



*A long and winding road:  
Narratives on habitual use and  
cessation of sleeping medication and  
tranquillisers*

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**Projectendatabank  
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Presentatie  
Onderzoeksacties  
Personen  
Zoeken

**Perception, habitual use and cessation of benzodiazepines: a multi-method  
nethnography (BENZO-NET)**

Onderzoeksproject DR/81 (Onderzoeksactie [DR](#))

- [Beschrijving](#)
- [Documentatie](#)

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**SLAAP- EN KALMEERMIDDELEN,  
DENK EERST  
AAN ANDERE OPLOSSINGEN.**



**BEWEGING, VOEDING, RELAXATIE, ...  
SLAAP- EN KALMEERMIDDELEN  
MOETEN DE LAATSTE OPTIE ZIJN.**

**Prat erover met je arts  
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# Aims



- understand how habitual long-term users perceive their **medication use** and what **meaning** they attribute to these drugs,
- and how this is linked to their *personal health identities* in their **narratives** on their personal medication trajectory
- explore the **discursive backdrop** of the contemporary normative imagery of the use of BZD/Z against which these user narratives are formed.

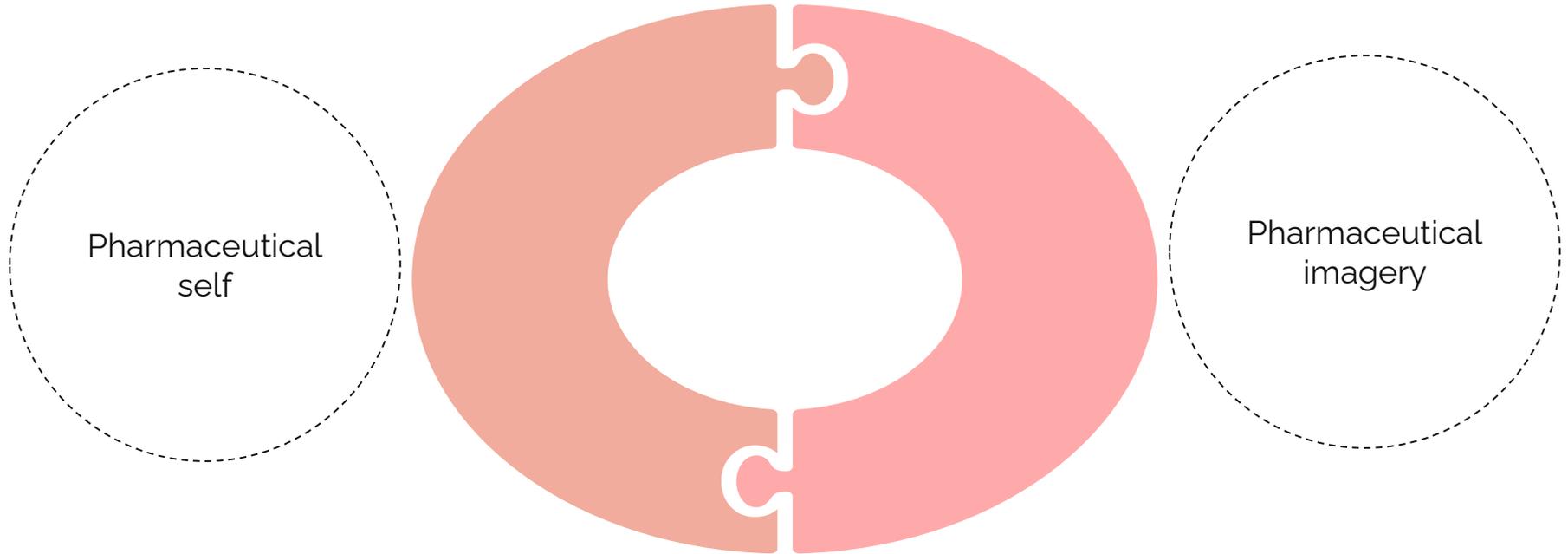
## Health identity (Fox and Ward)



***Health identities** emerge from health related practices. Specific aspects of **embodiment**, such as the consumption of medicines, are embedded in a web of associations from which health identities are constructed*

Fox, N. J., & Ward, K. J. (2008). What are health identities and how may we study them?. *Sociology of health & illness*, 30(7), 1007-1021.

# Theoretical background: Jenkins



Jenkins, J. H. (2012). The Anthropology of psychopharmacology: commentary on contributions to the analysis of pharmaceutical self and imagery. *Culture, medicine and psychiatry*, 36(1), 78.

# Methodology: narrative analysis



## Two-phased method

1. Individual narratives
2. Thematic analysis

Bissell, P., Ryan, K., & Morecroft, C. (2006). Narratives about illness and medication: a neglected theme/new methodology within pharmacy practice research. Part I: conceptual framework. *Pharmacy world and science*, 28(2), 54-60.

Ryan, K., Bissell, P., & Morecroft, C. (2007). Narratives about illness and medication: a neglected theme/new methodology within pharmacy practice research. Part II: medication narratives in practice. *Pharmacy world & science*, 29(4), 353-360.



16  14 

Age 20 – 86 (Av. 57,6)



14,6

Average years of use



Longterm 15 (10/5)  
Former 7



Tapering-off 4  
Instrumental (sporadic) 2  
Relapsed 2

# Two types of narratives

## Long-term use stories

- elaborate medication stories
- many side-lines,
- often no clear starting point
- often confused or unclear chronology: narrator moves from one point in time to another with no clear introduction or indication of these time lapses.
- long and associative story, not organized in an orderly manner over time.

## Cessation stories

- clearly delineated stories
- clear beginning
- plot (often the turning point that led to the desire to withdraw)
- clear end point (sometimes with precise start and stop dates)

# Initial use = biographic disruption



n=20



n=4



n=6

# Onset



- A token of concern
- Role of prescriber - social network
- Role and meaning of medication: comfort, control, safety, ease

“

*But even when I go to work, it's **in my backpack**. Just because I know when I have it with me, it is a measure of **reassurance** in case I should ... (...) I've never lost control, but I'm afraid I might lose **control of myself**.*

Man, 50, long-term use of zolpidem and prazepam



“

*It happened kind of **gradually**... I don't remember exactly how it went, but I started to take it much more frequently . Yes, in the beginning I took it every now and then, but then it started to get, um, more chronic (...) It was like I didn't want to risk it anymore to just lie down in bed and wait and... it was there and it was **easy** (...) I think in the meantime I also asked my [family member] now and then, for bromazepam.*

Woman, 35, former use of bromazepam and zolpidem



## Stigma: imagery

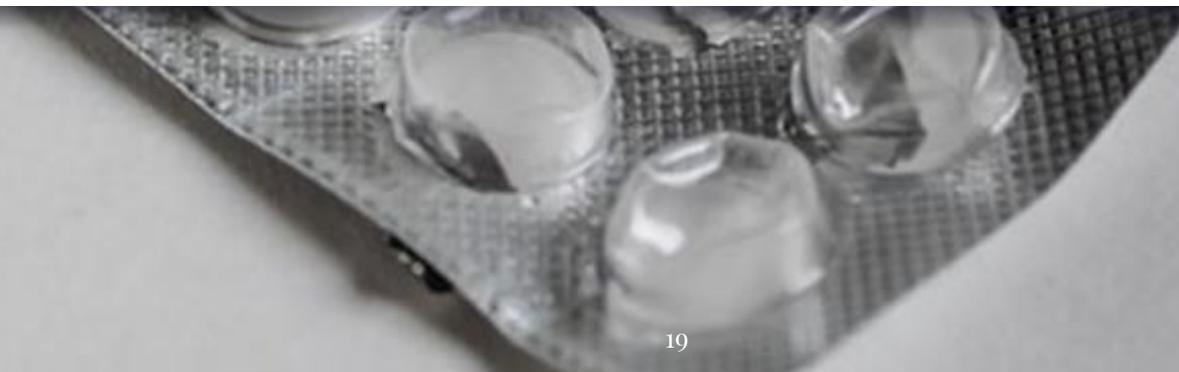


- Society – medical world – campaigns – media in general
- Abnormality, ageism, sign of mental weakness, addiction

“

*We only did what the doctor prescribed us, didn't we? And you are **considered an addict** once you are on those pills, because they [the doctors] realize that, too. And then you can't really get off. (...) And that is a very **big difference with drug users** who use that **recreationally** or use that as addicts, we are not the same person, this is a completely different input. **We are not addicts, we are victims.** We've become **dependent** on a drug because **we've done what the doctor said.** The blame is not on us, not at all.*

Woman, 64, former use of clonazepam



“

*The last option... sounds very much... erm.. and then commit euthanasia, that is what it sounds like to me...  
Yes, **very pedantic**, but most of all, I would become **very anxious**.. because if that is the last option, then there is **no more hope**... That is the message that I get. **I get the feeling that I am not doing well. It is all very stigmatising.** Pff (sighs)..*

Man, 41, long-term use of alprazolam



“

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- *But again I also find this quite a double message, because you can choose: this or that. And whoever takes that is just lazy, isn't it? Because they are saying that it works. I mean, look, you have options. And you choose this... Perhaps that is right, I don't know...*

- Woman, 41, long-term use of lorazepam



## Current long-term users

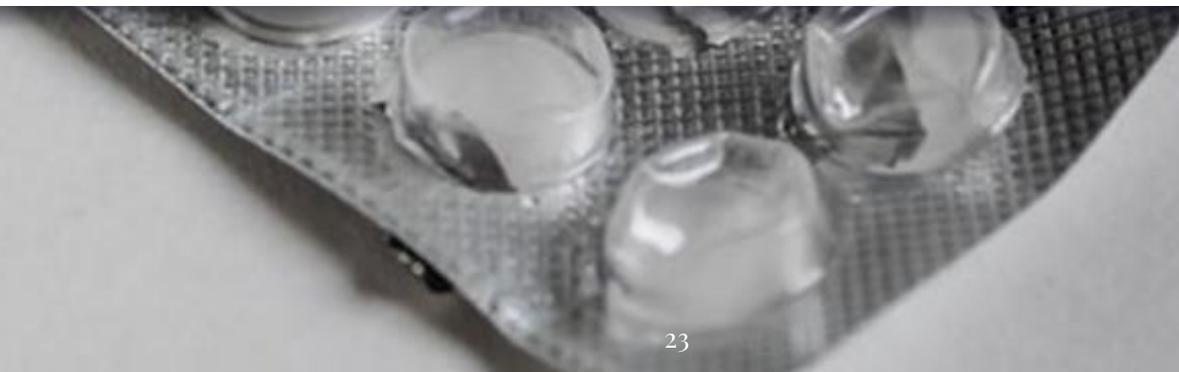


- Cognitive dissonance
  - Awareness of negative side-effects: minimising, comparing, trade-offs
  - Denial
  - Magnify or underline addiction

“

*I realize I am dependent on medication, but I don't mind. In my case, with the medication I'm taking, I don't mind. Because I know **if I drop that**, then it will be a **disaster** again and I just don't want that anymore, voilà. There you go.*

Woman, 49, long-term use of alprazolam



“

*Tell me, why? Why would you change your wife, if you're fine? Isn't that the same? Why would you push your husband aside, when he does his job, when he does what he has to do? Yes, that's my explanation of it.*

Man, 70, long-term use of lorazepam

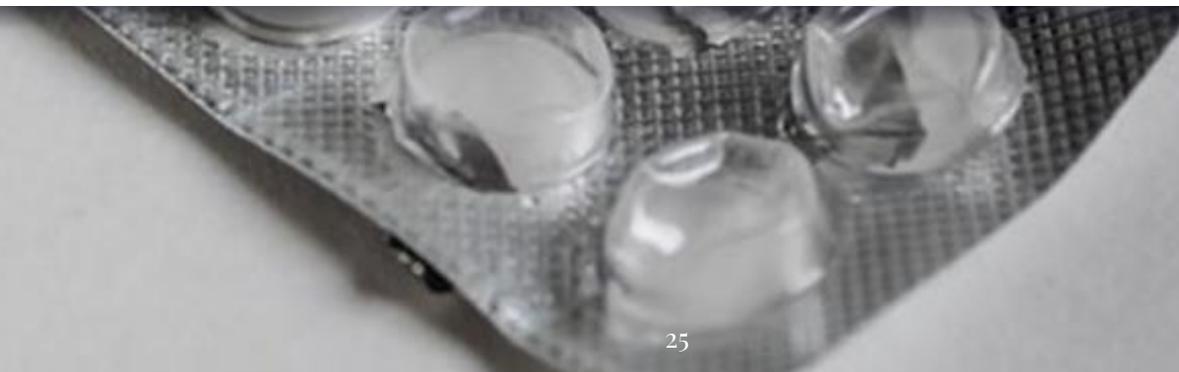


“

*Addicted... I am addicted to that sleeping pill. I can't ... I can't quit, once you start you can't quit, I have to take it on eh yes, otherwise I wouldn't sleep either (...)* You're addicted to it, it's like.. yes.. someone who can't quit smoking .

*Exactly like someone who cannot quit smoking.*

Woman, 84, current use of bromazepam



# Cessation



- Side-effects: before, during and after withdrawal
- Main reason – recognition?
- Highlight agency of user - limited role for prescriber
- Identity conflict

# Identity conflict leading to cessation



Initial biographic disruption medication started to...	'turning-point '	conflicts with identity as...
<b>Example</b> perform under increasing stress (former 'good student')	side-effects (fainting)	professional identity (performing sub-optimally at work due to side effects)

# Conclusions



- Destigmatisation
- Crucial for cessation
  - Patient's pace
  - Peer support
  - Psycho education
  - Alternatives



# Thanks!

More information?

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Or visit our webpages



# Credits



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