JA CESAII We need new ways of thinking about substance abuse.

WORDS BY TROY FARAH.

Courtney wasn't much older than 17 when she was intro-stabilize opioid use disorder, it can mean life or death. duced to pills and cocaine, later heroin and meth. She had been struggling with a deep depression after her boss sexually assaulted her.

was the reason I started experimenting with drugs," says her identity. "I had filed a report against the guy, and his defense somehow caught wind that myself and one of my friends were doing shit, and tried to use that to slander me in the case and say I was a drug addict and a slut that deserved whatever happened to me."

After two years, Courtney eventually quit using hard went to jail or rehab, and she's not taking medications like Violence Resource Center. methadone to manage her addiction. She simply stopped.

ple with a dependency quit at some point in their lives, according to research published in the journal Addiction, cans since 1999, and deaths have only recently started while some epidemiological evidence suggests most to drop slightly. Now, more than ever, we need a coherpeople "mature out" of substance use.

Yet, the dominant narrative about addiction labels how to treat it. the condition a chronic disease from which you are never programs, including many (but not all) 12-step programs lem or moral failing.

Others, like journalist Maia Szalavitz, have categorized addiction as a learning disorder—more like ADHD or dyslexia than a chronic health condition like diabetes. "The best definition, it seems to me, is compulsive drug use or other types of behavior that continues in the face of negative consequences," Szalavitz says. The National Institute on Drug Abuse uses this definition, and it's similar to what's in the *The Diagnostic and Statistical* Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition, the supreme compassionately and that can have serious consehandbook of psychiatric disorders.

These variations in meaning aren't just splitting hairs—they can mean the difference between treatment or prison, and intersect with issues like bodily auton- among women has to do with our dominant ideas of what omy and child custody. And when it comes to access to life-saving medications like buprenorphine, which can Sue, medical director at the Harm Reduction Coalition

"When people hear you have a brain disease, they think you have no autonomy, and we better lock you up for your own good and for the good of everybody else," "I bring up the fact that I was nearly raped as I think it Szalavitz says. "You're kind of like a zombie."

While the disease model is certainly better than Courtney, whose real name is not being used to protect dubbing addiction a "sin," the label can gloss over why people self-medicate with illegal drugs. Like Courtney, many people turn to substances like heroin or meth following sexual trauma, especially in childhood. This is particularly relevant given recent stats that an estimated 3.3 million American women say their first sexual intercourse was rape, while 1 in 3 women experience sexual drugs; she has been sober about six years now. She never violence in their lives, according to the National Sexual

Of course, addiction is complex and trauma is only But her story isn't atypical. More than half of peo- one of many reasons people use narcotics. Nonetheless, drug overdoses have killed more than 700,000 Amerient, accurate understanding of what addiction is and

"What's going on in the brain when you become free, only in "recovery." Nonetheless, some addiction addicted, it's basically like you're falling in love with a substance or a behavior rather than a person," Szalaemphasize shame, casting addiction as a spiritual prob-vitz says. She has spent around 30 years wrestling with defining addiction, which she laid out in her 2016 book Unbroken Brain: A Revolutionary New Way of Understanding Addiction. "This doesn't mean that people with addiction have no free will, nor does it mean that people in love have no free will. It just means that their priorities have been reset in a way that will change the way they weigh what's important and what isn't."

> To an outsider, that primacy can seem absurd. Western medicine still doesn't always define addiction so quences, especially for women, who can have vastly different experiences with drug use than men.

"So much of the criminalization of substance use is proper womanhood or femininity," says Dr. Kimberly

Women, Incarceration, and the American Opioid Crisis.

"Women's bodies have always been seen in a medical excluded from research on drug use and were punished disproportionately to men because they were seen as upper middle class, white, heteronormative fashion."

of women's bodies and women's choices," Sue adds. "It their bodies."

In her book, Sue examines the places where addiction treatment often starts for many people: jails and jectory of more than 30 women in the Massachusetts prisons, jails, and drug treatment systems, where she can do to people.

"The shifting of these paradigms is very important rience their own identities," Sue says. "People continue to internalize stigma, they internalize the way that people look at them, the way that people speak to them, the language people use and it actually imprints on people and it drives all of these drug epidemics and the chaos so much so that they'll not seek care."

Shame is not a useful or motivating emotion, Sue says, to obesity, which can be treated like a medical issue when it's really a complex social condition. "I don't want it to necessarily be a medicalized condition because I don't want them to feel like it's something that it's purely within the realm of medicine to solve or address," Sue says of her patients.

It's also important how we don't define addiction. Using drugs like methadone or buprenorphine to treat opioid addiction is often conflated with trading one addiction for another. But that is simply not accurate, Szalavitz says.

"With opioid addiction, the only thing that cuts the death rate by 50 percent or more is staying on methadone

in New York, and author of the book *Getting Wrecked*: or buprenorphine," she says. "When people are told, 'Oh, you're still addicted,' then they stop taking medication that's working for them and they die from fentanyl. So tradition as pathological," Sue explains. "They were this language stuff is not just semantics, it has to do with literally matters of life and death."

Still, some addiction treatment programs ban these having farther to fall, in kind of a Christian, puritanical, medications in favor of things like prayer and group therapy. But even in the realm of mainstream medicine, the "These are also related to the overall criminalization complex pathologies that often lead to drug use are often ignored. Addressing the underlying trauma and sexual has to do with bodily autonomy as well, and what preg- abuse that many people with substance use disorders nant women, or women in general, are allowed to put into struggle with, especially women, is key to compassionate, effective care.

The criminal justice system was designed for men, and addiction treatment groups often ignore the needs prisons. She spent nearly a decade following the tra- of women, Szalavitz says. "Women have had to deal with a level of shame around addictions that is not as great for men," she says. "There's more trauma, there's more witnessed what stigma against addiction and drug use psychiatric illness, there's more abuse, and so women with addiction tend to have worse cases."

If we want to break this cycle, Sue says, we need to because it has a lot of consequences for how people expe-stop blaming people for the complex sources of addiction. But we also need to address the broader systemic violence that contributes to these conditions.

"The fundamental problem now really is inequality, around them," Szalavitz agrees. "When we're thinking about trying to reduce harm associated with addiction, and it has no place in medicine. She compares addiction we really need to think about making society more fair and more just."

> An updated "your brain on drugs" reading list for those who poured over Go Ask Alice in middle school: Never Enough: The Neuroscience and Experience of Addiction by Judith Grisel; Blue Dreams: The Science and the Story of the Drugs That Changed Our Minds by Lauren Slater; Dopesick: Dealers, Doctors and the Drug Company That Addicted America by Beth Macy.

"Nothing is more punitive than to give a disease a meaning—that meaning being invariably a moralistic one ... The disease itself becomes a metaphor. Then, in the name of the disease (that is, using it as metaphor), that horror is imposed on other things. The disease becomes adjectival." — Susan Sontag, Illness as Metaphor

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