

Original Research

Harm Reduction Policy Strategies for Addressing HIV/HCV Prevention Among People Who Inject Drugs in Prison and Other Closed Settings: Case of Romania

Marco Barracchia,¹ Richard Bódi,¹ Göksun Işıl,¹ Maurice Jägers,¹ Marlijn Kremer,¹ Ömer Faruk Sönmez,¹ Jessica Neicun^{2,3}

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Corresponding author: Marco Barracchia

Faculty of Health, Medicine and Life Sciences, Maastricht University Address: Universiteitssingel 40, 6229 ER Maastricht, The Netherlands

Email: m.barracchia@student.maastrichtuniversity.nl

¹ Department of International Health, Care and Public Health Research Institute (CAPHRI) Maastricht University, Maastricht, The Netherlands.

² Centre de recherche en santé publique (CReSP), Montréal, Québec, Canada

³ Département de médecine sociale et préventive, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada



Abstract

Background: People who inject drugs (PWID) in prisons and other closed settings are disproportionately affected by bloodborne viruses (BBV) such as Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Hepatitis C (HCV), mainly acquired through needle sharing and compounded by limited access to healthcare services. Romania, despite having high prevalence rates of HIV and HCV among its prison populations, has experienced a decline in harm reduction measures due to underfunding, stigma, and political neglect.

Methods: This policy brief examines evidence-informed interventions, including needle and syringe programmes (NSP), opioid substitution therapy (OST), HIV-HCV testing and treatment and naloxone provision, all of which have demonstrated significant efficacy in reducing HIV-HCV transmission and overdose deaths in prison settings. Priority levels for interventions were determined based on effectiveness, cost-effectiveness, and feasibility within the Romanian prison context, drawing from existing frameworks from EUDA, WHO and the Global Fund and best-practice models from Australia and Spain.

Results and conclusion: Despite the proven benefits, Romania's prison system lacks sufficient implementation of these measures, posing substantial public health risks. We argue for the urgent integration of harm reduction policies specifically targeting people who inject drugs in prisons and other closed settings through healthcare strategies, combined with structural reforms and stigma reduction measures. These interventions are essential not only for protecting the health of people in prisons but also for mitigating HIV-HCV transmission risks in the broader community, supporting the need for sustainable, evidence-informed approaches to prison healthcare reform.

Keywords: Harm reduction, Drug use, Prisons, HIV/HCV prevention

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Background

People in prison and other closed settings are more likely to have used drugs at some point in their lives or to suffer from drug-related problems. According to the United Nations, around 50% of people in prison inject drugs [1]. Injecting drug use is associated with a higher risk of acquiring and transmitting Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Hepatitis C virus (HCV) [2,3]. This is particularly true when needles, syringes or injecting equipment are shared [4]. The transmission of HIV and HCV through injecting drug use is a significant issue in prisons. HIV prevalence among prisoners varies by continent, from 6% in Africa to 3% in Asia and 5% in Europe [5]. Women make up 5-10% of the world's prison population, and HIV prevalence rates are often higher (double or more) among women than men, due to multiple layers of vulnerabilities, including stigmatization and gender-based violence [6].

Barriers to effective prevention, testing and treatment services in prison include criminalising, punishing and stigmatising people who use drugs, leading to violence, human rights abuses, and discrimination [7,8]. Stigma and discrimination may result in denial of care, poor quality of care, physical or verbal abuse, involuntary disclosure of HIV status and breaches of confidentiality [8]. Thus, stigma and discrimination make people who inject drugs (PWID), especially those from rural communities, less likely to be reached by mainstream or outreach services [9]. Nevertheless, funding for harm reduction remains a major challenge in many countries, particularly low- and middle-income countries. Only 6% of the funding needed to support harm reduction initiatives is secured in these countries [10]. Stigmatisation and lack of funding mutually strengthen each other [11]. Additional barriers such as lack of political will or drug criminalization prevent harm reduction programmes from starting or expanding in prisons [2,7]. Only four countries have implemented NSP in the EU [12]. However, implementation and coverage continue to be an issue due to underfunding, political resistance, sustainability plan, implementation gaps and weak multi-stakeholder engagement in drug-related matters [13].

In this frame, harm reduction services become a crucial tool to address the risk of HIV and HCV transmission through injecting drug use, reducing the negative health, social and legal consequences associated with drug use [14,15]. Harm reduction covers a wide range of services, including needle and syringe programmes (NSP), opioid substitution treatment (OST), naloxone provision, opioid overdose reversal and access to prevention, treatment, and care for sexually transmitted infections, including HIV and HCV [9,16]. There is clear evidence that providing harm reduction services to PWID leads to a considerable decrease in new HIV diagnoses. Responding to injecting drug transmission in prisons can improve the health of both prisoners and the community to which they return, with benefits society [15]. Additionally, addressing injecting drug use could contribute to achieving the World Health Organization (WHO) target of eliminating HCV and HIV by 2030, as well as the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 3.3, which aims to end AIDS by 2030 [14,17].



Rationale

Romania's prison population consists of 23,549 prisoners and faces significant public health challenges regarding HIV and HCV transmissions among PWID [18]. Romania used to have significant harm reduction measures in prisons, but these measures have disappeared due to stigmatization, underfunding and low government support [19]. In 2010, the Global Fund support ceased and the impact of this resulted in higher numbers of new cases of HIV-HCV amongst prisoners in Romania [20]. In 2010, there were 76 prisoners living with HIV, and this number rose to 321 in 2013 [21]. The number of syringes provided in prisons went from 18383 in 2010, to 3000 in 2012 [21]. Recent data show that the prevalence rate of prisoners with HIV and/or HCV infections is higher than the prevalence rates of the general population [22]. For instance, 3,22% of the general population had positive HIV tests compared to 56.7% of prisoners in the research by Sultana et al. (2024) Funding for harm reduction in Romania is limited, making it more difficult to provide crucial harm reduction services such as NSP and OST to PWID [23]. This is partially because the country is classified as an upper-middle-income country by the World Bank [24]. Notable international donors no longer fund harm reduction services in Romania, including the Global Fund which deemed Romania ineligible for an HIV grant in 2021[13]. All these factors contribute to the cycle of health inequities within Romania's prison system, disproportionately affecting PWID.

Needle and syringe programmes in Romania are scarce and not available in prisons [21]. According to Shaw (2022), only 75 sterile needles were given to each person who uses drugs in Romania in 2016, whereas the advised number of sterile needles per drug user per year is 200 [5]. OST remains available in under half of the prisons, and approximately 10% of opioid users in Romania receive OST [15,19]. This low number further leads to more HIV and HCV cases, which then puts more pressure on Romania's already struggling healthcare system and further presents the urgent need for a policy reform, as well as a leading political commitment across stakeholders—including, but not limiting to, Ministry of Health, NGOs, and international donors [25].

Privacy and confidentiality concerns persist within the Romanian prison system [26]. There is a significant stigma on drug use, HIV, and HCV in Romania, hence, disclosure of HIV or HCV status can lead to discrimination, derogatory treatment, and other issues, which deters individuals from seeking medical aid [27,28]. This issue underlines another failure in ensuring the health of individuals in prisons and other closed settings, many of whom already face vulnerabilities due to substance use, HIV or HCV status. Yet there is not a clear consensus on how to improve the current situation for PWID in prisons in Romania. Some literature suggests enforcing mandatory testing when inmates first enter the prison [29]. Micro-elimination projects requiring HCV screening before the onset of symptoms can decrease HCV transmission rates. [29]. However, other scholars suggest safekeeping the confidentiality of HIV, HCV, and drug use status is important, and that mandatory testing violates ethics and rights [30,31]. The Romanian government has a history of not being in favour of expanding harm reduction



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services, in contrast to the multiple NGOs and the European Union emphasising the need for more harm reduction services in Romania [5,18,32]. These conflicting views highlight the need for a clear and transparent policy on PWID in prisons in Romania, better data collection and the creation of evidence-informed guidelines. This policy brief aims to outline strategies for reducing the HIV and HCV transmission rates in prisons in Romania through harm reduction services.

Proposed Policy Options

To effectively address HIV and HCV transmission among PWID in prison settings, it is essential to integrate and adapt existing policy frameworks to fit the unique challenges of people who inject drugs in prisons and other closed settings. Figure 1 shows the intersection of policy approaches aimed at reducing harm, addressing the healthcare needs of people who inject drugs, and preventing HIV/HCV transmission through harm reduction. The overlap indicates how the interventions are synthesized based on the target population, and the specific prison context.

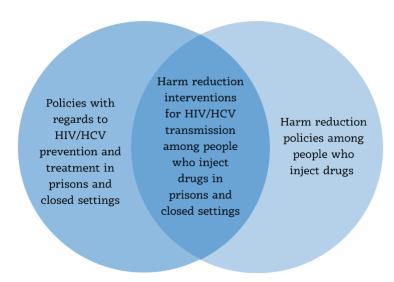


Figure 1. Representation of the types of policies aimed to support HIV/HCV prevention and treatment among PWID in prison settings

The policy options addressing the scope of this brief, its target population, and the specific prison context require a synthesized approach for effective intervention. Table 1 below presents a classification of existing policies for prison settings and beyond (continuity of care post-release), highlighting how various sets of interventions were systematically compiled and categorized.



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Table 1. Classification of existing policies, highlighting how various sets of interventions were systematically compiled and categorized.

Classification Type	Categories
Policy Orientation	Harm Reduction
	Prevention
	Health Promotion
	Rehabilitation
	Surveillance and Monitoring
Target Population	People who inject drugs (PWID)
	Prison Population
	Released Individuals (Transition to Community)
Effectiveness	Proven Effectiveness (Strong Evidence)
	Emerging Practices (Moderate Evidence)
	Innovative Approaches (Limited Evidence)
Priority Levels	Low
(Considering effectiveness and	Medium
applicability)	High
Intervention Level	Social
	Structural
	Individual

This policy brief outlines three scopes of intervention—structural, health-focused, and expansive health interventions—designed to create a comprehensive response to this public health challenge, based on existing frameworks from WHO, Global Fund, EUDA and best practice examples from Spain and Australia. While these levels of intervention are distinct in their scope, they are no siloed; their overlapping components complement and strengthen one another, creating a holistic approach.

Structural Interventions

Structural interventions form the foundation of a supportive environment for harm reduction and healthcare access in prison settings. These measures focus on eliminating systemic barriers and creating equitable conditions for people in prisons [33]. For instance, reforming punitive laws and policies that stigmatize drug use and marginalize PWID is essential for reducing discrimination and promoting healthcare engagement. Addressing stigma and discrimination is particularly important, as these factors deter individuals from seeking help, thereby perpetuating health risks and social exclusion [34].

Investments in prison infrastructure, healthcare capacity, and data collection are key to implementing evidence-based harm reduction strategies [33]. Empowering communities—both within and outside prison settings—ensures the inclusion of affected voices in policymaking [34]. Tackling violence within prisons also creates safer environments, enabling healthcare providers to deliver services more effectively [35]. These structural interventions are essential for removing barriers to care, establishing trust between people who live in prisons and healthcare systems, and ensuring continuity of care upon release [36].

"Prisons and Other Closed Settings: Priorities for Investment and Increased Impact of



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Interventions" by the Global Fund underscores the importance of strategic investments in harm reduction interventions that demonstrate measurable impacts, such as reducing HIV and HCV transmission rates [30,37]. Structural interventions can also include the decriminalization of drug use, and the reorganization of healthcare or harm reduction services offered to PWID, addressing systemic barriers to access. In the Romanian context, pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) approval under sustainable payment mechanisms should also be prioritized within the structural agenda. These interventions aim to promote health by fundamentally altering the structural context in which health outcomes are shaped, ensuring a more equitable and supportive environment for PWID.

Health Interventions for PWID

Health interventions for PWID focus on the immediate health risks faced by people in prisons who inject drugs. These interventions aim to reduce the transmission of bloodborne viruses like HIV and HCV through harm reduction measures such as NSP, OST, and naloxone distribution for overdose prevention [38–40]. Providing access to condoms, lubricants, PrEP, and PEP further minimizes risks associated with unsafe injecting and sexual practices [40,41].

Regular testing and early diagnosis of HIV, HCV, and other sexually transmissible infections (STIs) enable timely treatment and prevent further disease progression. Evidence strongly supports these interventions as effective in reducing harm and improving health outcomes among people who inject drugs in prison [40]. For example, NSP have been proven effective in reducing needle-sharing practices, while OST has been linked to significant reductions in HIV and HCV transmission rates. Together, these interventions form a vital component of any comprehensive harm reduction strategy tailored to PWID and other key populations in prisons [42]. Spain, with its National Strategy on Addictions 2017-2024, represents a best practice model in the EU in terms of health focused interventions for addressing HIV/HCV among PWID and the establishment of the infectious disease monitoring programme has helped understand the immediate and long-term positive outcomes of harm reduction services [43].

Expansive Health Interventions

Expansive health interventions extend the scope of care to address the comprehensive healthcare needs of people in prisons, considering the wider determinants of health. These measures go beyond immediate harm reduction to include mental health support, reproductive health services, and the prevention and treatment of chronic conditions, including mental health care, contraception, and cervical cancer prevention.

Moldova Model, highlighted in the Global Fund Report, exemplifies the potential of the expansive interventions approach. It integrates harm reduction services with mental health care and peer support, fostering collaboration among stakeholders, including prison authorities, healthcare providers, and civil society organizations [44]. Overcoming common barriers such as stigma, political resistance, and funding constraints helps prioritisation of a human rights-based approach that combines public health priorities with sustainable, inclusive policies [14,33].



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Expansive health interventions not only improve individual health outcomes but also contribute to societal benefits by fostering healthier communities and reducing recidivism rates [45]. Adopting strategies that are aimed at broader health, prisons can transition to holistic healthcare systems that support people in prisons both during and after their sentences.

Choice of Interventions for Romania

To specifically address health interventions for PWID in prison settings to prevent HIV and HCV transmission, this policy brief emphasizes targeted harm reduction strategies mainly focusing on harm reduction health interventions, due to lack of funding and current institutional capacity in Romania. Either structural or expansive interventions go beyond the scope of this policy brief. Health interventions proposed are assigned priority levels based on their proven effectiveness, relevance to the target population, feasibility within the prison context in Romania, and economic evaluation.

Table 2 presents the most common harm reduction interventions identified as best practices in the literature. From these, four high-priority interventions were selected based on the urgent need for immediate positive health outcomes, given the magnitude of the HIV and HCV transmission problem among PWID in Romanian prisons. The selection reflects the need for cost-effective solutions, considering the severe funding constraints in Romania. The table is organized according to the European Union Drugs Agency (EUDA) "Prison and Drugs in Europe: Current and Future Challenges" and Australian "Strengthening injecting-related harm reduction in prisons" formats [46,47].



Table 2. Set of health interventions for PWID in prison settings to prevent HIV and HCV transmission, systematically categorized by their objectives, evidence of effectiveness, stakeholders, and assigned priority levels. BBV – blood-borne viruses, HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus, HCV – Hepatitis C virus, HBV – Hepatitis B virus, ECDC - European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control, EUDA – European Union Drugs Agency, PWID – People who inject drugs, PrEP - Pre-exposure prophylaxis, PEP - Post-exposure prophylaxis, NGOs – Non-governmental organizations

Intervention	Harms reduced		Stakeholders involved	Priority
Needle Syringe Programmes (NSP)	- Reduced BBV transmission - Lowered injury/diseases caused by injecting (e.g., thrombophlebitis, abscesses) - Reduced needle sharing	There is good evidence for the effectiveness of NSP and OST in reducing risky injecting behaviour and increasing evidence for the effectiveness of OST and NSP in reducing HIV acquisition risk, but the evidence on the effectiveness of NSP and OST for preventing HCV acquisition is still weak [38]. Evidence emerging from various countries that operate at least one prison NSP shows that they are feasible and likely to reduce HIV, HCV, and HBV in prisons just as they do in the community [41,42]. Feasibility in prisons has been demonstrated but requires stakeholder commitment and proper monitoring and is able to prevent injecting-related injuries and disease and thrombophlebitis [43]. However, more data is needed to incorporate coverage and delivery strategies [40].	Healthcare providers Policymakers	High Priority
Naloxone Provision	- Prevented opioid overdose deaths, particularly post-release	(from 9.8% of 193/1,970 in 2006–2010 to 6.3% of 76/1,212 in 2011–2013) [39]. Take-home	Healthcare providers NGOs Prison authorities People who inject drugs	High Priority
Opioid Substitution Treatment (OST)	- Reduced BBV transmission - Lower mortality rates post incarceration - Improved prison safety - Lowered injury/diseases caused by injecting - Reduced use of drugs	OST is associated with a reduction in the risk of HCV acquisition up to 50%, which is strengthened in studies that assess the combination of OST and NSP [38]. Receiving OST in prison reduced the risk of death in prison, whereas receiving OST in the first 4 weeks following release reduced risk of death in the community [40]. Overall, OST can reduce needle sharing and other HIV risk behaviours, drug use and death, but further research is needed as sample sizes and bias reduced the reliability of such findings and alignment with previous studies [40,46–49].	Public health agencies Prison authorities NGOs Advocacy Groups	High Priority
HIV-HCV testing	- Reduced HIV-HCV	A systematic review by ECDC and EUDA highlights the high effectiveness of HCV and	Prison staff nurses	High Priority



and treatment	transmissions - Early detection and treatment - Prevented deterioration of the health status - Continuity of treatment	HIV treatment in prisons for reducing virus transmission, with Direct Acting Antivirals (DAAs) recommended for HCV and antiretroviral therapy for HIV[50]. However, achieving complete control of BBV requires prioritizing preventive measures alongside treatment. Testing and screening for HIV, regarded by EUDA as a key intervention to address drug injection in prisons, is identified as the "most effective approach" when conducted voluntarily and with confidentiality. BBV testing not only facilitates the development of targeted health strategies for PWID who have just started treatment but also ensures the continuity of treatment for individuals transitioning from community care to incarceration. Such measures are critical for implementing comprehensive primary and secondary healthcare interventions in prison settings [48,49].	Doctors	
Health promotion and peer education of BBV testing		Health promotion, peer education (for both prisoners and staff) on blood-borne virus testing were found in a systematic review by ECDC and EUDA to be effective in increasing uptake of blood-borne virus testing in prison [49,51]. Extensive research indicates that prison education programmes are more effective in reducing risky behaviours when developed and delivered by peers, as peer educators are seen as more credible and trustworthy sources of information by people in prisons [52]. Peer support programmes and peer workers also offer emotional support and practical guidance, potentially encouraging participation in BBV testing [53]. An observational study showed that Peer-supported screening is an effective active HCV case-finding model to find and link prisoners with untreated active HCV infection to HCV care [54].	Peer educators Prison staff NGOs	Medium Priority
Provision of Pre-exposure Prophylaxis (PrEP) and post- exposure prophylaxis (PEP)	- Reduced BBV transmissions	on a daily basis in the form of medication taken orally [55]. It has been further shown that	Healthcare providers Public health agencies Prison healthcare units	Medium Priority
Condoms and lubricants	- Reduced BBV transmissions - Reduced risky sexual practices	of condoms and lubricants in prison is surely a relevant HIV prevention technique too	Prison staff Public health agencies NGOs	Medium Priority
Overdose prevention sites	- Prevented overdose - Reduced BBV transmissions - Lowered injury/diseases		Prison healthcare units	Low Priority



	caused by injecting - Psychosocial support - Linkage to care	of overdosing as well as better access to help and care within these facilities [50]. Additionally, it did not reinforce criminality nor cause further public disturbances [58].		
Needle sterilizing agents	- Reduced BBV transmissions - Lowered injury/diseases caused by injecting		Prison staff Public health agencies NGOs	Low Priority



Policy Options: A Critical Analysis of Applicability in the Romanian Prison Context

Romania's prison population is disproportionately affected by HIV and HCV, with PWID at significantly higher risk due to systemic underfunding, stigmatization, and inadequate healthcare infrastructure. Despite international evidence supporting harm reduction strategies, implementation in Romania remains inconsistent and limited due to scarcity of funding. This brief emphasizes targeted harm reduction strategies that focus mainly on the scope of health interventions, based on existing literature of best practices on Harm Reduction and case studies from Spain and Australia [46,64]. The purposed health interventions are prioritized based on their proven effectiveness, relevance to the target population, feasibility within the prison context in Romania, and economic evaluation while addressing potential barriers and proposing mitigation strategies. This section outlines four priority interventions tailored to the Romania's context: OST, NSP, naloxone provision, and HIV-HCV testing and treatment. We suggest implementing these interventions gradually, in the prisons that previously benefited from harm reduction strategies, and over time scaling them up across all prisons and other closed settings in Romania.

Opioid Substitution Therapy (OST)

As discussed in Table 2, OST reduces opioid dependency, withdrawal symptoms, and needle-sharing, significantly lowering the risk of HIV and HCV transmission [38]. Although Romania provides OST in prisons, access is limited to individuals already receiving treatment before incarceration [6,19]. This excludes a large segment of opioid-dependent prisoners, perpetuating health risks and illicit drug use. Expanding OST could reduce violence and improve overall safety by stabilizing opioid-dependent individuals. However, barriers such as stigma, insufficient funding, and limited healthcare capacity hinder expansion. Integrating OST into standard prison healthcare, needed additional funding for staff training, adequate medication and broadening eligibility criteria are essential [40]. Research indicates that post-release OST significantly reduces mortality rates and has a 96.7% likelihood of being cost-effective per life-year saved, based on a willingness-to-pay threshold of \$500 [65,66].

Needle and Syringe Programmes (NSP)

NSP are evidence-based interventions proven to reduce HIV-HCV transmission among PWID without increasing drug use or compromising security [38,40,48,49,50]. However, NSP are virtually absent in Romanian prisons due to political resistance, concerns about security, and societal stigma. Their absence is a missed opportunity to address the country's growing HIV and HCV burden. Integrating NSP with OST can amplify effectiveness, reducing HCV transmission by up to 50% [38]. Implementing NSP is highly cost-effective and even cost-saving, with studies showing a return of \$4 for every dollar invested [67]. To overcome resistance, Romania should adopt a phased approach, starting with pilot programmes in selected prisons. Using vending machines for syringe distribution, engaging peer educators and involving local NGOs can reduce operational challenges while fostering trust. Awareness campaigns targeting policymakers and prison administrators are critical to dispelling misconceptions and building support for NSP, as well as establishing peer-to-peer community



networks within prisons [68].

Naloxone Provision

Naloxone prevents opioid overdose deaths, especially during the high-risk post-release period. Although data on naloxone provision in Romanian prisons is limited, its proven efficacy in other settings highlights its potential [69]. Barriers include limited awareness among staff and insufficient resources for distribution. Providing naloxone to at-risk individuals upon release could significantly reduce mortality and build trust in healthcare systems [51,52]. In-prison training for staff and inmates on naloxone use can further enhance its impact, promoting harm reduction and preparedness.

HIV-HCV Testing and Treatment

Testing and treatment are foundational to harm reduction in prisons. Romania's 2020 microelimination programme, which screened over 12,000 prisoners for HCV, demonstrates the feasibility of large-scale testing initiatives [21]. Early detection enables timely treatment, interrupts transmission, and reduces public health risks upon prisoners' reintegration. Voluntary provider-initiated testing, coupled with strong confidentiality safeguards, increases uptake and trust in the healthcare system. Integrating treatments like direct-acting antivirals (DAAs) for HCV and antiretroviral therapy (ART) for HIV into prison healthcare ensures effective disease management [47]. Barriers include stigma, fear of confidentiality breaches, and inadequate healthcare infrastructure in prisons. Addressing these issues requires robust privacy protocols, stigma-free training for healthcare providers, and targeted funding for infrastructure improvements.

Conclusion

Romania's prison system faces significant challenges in addressing the high prevalence of HIV and HCV among PWID, compounded by systemic underfunding, stigma, and inadequate healthcare infrastructure. This policy brief underscores the urgency of implementing cost-effective, evidence-based harm reduction interventions tailored to the Romanian context. Prioritized strategies include opioid substitution therapy, needle and syringe programmes, naloxone provision, and comprehensive HIV-HCV testing and treatment. By adopting a phased approach, leveraging existing infrastructure, and engaging stakeholders, Romania can enhance healthcare delivery, reduce HIV-HCV transmission rates, and align with international harm reduction recommendations.



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