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Substance use disorders among forcibly displaced people: a narrative review --Manuscript Draft--

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Corresponding Author:	Hussien Elkholy
	EGYPT
First Author:	Hussien Elkholy
Order of Authors:	Hussien Elkholy
	Joseph Tay Wee Teck
	Shalini Arunogiri
	Merit Ramses Asaad
	Franziska Baessler
	Roshan Bhad
	Emanuela Nadia Borghi
	Anja Busse
	Hamed Ekhtiari
	Subodh Dave
	Marica Ferri
	Claire Greene
	George Koob
	Christos Kouimtsidis
	Dzimtry Krupchanka
	Christoph Nikendei
	Stavroula Pipyrou
	Vladimir Poznyak
	Nora D. Volkow
	Aaron M White
	Arash Khojasteh Zonoozi
	Nadine Ezard
	Marc N. Potenza
	Alexander M Baldacchino
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Recent findings

The risk factors associated with SUDs are similar to or overlap with those experienced by forcibly displaced people, yet there is substantial heterogeneity in patterns and prevalence of substance use across the different forcibly displaced people. Despite recognition that SUDs among forcibly displaced people are concerning, there are large gaps in knowledge. These include questions around whether forced displacement is directly and consistently linked with SUDs prevalence, what the patterns of risk and resilience look like across different cultures experiencing different causes of displacement over varying durations, and what constitutes effective interventions for these groups. These gaps are at least partly due to research having been disproportionately conducted in developed countries rather than in low- and middle-income countries.

Summary

Specifically, we categorize syndemic risks of both forced displacement and substance use disorders into four areas: trauma and violence, loss and instability, transit and resettlement and acculturation. We use causal loop diagramming to illustrate important synergistic interactions. We propose a research and intervention policy agenda informed by a broad and varied stakeholder base, accounting for generational and lifecourse effects and context specific cultural, structural, and economic priorities and values.

Substance use disorders among forcibly displaced people: a narrative review

Authors:

Hussien Elkholy^{1,2}*, Joseph Tay Wee Teck^{3,4}*, Shalini Arunogiri^{5,6}*, Merit Ramses Asaad⁷, Franziska Baessler^{4,9}, Roshan Bhad¹⁰, Emanuela Nadia Borghi¹¹, Anja Busse¹², Hamed Ekhtiari¹³, Subodh Dave^{14,15}, Marica Ferri¹⁶, Claire Greene¹⁷, George Koob¹⁸, Christos Kouimtsidis^{19,20}, Dzimtry Krupchanka²¹, Christoph Nikendei⁸, Stavroula Pipyrou¹¹, Vladimir Poznyak²¹, Nora D. Volkow²², Aaron M White¹⁸, Arash Khojasteh Zonoozi²³, Nadine Ezard^{24,25}**, Marc N. Potenza^{26,27,28}**, Alexander M Baldacchino^{3,29}**

Authors affiliations:

1 Neurology and Psychiatry Department, Faculty of Medicine, Ain Shams University, Cairo, Egypt

- 2 Sussex Partnership NHS Foundation Trust, UK
- 3 School of Medicine, University of St Andrews, Scotland, UK
- 4 Humankind Charity, Leeds, UK

5 Monash Addiction Research Centre, Eastern Health Clinical School, Faculty of Medicine, Nursing and Health Sciences, Monash University, Melbourne VIC Australia

- 6 Turning Point, Eastern Health, Melbourne, Australia
- 7 Health Protection and Gender advisor Red Cross

8 Department for General Internal Medicine and Psychosomatics, University of Heidelberg, Heidelberg, Germany

9 Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Heidelberg, Germany

10 Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry & National Drug Dependence Treatment Centre (NDDTC), All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), New Delhi, India-110029

11 University of St Andrews, Department of Social Anthropology, St Andrews, UK

12 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). Prevention, Treatment and Rehabilitation Section, Vienna, Austria

13 Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA

- 14 Dean, Royal College of Psychiatrists (RCPsych) United Kingdom
- 15 Professor, Institute of Psychiatry, University of Bolton
- 16 European Monitoring Centre for Drug and Drug Abuse (EMCDDA), Lisbon, Portugal

17 Program on Forced Migration and Health, Heilbrunn Department of Population and Family Health, Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health, New York, USA

18 National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA)

- 19 Imperial College, University of London, London, UK
- 20 Surrey and Borders Partnership NHS Foundation Trust, UK
- 21 World Health Organisation (WHO), Geneva, Switzerland
- 22 National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), USA

23 Iranian National Center for Addiction Studies, Tehran University of Medical Sciences, Tehran, Iran

- 24 National Centre for Clinical Research on Emerging Drugs, UNSW Medicine, Sydney Australia
- 25 St Vincent's Hospital Sydney, Australia
- 26 Yale School of Medicine and Yale University, USA
- 27 Connecticut Mental Health Center, USA
- 28 Connecticut Council on Problem Gambling, USA
- 29 President, International Society in Addiction Medicine (ISAM)

* Have contributed equally as first authors.

** Have contributed equally as senior authors.

Corresponding Author

Hussien Elkholy

Neurology and Psychiatry Department, Faculty of Medicine, Ain Shams University, Cairo, Egypt

Email: drhelkholy@gmail.com

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Keywords: Forced displacement; Forcibly Displaced People; Substance Use Disorders; Syndemic

Introduction

Forced displacement is defined as the coerced or involuntary movement of people from their homes, often due to generalised violence, armed conflict or war, violations of human rights, politically or ethnically motivated persecution, and/or environmental or natural disasters, to a location within their own country (also called internal displacement) or to another country (where some may be entitled to refugee status)¹. At mid-2021, more than 84 million people were displaced worldwide, consisting of 48 million internally displaced people (IDP), 26.6 million refugees and 4.4 million asylum-seekers², and 42% of all forcibly displaced people are children.²

Forcibly displaced people have often been exposed to or have witnessed significant violence and abuse and experienced homelessness, loss of belongings, separation from family and friends, social and economic hardships, poor nutrition, and lack of healthcare in their counties of origin, during transit and on resettlement³. The consequent trauma responses, mental health disorders, discrimination, stigma and acculturative stress generate vulnerabilities and needs that require specific responses⁴. Substance use disorders (SUDs) are characterised by continued use of drugs or alcohol despite important substance-related health and social problems⁵, and are often prevalent among groups or individuals facing multiple vulnerabilities interacting at individual, community and societal levels⁶. The risk factors associated with SUDs are similar to or overlap with those experienced by forcibly displaced people^{7,8}, yet there is substantial heterogeneity in patterns and prevalence of substance use across the different forcibly displaced people³.

For example, a systematic review showed a prevalence of alcohol use disorder in 12 settings ranging from 4 to 42% in camp settings and from <1 to 25% in community settings³. The same review identified the prevalence of drug use at <5% in community settings³ and 20% in one long-standing refugee camp setting in North Western Nigeria among forcibly displaced people from Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Togo⁹. Another study conducted in a psychosocial walk-in clinic within a German reception and registration centre for forced migrants reported a prevalence of 17.4% for drug misuse¹¹. However, a study of Syrian refugees in Lebanon showed a low prevalence of SUDs of < $0.1\%^{11}$. A study aiming to explore the prevalence of alcohol and substance use among young refugees in two refugee camps in Serbia highlighted how children and adolescents can also be affected, with energy drinks and tobacco most commonly used, then alcohol and cannabis and less cocaine, amphetamines and LSD ¹².

Worldwide, data from the World Health Organization (WHO) Global Health Estimates suggest SUDs accounted for approximately 338,000 deaths in 2019 (alcohol use disorders: 156,546; drug use disorders: 181,758)¹³. According to the WHO, mortality related to SUDs is much higher as the numbers reflect only deaths directly associated with the disorders¹³. Notably, SUDs are closely associated with gender-based violence¹⁴, mental disorders¹⁵, blood-borne virus transmission¹⁶ and tuberculosis¹⁷. Adverse consequences from SUDs may affect forcibly displaced people more severely because of stigma with consequential reduced access to healthcare^{18–20}. Crucially, 4 out of every 5 forcibly displaced people are hosted in low-and middle-income countries, with 76% experiencing prolonged periods of displacement for more than 5 years¹. This means not only that host countries will be limited in their capacities to provide healthcare and essential harm reduction interventions to forcibly displaced people²¹,

but also that national sustainable development plans inclusive of such populations may become hampered should SUD-associated morbidity become uncontrolled²².

Despite recognition that SUDs among forcibly displaced people are concerning, there are large gaps in knowledge. These include questions around whether forced displacement is directly and consistently linked with SUD prevalence, what the patterns of risk and resilience look like across different cultures experiencing different causes of displacement over varying durations, and what constitutes effective interventions for these groups. These gaps are at least partly due to research having been disproportionately conducted in developed countries rather than in low- and middle-income countries³.

Multiple risk and protective factors may contribute to the development of SUDs, many of which are not well studied among forcibly displaced people, including the effects of biopsychosocial factors ranging from acculturative stress^{23,24}, loss of identity^{25,26}, isolation²⁷, and disrupted social support networks²⁸ to mental disorders (e.g., depression, anxiety)¹⁵ and physical health conditions (e.g., pain, infectious diseases)²⁹; community and health system level factors, such as health literacy and access to healthcare^{30,31}; and structural factors such as legal status⁴. Common and salient experiences of racism, discrimination, and stigma may modify influences of the abovementioned factors on the development of SUDs^{32–34}. Figure 1 shows different phases of the forced displacement process. In each phase, factors may be viewed through a syndemic lens at micro, meso and macro levels.

Research on the epidemiology of substance use and SUDs in forcibly displaced people has focused almost exclusively on individual risk and protective factors. Individual-level factors match existing epidemiological research on SUDs in non-displaced people, including findings that SUDs are more common among males and individuals with less social support, worse family functioning, prior trauma, and psychiatric disorders, among other characteristics.³ Qualitative research has identified motivations underlying substance use from the perspective of displaced people, which include: to cope with stress and fear, to forget loss and deal with painful emotions/experiences, to combat loneliness and hopelessness, to experience fun, curiosity, to challenge society and media, and to manage unhappiness and conflict/displacement^{35,36}. Stress associated with immigration processes for forcibly displaced peoples can add a further layer of risk to SUDs³⁷.

Please insert Figure 1 here

Figure 1. Phases of displacement and possible factors influencing substance use disorders (SUDs). The factors that contribute to SUD within the three main phases of the forced displacement process are depicted in this figure along with the interactions between the phases via the incident of deportation or return.

Methods

Study design

We conducted a 'state-of-the-art review' which, according to Grant and Booth's review classification, aims for comprehensive searching of recent literature, addresses more contemporary matters in comparison to other combined retrospective and current approaches,

and aims to examine current knowledge, offer new perspectives and highlight avenues for further research. $^{\rm 38}$

The nature of this narrative review is mainly descriptive. We anticipated that studies would not be sufficiently homogenous to conduct a quantitative synthesis. A preliminary classification included trauma and violence, loss and instability, transit and resettlement, and acculturation. Other variables include year of publication, country of study, target population, study design, and findings.

The definition of target condition "forced displacement" was considered as the coerced or involuntary movement of people from their homes, often due to generalised violence, armed conflict or war, violations of human rights, politically or ethnically motivated persecution, or environmental or natural disasters, to a location within their own country or to another country (where some may be entitled to refugee status). However, given the different definitions that the term might have, we consider studies that use different definitions as long as they were in line with our definition.

The complexities of both forced displacement and SUDs are underpinned by syndemic risks defined as interconnected factors across nested micro (individual factors), meso (for example, the national institutions and humanitarian organisations with whom displaced populations interact), and macro (for example, the structural and socio-cultural factors, such as laws, military actions, economic conditions, and wider cultural norms in the origin and host community) socio-ecological levels, over variable time frames⁴¹ In addition to being derived from the interaction between individual-level processes and socio-ecological levels, syndemic risks are characterised by originating from multiple possible causes, affected by combinations of factors and subject to non-linear variations in response to very small changes in one or more factors^{42,43}.

By using a syndemic lens, we can avoid treating risks as isolated indices which may result in an incomplete picture of the patterns of substance use and the resilience within forcibly displaced communities and individuals which may then lead to less effective, siloed and unimodal interventions²⁹. However, presenting the dynamic complexities associated with human behaviours, emotions and attitudes as they interact with risk factors for SUDs is challenging⁴¹. We therefore used a visualisation method adapted from systems dynamics called causal loop diagramming⁴⁴ which provides a more explicit description of the interrelationships within a system's structure.

Search strategy

Searches were conducted in MEDLINE, Embase, Web of Science, Scopus, ACM Digital Library, IEEE Xplore Digital Library, SciELO. The review was conducted and documented in line with the PRISMA-P⁴⁵ and MOOSE⁴⁶ checklists.

We also searched references from articles and scanned the grey literature. We contacted key actors, including the researchers who have been actively involved on this topic for the last 15 years, to obtain more information. We included all identified studies that described forcibly displaced people and SUDs. We included all methodologies and published in any language.

We included articles published in the last 25 years (from 1998 onwards) with the search end date being the 1^{st} of May, 2022.

Quality appraisal and study details

Given that we expected a low number of studies and many to be qualitative, proof-of-concept of efficacy-testing, we put no restrictions on the type of study. This is a common feature of state-of-the-art reviews, where, instead of using quality assessment as an inclusion criterion, studies are included based on their relevance.

Data analysis

Paper characteristics, including year of publication, country of study, target population, study design, and findings, were entered into a spreadsheet. A thematic analysis approach, led by JT and HE and reviewed by the other authors, was used to group studies, compare them and analyse their findings and conclusions. There was an a priori split of four domains; namely, we divided issues into trauma and violence, loss and instability, transit and resettlement, and acculturation. This decision was based on previous knowledge on this topic.

Results

The limited data available were subject to methodological constraints, including inconsistent measures, absence of comparison populations, difficulties in accessing populations, and validity of reported data due to potential risks to disclosure of participants, particularly when substance use may be illegal, and defining the study population outside of circumscribed camp or collective settings^{39,40}. Almost all existing evidence was drawn from cross-sectional studies that prevent inferring causality with many existing studies focusing on any substance use rather than the development of SUDs^{39,40}.

We have identified 4 key domains/themes of syndemic risks encountered through different phases of forced displacement in relation to SUDs (Figure 2).

Please insert figure 2 here

Figure 2. Syndemic risk factors for substance use disorders (SUDs) among forcibly displaced people. The 4 key domains/themes of syndemic risks (depicted in the middle the figure) encountered through different phases of forced displacement (depicted in the right side of the figure) and factors level of involvement (depicted in the left side of the figure) is shown in relation to SUDs.

Interactions of different syndemic risk factors for SUDs in forcibly displaced people are summarised in Figure 3.

Please insert figure 3 here

Figure 3: Interaction of different syndemic risk factors for SUDs in forcibly displaced people. Each link in the diagram has a polarity. Black coloured arrows indicate a positive link showing that an increase in the input variable

may cause the output variable to also increase. Red coloured arrows indicate a negative link, meaning that an increase in the input variable may cause the output variable to decrease by a specified amount.

Trauma and violence

Forced displacement and the events that cause them are complex and deeply intertwined with trauma and violence⁴⁷. The drivers for forced displacement include armed conflict, climate change, natural disasters and competition for limited natural resources. These can be protracted and result in prolonged periods of exposure to trauma, violence, and threats to health. The Syrian civil war which began in 2011 is the single largest forced-displacement crisis with thousands killed in conflict². The situation is similar for South Sudan, while in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the end of the civil war in 2003 has not led to a cessation in violence with widespread human rights violations including mutilation, sexual violence, detention in inhumane conditions and killings². Colombia hosts the second largest refugee population worldwide and has the largest internally displaced population—as many as 8 million people in 2020. Violence in Colombia stems from drug-trafficking groups, so-called narco-violence, civil war, human trafficking, corruption and poverty⁴⁸.

Health interventions therefore need to be designed to address multi-morbidity and chronic disease management as well as immediate and urgent needs. The direct relationship between illicit drug markets and forced displacement makes drug policy a key consideration in strategic plans for countries to move into economic and developmental recovery⁴⁹.

Forcibly displaced people, regardless of gender or age, can be victims of violence. However, females are particularly vulnerable to violence at all stages of their journey in forced displacement^{48,50,51}, with devastating consequences including physical, reproductive and psychological sequelae^{52,53} exacerbated by a lack of medical care, co-existing infectious disease, poor nutrition, stress, and other health problems⁵⁴. Sexual violence is often used as a terror tactic and a weapon of war⁵⁰. The UNHCR and other agencies working with forcibly displaced people recognise the different needs of men, women and children and incorporate them into policy and program design, particularly those related to human security⁵⁵.

Forcibly displaced people frequently have experienced or witnessed torture, violence, abuse and human rights violations. It is therefore unsurprising that disorders such as generalised anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)^{56,57} are highly prevalent. Associations between mental disorders, trauma and SUDs among the general population are well documented^{7,58,59}, and research involving forcibly displaced people suggest similar concerns^{60,61}. PTSD as a diagnostic construct has been challenged since its inception, including regarding presumptions that it develops from a specific aetiology, its indistinct nature when compared to other mental health diagnoses and the detection of diagnostic creep⁶². This last issue is particularly relevant here, as the PTSD model has been extended across diverse cultures to envelope an increasing range of events and human reactions.

PTSD diagnostic criteria do not account for variations in health literacy, demographics, resilience and vulnerability factors and the impact of these on trauma-related mental health symptoms. The impact of violence can unfold acutely^{7,63} or over longer time frames, as with intergenerational trauma⁶⁴. The sociocultural and linguistic features of a population also affect how traumatic experiences are experienced and interpreted, how stress responses are expressed and managed, and how healing unfolds^{65,66}. Each forcibly displaced person should therefore be

understood in the context of his/her/their own culture and circumstances, and interventions to manage mental and physical health should be culturally appropriate⁶⁷.

Loss and instability

Forcibly displaced people face losses of their homes, property, community and livelihoods as the governance and legal structures of their countries of origin cease to protect them. Consequently, they often lose their capacities to plan for their futures and protect their families, and this often significantly impairs their mental and physical health. These losses are frequently neglected as humanitarian agencies mobilise to address urgently events leading to displacement. Furthermore, forced displacement undermines a community's resilience, and a culture of apathy may replace community rules and values.

In communities facing constant exposure to narco-violence in the absence of the protections of the rule of law, organised criminal gangs often step in to provide a livelihood and a version of relative security⁶⁸. This collaboration with criminal groups facilitates human trafficking, displacing more individuals from their homes. The loss of healthcare systems and access to common medications (and more specifically premature discontinuation of medication for substance use disorders e.g., methadone for opioids) hinders chronic disease management and acute emergency treatment, resulting over time in increased morbidity and mortality²⁹.

Homelessness and the risk of homelessness are particularly concerning, not only in the country of origin but also when forcibly displaced people have arrived in their host country. In high-income countries, people who are homeless have higher all-cause mortality⁶⁹. Specifically, people in high-income countries who had experienced homelessness, imprisonment, substance use, or sex work compared with the general population had a Standardised Mortality Ratio (SMR) of between 8 and 12.3⁶⁹. Forcibly displaced people entering high-income countries may find themselves competing for housing in urban settings with which they are unfamiliar, exacerbating the resettlement stresses they face, further accentuated by discrimination and racist behaviours from host citizens⁷⁰. Moreover, homeless children and adolescents might be at greater risk for misuse of volatile substances such as toluene with the associated neurotoxic and addictive consequences⁷¹.

Transit and resettlement

Different experiences during transit, resettlement and even return can also affect substance use and SUDs. Displacement situations are often protracted, underscoring the importance of having longer-term plans to support those who are displaced and host countries.

Protracted displacement also increases forcibly displaced people's vulnerability to homelessness and human trafficking, both of which have been linked to premature mortality, SUDs and trauma or violence^{72–74}. The absence of a recognised legal status for forcibly displaced people in their host countries not only contributes to protracted displacement, but also limits seeking treatment for SUDs⁷⁵.

Legal status for forcibly displaced people exists for refugees as defined by the 1951 Refugee Convention and asylum-seekers who are claiming refugee status but have not yet been given this status². IDP do not have formal legal status, and reporting of their numbers is reliant on the degree of transparency upon which their governments decide. This means that stateless,

internally, or undocumented forcibly displaced people may find themselves with no recourse to public funds and thus be unable to access services⁷⁶. Uncertainty regarding legal status may also exacerbate unwarranted fears and marginalise key populations from addiction treatment. For example, Afghan refugees in Iran and Burmese refugees in Thailand have reported stigma, perceived discrimination, a fear of being reported, and confidentiality concerns as barriers to seeking SUD treatment^{40,60}. In the UK, access to National Health Services (NHS) may be free for asylum-seekers and refugees, but those forcibly displaced people whose asylum claims have been refused are liable to pay charges, potentially impacting access to and availability of care.⁷⁷

Finally, the impacts of social and economic inequalities, discrimination and marginalisation experienced by forcibly displaced people, all independent determinants of health, should not be underestimated³⁴. These factors contribute to stress and powerlessness, and, with traumarelated mental health issues, may increase risks of SUDs⁷⁸. Forcibly displaced people may find themselves living in alien urban environments or impoverished neighbourhoods with high availabilities of drugs and alcohol, resulting in exposure to these substances at very vulnerable times in their lives⁷⁹. Few studies have explored how humanitarian and national systems influence substance use and the development and treatment of SUDs among displaced populations. Some studies, however, have found that resettlement factors (moving, trouble accessing health services, health conditions delaying resettlement, family structure changing) were not related to alcohol use disorders.⁸⁰

Acculturation

Displacement may alter cultural norms promoting or proscribing substance use. Patterns of substance use from a range of settings were observed to be a continuation or exaggeration of pre-displacement patterns, transition to host-population patterns, or a mix of the two. Patterns of use may vary by sub-group affiliation, such as age, gender, ethnicity or religion.

The dynamic nature of cultural and contextual factors for displaced populations as they navigate new identities, geographies, and systems in relation to their cultural contexts in their respective communities of origin may also present unique risk for and protection against SUDs. An interesting phenomenon, referred to as "immigrant paradox" or the "healthy immigrant effect", suggests that first generation immigrants to the USA show lower levels of substance use than second generation and native-born Americans, despite exposure to various sociodemographic risk factors⁸¹. Several hypotheses have been forwarded to explain this phenomenon, including that immigrants having successfully uprooted their lives from one nation to another tend to be highly capable, self-disciplined, and healthy individuals.⁸² Another explanation, also referred to as the "cultural armamentarium hypothesis"⁸³, suggests that immigrants may transport their cultural norms and practices (e.g., anti–drug use beliefs, tendencies to congregate with other immigrants) that may provide a form of "herd immunity" against risky behaviours.⁸⁴ A third hypothesis is that immigrants may abstain from illegal activities such as substance use because of fears of deportation or involvement in foreign criminal justice systems.⁸⁵

On the other hand, African migrants in Australia cited motivations for drinking alcohol as coping with trauma, boredom and frustration, and as a social experience³. Forcibly displaced people often experience acculturation stress when psychologically adapting to foreign cultures.²⁵ They are hypothesised to start using drugs or alcohol in countries where this is a mainstream norm in order to assimilate.²⁴ Both factors may contribute to increased risk for

developing SUDs. This may particularly be the case among younger migrants due to intergenerational conflicts, greater desires for acceptance, and pressures associated with being caught between cultures.^{23,86,87}

Discussion:

Applying the syndemic perspective to policy development

A syndemic lens allows us to think differently about the metrics and methodologies we use to understand SUDs among forcibly displaced people and consider broader policy and intervention options to modify outcomes for this population. Nevertheless, it is important to apply syndemic approaches in a methodologically sound way, appropriate to the context of the target population.⁸⁸ To support this endeavour, we propose three recommendations.

Firstly, to support the creation of cross-disciplinary collaborations which are most relevant to meeting the needs of forcibly displaced populations experiencing SUD, we propose widening the SUD research and policy community to include public health professionals, civil society organisations, people with lived and living experience of displacement and addiction, cultural and religious leaders, and community leaders of both countries of origin and host countries. This has the benefits of promoting the cross-pollination of ideas and values to inform relevant research questions applicable at both individual and population levels, culturally and structurally competent policy solutions, and relevant metrics appropriate to resource limited contexts.

Secondly, we propose a research and policy agenda which examines the experiences and syndemic risks of SUDs among forcibly displaced people across generations and the life course. This is perhaps the most challenging proposal as it calls for significant and sustainable investment in long-term research capacity and policies with multi-generational impacts. Longitudinally tracking the lives of displaced children today to identify SUD diagnoses and outcomes in one or two generations in the future is daunting. Yet, retrospective anthropological research on the health status of communities as they experience syndemic vulnerabilities happens currently⁸⁹, including among formerly displaced populations⁹⁰.

Finally, we propose that interventions and policies for forcibly displaced people at risk of or experiencing SUDs are structurally and culturally sensitive, borrowing from the experiences of other care settings. While there is little research on how health systems and services providing care for longer-term chronic conditions should function in reference to forcibly displaced people, some evidence exists for how these are organised for transient or homeless people in many high-income countries^{91–93}. There is certainly scope for the cross-pollination of ideas and knowledge to bridge gaps and make use of limited resources in sustainable ways. However, the critical importance of upstream social determinants of health such as racism, social inequalities and deprivation and stigma leading to forced displacements of many populations should be noted and addressed. These factors will impact many forcibly displaced people as they attempt to forge new lives in new settings and circumstances.

Conclusion

We have presented here a narrative review informed by syndemic theory to understand the existing literature on the associations between SUDs and experiences of forcibly displaced people. Specifically, we categorise syndemic risks of both forced displacement and SUDs into

four areas: trauma and violence, loss and instability, transit and resettlement and acculturation. We then use causal loop diagramming to illustrate important synergistic interactions. We believe that presenting the current literature in this way lays the foundation for person-centred integrated community-focused care as well as policies which reflect the complexity of both forced displacement and SUD experiences. We conclude by proposing a research and intervention policy agenda informed by a broad and varied stakeholder base, accounting for generational and life-course effects and context specific cultural, structural, and economic priorities and values. We aim to prompt further discussion and debate and ultimately a consensus-based approach to supporting people facing dual syndemic risks associated with forced displacement and SUDs.

Authors' contribution:

HE, JT, MNP and AMB conceptualised the article. JT, HE, MNP, AMB, SA, MCG, NE and AMB conducted the data curation and produced the first draft. JT,HE, AKZ and HE contributed with graphs designing and data interpretation. MRA, FB, ENB, SD, MF, GK, CK, DK, CN, SP, VP, NDV, AKZ, HE and AMW reviewed and edited the draft and contributed with new ideas and materials. JT, HE, MNP, AMB incorporated all comments, revised the article and produced the final version which had been reviewed and approved by all co-authors. HE and JT had coordinated the whole process supervised and supported by MNP and AMB. HE, JT and SA had contributed equally as first authors, while NE, MNP and AMB had contributed equally as senior authors.

Declarations of interest:

Funding: No funding was received for this work. SA has received speaker honoraria from Camurus, Indivior, Gilead and Janssen unrelated to this work. SA has received research grants from the Australian National Health and Medical Research Council. MP has consulted for Opiant Therapeutics, Game Day Data, Baria-Tek, the Addiction Policy Forum, AXA and Idorsia Pharmaceuticals; has been involved in a patent application with Yale University and Novartis; has received research support from Mohegan Sun Casino; has consulted for and/or advised gambling and legal entities on issues related to impulse-control/addictive disorders; has performed grant reviews for research-funding agencies; has given academic lectures in grand rounds, CME events and other clinical or scientific venues. AMB has received unrestricted educational grants from Indivior and Camurus. He is the President of the International Society in Addiction Medicine (ISAM). He has performed grant reviews for research-funding agencies; heas performed grant reviews for research-funding from the Australia for the New South Wales Government and has received research funding from the Australian Government for unrelated work.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors alone are responsible for the views expressed in this article and they do not necessarily represent the decisions or policies of the UNODC, WHO, EMCDDA, Norwegian Red Cross, ISAM, NIDA, NIAAA, and the Royal College of Psychiatrists or any funding agencies. None of the remaining authors have any conflict of interest to declare.

Human and Animal Rights and Informed Consent: Not applicable as no human or animal subjects were involved in this work.

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Before Displacement (Country of Origin)

- Substance use disorder epidemiology
- Cultural issues e.g., using a certain substance as part of culture
- · Health services status
- · Individual factors e.g., experience fun, curiosity, lack of social support, psychiatric

Acute Displacement Phase

- · Stress of dealing with the disaster
- Painful emotions and experiences
- Experiencing trauma
- Losses and grief
- Formation of post trauma stress disorder
- Pain killers for injuries
- · Stimulants to deal with

Transition Phase

- Transport: e.g., exposure to drugs, using drugs to deal with pain, losses and stay awake, etc.
- Camps: new drugs, dealing with stress, physical and sexual abuse, etc.
- Acculturation stress
- Access to new drugs

Resettlement Phase (Host Country)

- Acculturation stress
- Access to drugs in host countries e.g., new drugs and easier access
- Loneliness and hopelessness
- Self medication
- Comorbid mental health issues e.g., PTSD
- Stigma and discrimination

fatigue disorders, etc. Self medication Fun and curiosity Return Deportation

Macro-level Factors

Meso-level Factors

Micro-level Factors

Gender, age, ethnicity, language, religion, sexual orientation physical and mental health, level of education, access to economic resources, legal status, shelter, settlement priorities, having own possessions, mental and physical impact of pre migration and migration experiences, understanding of rights, security, personal agency, sell-esteem.



Family dynamics, size or proximity of social support, gender role expectations, gender based violence, economic insecurity caregiver responsibilities, experiences of prejudice, discrimination, violence or persecution.

National and international law and policy (migration, health, education, social welfare, criminal justice) and global challenges (e.g. global pandemics, economic downturns, climate change

Susceptibility

to Substance Use Disorder

1. Trauma

War or armed conflict related trauma, Non-war related trauma (e.g. natural disasters), Gender based & interpersonal violence, Structural and symbolic violence, Intergenerational trauma, Deprivation, Pervasive urban violence, Engaging in survival behaviors

2. Loss

Loss of neighbors, family & community, Loss of social stability & rule of law, Loss of gender roles and identity, Loss of employment and income, Loss of prospects for the future, Forced displacement, homelessness, Disruption of essential services & health care, Loss of property & assets, Loss of cultural heritage & safety (environmental, employment protections)

3. Transit, Resettlement, Return

Dangers during transit, Hazards and adaptation during initial relocation, Initial adjustment to urban environment, Protracted displacement in community of resettlement, Long-term resettlement, Stressors experienced while attempting to return to community of origin

4. Acculturation

Degree of cultural conservatism, Perceptions and norms on gender roles, Interaction tendency, Participation in society (Integration or assimilation), Segregation (separation or marginalization), Acculturative stress

