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Harm Reduction in Social Work Practice with People Who Use Drugs: Ethical Frameworks and Intervention Strategies

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Abstract

The intersecting crises of opioid-related overdose mortality, rising stimulant use, persistent injection-related infectious disease, and the human costs of criminalised drug policy have produced an urgent need for evidence-informed, ethically grounded social work response to substance use. This paper examines ethical frameworks and intervention strategies grounded in the harm-reduction tradition for practice with people who use drugs. Through a comprehensive literature review and theoretical synthesis, this study explores the intersection of social work values, harm-reduction philosophy, and the lived realities of drug-using individuals and communities. Key findings indicate that harm-reduction approaches characterised by pragmatism, respect for autonomy, and a commitment to meeting people where they are produce robust reductions in overdose mortality, blood-borne virus transmission, and structural marginalisation, while remaining fully compatible with the long-term goal of recovery for those who pursue it. The paper proposes a six-step ethical decision-making framework that integrates harm-reduction principles with established social work ethics, and identifies critical intervention strategies including needle and syringe services, opioid agonist and other medication-assisted treatment, motivational interviewing and engagement, peer-support and recovery-oriented systems, and advocacy for drug policy reform. Implications for social work education, agency policy, and structural advocacy are discussed, with emphasis on confronting the stigma, criminalisation, and structural inequities that continue to drive avoidable drug-related harm.

Keywords:- Harm Reduction, Substance Use, People Who Use Drugs, Opioid Agonist Treatment, Motivational Interviewing, Drug Policy Reform.

Introduction

Drug-related harm has emerged as one of the most pressing public-health concerns of the twenty-first century. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime estimates that approximately 296 million people used a drug at least once in 2021, with around 39 million experiencing drug use disorders, and overdose deaths reaching record levels in several high-income countries amid the proliferation of fentanyl and other synthetic opioids in the unregulated drug supply (UNODC 2023). The Lancet Commission on Public Health and International Drug Policy concluded that decades of punitive drug policy have produced documentable harm to health, human rights, and development, while failing to reduce drug supply or demand to the extent claimed (Csete et al. 2016).

Social work has been engaged with substance use throughout its history, but the dominant orientation of much of that engagement has been shaped by abstinence-only treatment models, mandated programmes within

criminal-justice pipelines, and conceptions of addiction that emphasise individual moral failing or chronic disease without sufficient attention to social and structural determinants (Csiernik 2016). The emergence of harm reduction as both a philosophy and a set of practices has offered a substantive alternative, one rooted in pragmatism, respect for autonomy, and the imperative to reduce drug-related death and disease whether or not a person is ready or able to stop using (Marlatt 1998; Hawk et al. 2017).

Harm-reduction practice raises distinctive ethical questions for social workers. The principle of meeting people where they are can sit in tension with established expectations of treatment goal-setting, mandated reporting, and the protection of third parties; the recognition of drug use as a continuum complicates conventional risk frameworks; and the political economy of criminalised drug policy implicates practitioners in structures whose harms they otherwise seek to mitigate (Vakharia and Little 2017). Existing professional codes provide essential grounding but require careful extension to address the realities of contemporary harm-reduction practice.

This paper addresses the critical question: How can social workers ethically and effectively practise from a harm-reduction orientation with people who use drugs while upholding professional standards, respecting client autonomy, reducing preventable death and disease, and contributing to the structural transformations that the drug-policy field increasingly requires?

The research objectives are threefold:

- To synthesise existing literature on harm reduction, substance use disorders, and social work response;
- To develop an ethical framework specific to harm-reduction practice with people who use drugs; and
- To identify evidence-informed intervention strategies suitable for the distinctive challenges of this practice domain.

This inquiry is particularly urgent given that the unregulated drug supply has become substantially more toxic in many jurisdictions, that overdose has become a leading cause of preventable death among working-age adults in several countries, and that the criminalisation of drug use continues to produce inequitable burdens on racialised, marginalised, and economically disadvantaged communities (Volkow and Blanco 2023).

Literature Review

Scope and Patterns of Drug-Related Harm

Drug-related harm encompasses overdose mortality, blood-borne infectious disease, chronic non-communicable disease, mental-health comorbidities, social and economic consequences for individuals and families, and the broad harms of incarceration and criminalisation. The opioid overdose crisis in North America has produced unprecedented mortality, with synthetic opioids implicated in the majority of recent overdose deaths and substantial increases in fatalities involving stimulants, often as a result of contamination of the unregulated supply (Volkow and Blanco 2023). Other regions face distinct configurations of harm, including widespread injection-related HIV and hepatitis C transmission in parts of Eastern Europe and Asia, and rising amphetamine-type stimulant use across South and South-East Asia (UNODC 2023).

The burden of drug-related harm is unevenly distributed. Racialised communities, Indigenous peoples, people experiencing homelessness, people with serious mental illness, sex workers, sexual and gender minorities, and people involved in the criminal-justice system bear disproportionate harm in many contexts (Hart 2021). Structural conditions including poverty, housing instability, trauma exposure, and the criminalisation of drug use itself are robust predictors of drug-related harm independent of substance-use patterns, a finding consistent with what Alexander (2008) termed the dislocation theory of addiction.

Evolution of Harm Reduction as Philosophy and Practice

Harm reduction emerged in its contemporary form in the 1980s, principally in response to the HIV epidemic among people who inject drugs in parts of Europe, Australia, and Canada (Marlatt 1998). The framework rests on a set of widely articulated principles: acceptance that drug use is part of human life, focus on reducing harm rather than necessarily reducing use, respect for the autonomy and dignity of people who use drugs, meaningful inclusion of drug users in service design and advocacy, pragmatic engagement with the realities of drug markets, and commitment to social justice (Harm Reduction International 2022). These principles inform a wide range of interventions including needle and syringe services, supervised consumption facilities, drug-checking services, take-home naloxone distribution, opioid agonist treatment, and low-threshold engagement and outreach.

The evidence base for harm reduction has matured substantially. Systematic reviews demonstrate that needle and syringe programmes are highly effective in reducing HIV and hepatitis C transmission among people

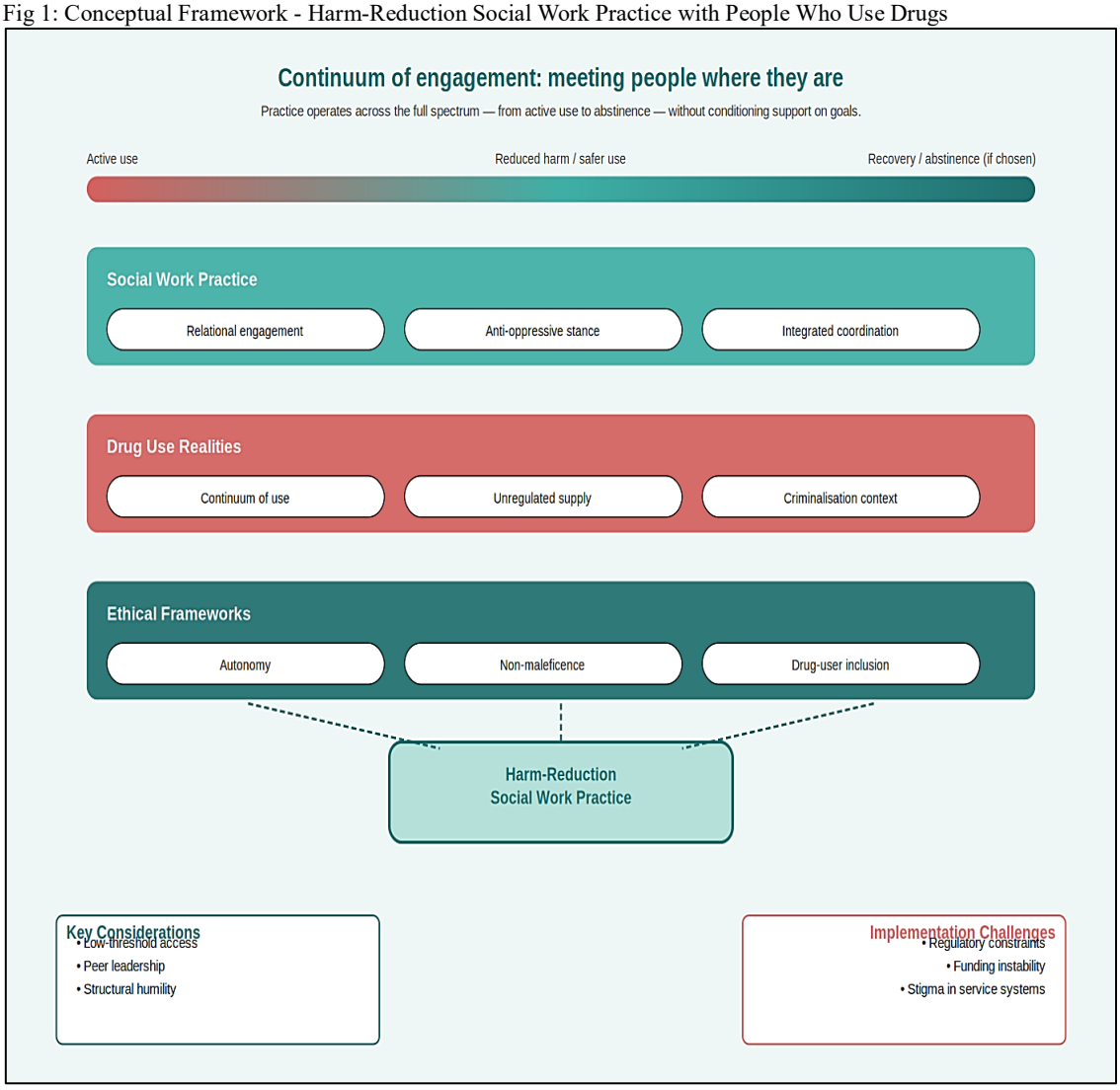
who inject drugs (MacArthur et al. 2014). Opioid agonist treatment with methadone or buprenorphine produces large reductions in overdose mortality, substantial improvements in retention in care, and significant reductions in injection-related infectious disease (Sordo et al. 2017). Supervised consumption facilities have been associated with reductions in overdose mortality, public injection, and emergency-service utilisation across multiple international evaluations (Potier et al. 2014). Take-home naloxone distribution reduces opioid-related mortality at community and population levels (McDonald and Strang 2016).

Critiques of Abstinence-Only Frameworks and the Case for Pluralism

The literature increasingly recognises the limitations of abstinence-only frameworks as the sole or default orientation for substance-use practice. Mutual-help fellowships such as Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous remain valued by many people in recovery and have demonstrated efficacy for those who engage, but population-level outcomes when abstinence is imposed as a precondition for service access are poor, and people who cannot or will not abstain are frequently excluded from the supports most likely to reduce their risk of death (Kelly, Humphreys, and Ferri 2020). Tatarsky and Marlatt's (2010) articulation of harm-reduction therapy explicitly rejects the dichotomy of harm reduction and recovery, framing harm reduction as inclusive of abstinence among the goals an individual may pursue.

Recovery-oriented systems of care, as articulated by White (2009) and others, have moved much of the field toward a pluralist position in which multiple pathways are recognised as legitimate and in which recovery is defined by improvement in health, well-being, and citizenship rather than by abstinence alone. The concept of recovery capital the internal and external resources available to support change provides a useful framework for assessing and building the conditions that make recovery sustainable across diverse pathways (Granfield and Cloud 1999; Best and Laudet 2010).

Fig 1: Conceptual Framework - Harm-Reduction Social Work Practice with People Who Use Drugs



Theoretical Framework

This analysis draws on three theoretical perspectives:

- The biopsychosocial model of substance use and recovery;
- The transtheoretical model and motivational interviewing; and
- Critical drug studies and anti-oppressive social work.

The biopsychosocial model situates substance use and substance-use disorders at the intersection of neurobiological, psychological, and social processes (Engel 1977; Volkow, Koob, and McLellan 2016). Neurobiological accounts illuminate the mechanisms through which sustained use of certain substances produces adaptations in reward, stress, and executive-function systems that can sustain use even in the face of substantial costs. Psychological dimensions encompass developmental trajectories, trauma exposure, co-occurring mental health conditions, and cognitive and behavioural patterns. Social dimensions include family, peer, community, and structural conditions. The biopsychosocial model does not commit the practitioner to any single account of causation; it requires attention to all three domains and to their interaction in any given person's situation.

The transtheoretical model of change, developed by Prochaska and DiClemente (1983), describes change as a process unfolding through stages of pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, maintenance, and sometimes relapse. Motivational interviewing, developed by Miller and Rollnick (2013), provides a clinical method aligned with this developmental view: a collaborative, person-centred conversational style for strengthening a person's own motivation and commitment to change. Both frameworks are entirely compatible with harm-reduction practice, which treats change as a process that the practitioner supports rather than imposes.

Critical drug studies and anti-oppressive social work extend these clinical orientations by foregrounding the political economy of drug policy and the structural production of drug-related harm. Critical scholarship documents how the criminalisation of particular substances has historically tracked racial, class, and colonial hierarchies; how punitive enforcement reproduces those hierarchies; and how the conditions that drive drug-related harm housing instability, economic precarity, traumatic exposure, racism are themselves products of structural arrangements that practice can and should engage (Hart 2021; Mullaly and Dupré 2019). An anti-oppressive lens treats harm-reduction practice as inseparable from advocacy for drug-policy reform.

Figure 1 illustrates the synthesised conceptual framework. Social work practice principles, the realities of drug use in the contemporary unregulated supply environment, and ethical frameworks intersect at the centre on harm-reduction social work practice, which must continuously negotiate implementation challenges (regulatory constraints, funding instability, stigma in service systems) and key practice considerations (low-threshold access, peer leadership, structural humility) distinctive to this domain.

Methodological Approach

This study employs a theoretical synthesis methodology, integrating interdisciplinary literature from social work, public health, addiction medicine, criminology, anthropology of drug use, and drug-user-led scholarship. A systematic literature search was conducted across Social Work Abstracts, PsycINFO, MEDLINE, Web of Science, and CINAHL, covering publications from 2005 to 2025, with selective inclusion of foundational earlier work in harm reduction and motivational interviewing. Search terms included combinations of: 'harm reduction,' 'people who use drugs,' 'opioid agonist treatment,' 'syringe services,' 'overdose prevention,' 'motivational interviewing,' 'recovery,' 'drug policy,' and 'social work.' Inclusion criteria required peer-reviewed empirical studies, theoretical analyses, systematic reviews, authoritative grey literature from intergovernmental and drug-user-led organisations, and formally archived testimony where relevant.

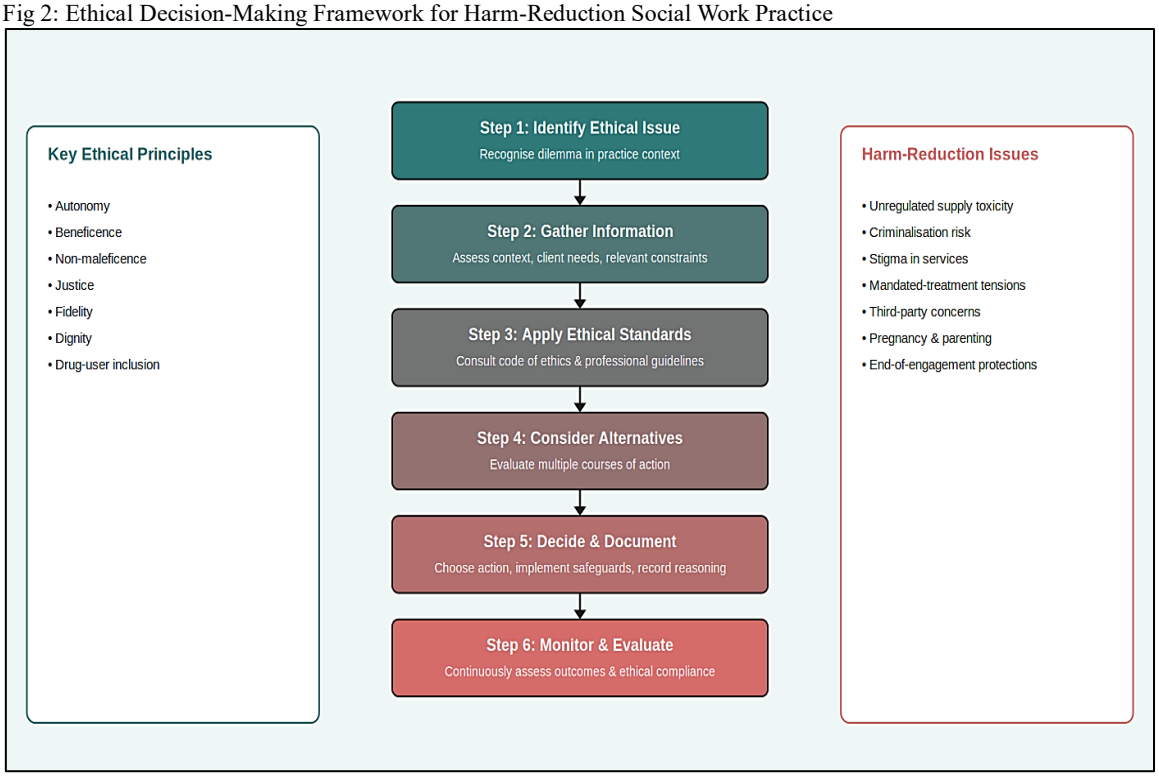
The analysis followed a thematic synthesis approach, identifying recurring themes across the literature relating to ethical tensions, evidence on intervention effectiveness, and structural conditions of harm. Critical discourse analysis was applied to surface assumptions embedded in clinical and policy texts regarding the moral status of drug use, the appropriate goals of treatment, and the authority of professional versus drug-user knowledge. The proposed ethical decision-making framework and intervention strategies were developed through iterative refinement, ensuring alignment with the NASW Code of Ethics, the international principles of harm reduction, and emerging drug-policy reform frameworks.

Ethical Framework for Harm-Reduction Practice

Based on the literature synthesis and theoretical analysis, a six-step ethical decision-making framework is proposed (Figure 2). This framework extends established bioethical and social work decision-making models

to incorporate the distinctive features of harm-reduction practice while maintaining consistency with the profession's ethical principles.

Fig 2: Ethical Decision-Making Framework for Harm-Reduction Social Work Practice



Key Ethical Principles Extended to Harm-Reduction Practice

Self-Determination and Drug-User Autonomy

Respect for self-determination acquires particular weight in harm-reduction practice, where decades of paternalistic and coercive intervention have shaped client expectations of professional encounter. Ethical practice begins from the position that people who use drugs are the authorities on their own lives, that drug use is one feature among many in a person's situation, and that change is best supported through engagement rather than imposition. The practitioner's role is to expand information, options, and material support available to the client, not to determine which option the client should choose. Even when a practitioner judges a particular course of action to be in the client's interest, the default ethical posture is to communicate that view honestly, support the client's deliberation, and continue the relationship regardless of the decision made.

Non-Maleficence and the Duty to Prevent Death

Non-maleficence in harm-reduction practice takes a distinctive shape. The most important harms to be prevented are overdose death, blood-borne virus transmission, and the harms of incarceration, family separation, and service exclusion. These harms are reliably reduced by interventions needle and syringe services, opioid agonist treatment, naloxone distribution, supervised consumption that some traditional frameworks have characterised as enabling continued use. The ethical analysis is unambiguous: practices that demonstrably reduce death and disease are non-maleficent regardless of whether they accord with abstinence-oriented preference, and the refusal to offer them where they are evidence-supported is itself a form of harm (Hawk et al. 2017).

Confidentiality and Mandatory Reporting Tensions

Confidentiality is particularly important in harm-reduction practice given the criminalised status of drug use in most jurisdictions. The credibility of harm-reduction services with the populations they exist to serve depends on a clear, defensible, and consistently practised confidentiality framework. Mandatory reporting obligations particularly those concerning children, intimate-partner violence, and certain forms of harm to others create unavoidable tensions and must be disclosed clearly at the outset of contact. Practitioners should clarify with clients the precise scope and limits of confidentiality, advocate for reforms that minimise unnecessary reporting where it undermines safety, and document reasoning carefully when discretion is exercised.

Stigma, Dignity, and Person-First Practice

Stigma is one of the principal mediators of drug-related harm. Internalised stigma constrains help-seeking; enacted stigma in service systems produces avoidance and disengagement; structural stigma in policy and law shapes opportunities across the life course (Volkow and Blanco 2023). Ethical practice requires deliberate countervailing effort: person-first language that does not reduce people to their drug use, dignified physical and relational environments, recognition of clients' strengths and accomplishments alongside their challenges, and supervisory and team cultures that surface and address stigmatising attitudes among practitioners themselves.

Cultural Humility and Structural Determinants

The populations most affected by drug-related harm are also frequently those most marginalised on other axes by race, ethnicity, Indigenous status, sexuality, gender identity, class, housing, and migration. Cultural humility, integrated with structural analysis, requires that practitioners engage clients' lives in their full social and political context rather than as decontextualised case material. Practice should be informed by partnership with drug-user-led organisations, by recognition of community-specific harms and resilience, and by readiness to engage the structural conditions including drug policy itself that produce disproportionate exposure to harm.

Table 1. Ethical Challenges and Mitigation Strategies in Harm-Reduction Social Work Practice

Ethical Challenge	**Practice-Specific Risks**	**Mitigation Strategy**
Paternalism Versus Autonomy	Practitioner assumptions about appropriate goals override client preferences; abstinence imposed as precondition for service; clients exit service when unable to comply.	Centre the client as authority on their own goals; offer the full range of evidence-based options; sustain engagement regardless of use status; document client-defined goals.
Mandatory Reporting Tensions	Reporting obligations deter disclosure; clients avoid services for fear of child-welfare or criminal-justice consequences; trust in confidentiality eroded.	Disclose reporting limits clearly at first contact; use minimum necessary information; consult ethics resources before discretionary reports; advocate for reform of unnecessarily punitive statutes.
Mandated-Treatment Contexts	Court- or employer-mandated participation undermines voluntary engagement; clients comply outwardly without meaningful change; punitive consequences for relapse.	Clarify the limits of practitioner authority within mandates; advocate for harm-reduction-informed mandates; protect clinical space from punitive surveillance; document genuine engagement separately from compliance.
Stigma in Service Systems	Stigmatising language in records, dismissive practitioner attitudes, and physical-environment cues produce avoidance and disengagement; internalised stigma deepens.	Adopt person-first language across documentation; conduct team-level stigma audits; design welcoming environments; embed lived-experience leadership in service design and training.
Pregnancy and Parenting Contexts	Pregnant and parenting clients face heightened surveillance and family-separation risk; fear of child-welfare involvement deters engagement; treatment access remains inadequate.	Provide non-coercive, evidence-based prenatal and parenting support; coordinate care across systems with clear consent; advocate for policy that treats substance use as a health issue rather than child-welfare trigger.

Practitioner Capacity and Vicarious Trauma	Sustained exposure to overdose, loss, and structural violence produces vicarious trauma and burnout; workforce attrition is high; moral injury accumulates.	Build supervision and peer-support structures; normalise grief and vicarious trauma; embed reflective practice; advocate for adequate workforce investment and caseload limits.

Note. This table synthesises key ethical challenges identified in the literature review with proposed mitigation strategies aligned with harm-reduction principles, social work ethical standards, and emerging drug-policy reform frameworks.

Intervention Strategies in Harm-Reduction Social Work

Drawing from the evidence base and the proposed ethical framework, several intervention strategies emerge as particularly suited to harm-reduction social work practice. These strategies integrate direct service, clinical method, peer-led support, and structural advocacy, in keeping with the multi-level orientation that the field's evidence base supports.

Needle and Syringe Services and Safer-Use Education

Needle and syringe services are among the most extensively evaluated public-health interventions of the past forty years. They provide sterile injecting equipment, safer-use supplies, naloxone, wound care, blood-borne virus testing and linkage to treatment, and low-threshold relational contact for populations otherwise disconnected from health and social services (MacArthur et al. 2014). The social work contribution to such services includes case coordination, advocacy in housing and benefits systems, mental-health engagement, and brief intervention for those open to it. Effectiveness depends on adequate coverage, geographic accessibility, and non-stigmatising service culture.

Opioid Agonist Treatment and Medication-Assisted Treatment

Opioid agonist treatment with methadone or buprenorphine produces some of the largest documented effects of any intervention in addiction medicine: substantial reductions in overdose mortality, retention in care, reductions in injection-related infectious disease, and improvements in social and occupational functioning (Sordo et al. 2017). Naltrexone is a further option for some patients in some contexts. Effective social work practice in medication-assisted treatment includes engagement and induction support, coordination across primary care and behavioural health, attention to social determinants that influence retention, and advocacy against the regulatory barriers including prescribing restrictions, dosing limitations, and stigma that continue to limit access in many jurisdictions.

Motivational Interviewing and Engagement

Motivational interviewing provides a clinical method well suited to harm-reduction practice: a collaborative, person-centred conversational style that strengthens the client's own motivation for change while honouring autonomy (Miller and Rollnick 2013). The method is compatible with any goal the client identifies from safer use to reduced use to periods of abstinence and is widely applicable across substance categories, populations, and service settings. Effective application requires sustained training, supervision, and fidelity monitoring, and the integration of motivational interviewing with the broader relational stance of harm reduction rather than as a stand-alone technique.

Peer Support and Recovery-Oriented Systems

Peer-support roles occupied by people with lived experience of drug use, mutual-help recovery, or both have expanded substantially across harm-reduction and recovery services in recent years. Peer workers contribute distinctive capacities for engagement, credibility, and relational depth that complement professional practice (Bassuk et al. 2016). Effective implementation requires meaningful inclusion of peer workers in service design and governance, adequate compensation and supervision, attention to the workplace conditions that support sustained peer practice, and resistance to tokenistic deployment. Mutual-help fellowships, where they are accessible and welcoming, contribute further to recovery-oriented systems for those who choose to engage.

Advocacy and Drug Policy Reform

Harm-reduction practice in the contemporary moment cannot be confined to direct service. The structural conditions that produce drug-related harm criminalisation, the unregulated supply, housing precarity, racialised enforcement, restrictive prescribing regulations are political configurations that direct service cannot alter on its own. Advocacy-oriented strategies include supporting drug-user-led organising, contributing professional voice

to policy debate, partnering with public-health and human-rights coalitions, and engaging substantive policy reform in areas including decriminalisation, regulated supply, sentencing reform, and the reduction of regulatory barriers to evidence-based treatment (Csete et al. 2016).

Discussion

This analysis reveals both the maturity of the harm-reduction evidence base and the substantial work remaining to embed harm-reduction principles in social work practice and the systems within which it operates. The interventions reviewed here needle and syringe services, opioid agonist treatment, naloxone distribution, motivational interviewing, peer-led engagement, and advocacy are among the most rigorously evaluated in the contemporary social and behavioural sciences, and their public-health effects are well established.

The proposed ethical decision-making framework emphasises systematic engagement with the distinctive features of harm-reduction practice autonomy-respecting engagement, the duty to prevent death across the continuum of use, mandatory-reporting tensions, stigma in service systems, and the structural conditions of drug-related harm while remaining grounded in core social work values. Key implications include the need for clear agency policy that protects harm-reduction practice, sustained funding for low-threshold services, integration of medication-assisted treatment across health and social-care settings, and the meaningful inclusion of people with lived and living experience of drug use in organisational and policy governance.

Implementation must address equity concerns within drug-related harm and within service systems. The communities most exposed to harm racialised populations, Indigenous peoples, people experiencing homelessness, sexual and gender minorities are also frequently those least well served by existing programmes. Cultural humility, partnership with community-specific organisations, drug-user-led leadership, and explicit attention to the racialised history and present of drug policy are not optional but core requirements of ethical practice (Hart 2021).

Professional competence remains a critical pressure point. Few accredited social work curricula provide systematic coverage of harm reduction, medication-assisted treatment, motivational interviewing fidelity, or drug-policy analysis. Continuing-education infrastructure, supervision frameworks attentive to vicarious trauma and moral injury, and recruitment strategies that include people with lived experience of drug use are urgently required.

Limitations and Future Directions

This theoretical analysis is limited by the unevenness of the evidence base across substances, populations, and intervention modalities. The strongest evidence concerns opioid-related interventions and HIV prevention; evidence on stimulant-specific interventions, harm reduction for pregnant and parenting people, and outcomes in low- and middle-income contexts is more limited. The proposed framework requires empirical validation through participatory case studies, longitudinal outcome research, and comparative work across diverse policy environments.

Future research should examine the implementation of harm-reduction approaches in jurisdictions with limited prior experience; the experiences of under-served populations within harm-reduction services; the long-term outcomes of expanded medication-assisted treatment access; the effects of decriminalisation and regulated-supply approaches on health and social outcomes; and the conditions under which peer leadership is genuinely supported. Research designed and led by people with lived experience of drug use is essential to refining both theory and practice.

Conclusion

Drug-related harm persists not because the harm is invisible or the response untested, but because the political-economic conditions that produce harm criminalisation, marginalisation, an increasingly toxic unregulated supply, and pervasive stigma remain largely intact. This paper has argued that ethical social work response requires frameworks that integrate harm-reduction philosophy, motivational engagement, peer leadership, and structural advocacy, and that the profession's ethical commitments require sustained engagement with both the immediate risks people face and the conditions that produce those risks.

Core social work values service, social justice, dignity and worth of persons, importance of human relationships, integrity, and competence remain foundational. The challenge lies in operationalising these values in a practice domain shaped by criminalisation, stigma, and a long professional history that has not always honoured them. The frameworks and strategies proposed here are intended as a contribution to ongoing professional discourse rather than a closing of it.

As social workers, educators, researchers, and policy makers continue to refine practice in this field, the imperative is clear: people who use drugs must be recognised as authorities on their own lives, services must keep

them alive while leaving the door open to every form of change they may choose, and practice must remain in steady connection with the structural transformations that the eventual reduction of preventable drug-related harm will require.

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