

# Trojan Horse Technologies

Liz Chiarello, Ph.D.



# The Story





# Trojan Horse Technologies



NATIONAL

# More than a million Americans have died from overdoses during the opioid epidemic

December 30, 2021 · 10:26 AM ET

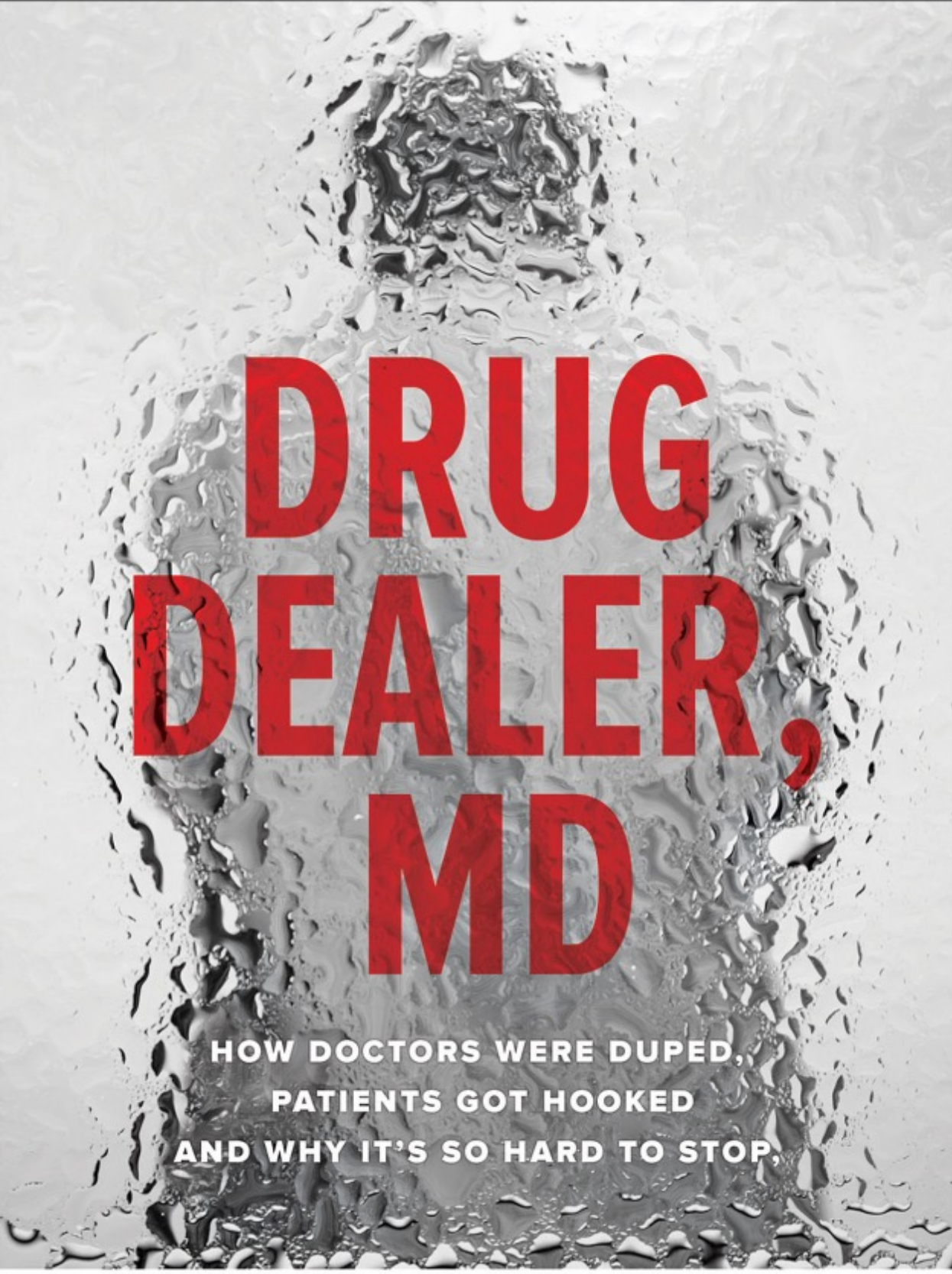
BRIAN MANN



Activists participate in a candlelight vigil calling for an end to the nation's opioid addiction crisis at the Ellipse in Washington, D.C., in August 2017.

*Alex Wong/Getty Images*



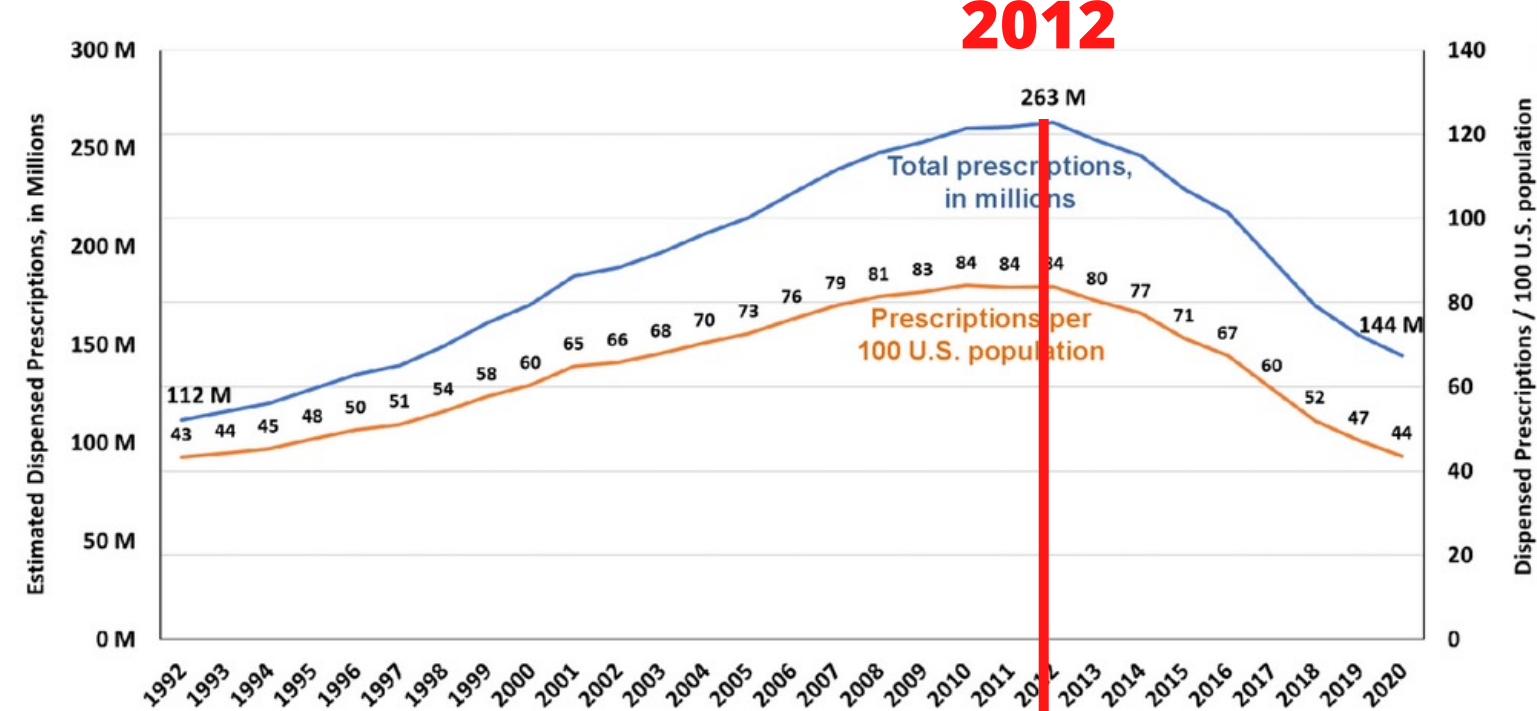


# DRUG DEALER, MD

HOW DOCTORS WERE DUPED,  
PATIENTS GOT HOOKED  
AND WHY IT'S SO HARD TO STOP

ANNA LEMBKE, MD

## Large Declines in Opioid Analgesic Prescriptions



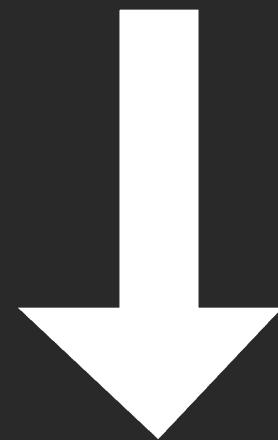
Estimated opioid analgesic prescriptions dispensed from U.S. outpatient pharmacies, total and per 100 U.S. population, 1992–2020.

Source: IQVIA, National Prescription Audit™, time period 1992–2020. Data extracted July 2021. M = millions. Outpatient pharmacies included retail and mail-order pharmacies. Data included opioid analgesics only, excluding cough-cold products and medications to treat opioid use disorder. Any changes over time must be interpreted in the context of the changes in methodology, specifically during two trend breaks between 2016 and 2017 and between 2018 and 2019.

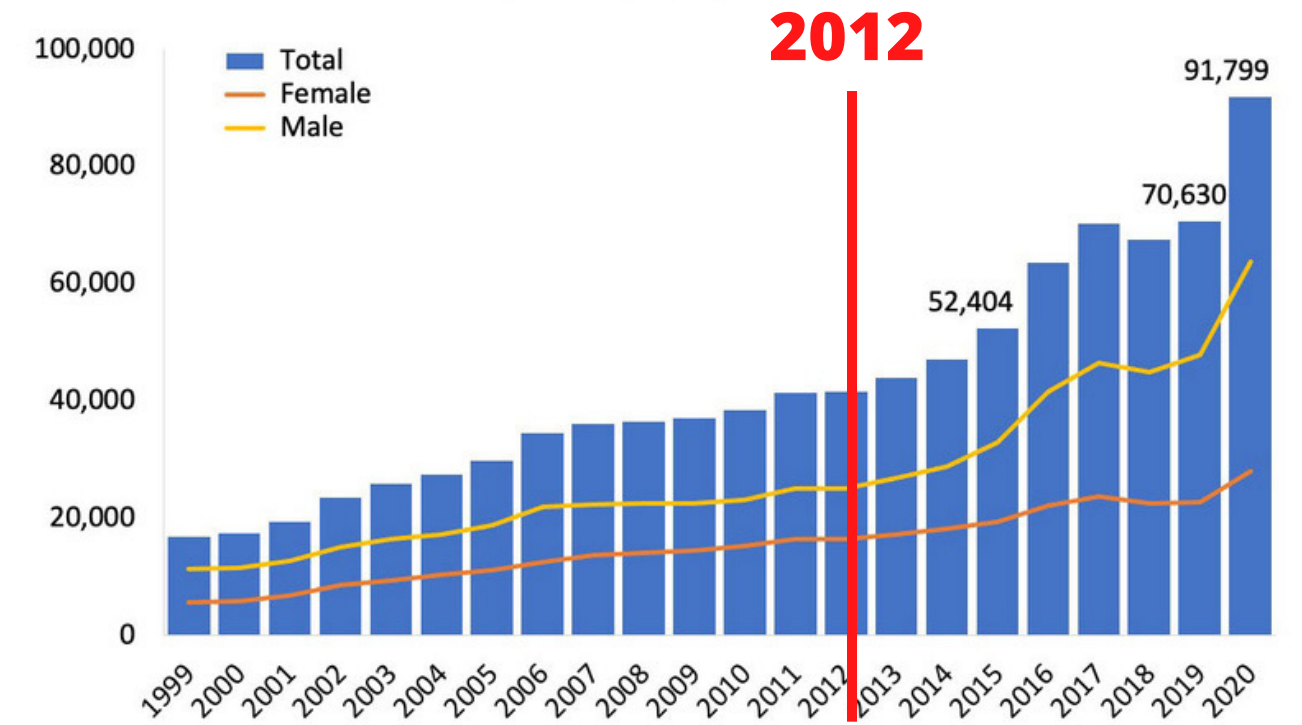
[www.fda.gov](http://www.fda.gov)

93

# Prescribing Rates



**Figure 1. National Drug-Involved Overdose Deaths\*  
Number Among All Ages, by Gender, 1999–2020**



\*Includes deaths with underlying causes of unintentional drug poisoning (X40–X44), suicide drug poisoning (X60–X64), homicide drug poisoning (X85), or drug poisoning of undetermined intent (Y10–Y14), as coded in the International Classification of Diseases, 10th Revision. Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. Multiple Cause of Death 1999–2020 on CDC WONDER Online Database, released 12/2021.

# Overdose Rates



# **The Controlled Substances Act**





**P**rescription  
**D**rug  
**M**onitoring  
**P**rogram





# PDMPs Are Trojan Horse Technologies





**118**

**Interviews  
Pharmacists  
2009-2019**

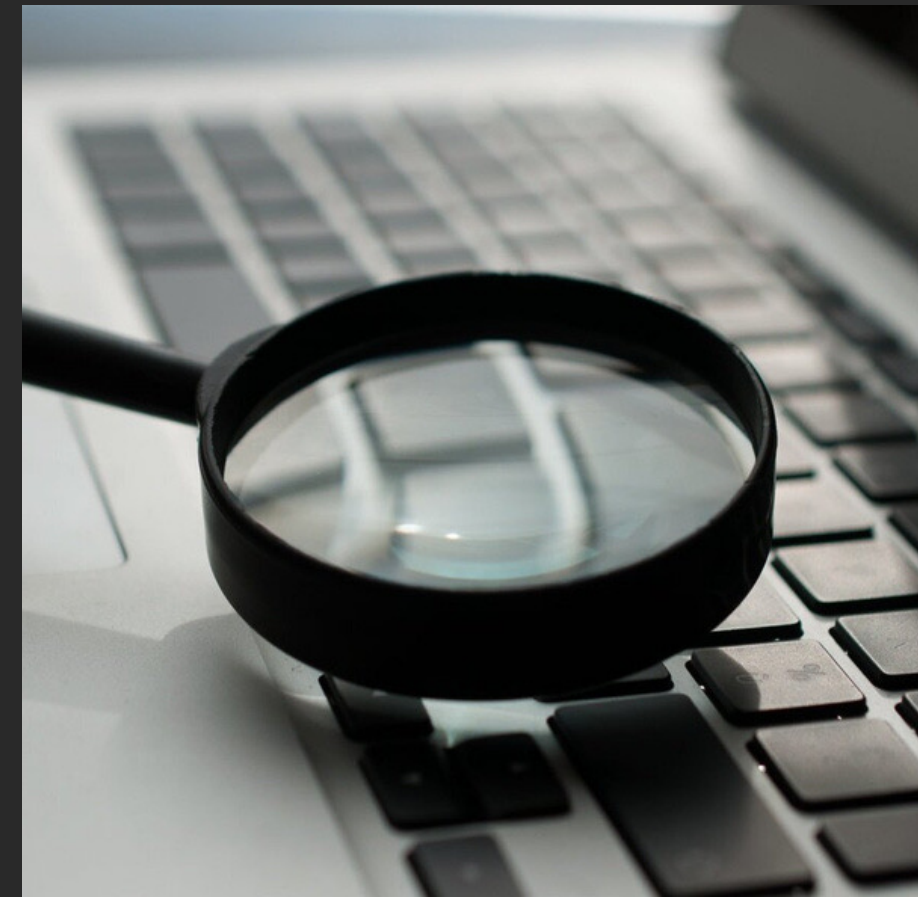
# PDMP Use Reconfigures



**Routines**



**Relationships**



**Roles**



**Routing**



# Routines



# Without PDMP

Red Flags

Gut  
Feelings

"Out of  
Stock"



**Routines**



**Routines**

Without PDMP		
Red Flags	Gut Feelings	"Out of Stock"
With PDMP		
Interrogate Patients	"Defensive Pharmacy"	Confront Patients



# Relationships





**Relationships**



**Physicians**

# Without PDMP

"Weapons of the  
Weak"

Maintain  
Hierarchy



**Relationships**



**Physicians**

# Without PDMP

"Weapons of the  
Weak"

Maintain  
Hierarchy

# With PDMP

Police Physicians  
Overtly

Challenge  
Physicians



**Relationships**



**Law Enforcement**

# Without PDMP

Hesitant  
to Call

Fear  
Retaliation





**Relationships**



**Law Enforcement**

Without PDMP	
Hesitant to Call	Fear Retaliation
With PDMP	
Actively Collaborate	Resource for Law Enforcement

# Without PDMP

Pharmacist



Police

**Roles**





## Roles

# Without PDMP

Pharmacist



Police

# With PDMP

"Reframe and Embrace"





## **Routing**

# **Direct**

Hand Off to Law Enforcement

# **Indirect**

Leave Patient to Toxic Drug Supply

# Trojan Horse Technologies









# Liz Chiarello, Ph.D.

[lizchiarello.com](http://lizchiarello.com)

[liz.chiarello@slu.edu](mailto:liz.chiarello@slu.edu)

Research Supported By:

The National Science Foundation CAREER Award

The Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

# Want to Win the War on Drugs? Portugal Might Have the Answer

By **Naina Bajekal** | Photographs by Gonalo Fonseca



TIME