Circumstances and Witness Characteristics Associated With Overdose Fatality

Amy S. B. Bohnert, PhD
Melissa Tracy, MPH
Sandro Galea, MD, DrPH

From the VA National Serious Mental Illness Treatment Research and Evaluation Center, Ann Arbor, MI (Bohnert); the Department of Psychiatry (Bohnert) and the Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, the Department of Epidemiology, University of Michigan School of Public Health, Ann Arbor, MI (Tracy, Galea); and the Department of Emergency Medicine (Galea), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Study objective: Emergency physicians have an opportunity to provide overdose fatality prevention interventions to individuals at risk for experiencing or witnessing an overdose to reduce fatality. The present study uses data about the most recent overdose observed by a sample of inner-city drug users to determine the circumstances of overdose that are associated with overdose fatality.

Methods: Participants (n=690) aged 18 years or older were recruited with targeted street outreach. All participants had used heroin or cocaine in the previous 2 months and had witnessed at least 1 overdose. Survey data included the circumstances of the last overdose witnessed, including actions taken, drug use behavior, the location of the event, and whether or not the overdose was fatal (the outcome measure).

Results: One hundred fifty-two (21.7%) of the witnessed overdoses were fatal. Witness powdered cocaine use (adjusted odds ratio =1.6; 95% confidence interval [CI] 1.0 to 2.6) and injection drug history (adjusted odds ratio =0.5; 95% CI 0.3 to 0.9) were associated with the last witnessed overdose being fatal. Witnessed overdoses that occurred in public or abandoned buildings compared with homes were more likely to be fatal (adjusted odds ratio =1.9; 95% CI 1.0 to 3.5), as were overdoses in which witnesses sought outside medical help (adjusted odds ratio =1.5; 95% CI 1.0 to 2.1).

Conclusion: Future prevention interventions may fruitfully target users of powdered cocaine, drug users without a history of injecting, and individuals who use drugs in public or abandoned buildings for brief interventions on responding when witnessing an overdose to reduce mortality. [Ann Emerg Med. 2009;54:618-624.]

INTRODUCTION

Background

Accidental overdose is second only to motor vehicle crashes as a leading cause of accidental death in the United States among adults, and more than 700,000 emergency department (ED) visits in 2006 were attributed to accidental overdoses. Among drug users, drug overdose is a leading cause of mortality. Although the health consequences of nonfatal overdoses are considerable, fatality caused by overdose presents a crucial target for prevention efforts. Zinberg identified 3 categories of factors that are associated with the effect of a drug and consequently the risk of overdose and overdose fatality. First are the characteristics of the drug(s) used, such as purity or particular combination of drugs. The second category is the characteristics of the drug user, eg, physiologic attributes such as a lowered tolerance after a period of abstinence. Finally, the third category is characteristics of the setting in which the drug use occurs, such as the type of location in which the overdose occurs. The first category of factors associated with overdose and overdose fatality, characteristics of the drug itself, have been studied extensively with medical examiner reports, death records, and data from ED settings. In these studies, toxicology reports provide much of the information available about the circumstances surrounding the overdose. Consequently, less is known about settings associated with overdose and overdose fatality. We sought to extend previous research on overdose fatality by examining how characteristics of the setting in which the overdose occurred are associated with whether or not the overdose is fatal.

Importance

Because many individuals who use drugs do so with others, overdose often occurs in the presence of witnesses. The actions taken by the witnesses may be important determinants of whether the overdose victim survives. Previous research has found that witnesses of an overdose often do take action to prevent fatality, but there has been limited research that has
Fatality of Witnessed Drug Overdoses

Editor’s Capsule Summary
What is already known about this topic
Little is known about the epidemiology of fatal illicit drug overdoses.

What question this study addressed
What are the circumstances and settings associated with increased risk of unintentional fatality from illicit drug use?

What this study adds to our knowledge
The majority (67%) of subjects in this cross-sectional survey of 1,184 inner-city illicit drug users had witnessed an unintentional overdose, 23% of which were fatal. Witnessed deaths were more likely to occur in public or abandoned buildings.

How this might change clinical practice
These findings will not change practice but can inform interventions designed to decrease illicit drug use and unintentional overdose.

explored how the characteristics and actions of these witnesses relate to overdose fatality.

Individuals who have experienced a nonfatal overdose are more likely to witness drug overdoses, and drug users often have contact with medical providers. Consequently, the contact emergency medical professionals have with drug users provides an opportunity to communicate messages on appropriate responses when an overdose is witnessed to reduce fatality.

Goals of This Investigation
We used data that includes information on the situation surrounding the overdose in connection to the main outcome of fatality to identify circumstances of overdoses most likely to result in death. Specifically, we included information on the characteristics of the overdose witness, whether witnesses sought medical help, and the location of the overdose in a multivariable logistic model of overdose fatality. Identifying circumstances related to overdose fatality can inform the development of targeted interventions to prevent fatality once an overdose has occurred.

MATERIALS AND METHODS
Study Design
The present study used cross-sectional observational data of a sample of current heroin or cocaine users in the Central Harlem and the South Bronx neighborhoods of New York City. The New York Academy of Medicine Institutional Review Board approved the study protocol, and all participants gave oral consent at the interview.

Setting
In New York City, drug overdose is a significant problem; in 2007 death caused by drug use and accidental overdose was the third leading cause of death among residents aged 15 to 34 years and fourth leading cause of death among residents aged 35 to 54 years. The drugs most commonly responsible for overdose deaths in New York City are cocaine and heroin, often in combination with alcohol. Among black men in New York City, the most common cause of overdose deaths is cocaine alone, whereas cocaine and opiates together were the most common cause among white and Latino men. The rate of drug-related hospitalizations and deaths in the neighborhoods in the recruitment area are historically higher than for New York City as a whole, with roughly 1,200 to 2,400 or more drug-related hospitalizations per 100,000 residents per year for these neighborhoods compared with a New York City–wide average of approximately 600.

Selection of Participants
Trained outreach workers (who were residents of the same communities as participants) recruited participants using targeted sampling with street outreach techniques from November 2001 to February 2004. Recruiters approached individuals in public areas in the target neighborhoods that were identified by ethnographic research as areas where drug users congregated. Recruiters engaged potential participants in conversation, assessed eligibility through structured questions, and escorted eligible and interested individuals to the study office located in the neighborhood. To participate, respondents were required to be 18 years of age or older and to have used heroin or cocaine through any route of administration in the 2 months before the interview. The present report includes only those participants who reported having ever witnessed an overdose.

Data Collection and Processing
Data collection for the study has been described in detail elsewhere. In-person interviews were conducted in English or Spanish by trained interviewers. Identifying data were kept in separate files from responses to the study questionnaire. Participant responses were protected by a federal certificate of confidentiality, and all interviews took place in private and behind a closed door, either in a study research storefront or a study-owned mobile van. All study records were double entered and stored on password-protected computers with data encrypted, and hard copies of data were destroyed at the end of the study. Respondents received a nominal incentive to participate in the parent study. All participants were offered referrals to substance use treatment as appropriate, and clinical staff affiliated with the study facilitated referral for participants who wished to pursue referral.

Methods of Measurement
Domains covered in the questionnaire included demographic characteristics, drug use behavior, overdose experiences, and
experiences witnessing the overdose of others. For the purposes of
the study, “overdose” was defined as someone who collapses,
haves blue skin, has convulsions, has difficulty breathing, loses
consciousness, cannot be woken up, or has a heart attack or dies
while using drugs.29,30 Participants were asked the location of
the most recent overdose that they witnessed, with the choices
of a private residence (including their own or someone else’s), a
shooting gallery (according to the respondent’s knowledge that
it is a location injection drug users use), an open public space
(such as a street, schoolyard, or parking lot), a public or
abandoned building (including bars, stores, and hotel rooms),
or other. Interviewers asked participants how many overdoses
they had ever witnessed, whether they had ever known someone
who died of an overdose, and how many overdoses they had
heard about in the past year. Interviewers additionally asked
those participants who reported having witnessed at least 1
overdose questions about the last overdose they witnessed,
including the recency, what drugs the overdose victim was using
at the time, what actions were taken by the respondent and
other witnesses, and whether the overdose victim lived or died.
Seeking medical assistance for the overdose victim was defined
as witnesses calling an ambulance or taking the overdose victim
to the hospital.

Primary Data Analysis

The primary analytic goal of the study was to create a
multivariable logistic regression model with the outcome of
fatality for the most recent witnessed overdose for all
participants who reported witnessing at least 1 overdose. We
selected covariates for modeling according to theoretic
plausibility and previous empirical findings. We hypothesized
that getting help for the overdose victim would be associated
with fatality, according to the findings of Davidson et al.9 Tracy
et al18 found that overdose location was associated with
witness race and getting help for an overdose victim. We
hypothesized that those witnesses who sought outside help
would also be more likely to intervene in other ways that would
reduce the risk of fatality for an overdose victim. Consequently,
we hypothesized that location and witness race may have an
association with overdose fatality beyond that which is
explained through witnesses seeking outside help. Because
existing prevention efforts targeting actions taken by overdose
witnesses have been administered through needle exchange
programs or have targeted heroin users,31,32 we included witness
drug use type and injection history. Because it has been
suggested that drug users at older ages may engage in drug use
patterns that impart more risk for overdose,13 and age may be
associated with types of drug used (because of the relative
popularity of drugs by age cohort) and drug use location, we
included witness age as a potentially important control variable.
In total, these variables use 14 df.

To create a more parsimonious model, we removed variables
that did not have a relationship with fatality. After each removal
of data from the multivariable model, we considered whether the variable was an
important confounder according to the effect its removal had on
the other covariates in the model and retained the variable if this
was found to be the case.33 A variable was considered a
potentially important confounder if its removal resulted in
changes greater than 10% in the estimates (b) for retained
variables. We also tested an interaction between overdose
location and getting medical attention. We conducted all
analyses with Stata 9 (StataCorp, College Station, TX).

RESULTS

Study staff approached 1,228 participants who met initial
eligibility criteria and gave informed consent; 44 were later
determined to not be eligible. Of the 1,184 respondents who
completed the survey, 797 (67.3%) reported having witnessed
at least 1 overdose. Among those who had witnessed an
overdose, 554 (71.0%) knew at least 1 person who died of an
overdose, and 523 (67.1%) reported hearing about an overdose
in the past year, with the mean number of overdoses heard
about being 4.7 (SD = 7.5). Of those who reported ever
witnessing an overdose, 35.2% reported witnessing an overdose
in the previous 6 months; the mean number witnessed during
the lifetime was 11.8 (SD = 20.9), and the median number of
witnessed overdoses was 5.

The outcome (fatal or not fatal) was known for 721 of the
797 (90.5%) last overdoses witnessed. Of the 721 overdoses
with a known outcome, 163 (22.5%) were fatal. The majority
of witnesses who knew the outcome of the last overdose they
witnessed were Hispanic (n = 433; 60.1%), men (n = 534;
74.5%), never married (n = 444; 61.6%), had ever injected
drugs (n = 611; 85.9%), had used heroin in the past year
(n = 644; 89.3%), had ever experienced homelessness (n = 632;
87.8%), and were between the ages of 25 and 44 years (n = 510;
70.7%). The victim used heroin (n = 613; 89.1%) and injected
dugs (n = 632; 90.4%) in the majority of the most recent
witnessed overdoses with a known outcome reported.

Witnesses called for an ambulance or took the victim to the
hospital for 313 (44.0%) of all witnessed overdoses with a
known outcome reported. Among the 399 witnessed overdoses
in which medical attention was not sought, 75 (18.8%) resulted
in fatality. Among those overdose victims for whom witnesses
did seek outside help, 83 (26.5%) died as a result of the
overdose.

For the 721 witnesses who knew the fatality outcome of the
last overdose he or she witnessed, 31 (4.3%) were not able to be
included in modeling because of missing data. Table 1 reports
the sample description for the analytic sample (ie, the 690
individuals without missing data). Observations not included
were not different from those included in terms of age group,
history of injection drug use, location of witnessed overdose,
witness use of crack cocaine or powdered cocaine, or likelihood
of seeking outside help for the overdose victim. Those witnesses
with missing data were more likely to be black (50.0 versus
24.9%; \( \chi^2(1) = 9.40; P = .002 \)) but not Hispanic (36.7 versus
61.2%; \( \chi^2(1) = 7.19; P = .007 \)) and were less likely to have used

620 Annals of Emergency Medicine

Volume 54, No. 4 : October 2009
As shown in model 1 in Table 2, the witness not having a history of injection drug use and seeking medical attention for the victim, as well as the overdose taking place in a public or abandoned building compared with a private home, was significantly associated (the 95% confidence interval [CI] did not include 1.00) with a higher likelihood of the witnessed overdose being fatal. We created a second multivariable logistic model by removing variables that were not significant (95% CI did not include 1.00). Both the full model and the parsimonious model had acceptable local and global fit, as indicated by the Hosmer-Lemeshow and likelihood ratio tests.

**LIMITATIONS**

There are several limitations to the present study. We used retrospective cross-sectional data, which are subject to errors and biases in recall. Given the recruitment methods, the sample may not be representative of all drug users in terms of their experiences with witnessing overdoses. Specifically, because the sample was composed of chronic drug users, the frequency of witnessing overdoses may be overestimated. Recruitment methods do not allow for a count of persons who did not wish to participate. Although these methods are standard in studies that aim to recruit high-risk participants, we were unable to calculate the percentage of eligible participants who consented and completed the survey. Furthermore, this study was conducted in a large city on the east coast of the United States. Characteristics associated with witnessing a fatal overdose may be quite different in other parts of the country, particularly rural areas and regions with different trends in drug use. Additionally, the effect sizes found in multivariable modeling were relatively small (odds ratios ranging between 0.54 and 1.90). Previous evidence suggests that many fatal overdoses occur when the overdose victim is alone and no witnesses are present to act; however, overdoses that were not witnessed were outside the scope of this study, and the percentage of overdoses that were fatal may underestimate the true proportion.

Despite these limitations, the present study extended previous knowledge of factors associated with overdose fatality by using data collected from witnesses of overdoses, rather than hospital or death records. We found that 56% of overdose victims reported that they did not seek medical attention for the victim, consistent with other studies that have found that medical care is sought for roughly half of overdose victims. Findings from studies using hospital records may be subject to selection biases according to differences in which witnesses are selected to participate. Although these methods are standard in studies that aim to recruit high-risk participants, we were unable to calculate the percentage of eligible participants who consented and completed the survey. Furthermore, this study was conducted in a large city on the east coast of the United States. Characteristics associated with witnessing a fatal overdose may be quite different in other parts of the country, particularly rural areas and regions with different trends in drug use. Additionally, the effect sizes found in multivariable modeling were relatively small (odds ratios ranging between 0.54 and 1.90). Previous evidence suggests that many fatal overdoses occur when the overdose victim is alone and no witnesses are present to act; however, overdoses that were not witnessed were outside the scope of this study, and the percentage of overdoses that were fatal may underestimate the true proportion.

Despite these limitations, the present study extended previous knowledge of factors associated with overdose fatality by using data collected from witnesses of overdoses, rather than hospital or death records. We found that 56% of overdose victims reported that they did not seek medical attention for the victim, consistent with other studies that have found that medical care is sought for roughly half of overdose victims. Findings from studies using hospital records may be subject to selection biases according to differences in which witnesses are selected to participate.
Those witnesses who use powdered cocaine were more likely to report that the last overdose they observed was fatal than were witnesses who do not use powdered cocaine, controlling for their history of injection drug use. In contrast, those witnesses with a history of injection drug use were only about half as likely to report that the last overdose they observed was fatal compared with witnesses without a history of injection drug use. In regard to the location of the overdose, we found that overdoses in public or abandoned buildings were almost twice as likely to be fatal than overdoses in a private home. Overdose situations in which the witnesses called an ambulance or took the overdose victim to the hospital were also more likely to be fatal.

Although more than 90% of the sample reported recent heroin use, other aspects of the drug use history of the witness were associated with overdose fatality. Injection drug users were less likely to report the last witnessed overdose as fatal, whereas powdered cocaine users were more likely to report the last witnessed overdose as fatal. Needle exchange programs are increasingly providing overdose prevention programs.31 Additionally, in a large community sample of drug users, those who had injected drugs reported greater willingness to treat someone whom they witnessed overdosing.36 Our findings suggest that injection drug users may have greater knowledge of how to react to an overdose because of contact with needle exchange programs and more experiences with overdose compared with those who have not injected drugs and that this may result in a lower risk of fatality for an overdose when an injection drug user is present.

Previous literature has shown that overdoses in which witnesses sought emergency medical services were more likely to result in a fatality.17 This is consistent with our finding that witnesses taking the overdose victim to the hospital or calling for an ambulance was associated with a greater likelihood of the overdose being fatal, likely reflecting that witnesses seek medical attention when an overdose is more severe and the victim could not be revived.

The setting of the overdose was also an important correlate of fatality. One possible explanation for the finding that overdoses that occur in a public or abandoned building are more likely to be fatal than those in a private residence is that those witnesses in a public or abandoned building felt less responsible to take action than they would if the overdose occurred in their own or a friend’s home. However, the location of the overdose was still associated with fatality in multivariable models that included seeking medical help, and we found no

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Model 1* Adjusted Odds Ratio</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
<th>Model 2† Adjusted Odds Ratio</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Witness characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0.71–1.90</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.31–1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White/other</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>0.84–2.47</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age, y</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18–24</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.31–1.60</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.31–1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–34</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.40–1.04</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.41–1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35–44</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45–54</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.56–1.48</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.57–1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drug use, past year</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crack cocaine</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.83–1.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powdered cocaine</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>0.98–2.51</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.03–2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroin</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.54–2.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injected drugs (ever)</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.32–0.97</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.32–0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Circumstances of overdose</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private residence</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting gallery</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>0.65–2.11</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.61–1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open public area</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>0.71–1.99</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.68–1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public or abandoned building</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>1.06–3.60</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.03–3.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>0.98–3.09</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>0.97–3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnesses called an ambulance or took to hospital</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.00–2.25</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.01–2.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Model diagnostics

- Likelihood ratio $\chi^2(14) = 28.40; P = .013$
- Hosmer-Lemeshow $\chi^2(8) = 4.29; P = .83$

*Model 1 includes all variables selected a priori for analyses.
†Model 2 initially included the same variables as model 1 but eliminates variables that were not significant after adjustment and were not important confounders to other variables.
evidence for an interaction between the location of the overdose and seeking medical attention.

This study has important implications for intervention. Several studies have demonstrated the feasibility and effectiveness of network-based overdose prevention programs. These studies have focused primarily on heroin overdose, in large part because of the availability of naloxone as an effective antidote that can be administered by trained laypersons. Our findings suggest that individuals who use powdered cocaine (and who may or may not use heroin) are less equipped to intervene when they are witnessing an overdose. Surveillance for the National Vital Statistics Reports suggests that the number of overdose deaths (regardless of intent) in which cocaine is mentioned in the death certificates has increased by 62.5% between 1999 and 2005, whereas heroin has increased in mentions by only 2.4%. Furthermore, cocaine was the most commonly mentioned narcotic during that period. Future efforts at developing interventions to reduce fatality among overdose victims by educating drug users on actions to take in the event of overdose should adapt proven interventions and target cocaine users and other noninjection drug users. Given the findings of the present study, such interventions should also target drug users who frequently use drugs in public or abandoned buildings.

Emergency physicians are well positioned to provide brief interventions to drug users seeking care for nonoverdose and overdose-related emergencies. Those witnesses who bring an overdose victim to the ED may also be fruitfully involved in intervention. According to proven interventions for overdose harm reduction, the intervention could take the form of an educational session on how to quickly recognize an overdose and on providing first aid in the event of witnessing an overdose. Findings from the present study indicate characteristics of drug users who may be more likely to have been missed by existing, community-based harm reduction efforts to prevent overdose fatality in urban settings and who may be well served by overdose-related education beyond that which is provided during usual care in EDs.

Witnessing an overdose is a common experience among chronic drug users in inner-city locations, and witnesses play an important role in determining whether an overdose is fatal. Study findings suggest that drug users in urban locations who use powdered cocaine are less prepared to respond when they witness an overdose compared with drug users who do not use powdered cocaine, controlling for history of injection drug use. Overdoses that occur in public or abandoned buildings were also more likely to result in fatality than overdoses in a private home. Future prevention interventions should educate urban drug users who use powdered cocaine and use drugs in public or abandoned buildings to take action to reduce the risk of fatality when witnessing an overdose. Emergency physicians, when involved in the treatment of drug users in urban locations, have the opportunity to target individuals with these characteristics, who may be missed by other community-based interventions, for overdose fatality prevention education.

The authors wish to acknowledge the work of Philip O. Coffin, MD, Crystal Fuller, PhD, Danielle Ompad, PhD, and David Vlahov, PhD, in study setup.

Supervising editor: E. Martin Caravati, MD, MPH

Author contributions: ASBB conducted data analysis and took primary responsibility for the writing of the article. MT assisted in data analysis. MT and SG contributed toward the writing of the article. SG obtained funding for the data collection. ASBB, MT, and SG contributed to the conceptualization of the analysis described in the article. ASBB takes responsibility for the paper as a whole.

Funding and support: By Annals policy, all authors are required to disclose any and all commercial, financial, and other relationships in any way related to the subject of this article that might create any potential conflict of interest. See the Manuscript Submission Agreement in this issue for examples of specific conflicts covered by this statement. This study was funded by grants MH-053399, DA-06534, DA-12801-S1, and DA-017642 from the National Institutes of Health.


Reprints not available from the authors.

Address for correspondence: Amy S. B. Bohnert, PhD, VA Ann Arbor SMITREC (11H), 2215 Fuller Rd, Ann Arbor, MI 48105; 734-232-0185, fax 734-845-3249; E-mail amybohne@med.umich.edu.

REFERENCES

Fatality of Witnessed Drug Overdoses  
Bohnert, Tracy & Galea


