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- 1 Title: "Apparently, you can only be treated once": A qualitative study
- 2 exploring perceptions of hepatitis C and access to treatment among people

3 who inject drugs visiting a needle and syringe program

4 Running title: Perceptions of hepatitis C and treatment

- 5 Guillaume Fontaine^{1,2}, Justin Presseau^{1,3,4}, Julie Bruneau^{5,6}, Andrea M. Patey^{1,3,7}, Zack van
- 6 Allen^{1,4}, Sameh Mortazhejri^{1,3}, Stine Bordier Høj⁵, Jui-Hsia Cleo Hung^{1,3}, and Jeremy M.
- 7 Grimshaw^{1,2,3}
- 8 ¹Centre for Implementation Research, Clinical Epidemiology Program, Ottawa Hospital
- 9 Research Institute, 501 Smyth Road, L1255, Box 711, Ottawa, ON, Canada K1H 8L6
- ¹⁰ ²Faculty of Medicine, University of Ottawa, 451 Smyth Road, Ottawa, ON, K1H 8M5
- ¹¹ ³School of Epidemiology and Public Health, University of Ottawa, 600 Peter Morand Crescent,
- 12 Room 101, Ottawa, ON, Canada K1G 5Z3
- ⁴School of Psychology, University of Ottawa, 136 Jean-Jacques Lussier, Vanier Hall, Ottawa,
- 14 ON, Canada K1N 6N5
- ⁵Research Centre, Université de Montréal Hospital Centre, 900 Saint Denis St, Montreal, QC,
- 16 Canada, H2X 0A9
- ⁶Department of Family and Emergency Medicine, Université de Montréal, 2900, boulevard
- 18 Édouard-Montpetit, Montréal, QC, Canada, H3T 1J4
- ⁷School of Rehabilitation Therapy, Queen's University, Louise D Acton Building, 31 George St,
- 20 Kingston, ON, Canada K7L 3N6

21 Corresponding author:

- 22 Guillaume Fontaine
- 23 Email: gfontaine@ohri.ca
- 24 *Address:* Centre for Practice-Changing Research
- 25 The Ottawa Hospital General Campus
- 26 501 Smyth Road, Box 711

27 Ottawa, ON, K1H 8L6 28 Alternate corresponding author: 29 Jeremy Grimshaw 30 Email: jgrimshaw@ohri.ca 31 Address: Centre for Practice-Changing Research 32 The Ottawa Hospital General Campus 33 501 Smyth Road 34 Ottawa, ON, K1H 8L6

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56 Abstract

57 **Background:** Access to hepatitis C care within harm reduction community organizations for 58 people who inject drugs is crucial for achieving hepatitis C elimination. However, there is a lack 59 of data on how perceptions of hepatitis C and treatment have changed among individuals visiting 60 these organizations during the era of direct-acting antivirals (DAAs). This study aimed to explore 61 the perceptions of hepatitis C and treatment access for (re)infection among individuals visiting a 62 needle and syringe program in Canada.

Methods: Eighteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals who recently injected drugs and visited a needle and syringe program. The interviews were guided by the Common-Sense Self-Regulation Model (CS-SRM) and aimed to explore cognitive and emotional representations of hepatitis C, perceptions of treatment, coping strategies and sources of information. Interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and coded using thematic analysis.

68 **Results:** Most of the participants identified as male, were of white ethnicity and had a median age of 45. While most underscored the therapeutic advancements and the effectiveness of DAAs, 69 70 they expressed confusion regarding the mechanisms of access to treatment, especially in cases of 71 reinfection. Perceptions of the controllability of hepatitis C were significantly influenced by the 72 stigmatizing discourse surrounding treatment access, cost, and public coverage. This influence 73 extended to their intentions for seeking treatment. Participants emphasized the social 74 consequences of hepatitis C, including stigma. Emotional representations of hepatitis C evolved 75 along the care cascade, encompassing initial shock at diagnosis and later fear of reinfection 76 following successful treatment.

Conclusion: Nearly a decade after the advent of DAAs, misinformation about treatment access
 persists. Findings underscore a nexus of internalized and institutionalized stigma associated with
 hepatitis C, drug use, and the challenges of cost and access to treatment, pointing to a clear need

80 for education and service delivery optimisation in harm reduction community organizations.

- 81 Keywords: people who inject drugs, harm reduction, needle syringe program, hepatitis C,
- 82 implementation science, qualitative research

84 Introduction

85 In July 2022, the World Health Organization released its new set of integrated global health 86 sector strategies on HIV, viral hepatitis and sexually transmitted infections, calling for the 87 elimination of chronic hepatitis C virus (HCV) infection as a public health threat by 2030 (World 88 Health Organization, 2022). It defined elimination as a ~80% reduction in new HCV infections 89 and a ~50% reduction in HCV mortality compared to 2020 levels (World Health Organization, 90 2022). These targets are potentially achievable because of the advent of simple and effective 91 direct-acting antiviral (DAA) treatment (Backus et al., 2018; Ioannou et al., 2017; Nahon et al., 92 2017). In North America, injection drug use is associated with most new HCV infections 93 (Degenhardt et al., 2017; Nelson et al., 2011). Recent estimates suggest that 14.8 million people 94 (95% uncertainty interval [UI] 10.0-21.7) inject drugs globally and 174,500 people (UI) 95 154,500–194,500) inject drugs in Canada (Degenhardt, 2023). The SIMPLIFY study has shown 96 that HCV treatment should be offered to people who inject drugs irrespective of ongoing drug 97 use (Grebely et al., 2018), and international guidelines have recommended treatment of people 98 who inject drugs (Ghany et al., 2020). Thus, people who inject drugs should be prioritized for 99 testing and treatment, with efforts made to identify and prevent reinfection (World Health

100 Organization, 2022).

101 In Canada, alongside the important shifts in the HCV treatment landscape over the course 102 of the last decade (Goodyear et al., 2021), there have been persistent gaps in HCV treatment 103 uptake among people who inject drugs (Canadian Network on Hepatitis C, 2019; Lourenço, 104 2021; Public Health Agency of Canada, 2019). The 2017–2019 Tracks Survey indicated that of 105 all people who inject drugs in Canada aware of their HCV infection, only 10.6% had ever taken 106 treatment and 3.8% were being treated (Tarasuk et al., 2020). In 2014, when direct-acting 107 antivirals (DAAs) succeeded interferon-based (IFN) therapies as the treatment of choice for 108 HCV infection, Canadian guidelines limited access to DAAs to those with advanced liver 109 fibrosis or cirrhosis (Schanzer et al., 2018). While disease-stage restrictions were removed in 110 2018 (Shah et al., 2018), provinces and territories implemented the lifting of these limitations 111 differently, and other restrictions are still in place (Bartlett et al., 2021; Saeed et al., 2020). In 112 Canada, DAA treatment is now covered for most people who inject drugs under the public health 113 insurance program, and there is no restriction for retreatment (Marshall, 2016; Shah et al., 2018).

114 After disease-stage restrictions were lifted, HCV treatment uptake among people who inject 115 drugs climbed in multiple provinces, but started to fall a year later, indicating "warehousing 116 effect" as the backlog of eligible individuals who had been postponing treatment until DAAs 117 were accessible was cleared (Saeed et al., 2020). These findings highlight the increasing 118 importance of low-barrier settings, including community-based harm reduction services such as 119 needle syringe programmes (NSPs), for identifying and linking individuals with ongoing 120 injection drug use to specialized care (Cunningham et al., 2022; Cunningham, 2023; Jacka et al., 121 2020; World Health Organization, 2022).

122 Globally, and in Canada, there is a lack of qualitative evidence regarding the impact of 123 DAA rollout (in policy and in practice) on perceptions of HCV infection, treatment eligibility 124 and access, reinfection, and stigma in people who inject drugs. Most studies investigating the 125 perceptions of HCV infection in people who inject drugs were conducted in the interferon era 126 (Dowsett et al., 2017; Jones et al., 2014; Safo et al., 2015). In previous research conducted 127 globally, people who inject drugs have depicted HCV infection as an inevitable consequence of 128 injection drug use, as 'ubiquitous' and 'normalized' within some settings (Harris & Rhodes, 129 2012; Rhodes & Treloar, 2008; Wozniak et al., 2007). As treatment for reinfection among people 130 who inject drugs becomes a key focus of HCV elimination efforts (World Health Organization, 131 2022), it is relevant to investigate how the perceptions of HCV, treatment and reinfection risk 132 evolve alongside the care cascade—i.e., HCV prevention, testing, care and treatment, and cure 133 (World Health Organization, 2016). Recent studies suggest intersecting stigmas (related to HCV 134 treatment, substance use, co-infections and socioeconomic hardship) can influence post-135 treatment trajectories and perceptions of reinfection risk and treatment in people who inject 136 drugs (Goodyear et al., 2021; Saine et al., 2020). An exploration of the perceived understanding 137 of and feelings about HCV infection, DAA treatment and reinfection is needed in the Canadian 138 context to design community-based, tailored harm reduction services (Boucher et al., 2017; Høj 139 et al., 2019).

The Common-Sense Self-Regulation Model (CS-SRM) is a prominent social cognition
approach developed by Leventhal and colleagues (Leventhal et al., 1992) to understand how
individuals' perceptions of illness threats guide coping strategies to deal with those threats.
Figure 1 presents the CS-SRM and its main components (Leventhal et al., 1992). The CS-SRM

144 seeks to explain how individuals' behaviours towards an illness are shaped by their perceptions 145 and beliefs regarding this illness (Leventhal et al., 1992). According to this model, people 146 develop beliefs and emotions about an illness (illness representations) based on information 147 stored in memory, and acquired through endogenous (e.g., symptoms experienced) or external 148 (e.g., media, health care professionals) sources. These representations can be categorized into 149 two main categories: cognitive illness representations and emotional illness representations. 150 Cognitive illness representations can be further categorized into six categories: cause, coherence, 151 consequences, identity, perceived control, and timeline. Emotional illness representations 152 represent individuals' reflections on their emotional responses to the illness. Based on these 153 illness representations, individuals develop, enact, appraise, and update a set of coping strategies. 154 New experiences may lead to new illness representations, which in turn generate new coping 155 strategies or update existing ones. Threatening information, such as illness symptoms, may 156 activate associated illness-related information and motivate individuals to engage in coping 157 strategies (Hagger et al., 2017; Hagger & Orbell, 2022).

158

[Insert Figure 1]

159 The CS-SRM may be particularly useful for more comprehensively exploring how people 160 who inject drugs view HCV infection in terms of their cognitive and emotional representations 161 and coping procedures—i.e., whether they will engage in the cascade of care and seek testing 162 and treatment for (re)infection. To our knowledge, only one study applied the CS-SRM to 163 investigate individuals' HCV illness perceptions; the study was conducted among predominantly 164 Hispanic and African American people injecting drugs enrolled in an opioid-agonist treatment 165 program in the United States before the roll-out of DAAs (Safo et al., 2015). Findings of the 166 study highlighted the role of comparative benchmarks (e.g., HCV versus HIV) and personal 167 experiences (e.g., proximity to fatal outcomes of HCV) in shaping individuals' conceptualization 168 of HCV and their engagement in treatment (Safo et al., 2015). Given the expansion of effective 169 and tolerable DAA treatments, and their potential impact on illness representations and coping 170 strategies, the use of the CS-SRM to investigate the perceptions of people who inject drugs 171 regarding HCV, treatment and reinfection in the present context is particularly relevant and 172 timely. The aim of the current theory-informed qualitative study was to explore the cognitive and 173 emotional representations of hepatitis C, perceptions of treatment, coping strategies and sources

- 174 of information among people who inject drugs visiting a NSP in Montreal, Canada. The
- application of the CS-SRM to this study provides greater insights into the changing cognitive and
- 176 emotional representations of HCV infection along the care cascade and may inform interventions
- 177 to improve HCV care within harm reduction community organizations.

178 Methods

- 179 A qualitative descriptive study was conducted using semi-structured, in-person interviews based
- 180 on the CS-SRM. The study was approved by the Centre Hospitalier de l'Université de Montréal
- 181 Research Ethics Board (CHUM-REB# 21.197) and by the Ottawa Health Science Network
- 182 Research Ethics Board (OHSN-REB# 20210655-01H). The study is reported according to the
- 183 COnsolidated criteria for REporting Qualitative research (COREQ) (Tong et al., 2007).

184 Setting and context

- 185 The study was conducted at CACTUS Montréal, a large urban harm reduction community
- 186 organization for the prevention of sexually transmitted and blood-borne infections (STBBIs) in
- 187 people who use drugs, sex workers, and trans people. The organization housed the first NSP in
- 188 North America, launched in 1989, and now employs more than 80 people. In 2020-21, 70,939
- 189 people visited the organization through its different programs (e.g., NSP, supervised injection
- 190 site, social involvement program for people who use drugs).

191 Sample and recruitment

- 192 All adult French- or English-speaking individuals with a recent visit (<3 months) to the NSP and
- 193 with a recent history (<3 months) of injection drug use were eligible to participate in the study.
- 194 Individuals reporting a cognitive impairment or a health condition that might impede
- 195 participation in this study were not eligible. A researcher (GF) was present onsite to share posters
- 196 and flashcards containing a plain language explanation of the study and contact information, and
- 197 to identify potentially eligible individuals through convenience sampling. NSP staff assisted GF
- 198 in identifying potential participants and in excluding individuals unfit to participate. To achieve
- 199 an adequate sample for content validity, we used the 10 + 3 decision rule, whereby 10 initial
- 200 interviews were conducted followed by an additional three interviews until no new themes were
- 201 identified (Francis et al., 2009). We expected 15-20 CS-SRM interviews to be sufficient.

202 Once a potential participant had been identified, the study was presented and the 203 Informed Consent Form (ICF) discussed. Once an individual agreed to participate, the ICF was 204 provided to the individual and signed consent was obtained. Depending on the preferences of 205 each participant, the individual in-person interview was scheduled at a convenient time in a 206 dedicated private meeting room at the NSP. Interviews were conducted by GF, a male nurse and 207 postdoctoral researcher experienced in qualitative research based at the Ottawa Hospital 208 Research Institute with no prior links to the study setting. No relationship was established with 209 participants prior to interviews. Participants were informed that the interviewer was interested in 210 learning more about their views and experiences regarding HCV infection and treatment. A 211 compensation of \$20 CAD was provided upon completion of the interview.

212 Interview guide

213 The interview guide was developed based on the CS-SRM to explore views and experiences of 214 people who inject drugs relating to HCV infection, reinfection risk and treatment. It was also 215 designed to explore the coping strategies and sources of information regarding HCV infection. 216 Previous CS-SRM interview guides and associated resources were used as a basis (Crawshaw et 217 al., 2019; Mortazheiri et al., 2020). The different dimensions of the CS-SRM are presented in 218 Table 1, alongside their definitions and examples of questions from the interview guide. The 219 interview guide included between one and three questions for each of the CS-SRM dimensions, 220 and for each of these, we inquired about whether individual's perceptions changed over time.

221

[Insert Table 1]

222 Analysis

Interviews were transcribed verbatim, anonymized, and translated from French to English by a professional translator. All transcripts were subsequently verified for accuracy by GF. All interviews were then independently double coded in NVivo 11 software or Microsoft Word by two authors (GF and AMP or ZvA). Coders met after coding the first transcript to discuss and resolve any discrepancies and develop a uniform coding scheme. A deductive approach was initially applied to coding and subsequently applied thematic analysis related to the dimensions of the CS-SRM. We added an additional dimension during coding, 'Sources of information,' to

- 230 capture the difference sources of information mentioned by participants in relation to HCV
- and/or treatment, and how these influenced illness perceptions.

232 **Results**

233 Sample characteristics

234 Eighteen individuals were interviewed between October 22, 2021, and January 28, 2022. Table 2 235 presents the characteristics of participants. The median age was 45 years old (IQR 17), and 236 approximately three quarters of the sample self-identified as male. Fifteen participants self-237 identified as white, and only three reported having stable housing. Stimulants were the most 238 frequently used drug by 10 participants, followed by opioids by five participants. Polydrug use 239 was reported by the majority, with 16 participants reporting using more than one type of drug in 240 the past three months. Drugs injected in the past three months included opioids (9/18), both 241 opioids and stimulants or some other combination (6/18), and stimulants (3/18). Five participants 242 reported having received opioid agonist therapy in the past three months. Fourteen participants 243 self-reported one or more past HCV infection(s), for a total of 18 prior HCV infections across the 244 sample. Of those, nine were treated with DAAs, six were self-cured, and three were treated with 245 IFN therapies. One participant mentioned having an active HCV infection. All interviews were 246 conducted in French and the median duration was 21 minutes.

247

[Insert Table 2]

248 Cognitive illness representations regarding HCV infection

249 Identity: Label and symptoms attributed to HCV infection

While the majority of participants referred to HCV infection as 'hepatitis C,' a few also used the term 'liver disease.' Some individuals added qualifiers like 'dangerous' to convey the severity of

- the disease, although others disagreed and did not perceive it as a serious illness.
- 253 Individuals with a previous infection reported little to no symptoms. They described how the
- 254 largely asymptomatic nature of HCV infection made it difficult to attribute potential symptoms
- 255 experienced to the disease, especially in the early stages. Fatigue was identified as the most
- 256 prevalent symptom. Some were aware of other possible signs and symptoms such as jaundice:

- 257 "So, I never saw any difference, never, never. It's sure that after the [DAA] treatment I
 258 felt better. Less tired, more...fatigue a bit, yes. That's what I had. Besides that, nothing. I
 259 didn't have jaundice, nothing of that. No, never." —Participant 12, male, two previous
- 20

260 HCV infections treated with IFN therapy and DAAs

In those without a prior HCV infection, knowledge of symptoms was acquired mostly through interactions with HCV+ individuals in their social circle. Notably, symptoms described by those without a prior HCV infection tended to be more numerous and of higher intensity than symptoms described by those with a past infection, potentially indicating that people who have never had an infection overestimate the salience and severity of symptoms:

- 266 "It's often similar symptoms. Diseases transmitted in the blood and all that. Diarrhea,
 267 tooth aches, fatigue, weak immune system, you can't eat that, na na na. They're always
- 268 *similar for those diseases.*" —Participant 16, male, no previous HCV infection

269 Timeline: Beliefs about the onset, duration and fluctuation of HCV infection

Participants had difficulty in expressing beliefs about the rate of onset, duration, and fluctuation
of HCV infection. In those with one or more past HCV infection(s), due to absence of, or hardly
discernable, symptoms, many struggled in describing the onset and progression of the illness:

273 "I caught it two years ago. I didn't have time to see it [before self-cure]. I don't know
274 when it came back either. Did it come back shortly after, had it just come back, I don't
275 know." —Participant 3, male, two previous HCV infections, first self-cured, second
276 treated with DAAs

277 For some who were treated quickly after their diagnosis (<3 months), HCV infection was 278 perceived as acute in nature. Conversely, participants who lived with the diagnosis for a longer 279 period of time (> 5 years), the temporal effects and associated consequences were described in 280 more detail. Individuals who had been living with HCV for an extended duration reported 281 experiencing symptoms more frequently. This prolonged exposure to the infection heightened 282 their awareness of its potential complications and long-term health risks, and the fear of 283 developing severe complications such as cirrhosis or cancer became more prominent. The 284 possibility of death related to the infection became a source of anxiety and concern:

- 285 "I was scared of dying at one point. Yes, it's scary to think of dying. At one point, you
- 286

realize that death is near. Because it had been seven years that I had it and at one point I 287 could feel it. I was pale. I wasn't sleeping. It had been two years that I hadn't slept. You

could see it." —Participant 18, male, previous HCV infection treated with DAAs 288

289 Individuals who had not experienced a past HCV infection generally exhibited limited 290 knowledge about the onset and progression of the illness. They often had little information about

291 the initial stages of infection, the potential symptoms that could manifest, and the long-term 292 consequences of untreated HCV infection.

293 *Cause: Beliefs about the causal antecedent(s) of HCV infection*

294 Most participants had a good understanding of the behavioral and social causes of HCV

295 infection. Those who had experienced a past HCV infection often attributed their infection to a

296 specific event rather than a general risk behavior, particularly highlighting contact with

297 contaminated injection materials. Among the 18 participants, 16 specifically mentioned syringe

298 sharing/intravenous blood exchange as the primary means of transmission:

299 "Intravenous is the method of choice, if you are looking for hepatitis, give your needle to

300 someone else and there's a good chance that when it comes back, you will get it. I never

301 share my materials." —Participant 1, male, no previous HCV infection

302 When discussing the mechanisms of HCV transmission, several individuals also referred to their

303 social network and interactions with individuals engaging in high-risk behaviors. They

304 acknowledged the role of their social environment in potential exposure to the virus. Many were

305 uncertain about the risk of HCV transmission associated with sexual activity. Yet, some believed

306 that unprotected sexual contact was the main mechanism of transmission:

307 "I think it's more sexual relations because I share my pipes and my stupid stuff with

308 everyone. I don't think I have it, but I don't know. I think that if you have sores or

- 309 something there it could transmitted. But I don't know." —Participant 16, male, no
- 310 previous HCV infection
- 311 *Consequences: Beliefs about the impact(s) of HCV infection*

312 The perceived consequences of HCV infection had strong functional dimensions, extending

313 beyond the potential medical outcomes such as liver cirrhosis and liver cancer. Participants 314 vividly described the wide-ranging impact of HCV infection on multiple aspects of their lives, 315 including their professional and daily life, social relationships, overall lifestyle, and general well-316 being. For some, the infection marked the beginning of a series of unfortunate events, including 317 loss of employment. This often triggered a chain reaction, leading to life-changing consequences 318 that affected their financial stability, social standing, and overall quality of life:

- 319 "I was going through financial problems, I couldn't work. Family conflicts too.
- 320 Discouragement and all that. [My HCV infection] killed my relationship, yes. When I
- 321 *think about that, it killed my relationship. Instead of being in full swing in my early*
- 322 thirties. I had bought a house by a lake, a motel. I bought a boat and all those things. I
- *fell hard, went bankrupt. I was exhausted then I relapsed. We separated two years later.*
- 324 *That's where it started.*" —Participant 12, male, two previous HCV infections, treated
- 325 with IFN therapy and DAAs
- 326 *"I had to start everything over again, leave my job so I could concentrate only on*327 *working on my hepatitis, it was demoralizing."*—Participant 7, male, two previous HCV
 328 infections, treated with DAAs twice

Additionally, participants shared how HCV infection influenced their social relationships, leading to feelings of isolation, and strained interactions with family, friends, and partners. The fear of transmitting the virus to loved ones or facing judgment and discrimination further compounded the social consequences of the infection. They shared their experiences of anticipating and encountering stigma from various groups, including coworkers, healthcare professionals, police officers, prison staff, family members, and friends:

- 335 "I lost a lot of friends. My sister didn't want me to go near her, even now. She's scared
 336 for her children. Even if I got the treatment for hepatitis C, she's scared for her
- 337 *children.*" —Participant 18, male, previous HCV infection treated with DAAs

The lifestyle of individuals with HCV infection was often profoundly affected. Some described how the need for medical appointments, treatments, and lifestyle modifications disrupted their routines and limited their ability to engage in activities they once enjoyed. The infection brought about changes in diet, substance use, sleep patterns and overall physical and mental well-being:

- 342 "I was also scared to drink. I was scared to eat. I was scared of everything because I
- 343

thought I'd have an internal hemorrhage. [...] I was also hyper-aggressive [during

- 344 treatment]. [...] Someone looked at me sideways, I didn't even want to talk to them." —
- ~ . . -

345 Participant 18, male, previous HCV infection treated with DAAs

346 While most participants reported experiencing consequences of HCV infection in various aspects

347 of their lives, some disagreed and stated that HCV infection had no consequences on their

348 professional and daily life, social relationships, or other areas. They expressed a sense of

349 resilience and a belief that life continued as normal, despite their illness. They mentioned not

350 receiving criticism, comments, or experiencing negative attitudes from those around them,

351 suggesting a lack of perceived stigma or discrimination. Some participants attributed the absence

352 of consequences to their choice of not discussing their HCV infection openly.

353 Perceived control: Beliefs regarding the controllability and curability of HCV infection

354 Beliefs regarding the curability and controllability of HCV infection were centered around the 355 different characteristics of treatments. Over the past decade, the HCV treatment landscape has 356 evolved significantly, transitioning from IFN therapies with severe side effects and complex 357 drug-drug interactions, to DAAs with high cure rates, minimal side effects and shorter treatment 358 durations. Most demonstrated a general awareness of the potential for HCV to be cured. Ten out 359 of 18 participants had direct experience with past or current versions of HCV treatments (either 360 IFN therapies, DAAs, or both). Many compared IFN and DAA treatments, even if they had not 361 experienced both, underlining the lengthy duration and important side effects of the former and 362 the short duration, fewer side effects and effectiveness of the latter. Their responses reflected an 363 understanding of the advancements in treatment options and the effectiveness of the new DAAs:

364 "[The DAA treatment] was a 6-week program if I'm not mistaken. It was a pill a day.

365 Pills worth \$800. [...] It went fast. The treatment was easy. Just swallow a pill. A big pill,

366 *mind you, but only one pill. It was pretty easy. There weren't any problems relating to*

- 367 *this.* [...] *I've seen very sick people* [on the IFN treatment]. *It was an injection per week,*
- 368 and it made them really sick all week. I've seen people like that before the new treatment
- 369 *arrived. I know that the previous treatment was rock and roll. For me it was really easy.*"
- 370 —Participant 3, male, two previous HCV infections, first self-cured, second treatment
- 371 with DAAs

The evolving treatment landscape for HCV infection has not only improved the prospects for curing the infection but also shaped individuals' beliefs about the feasibility of completing treatment. The improved tolerability and shorter duration of treatment with DAAs seemed to enhance their confidence in completing treatment:

- 376 *"I did the old Interferon program at the time. I got the whole thing. I was losing my hair*
- and my skin at the end. It was really intense. [...] Big side effects. Severe depression,
- 378 always throwing up, I was in bed almost 24/7 for six months. At the end of the treatment,
- *I barely touched my skin, and it would peel off like I had leprosy. It was very intrusive as*
- 380 *a treatment.* [...] *Now, today I know that the treatment is much shorter and less intrusive*
- 381 so I think it would handle it better." —Participant 5, female, previous HCV infection
- 382 treated with IFN therapy

However, some participants who had undergone IFN therapies expressed apprehension about
DAA treatments, anticipating the side effects, and were seemingly unaware that side effects of
IFN therapies do not apply to DAA treatments:

- 386 *"The treatment? I would not do it again. [...] The disease itself causes lesions, and so*
- 387 *does the treatment. It's even worse. But you end up being cured.*" —Participant 9, male,
- 388 previous HCV infection treated with IFN therapy

389 Treatment access, cost and coverage by public health insurance emerged as a significant 390 concerns for the majority of individuals, especially those who had previously undergone 391 treatment for hepatitis C. Many believed that they could only be treated once or twice because of 392 the high cost of the treatment, and expressed confusion about the mechanisms of access to DAA 393 treatments. This belief reflected a common misconception about limitations in treatment 394 availability, especially for reinfection:

395 "The disease should not be only about money, there must be a humane element. [...] Why
396 is it \$80,000, how do they use it, and why does it remain like that.? Why do we pay the
397 \$80,000? Why does it cost that much? [...] I could catch it again. Apparently, you can
398 only be treated once." —Participant 2, female, previous HCV infection treated with
399 DAAs

Participants expressed uncertainty about the specific processes and criteria that determined whocould receive DAA treatments and how they could navigate the system to access the treatment:

402 "We'd been waiting for it for a while and it was very expensive, it seems. It cost a

403 fortune. I remember the doctor had told me be careful because they won't pay it twice. I

404 *don't know if he said that to scare me, in any case. You had to make a special request to*

- 405 *the RAMQ* [provincial public health insurance], *it's true. A special request to the RAMQ*
- 406 to get the treatment. And to wait to be approved before starting." —Participant 12, male,
- 407 two previous HCV infections

408 Notably, while some individuals were aware that the infection could be self-cured, many were

409 not aware of how this can unfold, and some stated they would not seek the support of a health

410 care professional until they have waited a few months to see if they heal on their own. This

411 indicates a preference for a wait-and-see approach among some individuals.

412 Coherence: Understanding of HCV infection

The level of understanding of hepatitis C varied significantly. Almost all participants knew that that the disease affected the liver to some extent, with some participants mentioning the infection could affect blood filtration and lead to cirrhosis and liver cancer. HIV was used by some as a benchmark for understanding HCV, often to suggest the HCV is more resistant:

417 *"The bug looks rougher than HIV. A drop of blood with HIV on the table isn't serious. It*418 *dies almost immediately, it seems. But hepatitis seems a little tougher."* —Participant 12, 419 male, two previous HCV infections

420 Notably, some mentioned that their goal was not to understand the intricacies hepatitis C, but 421 rather to learn how to prevent contracting the infection and transmitting it to others. One 422 participant mentioned that he didn't feel the need to understand the disease because he was 423 treated right away with DAAs. Their experience of being treated quickly might have alleviated 424 the need for in-depth knowledge about hepatitis C, but they still underlined the need to better 425 understand the mechanisms of transmission:

426 "I don't have the need to understand because as soon as I learned I had it they treated me
427 right away. It left right away. I didn't really need any more information. I would have

needed more information on how not to catch it. If there are many ways. Now, it's just the needles." —Participant 3, male, two previous HCV infections

430 Emotional illness representations regarding HCV infection

431 Individuals who had never diagnosed with HCV infection expressed a strong fear of the disease

432 and of its potential consequences. However, in individuals with past or current HCV infections,

433 distinct emotional illness representations emerged at the time of diagnosis, during the process of

434 linkage to care and treatment, after achieving a cure, and in cases of reinfection.

435 Diagnosis

436 Many individuals expressed how they first felt fear, stress, anxiety and shock regarding their

437 diagnosis, the potential complications of HCV infection, and the possible impact on their

- 438 personal and professional lives:
- 439 "I freaked out. I was not in a good mood. [...] Because I've never had a disease before,
 440 I've always been careful for everything, and when you are careful and you catch
- 441 something like this, it's not a lot of fun." —Participant 10, male, current HCV infection

For some individuals, this initial shock was replaced by fear of stigma, doubts about how the
future would unfold regarding their illness, as well as their personal and professional lives, and
demoralization:

- 445 "Yes, telling my girlfriend, she would be angry, or afraid. That's pretty much it. Nothing
 446 else, except whether it follows you, will I be able to treat it? Will I be accepted? Those
 447 things caused anxiety I have chronic anxiety. That's it. The stress piled on my
 448 shoulders." —Participant 13, male, previous HCV infection
- 449 Treatment

For most individuals, emotional reactions to the diagnosis shifted from concerned to relaxed and
pleased when they were linked to appropriate care. Discussions with health care providers
allowed most individuals to be acquire knowledge about the disease and treatment, which was
reassuring for some:

454 "Immediately, when I found out that it was curable, there was less panic, but it is
455 unpleasant." —Participant 8, female, previous HCV infection, treated with DAAs

456 Most individuals did not express fear regarding starting the DAA treatment:

457 *"Compensation was there. They registered me for the program right away and I started. I*458 *wasn't scared.*" —Participant 3, male, two previous HCV infections, treated with DAAs

459 However, IFN therapies were associated with strongly negative emotional representations related

460 to the side effects and duration of the treatment. In addition, some individuals reported negative

461 emotions associated with their experiences of dehumanizing and stigmatizing clinical encounters

462 with some health care providers. Some of these experiences were in the context of HCV

463 treatment, and others concerned healthcare in general.

464 Post-cure

465 The lack of awareness among many individuals regarding the possibility of multiple treatments

- 466 for HCV infection resulted in chronic anxiety even after being cured. One stated:
- 467 *"Except now that I'm cured, I'm scared to get it because* [...] *It's only paid once the*468 *treatment."* —Participant 2, female, previous HCV infection
- The fear of reinfection was further compounded by the realization of how easily one couldbecome infected:
- 471 *"I am even more afraid today because considering how easy it was for me to catch it."* —
 472 Participant 6, male, previous HCV infection

These statements underscore the persistent anxiety and worries that individuals with previous
HCV infection faced, despite being successfully treated. The belief that treatment was a one-time
opportunity coupled with the awareness of the ease of transmission contributed to ongoing

476 concerns about the potential for reacquiring the infection.

477 Reinfection

478 In individuals infected twice (and aware that the infection could be treated multiple times),

479 emotional illness representations regarding reinfection, if any, were less pronounced and more

- 480 oriented towards frustration and disappointment rather than the fear, anxiety or shock
- 481 experienced upon learning of their first infection.
- 482 "It was "God dammit, not again!" [...] I knew the treatments, I knew I had a good
 483 immune system, so it wouldn't take time to get cured. But the facts of knowing that it had

come back again, and just because of one evening with the girl... Disappointed." —

485 Participant 7, male, two previous HCV infections

486 *Coping strategies*

487 Problem-Focused Coping: Attempts to address the illness

488 Most individuals mentioned seeking medical support as one of the top coping strategies they 489 used or would use, with many highlighting the importance of initiating and following the 490 treatment and listening to healthcare professionals' recommendations. Several individuals 491 mentioned they enacted or would enact behavioural changes to alleviate their illness, including to 492 stop drinking alcohol, change their diet, rest, and exercise:

- 493 "I listened to what they told me, the recommendations. Don't drink and things like that. I
 494 don't drink anyway so it's not too hard for me not to drink but I like to have a glass of
- 495 wine when I eat and I didn't do it. I knew I wasn't supposed to. It didn't bother me." —
- 496 Participant 3, male, two previous HCV infections
- 497 Seeking social support: Attempts to seek instrumental and emotional support from others
- 498 Very few mentioned that they would seek social support to cope with their illness. Some

499 mentioned the importance of people living in the streets helping each other during difficult times,500 with one individual stating:

- 501 "And in case someone among us has caught it, we will tell them to get the treatment and
 502 that we will be there for them, help them and accompany them. We are friends, that's why
 503 I'm here. That's how we help each other out. We are street guys, but our friendship is
 504 very strong, we are there to help each other, we are not there to hurt each other, why put
- 505 each other down? We are equal, so we are there to help each other. Obviously, I would
- 506 *have friends to accompany me.*" —Participant 7, male, two previous HCV infections
- 507 Avoidance/denial: Cognitive or behavioural attempts to ignore the existence of the illness
- 508 Some individuals resorted to avoidance or denial as a coping mechanism to deal with the reality
- 509 of their HCV infection. This manifested in cognitive or behavioral attempts to ignore the
- 510 existence of the illness. One described how alcohol helped them maintain a sense of normalcy
- 511 and stabilize their mood, despite the associated risks:

"What helped with having a normal behaviour, instead of having the ups and downs and

- 513 the fatigue, the depression... It was alcohol. I drank and I maintained a stable mood. It
- 514 made me hungry. But it also gave me a problem with alcohol, because I was drinking a
- 515 *lot; when I woke up, and all the way to bed. So I drank from 7 AM to 1 AM.*" —
- 516 Participant 7, male, two previous HCV infections

517 Interestingly, when asked if they would want to know if they currently had an HCV infection,

518 most participants expressed a desire to be aware of their status so they could initiate treatment

519 and take proactive steps towards managing their health.

520 External sources of information

Four types of external sources of information regarding HCV infection and treatment were described by individuals: a) family and peers, including those that have experienced HCV infection and treatment, b) healthcare providers and NSP workers, c) printed materials, including pamphlets and posters at the NSP and supervised injection site, and d) other sources, such as browsing the Internet and research projects they are involved in. A notable finding was that some participants had limited access to accurate information sources regarding hepatitis C, and expressed distrust towards healthcare professionals:

- Q: "Where did you get your information about hepatitis C? Where did you learn the
 things that you know?"
- R: "The street. People in the street... Much more than doctors, doctors don't know
 anything." —Participant 9, male, previous HCV infection
- 532 This finding highlights the need for improved communication and trust-building between
- 533 healthcare professionals and individuals affected by hepatitis C. It also underscores the
- 534 importance of providing accurate and accessible information from reliable sources.

535 Discussion

- 536 This study sheds light on the persistence of misinformation about DAA treatment access among
- 537 people who inject drugs visiting a NSP in Canada. Despite the widely recognized efficacy and
- 538 safety of DAA treatment, people who inject drugs report encountering stigmatizing discourse

539 regarding treatment access, such as clinicians emphasizing the high cost of treatment and 540 expressing concerns about the government potentially not covering additional rounds of 541 treatment. These experiences influence how HCV infection is understood in terms of its 542 curability and controllability, affecting the motivations and intentions of individuals seeking 543 treatment for reinfection. These findings highlight the urgent need for increased awareness and 544 education around the availability and accessibility of DAA treatments. Addressing 545 misconceptions about treatment limitations and providing clear information about the pathways 546 to access these treatments can help alleviate concerns and empower individuals to seek the care 547 they need for hepatitis C. Our findings reveal additional concerns and knowledge gaps, including 548 uncertainties regarding transmission risks of HCV through sexual activity, previous adverse 549 experiences with IFN therapies, and the enduring stigma associated with HCV infection. These 550 findings emphasize the necessity for tailored measures to address these issues, as there are still 551 critical gaps in accurate information and support despite existing knowledge.

552 Cognitive representations related to the *cause, coherence* and *consequences* of HCV 553 infection were characterized by a greater knowledge of transmission risks from injecting drug 554 use than sexual activity and by a general disinterest in understanding the disease and in its health 555 consequences. Individuals expressed a stronger desire to learn preventive measures to avoid 556 contracting HCV and transmitting it to their loved ones. Some individuals also held 557 misconceptions regarding unrelated symptoms or had an incorrect understanding of the 558 underlying pathophysiology of the illness. These findings underline the importance of and 559 opportunity for trusted sources of information within community organizations serving people 560 who inject drugs; misinformation is a common problem within these settings and can lead to 561 pervasive knowledge gaps (Boucher et al., 2017; Goodyear et al., 2021). Sources of information 562 in relation to HCV infection varied widely according to life experience and social context. 563 Younger individuals tended to rely more on informal sources, such as peers, while individuals 564 with more life and health experiences had established networks of trusted information sources 565 within and outside the NSP, including contacts with workers, nurses, and involvement in 566 research projects. To address the identified common concerns and knowledge gaps in this study 567 and enhance access to accurate information within NSPs, various strategies can be employed. 568 These may involve leveraging NSP workers to provide information and organizing discussion groups with nurses to address gaps in understanding disease progression, transmission 569

570 mechanisms, and treatment options. By implementing such strategies, we can bridge knowledge 571 gaps and ensure individuals have access to reliable information within NSPs.

572 Cognitive representations related to the curability and controllability of HCV infection 573 were dominated by conflicting perceptions of current and past forms of treatment, as well as by 574 confusion and internalized stigma around treatment eligibility. Most participants had direct 575 experience with DAA and/or IFN therapies or were in contact with others who had been treated. 576 Negative perceptions of IFN-based therapies were prevalent, highlighting their detrimental 577 effects on themselves, acquaintances, or loved ones. In contrast, DAA treatment was generally 578 perceived positively. However, there were gaps in knowledge about recent advancements in 579 HCV treatment, and many expressed uncertainties about eligibility and access to DAA treatment. 580 Concerns were raised about the cost and regulatory aspects associated with DAA treatment, and 581 a misconception persisted that treatment could only be undergone once. Our findings are aligned 582 with a study conducted in British Columbia, Canada, suggesting that evolving HCV treatments 583 in terms of eligibility, side effects and mechanisms of access influence attitudes, motivations and 584 opportunities related to DAA treatment among people who inject drugs (Goodyear et al., 2021). 585 These factors have implications for enhancing access to HCV care among individuals visiting 586 NSPs, particularly for individuals reinfected with previous experiences of treatment (Amoako et 587 al., 2021). Reinfection following treatment for recent HCV infection among individuals with 588 high risk behaviours such as people who inject drugs is expected (Martinello et al., 2017; Rossi 589 et al., 2018; Valencia et al., 2019), and is a growing concern if HCV elimination is to be 590 achieved (Grebely et al., 2021; Marshall et al., 2022). As (re)treatment of people who are 591 actively injecting is critical to HCV elimination, perceptions of 'once only' treatment among 592 people who inject drugs could contribute to people delaying treatment until they are no longer 593 injecting. Strategies such as regular post-treatment HCV assessment for early detection and 594 retreatment (Grebely et al., 2021), should be complemented by strategies to minimize 595 internalized and institutionalized stigma around treatment, and ongoing education regarding 596 treatment eligibility and accessibility in the Quebec context. The trusted sources of information 597 identified in this study can be utilized to facilitate clear and simplified communication and 598 educational efforts on treatment eligibility and access within NSPs. Furthermore, shifting the 599 discourse away from cost concerns and emphasizing instead the importance of comprehensive 600 treatment is critical to help reduce stigma and improve treatment outcomes.

601 Emotional perceptions of HCV infection were closely intertwined with individuals' 602 understanding of the illness timeline. People who inject drugs experienced a range of emotions at 603 different stages of the care cascade. Upon receiving their initial diagnosis, our findings indicate 604 that most individuals felt fear, stress, anxiety, and shock related to the disease and its potential 605 complications. Over time, these emotions transformed into regret due to engaging in high-risk 606 behaviors, unhappiness, demoralization, and uncertainty about their future. Some individuals 607 were not concerned about their diagnosis, citing other priorities in their life, and highlighting the 608 absence of symptoms. These findings align with previous studies conducted among people who 609 inject drugs and other individuals engaging in high-risk behaviours (Dowsett et al., 2017; 610 Hosseini-Hooshyar et al., 2020; Marshall et al., 2022). During the linkage to care and treatment 611 phases, individuals found reassurance in learning about the curability of HCV infection and 612 expressed satisfaction with the DAA treatment. Following successful treatment, some individuals 613 expressed extreme fear of reinfection, recognizing how easily they acquired the infection 614 initially. Concerns about treatment eligibility and access also contributed to their fear of 615 reinfection, as previously reported (Goodyear et al., 2021). Thus, emotional representations of 616 illness varied among individuals, reflecting resilience as they actively managed and cured their 617 HCV infection, while others continued to experience ongoing concerns due to their drug use. Our 618 findings underscore the importance of tailored emotional support and reassurance at every stage 619 of the care cascade, with particular emphasis on diagnosis and post-cure support. Although DAA 620 treatment is generally less emotionally demanding than IFN therapies (Whiteley et al., 2016), 621 addressing emotional well-being remains critical.

622 This study has several strengths and limitations. The diverse sample allowed the 623 exploration of cognitive and emotional illness representations in people who inject drugs without 624 a prior HCV infection, and in individuals with one or more HCV infection(s). Our sample also 625 included individuals who completed IFN therapies, DAAs and both, offering a wide range of 626 perspectives on treatment. The use of a theory-informed approach in conducting interviews 627 allowed for direct comparisons with previous studies conducted using the CS-SRM, providing 628 valuable insights into how individuals in this population experience and cope with HCV. 629 Limitations include the fact that most of our sample was composed of middle-aged individuals 630 self-identifying as white, limiting our ability to investigate how illness representations differ 631 across axes of ethnocultural identity. Second, the presence of only one individual with an active

632 HCV infection might have resulted in an underrepresentation of people in need of (but not

- 633 accessing) treatment. Lastly, our study was conducted in a single large urban community
- 634 organization serving people who inject drugs in Montreal, Canada. While this organization is the
- 635 largest in the province, we were not able to investigate how illness representations might have
- 636 been influenced by other settings.

637 Conclusion

638 Despite nearly a decade of widespread availability of DAAs, significant misinformation 639 regarding eligibility for (re)treatment persists, emphasizing the ongoing need for targeted efforts 640 to address this issue. Achieving HCV micro-elimination among people who inject drugs in 641 Quebec, Canada requires harm reduction community organizations to provide tailored and non-642 stigmatizing HCV prevention, testing and treatment services. This study highlights common 643 concerns, knowledge gaps, coping strategies, and sources of information utilized by people who 644 inject drugs in relation to HCV infection. To increase access to accurate information regarding 645 HCV infection and treatment, NSP workers and nurses could be leveraged, and measures such as 646 testing as a form of linkage to care and efficient mechanisms of retreatment can help reduce 647 stigma. Furthermore, investigations in the barriers and enablers to HCV care perceived and 648 experienced by people who inject drugs and individuals working in harm reduction community 649 organizations should be undertaken using state-of-the-art implementation frameworks (Ruiz et 650 al., 2022). By undertaking such investigations, we can gain valuable insights into the complex 651 interplay of factors that shape HCV care experiences within the harm reduction community and 652 inform the development of strategies aimed at optimizing HCV care delivery, improving 653 treatment outcomes, and ultimately advancing progress towards the elimination of hepatitis C.

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863 Tables

CS	-SRM dimensions	Classic definition	Definition relating to hepatitis C	Example question(s) from interview guide
1.	Cognitive illness representations			
	1.1. Identity	How symptoms are experienced and attributed to the illness along with the label given to the illness itself.	How the person labeled hepatitis C and whether they experienced its symptoms.	Have you ever experienced any symptoms related to hepatitis C and if so, what were they?
	1.2. Timeline	Beliefs about the rate of onset, the duration, and fluctuation in the illness (e.g., acute, chronic).	How long they believed hepatitis C would last or lasted and whether it fluctuated.	How long did you experience the symptoms? Did your symptoms fluctuate?
	1.3. Cause	Beliefs about the causal antecedents of the illness (e.g., genetics, infection, diet, aging, or other exacerbating factors).	What they believed would cause or caused hepatitis C.	How do you think you acquired (and could reacquire) hepatitis C? What caused it?
	1.4. Consequences	Beliefs about the likely impact of the illness on life events (e.g., work, family, personal relationships).	How serious they believed hepatitis C was or would be.	What were the consequences of hepatitis C infection on you? Has it affected your working life or daily life?
	1.5. Perceived control	Beliefs regarding the controllability/curability of the illness.	The extent to which they believed that hepatitis C was controllable/curable.	Can an hepatitis C infection be cured? How? If not, can the infection be controlled?
	1.6. Coherence	The patient's understanding about the illness, how they 'make sense' of it.	Their understanding of hepatitis C.	How well do you feel you understand hepatitis C and the treatment options? Does it all make sense to you?
2.	Emotional illness representations	Beliefs about the emotional impact of the illness.	What emotions did they feel when they learned about their hepatitis C diagnosis/would they feel?	How does/did hepatitis C and its symptoms make you feel? Does/did it make you angry, scared, upset or depressed?
3.	Coping strategies	Strategies to cope with illness, updated based on success/failure in dealing with previous illness episodes.	Which strategies did they use/would use to deal with hepatitis C?	How do/did you usually manage your symptoms and illness? Does/did it help?

864 Table 1. CS-SRM dimensions and definitions, and example questions from interview guide.

CS-SRM dimensions		Classic definition	Definition relating to hepatitis C	Example question(s) from interview guide	
4.	Situational stimuli/sources of information	Lay information stored in memory, information from expert sources, and experienced somatic and symptomatic information.	Endogenous sources of information on hepatitis C, such as experienced symptoms and somatic responses, or from external sources (e.g., physician).	Apart from your personal experiences, how do you get information about hepatitis C and its treatment/care? Where do you usually look for information?	

867 Table 2. Characteristics of study participants (N = 18).

	Participants, No. (%)
Age, y	
18-39	5 (28)
40-59	12 (67)
>60	1 (6)
Gender	
Female	5 (28)
Male	13 (72)
Ethnicity	
White	15 (83)
Indigenous/Metis	3 (17)
Housing situation	
No housing	10 (56)
Transitional	5 (28)
Stable	3 (17)
Drugs injected, past three months	
Opioid	9 (50)
Stimulant	3 (17)
Opioid & Stimulant/Other combination	6 (33)

Opioid agonist therapy, past three month	S	
Yes	5 (28)	
No	13 (72)	
Past hepatitis C virus (HCV) infection(s)		
None	4 (22)	
1	10 (56)	
>1	4 (22)	
Treatment(s) completed		
None	8 (44)	
Interferon-based (IFN) therapy	2 (11)	
Direct-acting antivirals (DAAs)	7 (39)	
IFN & DAAs	1 (6)	

870 Figure legends

Figure 1. The Common-Sense Self-Regulation Model (CS-SRM), adapted from Hagger andOrbell (2022).