Cocaine users: a special population? The evidence for policy and practice

SSA Conference 2005
Luke Mitcheson, South London
and Maudsley NHS Trust

Why might cocaine users be a special population?

Different drug?

Different people using it?

Different needs?

Different treatments?

Different drug?

- Stimulant drug
 - Binge pattern of use
 - Crises, "crash" and come down
 - Periods of stability
- Generally used as part of a poly-substance profile
- Used in different ways
 - Smokers
 - Snorters
 - Injectors

Different people using it?

- Increased UK cocaine use in past 10 years
 - 6-8% or people in their 20s have used cocaine powder
 - 1% of 16-24 year olds have used crack
- British Crime Survey
 - Cocaine users most likely to be white
 - Crack used in similar proportions across ethnicities
 - Cocaine more likely to be used in affluent urban areas (ACORN categories)





Different people? Treatment data

- UK Treatment data:
 - 24% of clients seen in a treatment context are using cocaine
 - 7% it is their primary problem
 - Increasing quicker than heroin use (doubled since 1993)
- Wide regional variations in primary users in contact with agencies:
 - Over half 57 per cent of seizures of crack cocaine in England and Wales take place in London.
 - Between 1995/6 and 2000/1 the number of crack cocaine users in London treatment services increased by 159 per cent.
 - Londoners who seek drug treatment are over four times more likely to be crack users than others in treatment in the South East.

Comparison between opioid and cocaine dependent patients

- Cocaine dependent patients
 - had more problems with alcohol
 - spent more money on drugs
 - used more with other drugs
 - had more family and social problems
 - had more psychiatric problems
- Opioid dependent patients
 - More likely to inject cocaine

Different people? Treatment perspectives

- Not a heterogeneous population
 - Crack Injectors (plus heroin)
 - Crack smokers
 - Cocaine snorters (plus alcohol)
- But similar associated social, psychological and physical problems to all substance dependent populations
- And some within differences to note too:
 - Amongst some BME communities, crack use (smoking) is disproportionate and higher relative to other drug use

Different needs?

- Criminality
- Social deprivation
- Co-morbid psychological problems
- Severe mental health problems
- Harm Reduction Interventions
- Physical health problems (inc STIs)
- > Crisis contacts
- Access for BME populations
 But.. none unique to cocaine users

Different treatment?

Pharmacotherapy

Specific psychosocial interventions

- > Standard treatment
 - DATOS
 - NTORS

Cochrane Review of Pharmacotherapy for Cocaine Dependence

Trials

- Antidepressants desipramine
- Carbamazepine
- Dopamine Agonists
- Miscellaneous Treatments

Outcomes

- Overall no evidence for benefit
- Studies limited by very high dropout rates and poor treatment compliance

Psychosocial interventions for Cocaine dependence

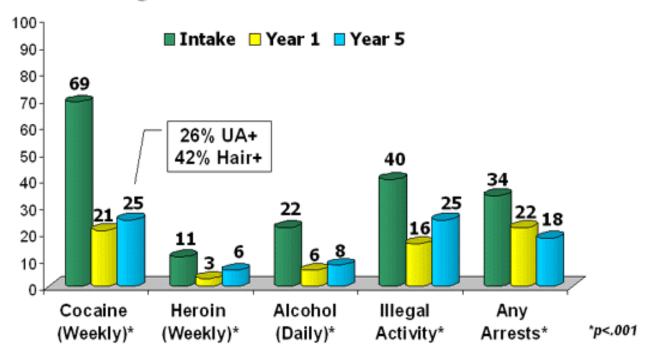
- Broad range of psychological interventions
 - Interventions based on learning theory
 - Social learning and cognitive approaches
 - Interpersonal psychotherapy and 12 step counselling
- Cochrane Review:
 - Contingency Contracting (positive) shows specific effect

Drug Abuse Treatment Outcome Studies (DATOS)

Figure 1.

5-Year Outcomes for Cocaine Sample

Changes from Before to After Treatment



% of DATOS Sample (N=708)

Simpson, Joe, & Broome (2002, Arch Gen Psychiatry 59, 538-544.)



NTORS Crack use changes over 4 to 5 years

- One third used crack at intake and at 4-5 years
- 10% reported injecting crack
- Intake crack use more than halved at FU
- A quarter of non users at intake had initiated crack use at FU

Different treatment conclusions

- Main treatment option is varied forms of psychosocial treatment
- Non specific effects
- Outcome studies report substantial reductions in crack and cocaine use among some users
- Effective treatment needs engagement and long term retention

Evidence that treatment can be effective *generally*

- > Content
 - Psychological treatments
 - Training, structured, supervised
 - Utility of ancillary services
 - Medical services
 - Childcare
 - Transportation
- > Process
 - Client / counsellor relationship
 - Flexible and responsive services

Service user perspectives

- 50% of sample felt services inappropriate and inadequate
- Lack of staff knowledge about crack
- Staff failing to identify crack use as problematic
- > Focus on heroin to exclusion of crack
- Wanted services that provide practical support (housing, education, employment)

Harcopos et al "On the rocks" A follow-up study of crack users in London

A case for specific services?

- Debate played out before (alcohol vs heroin
- Same (appetitive) behaviour different issues?
- Attention to process of engagement and retention seem crucial
 - Institutional flexibility
 - Outreach and in-reach

Pros and cons of specific services

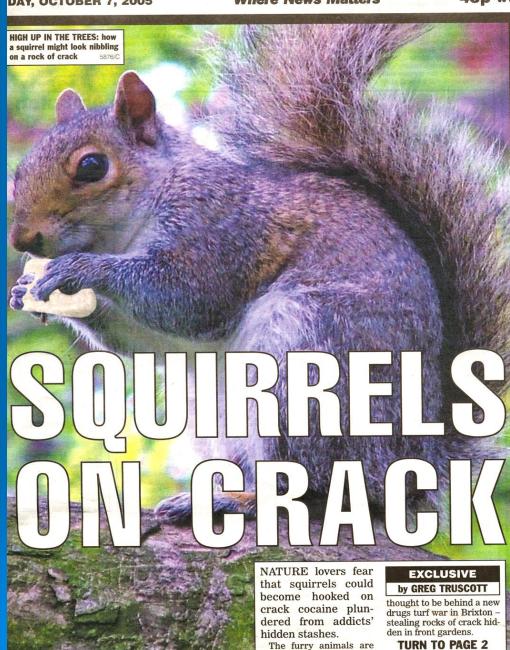
- > Pros
 - Expertise
 - Identity
 - Flexible culture / practice
- > Cons
 - Not meeting needs of cocaine users in opiate treatment
 - Expertise not disseminated

Lambeth – a case example







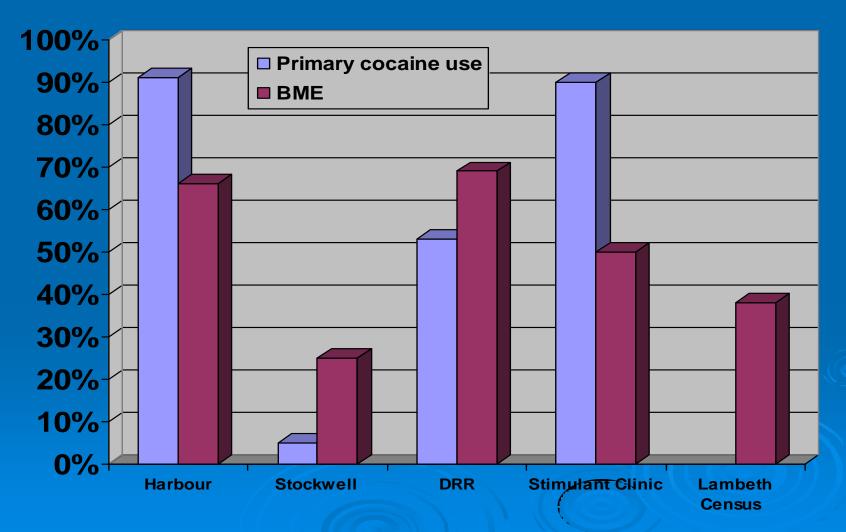


South London Press October 2005

Do specific services see different clients? — a local audit of four services in the borough of Lambeth

- Lambeth Harbour: set up to work with crack smokers
- Stockwell Project: Poly-substance users with opiate dependency
- Stimulant Clinic (retrospective data): A clinic within a large drug treatment unit
- > Lambeth DRR

Lambeth Service comparison primary drug / ethnicity



Lambeth Harbour

- Tier 2 drop-in as a venue for engaging clients
- Proactive case management addressing range of psychosocial needs
- > BME engagement
- Mental health liaison
- > Tier 3 easily accessible from tier 2
- Structured psychosocial interventions CBT and MI

Example of intervention with polysubstance users

- Pilot single session MI targeting methadone treatment population
- > Staff randomised to deliver intervention
 - General effect heroin use reduction
 - Specific effect two rocks reduction (£40) per using episode
- Illustrates the potential and general impact of MI

A model of best practice addressing the needs of cocaine users across all treatment services

- Range of services depending on local need who and where are the cocaine users in the health and social care system?
- Attention to different presentations across services or within services
- > Flexible, low threshold access
- Proactive case management
- Workforce skilled and supported to deliver good psychosocial treatments

Future research

- UK specific
- Primary cocaine users treatment outcomes
 - Comparison of different forms of services (stand-alone vs. integrated) / different treatments
- Reducing cocaine use in opiate treatment populations

Acknowledgements

- Colleagues from National Addiction Centre and South London and Maudsley NHS Trust
 - Mike Gossop
 - Mike Kelleher
 - Jim McCambridge
 - John Whitton