal. Care when using Risperdal and furosemide in elderly patients with dementia. Pregnancy: If benefits. outweigh risks. Lactation: Avoid. Interactions: Centrally acting drugs, dopamine agonists, hepatic enzyme-inducing drugs. Fluoxetine, paroxetine or haloperidol. Side Effects: weight gain or decrease, fatigue, extrapyramidal symptoms, depression, nervousness, sleep disorder, apathy, impaired concentration, abnormal vision, hypotension, syntope, rash, pruritus, peripheral oedema, injection site reaction. Symptoms of hyperprolactinaemia such as nonpuerperal lactation, amenorrhoea, abnormal sexual

function, ejaculation failure, decreased libido and impotence. Very rarely: hyperglycaemia and exacerbation of pre-existing diabetes Occasionally reported: tardive dyskinesia and segment increased or decreased white blood cell count, increases in hepatic enzymes. Withdrawal reactions: associated we antipsychotic drugs. Legal Category: POM. Active Ingredient Risperidone Presentations, Pack Sizes, Product Licence Numbers and Basic NHS Costs: 25 mg prolonged-release injection (PL 0242/0375) 1 dose: £82.92; 37.5 mg prolonges release injection (PL 0242/0376) 1 dose: £115.84; 50 mg prolonged-release injection (PL 0242/0377) 1 dose: £148.50 Further Information Available from Product Licence Holden Janssen-Cilag Ltd., Saunderton, High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire HP144HJUK. @-2006 Janssen-Cilag Ltd. ® Registered trademark APIVER060306C Abbreviated Prescribing Information less updated 06th March 2006. RISP/C/06-0038. January 2001

Information about adverse event reporting can be found at www.yellowcard.gov.uk Adverse events should also be reported to Janssen-Cilag Ltd.

Political influence



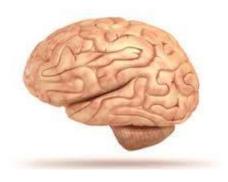
Conclusions

- Drugs prescribed for mental distress or disorder do not reverse or target an underlying disease or abnormality or chemical imbalance
- They produce altered physical and mental states, and have unpredictable and under-researched effects, especially in the long-term
- These alterations interact with mental symptoms in various ways- sometimes with beneficial effects, but may have harmful effects

A new approach to use of drugs for mental health problems

Disease centred model - assumes benefit

Drug centred model - more cautious, assumes harm





The dopamine hypothesis of schizophrenia and psychosis: the evidence

- Effects of antipsychotics (dopamine not central for all antipsychotics) (Yilmaz et al, 2012)
- Stimulant induced psychosis (not pinned down to dopamine)
- Measures of dopamine and dopamine receptors are negative or drug-induced
- Other studies of dopamine activity inconsistent and confounded by stress, arousal, movement etc

'Antipsychotics, dopamine D_2 receptor occupancy and clinical improvement in schizophrenia: a meta-analysis' Yilmaz et al, 2012

- **RESULTS:** The first step of the meta-analysis confirmed the positive relationship between antipsychotic medication and clinical improvement in SCZ (ES=1.36; 95% CI: 1.13-1.60). The second step of our analysis revealed that when D₂ occupancy was limited to less than 80% in order to control for the appearance of extrapyramidal symptoms, **high D₂ occupancy was correlated with reduction in clinical scores (r=0.4, p<0.001) for medications other than clozapine or quetiapine.**
- Actually NO association found even excluding quetiapine and clozapine until an outlier study was excluded
- **CONCLUSIONS:** Our results suggest that D₂ occupancy is a contributing factor for the mechanism of antipsychotic effect in SCZ **for some but not all antipsychotic medications**.