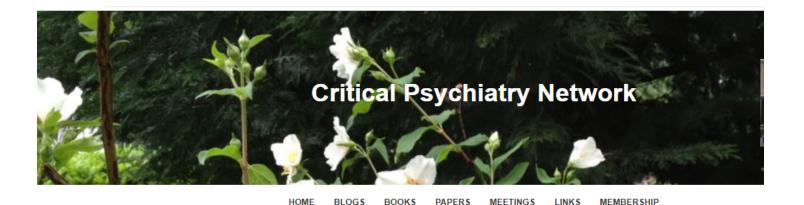
Challenging misperceptions about psychiatric drugs and understanding their role in Recovery

Joanna Moncrieff Recovery conference March 29th 2023.



About Us

Critical psychiatry is a broad critique of mainstream psychiatry that has emerged in recent years which challenges some of psychiatry's most deeply held assumptions. It mounts a scientific challenge to claims about the nature and causes of mental disorder and the effects of psychiatric interventions, and draws on philosophy, history, anthropology, social science and mental health service users' experiences. There is no definitive 'critical psychiatry position.' It is a collection of critical perspectives intended to produce a more reflective, sceptical and patient-centred approach to the theory and practice of psychiatry.

The Critical Psychiatry Network was founded by a group of UK psychiatrists who got

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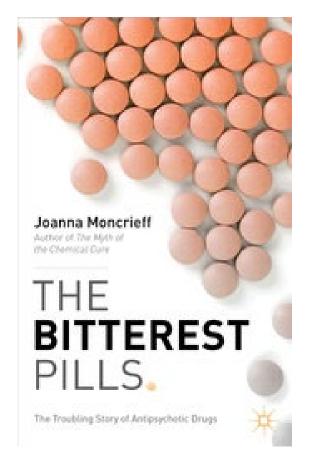
Contrasting views of 'antipsychotics': 'Miracle cures'

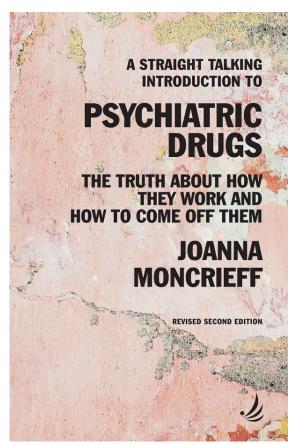
"For the first time, public mental institutions could be regarded as true treatment centres, rather than as primarily custodial facilities" Davis and Cole, 1975

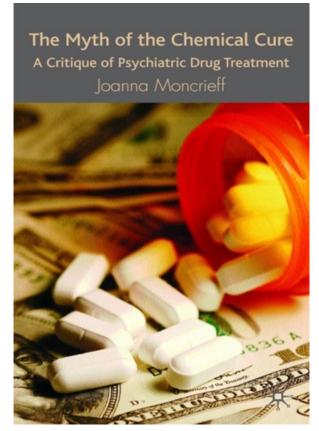




- "a drug prison" "living hell" (from breggin.com)
- "a wrecking ball to the cathedral of my mind" (Oaks, 2011)
- "Satan in a flipping pill" (askapatient.com)







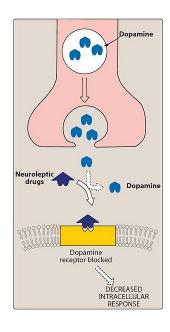
Some psychiatric drugs can be useful in some situations, but we fundamentally misunderstand what they do

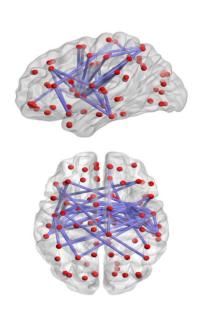
The misconception:

Accepted view is that drugs correct an underlying biological abnormality – a "normalising effect" (Davis 1980)

Chemical imbalance

Abnormal neural circuitry





This view has been widely promoted by the pharmaceutical industry, and psychiatric information and texts

- 'imbalances of certain chemicals in the brain are thought to lead to the symptoms of the illness. Medicine plays a key role in balancing these chemicals' Pfizer, 2006, on schizophrenia
- 'psychiatric medications can help correct imbalances in brain chemistry that are thought to be involved in some mental disorders" APA information leaflet, Jan 2021
- 'Abnormalities of serotonergic function are believed to be important in depression, anxiety, psychosis' Core Psychiatry, 2008, P 582



Models of drug action

Disease centred model	Drug centred model
Drugs correct an abnormal brain state	Drugs <i>create</i> an abnormal/altered brain state
Therapeutic effects arise from drugs effects on the biological mechanisms that produce symptoms	Useful effects are a consequence of drug-induced changes to normal brain functioning being superimposed on symptoms (unwanted thoughts, feelings and behaviour)
Example (general medicine): asthma treatments, aspirin, paracetamol	Examples: alcohol for social anxiety, opiate anaesthetics

The drug centred model highlights the fact that psychiatric drugs are psychoactive substances

- Change the normal state of the body and the brain
- Changes are manifest in changes in mental activity (sensation, thought, emotion), behaviour and physical functioning
- Linked physical alterations (eg drug-induced sedation has mental and physical components)
- Can produce euphoria or dysphoria to different degrees and with individual variation/preference







Drug-induced changes

Short-term use:

- Immediate changes
- Persistent changes

Long-term use:

- Long-term changes due to drug impact
- Adaptations

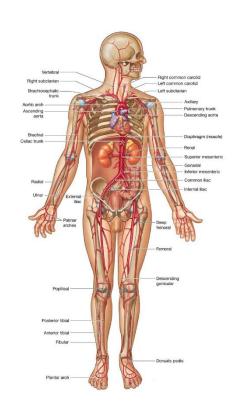
Withdrawal

Withdrawal effects- short and long-lasting

Legacy effects

Persistent changes (after drug has been reduced or stopped)

NB Changes occur at level of the body and brain and are manifested in mental and physical changes and symptoms



Drug-induced changes e.g. haloperidol

effect	mechanism	Experience/symptom
Immediate changes	DA ₂ blockade and other neurotransmitter changes	Sedation, reduced mental activity and emotional reactivity, Parkinsonism
Long-term changes	DA ₂ blockade etc	Sedation, reduced mental activity and emotional reactivity, Parkinsonism
	? adaptive increase in dopamine activity and other NT changes Reduced brain volume	Tardive dyskinesia Super-sensitivity psychosis ?
Withdrawal	Rebound increase in dopamine and other neurotransmitter activity	Agitation, insomnia, Psychosis
Persistent effects	? increased dopamine activity/other NT changes; ? structural damage	Tardive dyskinesia

Prior to the 1950s, drugs understood as acting according to a drug-centred model



ADURNAL A. M. A.

WHEN

Crisis

DEMANDS QUICK-ACTING HYPNOTICS

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. Amput Solution

For Intramoscular Use

In crises 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.

Sodium and Benzyl Alcohol

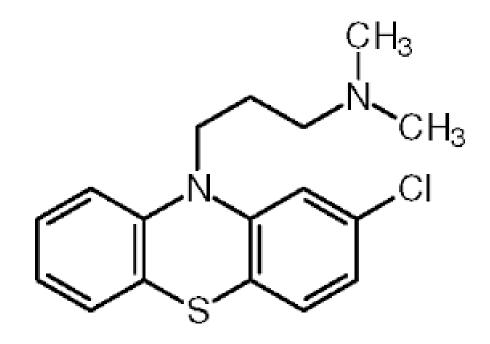


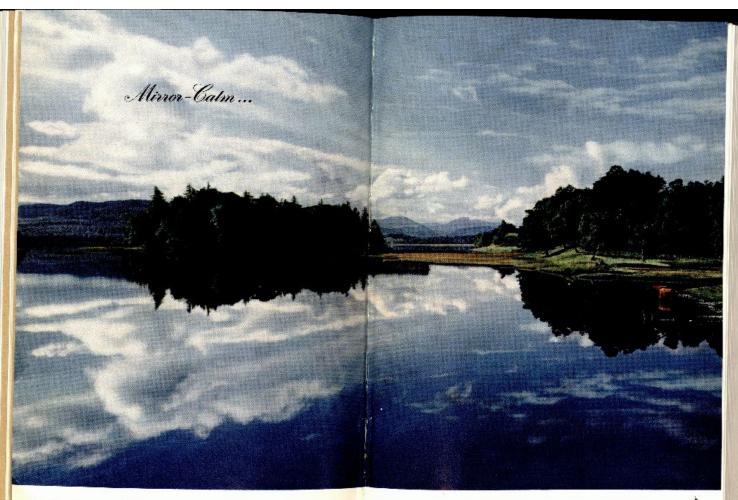
*Pentobarbital *Phenobarbital Sodium and Benzyl Alcohol

LAKESIDE

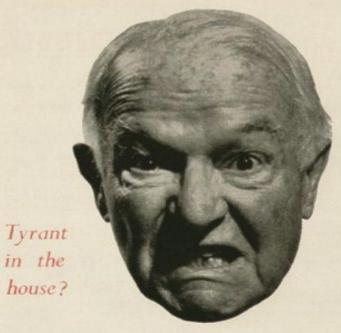
'Antipsychotics'/neuroleptics

- When the first 'antipsychotics' (e.g. chlorpromazine) were introduced into psychiatry in France in 1952, they were initially regarded as special sorts of sedative
- Referred to as "neurological inhibitors," then as a "neuroleptics" and major tranquilisers





Melleri the tranquilliser pure and simple



'Thorazine' can control the agitated, belligerent senile

and help the patient to live a composed and useful life.

When "Thorazine' is administered to the agitated senile, there is a marked decrease in his nerve-racking outbursts of hostility, irritability, abusiveness, incessant talking and "day-and-night" pacing or restlessness.

On "Thorazine" therapy, the patient often forms more regular eating and sleeping habits and improves in his personal hygiene. As the patient becomes more tractable and cooperative, he is able to live a composed and useful life.

THORAZINE*

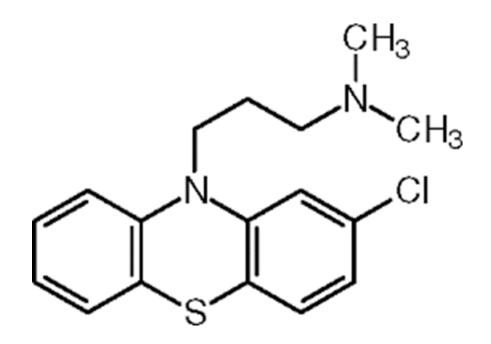
one of the fundamental drugs in medicine

Smith Kline & French Laboratories, Philadelphia

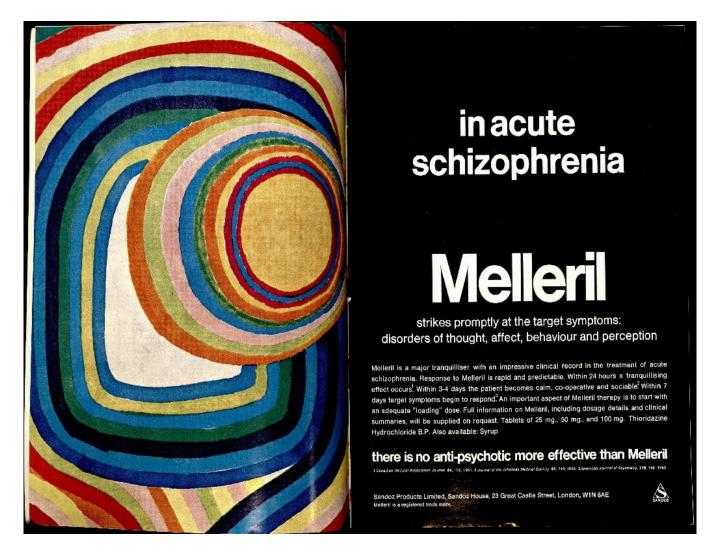
Specificity of neuroleptics/antipsychotics

 During the 1960s they came to be seen as working in a more targeted or specific manner

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

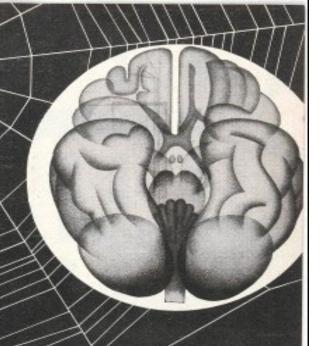


By 1970 they were regarded as disease-centred treatments that targeted the biological basis of psychiatric symptoms



Specificity of antidepressants

- Early antidepressants were described as being similar to stimulants
- By 1960s, antidepressants "appear to act specifically against depressive symptoms" (Dally, 1967)



Tofranil[®] Geigy

(imipramine hydrochloride) N-(y-Dimethylaminopropyl) -iminodibenzyl hydrochloride

The specific thymoleptic for the treatment of depression

Geigy Pharmaceutical Company Ltd., Wythenshawe, Manchester 23

(Medical Journal, Innoney 27, 150

Drug classification and terminology reflect these changes:

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)

Evidence for disease-centred model of drug action

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

Ideas about mental disorders being caused by deficiencies or abnormalities of brain chemicals (e.g. serotonin, noradrenalin, dopamine etc) have not been substantiated

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

References:

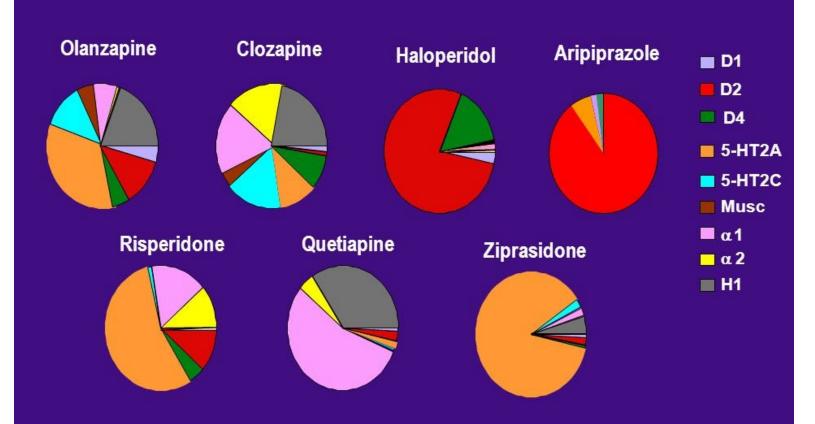
Moncrieff, J (2009) A critique of the dopamine hypothesis of schizophrenia and psychosis. Harvard Review of Psychiatry, 17 (3) 214-225

Kendler, K. S., & Schaffner, K. F. (2011). The dopamine hypothesis of schizophrenia: An historical and philosophical analysis. *Philosophy, Psychiatry, & Psychology, 18*(1), 41–63. https://doi.org/10.1353/ppp.2011.0005

'Antipsychotics, dopamine D₂ 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**.

Receptor Binding Profiles



17

Molecular Psychiatry

www.nature.com/mp

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OPEN



The serotonin theory of depression: a systematic umbrella review of the evidence

 $Joanna\ Moncrieff^{1,2}{}^{\boxtimes},\ Ruth\ E.\ Cooper^3,\ Tom\ Stockmann^4,\ Simone\ Amendola^5,\ Michael\ P.\ Hengartner^6\ and\ Mark\ A.\ Horowitz^{1,2}{}^{\boxtimes},\ Moncrieff^{1,2}{}^{\boxtimes},\ Moncrieff^{1,$

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The serotonin hypothesis of depression is still influential. We aimed to synthesise and evaluate evidence on whether depression is associated with lowered serotonin concentration or activity in a systematic umbrella review of the principal relevant areas of research. PubMed, EMBASE and PsycINFO were searched using terms appropriate to each area of research, from their inception until December 2020. Systematic reviews, meta-analyses and large data-set analyses in the following areas were identified: serotonin and serotonin metabolite, 5-HIAA, concentrations in body fluids; serotonin 5-HT_{1A} receptor binding; serotonin transporter (SERT) levels measured by imaging or at post-mortem; tryptophan depletion studies; SERT gene associations and SERT gene-environment interactions. Studies of depression associated with physical conditions and specific subtypes of depression (e.g. bipolar depression) were excluded. Two independent reviewers extracted the data and assessed the quality of included studies using the AMSTAR-2, an adapted AMSTAR-2, or the STREGA for a large genetic study. The certainty of study results was assessed using a modified version of the GRADE. We did not synthesise results of individual meta-analyses because they included overlapping studies. The review was registered with PROSPERO (CRD42020207203). 17 studies were included: 12 systematic reviews and meta-analyses, 1 collaborative meta-analysis, 1 meta-analysis of large cohort studies, 1 systematic review and narrative

- Serotonin in body fluids
- Serotonin metabolite in CSF
- Serotonin receptors
- Serotonin transporter protein (SERT)
- Tryptophan depletion studies
- SERT gene studies and gene-stress interaction studies

The drug-centred model of antipsychotic action:

what sort of mental and behavioural alterations do antipsychotics produce?

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

Patient accounts of the alterations produced by 'antipsychotics'

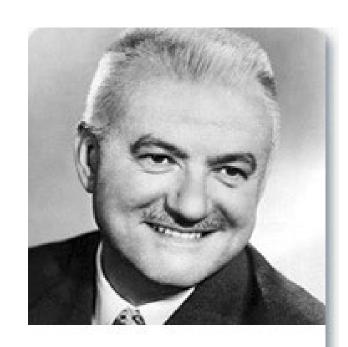
Comments from 'askapatient.com'

- Mental and physical stagnance
- Emotionally empty, dead inside
- A weird spacey empty feeling
- Lethargy and indifference
 (Moncrieff et al, 2008)

In 1950s Deniker (and others) proposed that 'antipsychotics' (early ones) worked because they produced a mild form of Parkinson's disease

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.



Pierre Deniker

"the apparent indifference, or delay in response to external stimuli, the emotional and affective neutrality, the decrease in both initiative and preoccupation without alteration of conscious awareness or in intellectual faculties, constitute the psychic syndrome due to treatment"

Early observations of drug-induced effects of antipsychotics

'From the beginning it was evident that no lines of demarcation could be drawn between therapeutic degrees of reduced psychomotor activity and early symptoms of parkinsonism...

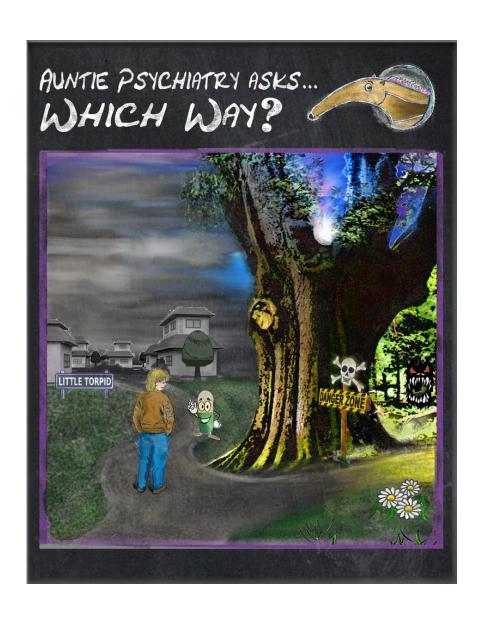
Clinical evidence therefore, indicated that the therapeutic function of chlorpromazine and reserpine could not be separated from their modifying influence on the function of the subcortical motor system in transacting volitional, affective and intentional functions' (Freyhan, 1959) (P10).

Impact on symptoms

Dimension of psychotic	Reduction in dimension after 6
experience	weeks of antipsychotic
	treatment
Behavioural impact	64%
Cognitive preoccupation	51%
Emotional involvement	56%
Conviction	25%
External perspective	0

The main impact of antipsychotics is on behavioural disturbance, emotional state and cognitive preoccupation

"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)

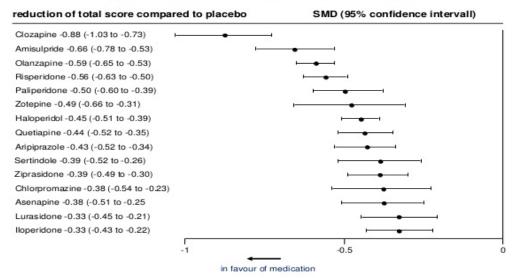
A drug centred approach to the treatment of psychosis

 Immediate effects of antipsychotics may be useful to suppress acute psychotic symptoms- but they are disliked and alternative approaches may be possible (Francey et al, 2020)

• ? Benefits of long-term treatment are less clear

Efficacy of antipsychotics

Efficacy of 15 antipsychotics vs. placebo (PANSS/BPRS Summenscore)



Leucht et al. Lancet. 2013 Sep 14;382(9896):951-62

Are antipsychotics needed for an acute episode of psychosis?

- Minimal medication approaches have had some success in the past: e.g. the Soteria project (reviewed by Cooper et al, 2020)
- Recent pilot trial (Francey et al, 2020) showed no difference between placebo and antipsychotics on primary outcome at 6 months (SOFAS) in context of intensive, high quality psychosocial care

Evidence for the benefits of long-term treatment with antipsychotics

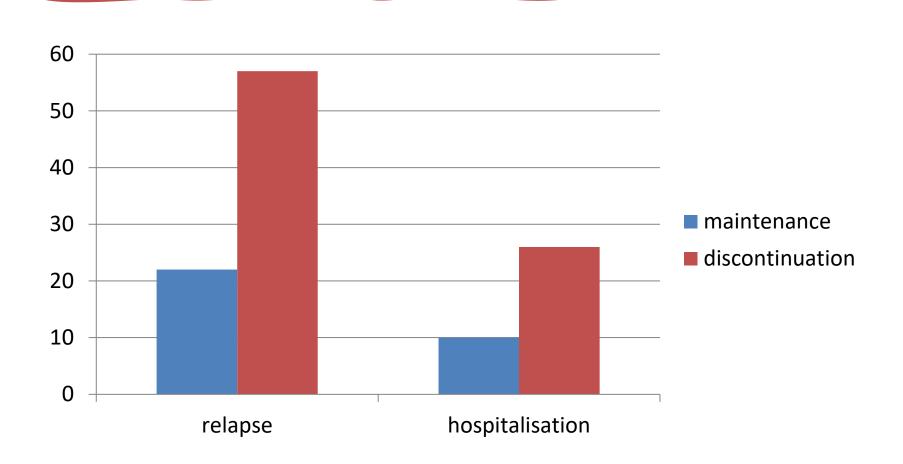
Leucht et al, 2012.

- Meta-analysis: 65 RCTs, total n = 6493 patients
- Relapse maintenance treatment: 22%
- Relapse antipsychotic discontinuation: 57%

Antipsychotic drugs versus placebo for relapse prevention in schizophrenia: a systematic review and meta-analysis

Stefan Leucht, Magdolna Tardy, Katja Komossa, Stephan Heres, Werner Kissling, Georgia Salanti, John M Davis

RCTs of antipsychotic discontinuation show that it is associated with higher relapse rates compared to maintenance treatment (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

Cohort studies finding better outcomes for people with psychosis not taking antipsychotic medication compared with those taking continuous antipsychotic medication:

- Harrow et al, 2007; 2012 (Chicago)
- Morgan et al, 2014 (AESOP study)
- Wils et al, 2017 (OPUS trial)
- Moilenan et al, (Northern Finnish birth cohort, 2016)

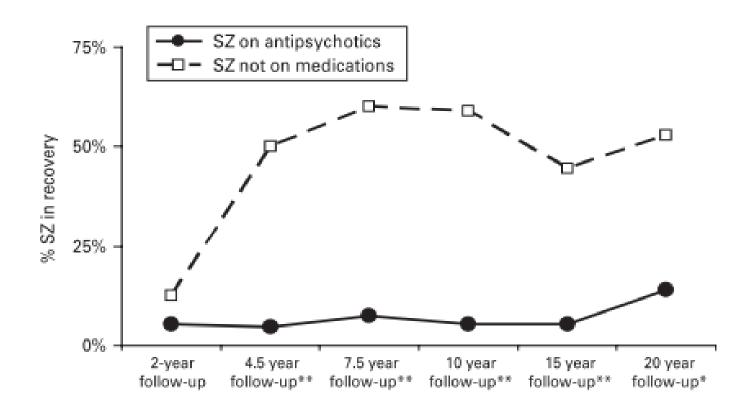
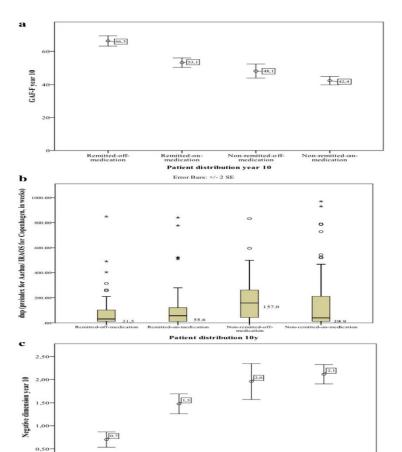


Figure 1. Relationship between recovery and use of antipsychotics in schizophrenia (SZ). *p < 0.01, *p < 0.001



Remitted-on-medication Non-remitted-o medication

Patient distribution year 10

Error Bars: +/- 2 SE

Non-remitted-off-medication

Non-remitted-on-medication



Terms and Conditions

Remitted-off-medication

0.00

Wunderink et al, 2013 - 7 year follow-up

JAMA 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

	No. (%)		
Characteristic	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 Legena:

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

But long-term outcomes may be different: Wunderink et al, (2013): 7 year follow-up of a randomised trial

- DR = dose reduction/ discontinuation
- MT = maintenance treatment

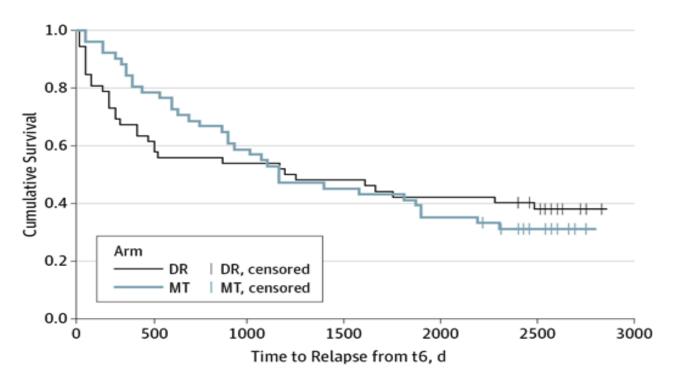
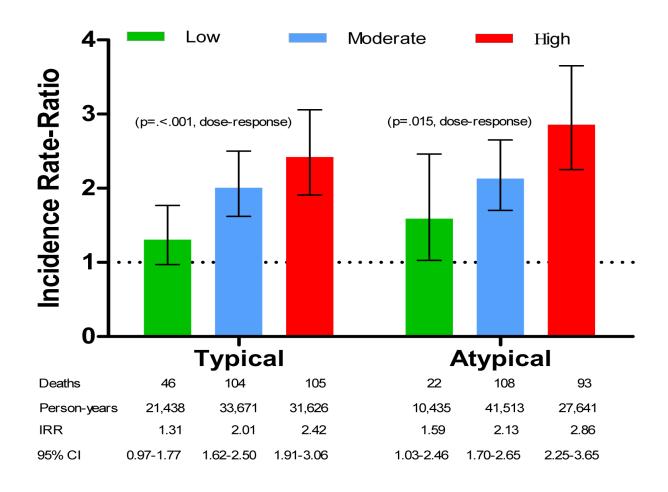
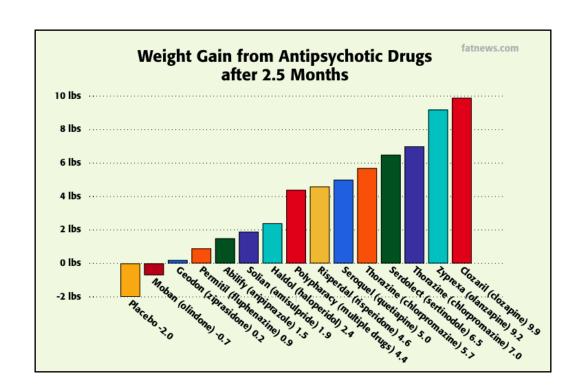


Figure 1. Time to first relapse after first remission (t6) during 7 years of follow-up in patients assigned to 18-months (547 days) of dose reduction/discontinuation (DR) or maintenance treatment (MT)

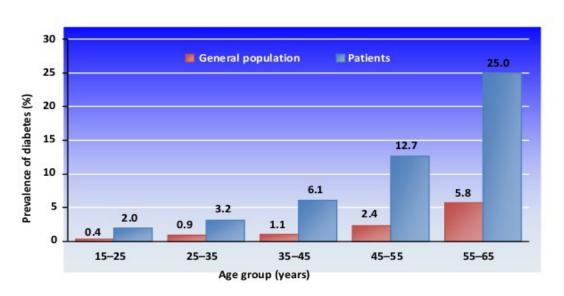


Antipsychotics and sudden death. Ray et al, 2009, NEJM





Prevalence of diabetes in schizophrenia compared to general population



Sexual side effects very common

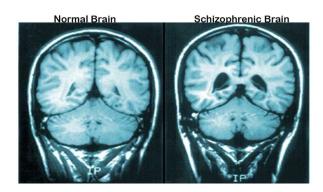
Antipsychotic Drugs	Sexual side effects in Men	Sexual side effects in women
Risperidone	Erectile or ejaculatory dysfunction Azoospermia Gynaecomastia	Infertility Decreased libido
Olanzapine	Reduced libido Erectile or ejaculatory dysfunction	Reduced libido Decreased lubrication
Amisulpride	Gynaecomastia Reduced libido	Amenorrhea
Haloperidol	Decreased libido Erectile dysfunction Ejaculatory disorder	Decreased libido Arousal disorder
Clozapine	Gynaecomastia Decreased libido	Decreased libido Impaired arousal
Quetiapine	Decreased libido Impaired arousal	Decreased libido Impaired arousal
Arpiprazole	Decreased libido Ejaculatory dysfunction	Arousal difficulty Delayed orgasm

Table 1: Sexual side effect of both typical and atypical antipsychotic drugs.

Antipsychotics and brains: evidence of brain volume reduction with antipsychotics

- Cross-sectional studies
- Longitudinal studies
- Animal studies
- Meta-analyses

Enlarged Brain Ventricles Of A Schizophrenic Person.



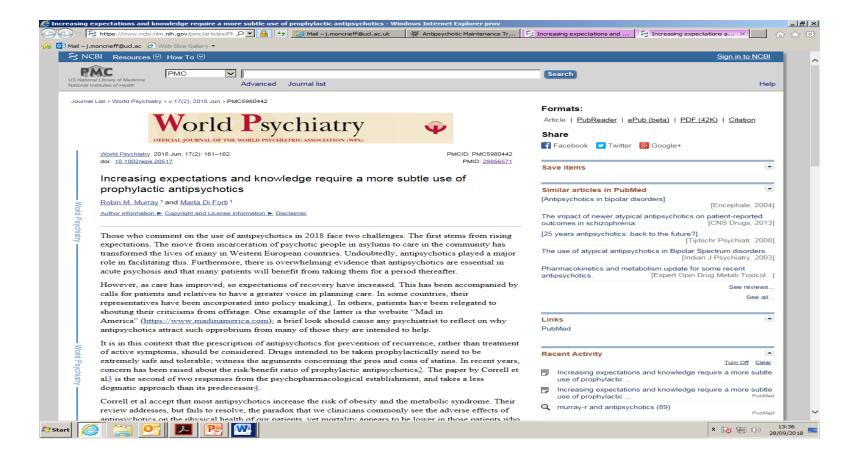
Antipsychotics cause brain shrinkage: Animal studies



 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





UCL Home / Psychiatry / Research into Antipsychotic Discontinuation and

Welcome to the RADAR project



Research into Antiposychotic Discontinuation and Reduction (RADAR) is a research study led by Dr Joanna Moncrieff that will evaluate a structured antipsychotic medication reduction and discontinuation programme for people with long-torm schizophrenia and similar problems.





The 'Research into Antipsychotic Discontinuation and Reduction' research study is funded by the National institute for Health Research Programme Grants for Applied Research award (PGAR) RP-PG-0514-

Any views expressed on this website are those of the RADAR team and not necessarily those of the NHS, the





Antipsychotic reduction and discontinuation trials ongoing:

RADAR trial, UK

HAMLETT trial, the Netherlands;

REDUCE trial, Australia;

TAILOR study, Denmark;

Gadem trial, Taiwan

Bipolar disorder: what is it?



- Classical 'manic depression' (bipolar 1)
- Bipolar II
- Bipolar spectrum disorder
- 'Mood instability'
- Paediatric bipolar disorder

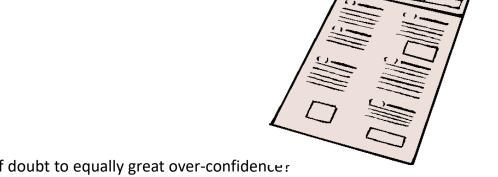
Bipolar expansion

 20th century: Manic depression (classical bipolar 1) affects less than 1 in 1000 people (Healy et al, 2008)

Angst et al 1998 suggest: 5% have bipolar 1;
 11% have bipolar 2

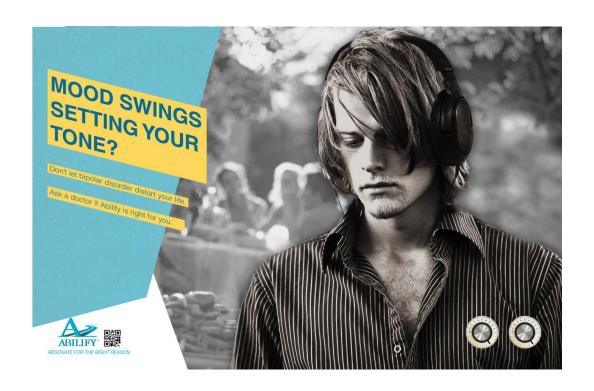
Angst et al 2003 suggest; 24% have 'bipolar spectrum'

Bipolar symptoms test



- Does your self confidence range from great self doubt to equally great over-confidence;
- Are there great variations in the quantity and quality of work you produce?
- Do you have periods of dullness and other periods of creative thinking?

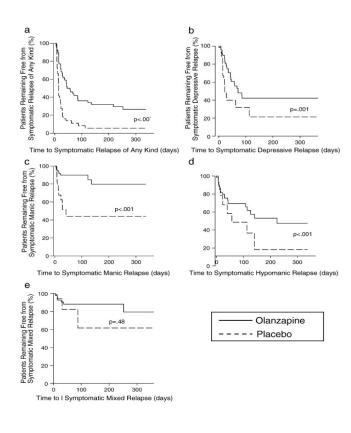
'symptoms' are on a continuum with ordinary character traits and everyday mood variation and functioningtherefore anyone can view themselves as having it



There's no such thing as a 'mood stabiliser'

- Concept established by Abbot Laboratories to market Depakote in 1990s (Harris et al, 2003)
- All so called 'mood stabilisers' are sedative agents
- Volunteers studies show lithium does not reduce mood fluctuations (and no research on other medications)
- Research on 'mood stabilisers' shows that continuation treatment reduces the risk of relapse (mostly of mania) compared with discontinuation in people with classical manic depression or bipolar 1
- Significant discontinuation effect
- Almost no research in people who have other types of bipolar disorder

Discontinuation effects in a maintenance treatment trial



The drug-centred model of antidepressant action:

what sort of mental and behavioural alterations do antidepressants produce?

Antidepressant-induced alterations: volunteer studies and patient reports of alterations

Tricyclics

- Sedation
- Cognitive impairment
- Dysphoria

SSRIs

- More subtle
- Emotional numbness
- Reduced libido and other sexual dysfunction
- Lethargy
- Agitation especially in younger people (possibly associated with suicidal impulses and aggression)
- Dysphoria at higher doses

SSRI antidepressants

Type of change	mechanism	experience
Immediate changes	? Increased serotonin activity	Emotional blunting, sexual dysfunction, lethargy, agitation
Long-term effects	?	Emotional blunting, sexual dysfunction, lethargy – maybe worsening
Withdrawal effects	?	agitation, anxiety, dizziness, loss of balance etc
Persistent effects	?	sexual dysfunction, others?

The drug-centred model of antidepressant action

 Interaction of psychoactive effects and symptoms may lead to lessening or obscuring of symptoms e.g. emotional numbness may reduce intensity of emotions

Placebo and amplified placebo effects also relevant

Are these effects useful in depression?

- Difference between antidepressants and placebo is 0.3 SMD
- Equates to around 2 points on Hamilton Rating Scale for depression (maximum points 54)

Implications of different models of drug action: the disease-centred model

Drugs reverse or ameliorate an unwanted biological process or 'disease' that gives rise to symptoms

Forced treatment justified because most people agree that disease is a bad thing and that brain disease can affect judgement

Implications of the Drug-centred model

Psychoactive drugs change people's usual selves or character to varying extents

Forced treatment means that **other people** prefer the drug-induced state to the individual's previous behaviour – when 'treatment' is given long-term this can be thought of as **character modification** using drugs

Democratic, consensual drug treatment

- Psychoactive drugs change people's usual selves or character to varying extents
- People's response to drug-induced effects vary (how much they like them, whether they find them useful)
- Antipsychotics can reduce psychotic symptoms and anxiety, but also suppress emotions and general thinking
- If the drug is prescribed to help the individual (not for social control) then the individual has to find the drug effects preferable (less disabling and unpleasant) to their symptoms



Why these issues are important

"Unfortunately, my personality has been so stifled that I sometimes think that the richness of my pre-injection days - even with brief outbursts of madness - is preferable to the numbed cabbage that I have become. I am advised by all doctors to continue with my injections and will do so, but in losing my periods of madness I have to pay with my soul, and the price of health seems twice as high as Everest."

Peter Wescott, 1979, BMJ