



# The Science of Harm Reduction



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School of Public Health, University of Alberta  
Canadian Academy of Health Sciences, September 19, 2013

# Overview

1. What is harm reduction?
2. Effectiveness of harm reduction interventions – State of the evidence
3. Canadian harm reduction services
4. New directions for research



1. What is harm reduction?



**Seat belts, emission controls, speed limits, and helmet laws** are pragmatic interventions to reduce mortality and morbidity associated with using vehicles and bikes, *without necessarily requiring people to stop driving.*

These can all be understood as **harm reduction** strategies to reduce the risks and harms of motoring.

**Harm reduction** is an approach to substance misuse that emphasizes pragmatic interventions to reduce mortality and morbidity associated with the use of psychoactive substances, *without necessarily requiring people to stop using drugs.*

**Pragmatism**

**Humanistic**

**Values**

**Focus on**

**Harms**

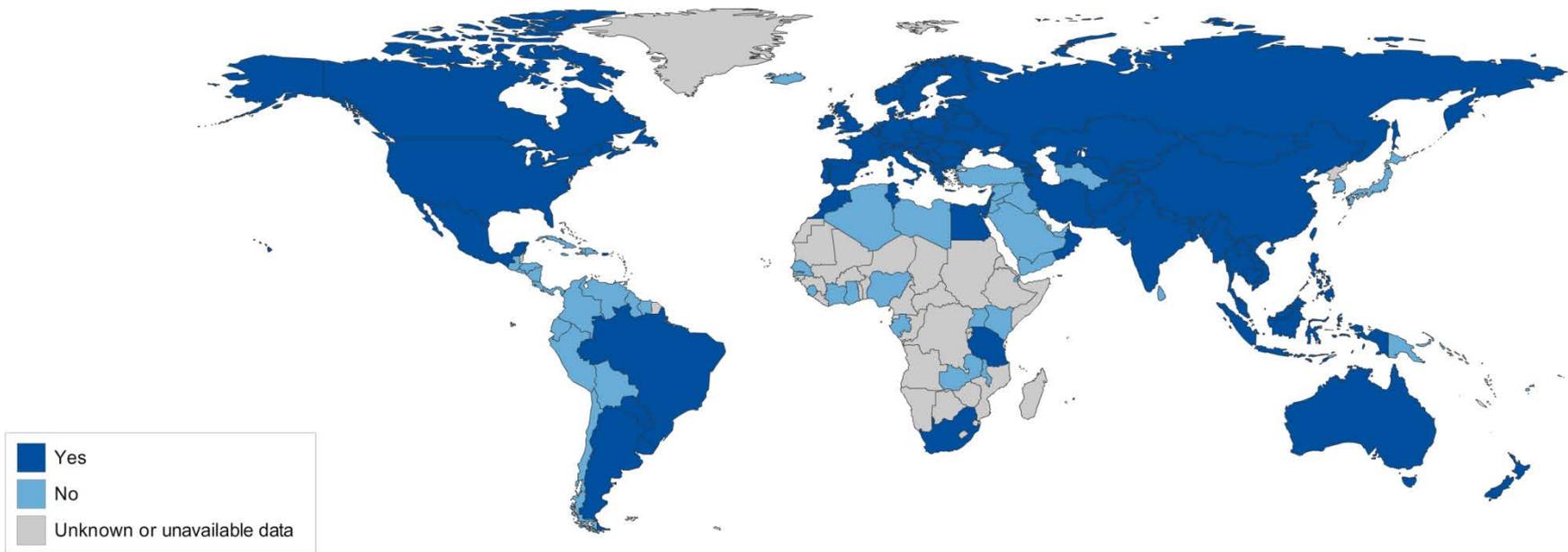
**Hierarchy of**

**Goals**

# Historical origins of harm reduction

- Primarily developed in response to HIV/AIDS in 1980s
- Pioneered in UK, Netherlands, Australia and Canada
- ‘New public health’
- Syringe exchange programs
- Peer-driven

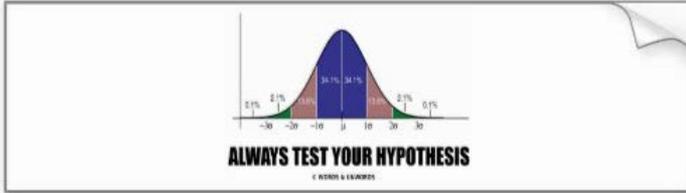




**Presence of operational syringe exchange programs in 2012.** *Source: Harm Reduction International*

## 2. Effectiveness of harm reduction interventions

State of the evidence



## Study designs

Difficult to study all harm reduction interventions solely from a controlled clinical trials perspective.

However, a range of interventions have been examined in an extensive international literature.

Exposure to harm reduction interventions versus comparison groups in ...

- Controlled clinical trials
- Cohort studies
- Interrupted time series studies
- Case control studies



# Syringe distribution and collection

# Evidence

## Addiction

REVIEW

doi:10.1111/j.1360-0443.2009.02111.x

### Evidence for the effectiveness of sterile injecting equipment provision in preventing hepatitis C and human immunodeficiency virus transmission among injecting drug users: a review of reviews

Norah Palmateer<sup>1</sup>, Jo Kimber<sup>2,3</sup>, Matthew Hickman<sup>2</sup>, Sharon Hutchinson<sup>1,4</sup>, Tim Rhodes<sup>3</sup>  
David Goldberg<sup>1</sup>

Health Protection Scotland, Glasgow, UK.<sup>1</sup> Department of Social Medicine, University of Bristol, Bristol, UK.<sup>2</sup> Centre for Research on Drugs and Health Behaviour, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London, UK.<sup>3</sup> and Department of Statistics and Modelling Science, University of Strathclyde, Strathclyde, UK.<sup>4</sup>

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#### ABSTRACT

**Aims** To review the evidence on the effectiveness of harm reduction interventions involving the provision of sterile injecting equipment in the prevention of hepatitis C virus (HCV) and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) transmission among injecting drug users (IDUs). The interventions assessed were needle and syringe programmes (NSP), alternative modes of needle/syringe provision (pharmacies, vending machines and outreach) and the provision of

A recent review of reviews on sterile injecting equipment provision found : (1) strong evidence that sterile injecting equipment provision reduces injection risk behaviour, and 2) more tentative evidence that sterile injecting equipment provision also prevents HIV incidence - Palamateer et al. 2010

# RESPOND TO AN OPIOID OVERDOSE You can save a life!

- 1 Shake**  
at shoulders **Shout**  
their name
- 2 Call 911**  
if unresponsive
- 3 Naloxone**  
Inject 1 ampule (1cc) of Naloxone  
into arm or Leg muscle



works  
in overdose prevention and response  
on a prescription for naloxone  
Health/The POINT Program  
Naloxone expiry date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/20\_\_

community health | 616.466.6166

Take home naloxone programs

# Evidence

# MMWR

Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report

Weekly / Vol. 61 / No. 6

February 17, 2012

## Community-Based Opioid Overdose Prevention Programs Providing Naloxone — United States, 2010

Drug overdose death rates have increased steadily in the United States since 1979. In 2008, a total of 36,450 drug overdose deaths (i.e., unintentional, intentional [suicide or homicide], or undetermined intent) were reported, with prescription opioid analgesics (e.g., oxycodone, hydrocodone, and methadone), cocaine, and heroin the drugs most commonly involved (1). Since the mid-1990s, community-based programs have offered opioid overdose prevention services to persons who use drugs, their families and friends, and service providers. Since 1996, an

shelters, and substance abuse services include educational programs on recognition of signs of overdose, and administration of naloxone.

To identify local programs providing naloxone distribution, the National Opioid Overdose Coalition e-mailed an overview of the program to programs then known to distribute naloxone. Follow-up emails and telephone calls were used to encourage participation, clarify

Since 1996, 53,032 people have been trained to provide naloxone in the US, resulting in 10,171 documented overdose reversals.

-Wheeler et al. 2012



# Supervised injection facilities

# Evidence

## RESEARCH REPORT

doi:10.1111/j.1360-0443.2007.01818.x

### Rate of detoxification service use and its impact among a cohort of supervised injecting facility users

Evan Wood<sup>1,2</sup>, Mark W. Tyndall<sup>1,2</sup>, Ruth Zhang<sup>1</sup>, Julio S. G. Montaner<sup>1,2</sup> & Thomas Kerr<sup>1,2</sup>

British Columbia Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS, St. Paul's Hospital<sup>1</sup> and Department of Medicine, University of British Columbia, Canada<sup>2</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

**Background** Vancouver, Canada recently opened a medically supervised injecting facility (SIF) where injection drug users (IDU) can inject pre-obtained illicit drugs. Critics suggest that the facility does not help IDU to reduce their drug use. **Methods** We conducted retrospective and prospective database linkages with residential detoxification facilities and used generalized estimating equation (GEE) methods to examine the rate of detoxification service use among SIF participants in the year before versus the year after the SIF opened. In secondary analyses, we used Cox regression to examine if having been enrolled in detoxification was associated with enrolling in methadone or other forms of

The SIF's opening was associated with a 30% increase in detoxification service use, increased rates of long-term addiction treatment initiation and reduced injecting around the SIF.  
-Wood et al. 2007

# Evidence

## Reduction in overdose mortality in Vancouver, Canada: a retrospective population-based study

Brandon D L Marshall, M-J Milloy, Evan Wood, Julio S G Montaner

### Summary

**Background** Overdose from illicit drugs is a leading cause of death in Vancouver, Canada. More than 65 supervised injecting facilities (SIFs) have been opened as part of various strategies to reduce overdose mortality. We examined the impact of the opening of an SIF in Vancouver, BC, Canada.

**Methods** We examined population-based overdose mortality before and after (Sept 21, 2003, to Dec 31, 2005) the opening of a SIF in Vancouver, BC, Canada. We compared mortality in the SIF and for the rest of the city.

**Findings** Of 290 decedents, 229 (79.0%) were decedents in the SIF. Of these, 89 (30.7%) of deaths occurred in city blocks

Table 2. Overdose mortality rate in Vancouver between Jan 1, 2001, and Dec 31, 2005 (n=290), stratified by proximity to the SIF

	ODs occurring in blocks within 500 m of the SIF*		ODs occurring in blocks farther than 500 m of the SIF*	
	Pre-SIF	Post-SIF	Pre-SIF	Post-SIF
Number of overdoses	56	33	113	88
Person-years at risk	22 066	19 991	1 479 792	1 271 246
Overdose rate (95% CI)*	253.8 (187.3–320.3)	165.1 (108.8–221.4)	7.6 (6.2–9.0)	6.9 (5.5–8.4)
Rate difference (95% CI)	88.7 (1.6–175.8);	..	0.7 (–1.3–2.7); p=0.490	..
Percentage reduction (95% CI)	35.0% (0.0%–57.7%)	..	9.3% (–19.8% to 31.4%)	..

SIF=supervised injection facility. Pre-SIF period=Jan 1, 2001, to Sept 20, 2003. Post-SIF period=Sept 21, 2003, to Dec 31, 2005.

\* Expressed in units of per 100 000 person-years.



Safer inhalation kits

# Evidence



ELSEVIER

Available online at [www.sciencedirect.com](http://www.sciencedirect.com)



International Journal of Drug Policy 19 (2008) 255–264



[www.elsevier.com/locate/drugpo](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/drugpo)

Research Paper

*“I inject less as I have easier access to pipes”*  
Injecting, and sharing of crack-smoking materials, decline  
as safer crack-smoking resources are distributed

Lynne Leonard\*, Emily DeRubeis<sup>1</sup>, Linda Pelude<sup>1</sup>, Emily Medd<sup>1</sup>,  
Nick Birkett<sup>1</sup>, Joyce Seto<sup>1</sup>

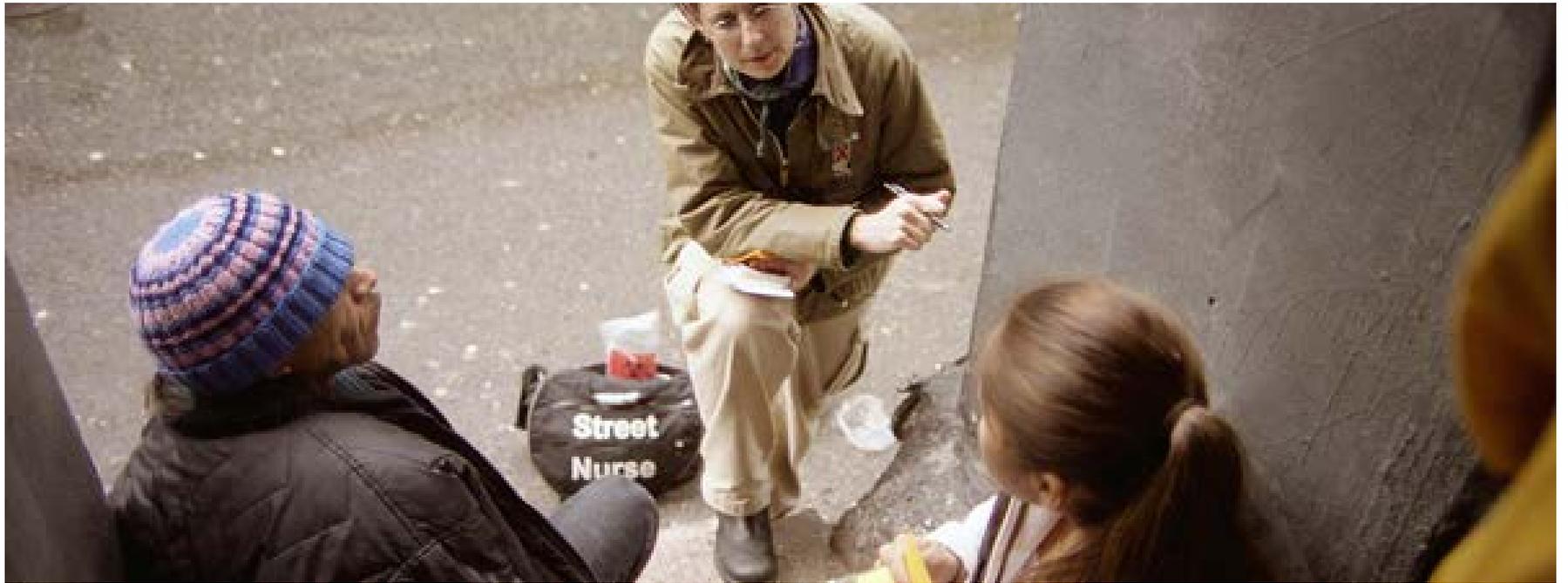
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## Abstract

Among injection drug users (IDUs) in Ottawa, the capital of Canada, prevalence rates of HIV (20.6 percent) and hepatitis C HCV (75.8 percent) are among the highest in Canada. Recent research evidence suggests the potential for HCV and HIV transmission through the multi-person use of crack-smoking implements. On the basis of this scientific evidence, in April 2005, Ottawa’s needle exchange programme (NEP) commenced distributing glass stems, rubber mouthpieces, brass screens, chopsticks, lip balm and chewing gum to reduce the harms associated with smoking crack. This study aims to evaluate the impact of this initiative on a variety of HCV- and HIV-related risk practices. Active, street-recruited IDUs who also smoked crack consented to personal interviews and provided saliva samples for HCV and HIV testing at four



Street and/or peer outreach

# Evidence

SUSAN L. COYLE, PHD ■ RICHARD H. NEEDLE, PHD MPH  
JACQUES NORMAND, PHD

## Outreach-Based HIV Prevention for Injecting Drug Users: A Review of Published Outcome Data

### SYNOPSIS

**Objectives.** Over the past decade, a body of observational research has accrued about the effects of outreach-based human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) interventions for drug users. The authors reviewed the findings related to postintervention behavior changes and integrated findings across studies to provide the best estimate of program impact.

**Methods.** The authors conducted a computerized literature

The majority of 36 published evaluations showed that IDUs in a variety of places and time periods changed their baseline drug-related and sex-related risk behaviors following their participation in a outreach-based HIV risk reduction intervention.

-Coyle, Needle, Normand 1998



Low-threshold opioid substitution and  
heroin-assisted therapy

# Evidence

The NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL of MEDICINE

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

## Diacetylmorphine versus Methadone for the Treatment of Opioid Addiction

Eugenia Oviedo-Joekes, Ph.D., Suzanne Brissette, M.D., David C. Marsh, M.D., Pierre Lauzon, M.D., Daphne Guh, M.Sc., Aslam Anis, Ph.D., and Martin T. Schechter, M.D., Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

### BACKGROUND

Studies in Europe have suggested that injectable diacetylmorphine, the active ingredient in heroin, can be an effective adjunctive treatment for chronic, relapsing opioid dependence.

### METHODS

In an open-label, phase 3, randomized, controlled trial in Canada, we compared injectable diacetylmorphine with oral methadone maintenance therapy in patients

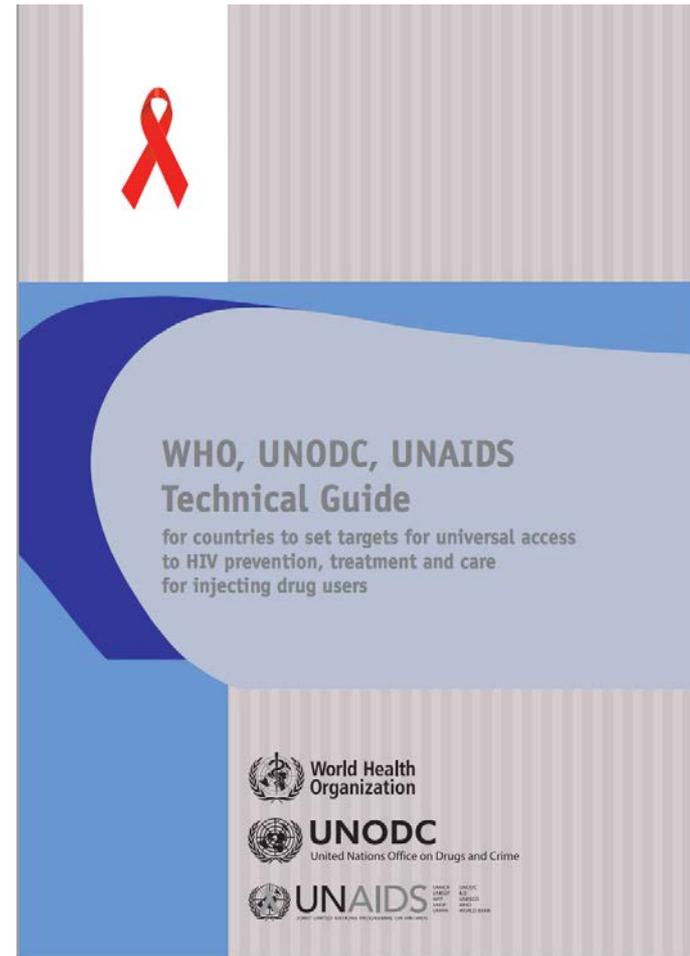
“On the basis of an intention-to-treat analysis, the rate of retention in addiction treatment in the diacetylmorphine group was 87.8%, as compared with 54.1% in the methadone group. The reduction in rates of illicit-drug use or other illegal activity was 67.0% in the diacetylmorphine group and 47.7% in the methadone group”  
- Oviedo-Joekes et al. 2009

From the School of Population and Public Health, University of British Columbia (E.O.-J., D.C.M., A.A., M.T.S.); the Centre for Health Evaluation and Outcome Research, Providence Health Care (E.O.-J., D.C.M., D.G., A.A., M.T.S.); and Vancouver Coastal Health (D.C.M.) — all in Vancouver, BC, Canada; and the Centre de Recherche de l'Université de Mon

# Summary

Intervention	Quantity and quality of evidence		
	Strong	Promising	Equivocal
Syringe exchange	✓		
Take home naloxone		✓	
Supervised injecting facilities	✓		
Safer inhalation kits			✓
Street/peer outreach	✓		
Opioid substitution	✓		
Heroin assisted therapy		✓	

Harm reduction services are pragmatic, effective interventions for reducing risk amongst illicit drug-using populations.



# Popular criticisms (1)

Harm reduction  
'promotes' drug use  
and keeps people  
stuck in a pattern of  
addictive behaviour



# Evidence

Drug and Alcohol Dependence 132 (2013) 1–6

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect



ELSEVIER

Drug and Alcohol Dependence

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/drugalcdep)

## Patterns of injection drug use cessation during syringe exchange services in a Canadian setting

Dan Werb<sup>a</sup>, Thomas Kerr<sup>b</sup>, Jane Buxton<sup>c</sup>, Jeannie Shovellette<sup>c</sup>, Chris Richardson<sup>d</sup>, Julio Montaner<sup>a</sup>, Evan Wood<sup>b,\*</sup>

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### ARTICLE INFO

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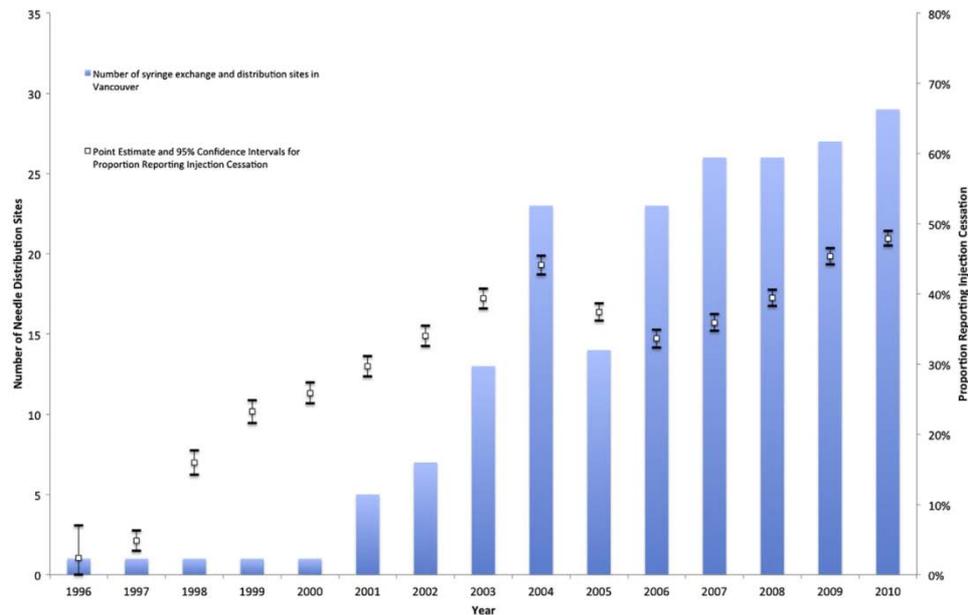
Received in revised form 21 February 2013

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Available online 1 May 2013

### ABSTRACT

**Background:** Needle and syringe programs (NSPs) are effective in reducing HIV and hepatitis C virus (HCV) risk among injection drug users (IDUs). However, the extent to which IDUs report injecting cessation is unclear. **Methods:** Individuals reporting injecting cessation were enrolled in the Vancouver Injection Drug Users Study (VIDUS) between 1996 and 2010. We report the proportion of IDUs reporting injecting cessation in the past 6 months, and the number of syringe exchange and distribution sites in Vancouver, Canada, from 1996 to 2010. **Results:** The proportion of IDUs reporting injecting cessation increased from 1.1% in 1996 to 66.7% in 2010. The number of syringe exchange and distribution sites in Vancouver increased from 1 in 1996 to 29 in 2010. **Conclusions:** The proportion of IDUs reporting injecting cessation increased over time, and this increase was associated with the expansion of syringe exchange and distribution services in Vancouver, Canada. **Keywords:** Injection drug use, Cessation, Syringe exchange, Vancouver, Canada.



\*Proportions adjusted for participant time from recruitment into the Vancouver Injection Drug Users Study

Fig. 1. Proportion of injection drug users reporting injection cessation in past 6 months in Vancouver, Canada, 1996–2010.

# Evidence

## RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

### Circumstances of First Injection Among Illicit Drug Users Accessing a Medically Supervised Safer Injection Facility

Thomas Kerr, PhD, Mark W. Tyndall, MD, ScD, Ruth Zhang, MSc, Calvin Lai, MMath, Julio S.G. Montaner, MD, and Evan Wood, PhD

There have been concerns that safer injecting facilities may promote initiation into injection drug use. We examined length of injecting career and circumstances surrounding initiation into injection drug use among 1065 users of North America's first safer injecting facility and found that the median years of injection drug use were 15.9 years, and that only 1 individual reported performing a first injection at the safer injecting facility. These findings indicate that the safer injecting facility's benefits have not been offset by a rise in initiation into injection drug use. (*Am J Public Health*. 2007;97:1228-1230.

length of injecting career and circumstances surrounding initiation into injection drug use among a cohort of users of a safer injecting facility in Vancouver, British Columbia. The Vancouver safer injecting facility—known as Insite—opened in September 2003 as part of a 3-year pilot study.

The Scientific Evaluation of Supervised Injecting (SEOSI) cohort has been described previously.<sup>12</sup> In brief, the SEOSI participants were a representative sample of users of the Insite safer injecting facility derived through random recruitment at the Insite facility. During study visits, blood samples for HIV and hepatitis C virus testing were drawn and a questionnaire was administered to elicit demographic and other information, including drug use and HIV risk-associated behavior.

#### METHODS

First, we examined length of injecting career. To avoid the potential bias resulting from participants' potential unwillingness to report that their first injection was within the safer injecting facility, we calculated duration of injection drug use by subtracting each participant's age at first injection from the

TABLE 1—  
Into Injecting  
Vancouver  
(N = 1065)  
Supervised  
2003–2007

Median age, y	
Years of injecting	
Gender	
Male	
Female	
Took place at	
Yes	
No	
Used a borrowed	
Yes	
No	
Was assisted w	
Yes	796 (74.7)
No	269 (25.3)

\*All behaviors refer to the time of first injection drug use.  
†Refers to being physically injected by another individual.

was 15.9 (interquartile range = 8.6–25.9).  
High levels of HIV risk-associated behavior

“We examined length of injecting career and circumstances surrounding initiation into injection drug use among 1065 users of North America's first safer injecting facility and found that the median years of injection drug use were 15.9 years, and that only 1 individual reported performing a first injection at the safer injecting facility. These findings indicate that the safer injecting facility's benefits have not been offset by a rise in initiation into injection drug use.”

– Kerr et al. 2007

## Popular criticisms (2)

Harm reduction  
promotes crime and  
community disorder



# Evidence



American Journal of Epidemiology  
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Vol. 145, No. 8  
Printed in U.S.A.

## Discarded Needles Do Not Increase Soon After the Opening of a Needle Exchange Program

Meg C. Doherty,<sup>1</sup> Richard S. Garfein,<sup>1</sup> David Vlahov,<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Junge,<sup>1</sup> Paul J. Rathouz,<sup>2</sup> Noya Galai,<sup>1,3</sup> James C. Anthony,<sup>1,4</sup> and Peter Beilenson<sup>5</sup>

This study examines the effect of a Needle Exchange Program (NEP) on the quantity and geographic distribution of discarded needles on the streets of Baltimore, Maryland, and presents methods to survey discarded needles in the community. A random sample of 32 city blocks located within high-drug-use census tracts, stratified by east and west sides of the city and by proximity to the NEP, was selected for survey. Three teams surveyed the number of needles and the number of drug vials and unbroken glass bottles ("trash") to control for practice effects. Surveillance was conducted prior to initiation of the NEP in August 1994 and 1 and 2 months thereafter. Over the three study periods, the absolute count of discarded needles was 106, 130, and 128, respectively; the number of vials and bottles was 3,048, 3,825, and 3,796, respectively. The initial nonstatistically significant increase in needles (mean change = 0.38, 95% confidence interval (CI) -0.18 to 0.93) was offset by accounting for background trash. Regression models fitted with the generalized estimating equation method, which accounted for within-block correlation over time, showed no significant increase in the number of needles after adjustment for trash during the first 2 months of the NEP's operation. These data suggest that the initiation of NEPs does not result in an increase in the number of discarded needles on the street. *Am J Epidemiol* 1997;145:730-7.

environmental exposure; HIV; injections; needle exchange programs; substance abuse, intravenous

Injection drug users (IDUs) are at high risk for the acquisition of blood-borne pathogens, including hu- to provide IDUs with sterile replacements for their used and potentially contaminated needles, typically

Overall, this study found no significant increase in the number of discarded needles over 32 different city blocks in Baltimore City from prior to the opening of the NEP through the first 2 months of its operation.

Doherty et al. 1997

# Evidence

*Research*

*Recherche*

## Changes in public order after the opening of a medically supervised safer injecting facility for illicit injection drug users

Evan Wood, Thomas Kerr, Will Small, Kathy Li, David C. Marsh, Julio S.G. Montaner, Mark W. Tyndall

### Abstract

**Background:** North America's first medically supervised safer injecting facility for illicit injection drug users was opened in Vancouver on Sept. 22, 2003. Although similar facilities exist in a number of European cities and in Sydney, Australia, no standardized evaluations of their impact have been presented in the scientific literature.

**Methods:** Using a standardized prospective data collection protocol, we measured injection-related public order problems during the 6 weeks before and the 12 weeks after the opening of the safer injecting facility in Vancouver. We measured changes in the number of drug users injecting in public, publicly discarded syringes and injection-related litter. We used Poisson log-linear regression models to evaluate changes in these public order indicators while considering potential confounding variables such as police presence and rainfall.

**Results:** In stratified linear regression models, the 12-week period after the facility's opening was independently associated with reductions in the number of drug users injecting in public ( $p <$

ities, where injection drug users (IDUs) can inject openly obtained illicit drugs under the supervision of staff, have been established in an effort to reduce the community and public health impacts of illicit drug use.<sup>14</sup> These facilities IDUs are typically provided with injecting equipment, emergency care in the event of overdose, as well as primary care services and referral to addiction treatment.<sup>15</sup> Although anecdotal reports have suggested that such sites may improve public order,<sup>12</sup> reduce the number of deaths from overdose<sup>16</sup> and improve access to care,<sup>17</sup> no standardized evaluations of their impact are available in the scientific literature.<sup>18</sup>

On Sept. 22, 2003, health officials in Vancouver opened a government-sanctioned safer injecting facility as pilot project. The facility, the first in North America, is centrally located in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, which is the most impoverished urban neighbourhood in Canada and home to well-documented overdose and HIV epidemics

“In stratified linear regression models, the 12-week period after the facility's opening was independently associated with reductions in the number of drug users injecting in public, publicly discarded syringes and injection-related litter.” – Wood et al. 2004

# Evidence

## Substance Abuse Treatment, Prevention, and Policy



Short Report

### Impact of a medically supervised safer injecting facility on dealing and other drug-related crime

Evan Wood\*<sup>1,2</sup>, Mark W Tyndall<sup>1,2</sup>, Calvin Lai<sup>1</sup>, Julio SG Montaner<sup>1,2</sup>, Thomas Kerr<sup>1,2</sup>

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Email: Evan Wood\* - ewood@cfenet.ubc.ca; Mark W Tyndall - mtyndall@cfenet.ubc.ca; Calvin Lai - calvin@cfenet.ubc.ca; Julio SG Montaner - jmontaner@cfenet.ubc.ca; Thomas Kerr - tkerr@cfenet.ubc.ca

\* Corresponding author

Published: 08 May 2006

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This article is available from: <http://www.substanceabusepolicy.com/content/1/1/13>

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Accepted: 08 May 2006

“We examined crime rates in the neighborhood where the SIF is located in the year before versus the year after the SIF opened. No increases were seen with respect to drug trafficking (124 vs. 116) or assaults/robbery (174 vs. 180), although a decline in vehicle break-ins/vehicle theft was observed (302 vs. 227). The SIF was not associated with increased drug trafficking or crimes commonly linked to drug use. –Wood et al. 2006

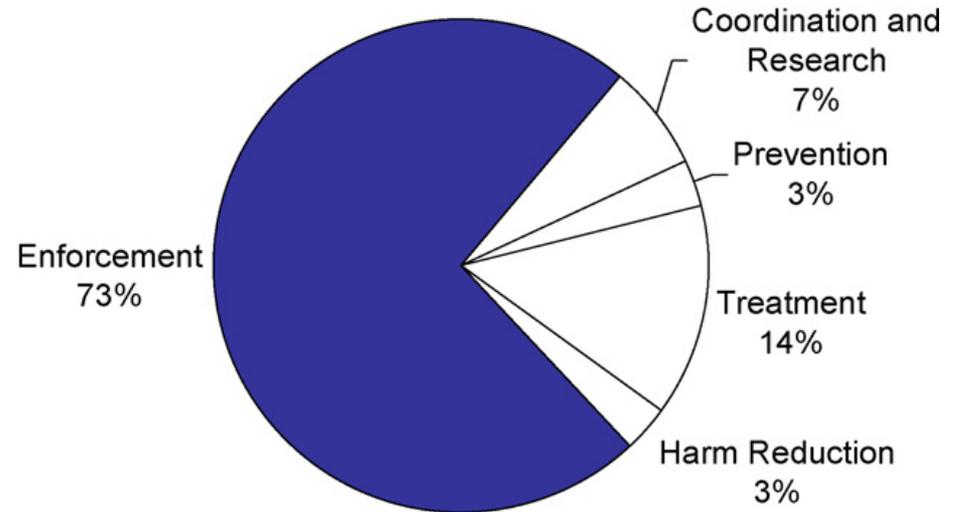
### 3. Canadian harm reduction services



Best characterized as a poorly resourced patchwork of provincial and territorial services that are highly variable with respect to types of interventions and governance

## Poorly resourced?

- DeBeck et al. (2009) analyzed Canadian federal funding allocations in Canada's Anti-Drug Strategy
- Base Federal drug strategy expenditures for 2004/05 presented
- New allocations provided in 2007 and 2008 still would amount to enforcement receiving ~28 times more funding than harm reduction services



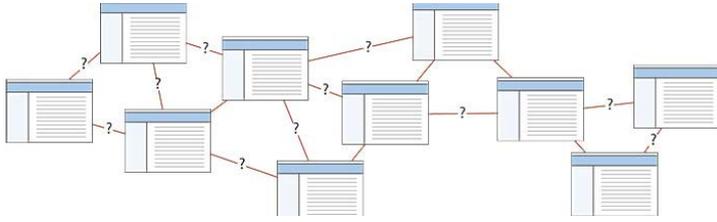
DeBeck et al. (2009). *Int J Drug Policy*, 20, 188-191.

## **A patchwork of services?**

- In Alberta, only six communities have syringe exchange programs
- In Ontario only ~one third of public health units provide syringes
- In large parts of Manitoba and Nunavut, syringe exchange programs are not available at all

## **Service variation?**

- Until recently, naloxone distribution programs only existed in Edmonton, Toronto and Ottawa (BC pilot program underway)
- Canada currently has only two supervised injection facilities, both located in Vancouver
- A recent review of provincial/territorial methadone policies and programs concluded that low threshold opioid substitution programs are not provided consistently across Canada



## Governance?

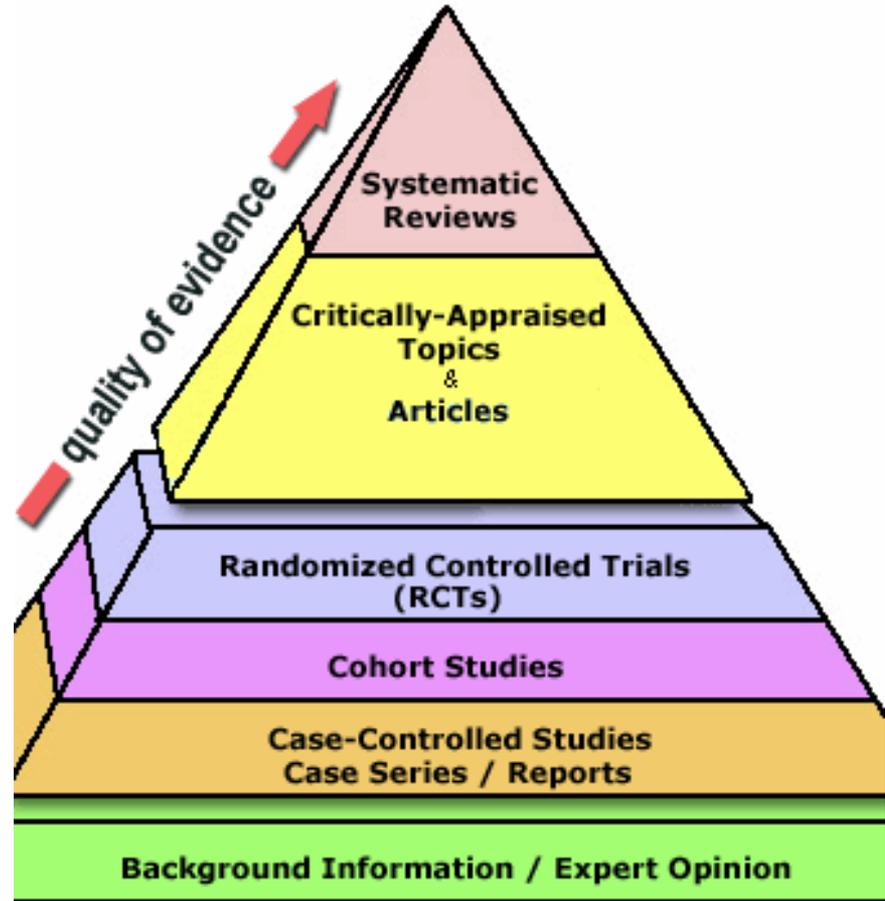
- Little progress has been made integrating harm reduction services within treatment programs and/or other services and supports for illicit drug users
- Except for BC, in most provinces/territories, policy direction and funding for harm reduction services mainly flows from agencies or programs designed to address blood borne pathogens rather than addiction and mental health

## 4. New research directions

# What evidence is most relevant?

Research in this area implicitly adopts an **instrumental-rational** model of health policy making.

This approach, closely associated with evidence-based medicine and health economics, narrowly construes the types of evidence (e.g., efficacy, effectiveness, costs, iatrogenic effects) deemed to be relevant for constructing policies to optimize health services for illicit drug users



# Evidence to date...

An impressive (though certainly not complete) international evidence base supports the effectiveness of harm reduction interventions.

For most health topics, this would support relatively unproblematic uptake of these approaches into routine health care via KTE

Yet the approach continues to be poorly supported, variable across jurisdictions, and is not systematically organized. Why?





Harm reduction services are a prototypical example of *morality policy* in the health arena, i.e., policy making that involves clashes of core values about the legitimacy of providing certain kinds of health services to a target population.

As such, policy-making shaping harm reduction services for illicit drug users is more resistant than other services (e.g., hip replacements) to instrumental-rational data and recommendations advanced in the extant intervention literature.



# Conclusions

1. There is solid (but not completely conclusive) evidence of the effectiveness of many harm reduction interventions
2. Despite this international evidence base, Canada has a poorly resourced patchwork of provincial and territorial harm reduction services that are highly variable with respect to types of interventions and governance
3. Harm reduction services research challenges traditional models of knowledge transfer and exchange. As a prototypical morality policy making area, traditional KTE is limited