

OUT

Programme implementers working with key populations and law enforcement

OUT Meeting Report

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Session delegates at the meeting (source: author)



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Abbreviations

DoH	Department of Health
DoJ	Department of Justice
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
KP	key population
LE	law enforcement
LGBTI	lesbian, gay, transgender, bisexual and intersex
MSM	men who have sex with men
NTT	national task team
PWID	people who inject drugs
PH	public health
SW	sex worker
SWEAT	Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce
SAPS	South African Police Force
THCA	TB/HIV Care Association
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WLC	Women's Legal Centre

Introduction

Welcome

Dawie Nel, from OUT, facilitated the session and welcomed the session delegates. Mr Nel started by giving thanks for the participation of representatives from the police and noted that the session delegates were fortunate to have the opportunity to engage with police officers on issues facing key populations (KPs) and thankful for the willingness of the police to share their perspective, giving the delegates a deeper understanding of the difficulties police face in working with KPs. Mr Nel noted that the police are crucial and valued partners of all the participating organisations, as well as valuable interlocutors and central players in resolving these issues.

Background

With respect to the prevention and treatment of HIV, key populations include sex workers (SWs), people who inject drugs (PWID), and lesbian, gay, transgender, bisexual and intersex

(LGBTI) individuals, all of whom are at a particularly high risk of contracting HIV and face barriers in accessing HIV-related services. The objective of the session was to find commonalities among groups working to promote the interests of various KPs and to discuss the possibility of collaboration with the aim of developing and implementing a common strategy for approaching and working with law enforcement (LE) in the interest of KPs.

The priorities of LE are often counter to activities of public health (PH) advocates. For example, some PH interventions involve the distribution of clean needles to PWID, while LE priorities demand that drug users are targeted by the police. This makes it difficult for PH advocates to gain access to these vulnerable populations, whose fear of being arrested often causes them to shy away from making use of preventative and curative health services or from seeking the assistance of the police. However, this tension is not necessary. In fact, by working together, PH advocates and LE officials could make progress in reducing the incidence of social crime and ensuring that KPs have access to needed health and protective services. This initiative is the first step towards addressing the tension between PH activities and LE priorities for HIV-related KPs.

In addition to opening the lines of communication between PH advocates and LE officials, the meeting also presented an opportunity for advocates representing the three KPs to share their experiences, find commonalities and develop a strategy for working together to pool resources and capacity in the interest of improving relations between police and KPs. As such, all three KPs were represented at the meeting. One of the shared experiences of the representatives of various KPs present at the session is the conflicts that exist between interventions aimed at addressing HIV in KPs and the priorities and activities of LE. All of these groups share a common experience of having their efforts to address HIV within these populations hampered by the activities of the police. By sharing experiences and being open to the perspectives of one another, it is hoped that the commonalities between KPs can be capitalised on, and a combined strategy of approaching and engaging with LE can be devised to ensure sustainable improvements in the lives of KPs, particularly with respect to HIV treatment and prevention.

Structure of the session

After the introduction by Mr Nel, two formal presentations were given. The first was given by Maserame Mojapele from SAfAIDS, who discussed SAfAIDS' work with the DoJ National Task Team to combat violence on the basis of gender identity and sexual orientation. The project includes the development of a training programme with a consolidated training manual for LE. After her presentation, Maserame took questions from the delegates.

The second presentation was given by Munya Katumba, of COC Netherlands, and concerned the *HandsOff!* project to reduce violence against SWs in Southern Africa. The project also involved the development of an integrated sensitization manual for LE. After his presentation Munya engaged in discussion with the session delegates about the project.

Thereafter, the delegates engaged in a round-table discussion during which Shaun Shelly, from the TB/HIV Care Association (THCA), spoke about the *StepUp* project to prevent violence against PWID; Dianne Massawe, from the Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT), discussed her experience working with LE on issues affective SWs, and Janine Wildschut from Mainline shared an account of working with the police in Holland to combat social issues. The delegates also had the opportunity to hear from representatives from the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the Durban Metro Police, who clarified the particularities of training for police officers, spoke about the barriers police face in implementing progressive reforms, and shared personal experiences.

Finally, Mr Nel concluded the session by giving a brief summary of the predominant themes discussed and thanked the participants, organisers and funders once again.

Participants

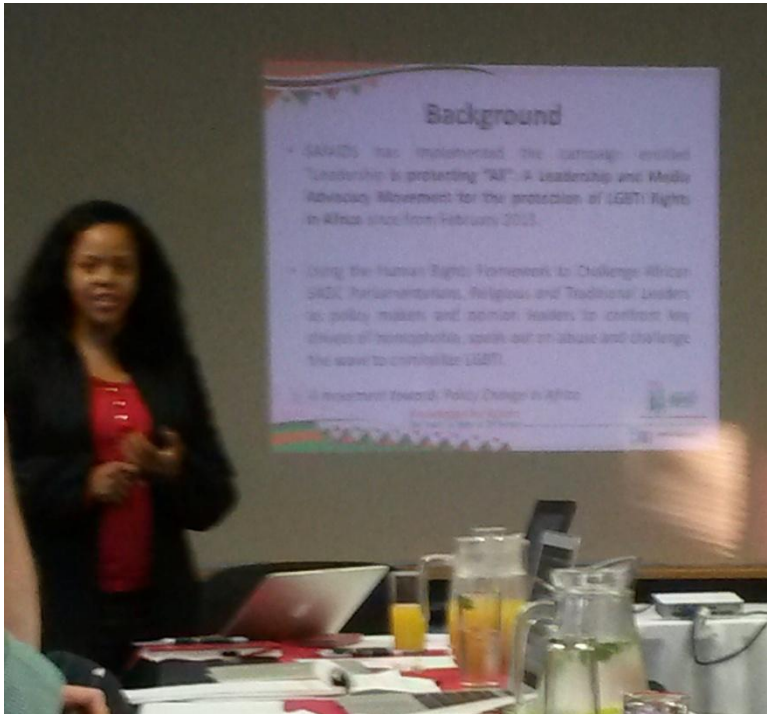
Name	Organisation
Helen Savva	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (PEPFAR)
Nisha Gupta	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (PEPFAR)
Sibongile Dladla	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (PEPFAR)
Munya Katumba	COC Netherlands
Nonhlanhla Mkhize	LGBTI Community Centre Durban
Jos Luteijn	Mainline
Janine Wildschut	Mainline
Captain Kacey Naicker	Metro Police Centre Durban
Dawie Nel	OUT
Nelson Medeiros	OUT
Maserame Mojapele	SAfAIDS
Captain M Magin	SAPS Point
Dianne Massawe	Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce
Shaun Shelly	TB/HIV Care Association
Charles Ketley	TB/HIV Care Association
Andrew Lambert	TB/HIV Care Association
Robin Ogle	TB/HIV Care Association
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SAfAIDS: Experience working with key populations and law enforcement

SAfAIDS is an NPO based in Zimbabwe that uses advocacy, communication and social mobilisation to ensure that the sexual and reproductive health rights of all people in Africa

are realised. The Department of Justice (DoJ), in partnership with SAfAIDS, has initiated a national task team (NTT) to address violence on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. Maserame Mojapele, from SAfAIDS gave an informative presentation on the activities of the NTT. The task team aims to implement a national intervention to address some of the issues that give rise to violence and discrimination against LGBTI people. One output of the task team is the development and piloting of an LGBTI training programme for public service officials, including members of the criminal justice service. Maserame's presentation outlined the approach SAfAIDS has taken in developing a manual to achieve

LGBTI sensitisation within the police.



Maserame Mojapele from SAfAIDS (source: author)

SAfAIDS' work for LGBTI sensitization

Maserame began the presentation by detailing SAfAIDS' approach to LGBTI sensitization more broadly. Working in 10 countries in Southern Africa, SAfAIDS uses a human rights approach, in partnership with rights-focused organisations, to create LGBTI champions among traditional, religious and political leaders. Towards this goal, SAfAIDS developed a toolkit to promote HIV

prevention for LGBTI individuals. The toolkit has also proven to be a useful advocacy tool in promoting respect and enjoyment of human rights for LGBTI individuals and quelling the spread of homophobia.

Using the toolkit to train and sensitize leaders on LGBTI issues and human rights SAfAIDS creates LGBTI champions. These champions, in turn, mobilise their communities to love respect and protect LGBTI individuals. The leaders also work with service providers within their communities, including the police and health workers, to spread the message of anti-stigma. By encouraging open dialogue, LGBTI champions are able to break down the cultural and religious barriers that undermine access to sexual and reproductive health services. However, there are barriers to achieving positive outcomes, and after a recent leadership indaba, only 6 of the 93 leaders attending the training had the courage to communicate the lessons of LGBTI acceptance to their communities. SAfAIDS is working on developing a better understanding of which particular aspects of the programme led to positive outcomes, and Maserame indicated a commitment to share this information as it becomes available.

SaFAIDS' work with the Department of Justice

With regard to the DoJ NTT, SaFAIDS is engaged in a consultancy with the Foundation for Human Rights (South Africa) to develop a comprehensive plan for LGBTI sensitization. The strategy includes developing training protocols and sensitization materials for police and other service providers. SaFAIDS have undertaken to conduct a thorough investigation into the current system of training for LGBTI sensitization, as well as the materials being used as a basis for this training. In doing so, the organisation hopes to facilitate the consolidation of existing materials into a single comprehensive programme that can be implemented nationally. SaFAIDS will conduct training on the basis of this consolidated programme. The training programme will be structured so that the NTT will constitute the primary trainees. The NTT will then be tasked with training those at the provincial level, and so forth to the district and sub-district levels.

Maserame also highlighted the importance of going above and beyond formal training to raise awareness of LGBTI issues within the DoJ. SaFAIDS is investigating possible mechanisms through which the DoJ could raise awareness of LGBTI issues without engaging individuals in formal training.

While the project is still in its infancy and has not yet been started in earnest, a contract with the DoJ has been signed and SaFAIDS looks forward to contracting with other NGOs, including those present at the meeting, in moving forward with the project implementation.

Questions and discussion on SaFAIDS' experience developing training programmes for law enforcement

The session facilitator began the round-table discussion by pointing out that a particular strength of the NTT is its incorporation of various government departments, including law enforcement. This aspect of the NTT means that it has the capacity to create a sense of ownership and to develop buy-in among senior police officials. In addition, because the task team is inclusive, it presents an important opportunity for other organisations representing the interests of KPs other than LGBTI individuals, to capitalise on the work of the NTT by working with those involved to ensure a similar level of commitment to tackling the problems faced by all KPs. Maserame agreed, noting that, especially during the initial stages of the project, it is vital that all concerned partners provide input regarding the work they are doing to engage with service providers on issues affecting KPs, particularly as they relate to HIV.

In developing a comprehensive training programme for service providers across the country, SaFAIDS seeks to consolidate and incorporate existing materials. As such, Maserame urged those present at the session to share as much information as possible, so that the learning and experience of various organisations can be used to inform and improve the consolidated national guidelines.

Delegates attending the session reaffirmed the importance of sharing information among organisations with similar goals. Dianne Massawe, from SWEAT, noted that SWEAT is already undertaking projects to engage with LE, and suggested that their experience has given

rise to important lessons that should be integrated into the DoJ NTT initiative. The session facilitator concurred, and pointed out that the health sector also presents a source of valuable experience and lessons. The department of health (DoH) has a manual, developed a few years ago, that addresses issues affecting all three KPs. The information included in this manual could also be used to inform and strengthen the output of the DoJ NTT initiative.

While sharing information and working together is vital, it is also important to ensure that projects such as the SAfAIDS NTT are inclusive of all three KPs. As Mr Nel pointed out, there is a real need to facilitate access to LE for PWID. As such, Mr Nel asked whether it is possible to expand the focus of the SAfAIDS NTT project to include PWID. In response, Maserame noted the scope of the project could only be expanded with the approval of the DoJ. However, she went on to add that many stakeholders had raised a similar concern, and pledged to raise the issue the next meeting with the DoJ. Mr Nel offered the services of OUT in providing evidence in demonstrating the advantages of including all three KPs.

COC Netherlands: *HandsOff!* project and the planned programme to work with the police

Founded in 1946, COC is a Netherlands-based organisation advocating for the rights of LGBTI individuals throughout the world. COC implements a number of programmes in Southern Africa, including the DiDiRi programme (in collaboration with the Aids Rights



Munya Katumba from COC Netherlands (source: author)

Association of Southern Africa (ARASA) for sexual and reproductive health rights among LGBTI individuals, and *Bridging the Gaps* – a project advocating the right to health services, particularly those related to HIV, for KPs. Munya Katumba, the session representative from COC Netherlands, gave a presentation focusing on COC’s involvement in the *HandsOff!* programme to reduce violence against sex workers in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The project will be piloted in South Africa in 2015, and includes the development of an integrated sensitisation manual for LE.

The *HandsOff!* programme is intended as a regional response to violence against SWs in Southern Africa, and also aims to reduce HIV among SWs. In addition to the development of an integrated sensitisation manual for LE, the project will include sensitisation training for LE trainers. The project began with the distribution of the terms of reference, which sought to understand the specific needs of the

police, as well as the attitudes, practices and laws concerning LGBTI people and SWs in Southern Africa. To aid in the development of the integrated sensitisation manual, the project will involve collaboration with Southern African partners and interested parties to examine existing manuals and other resources. Project organisers are also working with country-specific organisations, such as SWEAT and the DoJ in South Africa. Existing knowledge and resources will be used to inform the new manual. Munya reiterated the importance of using existing resources to inform best practice, and spoke about the need to open lines of communication between organisations to facilitate sharing lessons and experiences.

Questions and discussion on COC Netherlands' *HandsOff!* project

In response to Munya's presentation, Helen Savva from the CDC pointed out the importance of involving the intended recipients of the training in the development of the manuals. This is a lesson borne out of the experience of creating a DoH training manual for sensitisation of health service providers. While the DoH manual continues to be used in regional training centres, it has not retained momentum. Helen suggested that the failure of the manual to achieve its full potential impact is due, at least in part, to the fact that the process of developing the manual did not create a sense of ownership among government officials. This shortcoming could have been avoided by working with the intended recipients in the process of developing the manual. By the same token, very close cooperation with the police in developing the sensitisation manual is advisable. Helen further pointed out the importance of having a champion within the department to drive momentum in the implementation of the training programme, and to ensure that the information in the manual is integrated into the provision of services.

Janine Wildschut, from Mainline, concurred regarding the importance of including the intended recipients in the development of the manual and went on to ask for clarity regarding the apparent exclusion of PWID from the *HandsOff!* project. The delegate expressed that she felt it is important that the training manual represents the interests of all three KPs, as was done for the DoH manual. Munya responded that while the delegate's concern was noted, the focus of the *HandsOff!* project is issues affecting LGBTI individuals and SWs.

At this point, the session facilitator pointed out that there are important advantages to incorporating the interests of all three KPs into the training manual. An integrated package, addressing the needs of a wide range of individuals, makes for a stronger, more powerful proposal to government. This is because government's time and capacity is limited, and an integrated package is more efficient, eliminating the need to undergo separate training processes for each KP. As such, Mr Nel once again raised the possibility of incorporating SWs and PWID in the SAfAIDS NTT project, noting that this would allow the existing momentum and buy-in at the higher levels of government to be capitalised on by advocates for all three KPs. Robin Ogle, a delegate from THCA, reaffirmed the importance of this point, noting that experience in developing the training manual for the DoH is indicative of the possibility of incorporating the interest of all three KPs within a single process.

Sibongile Dladla from the CDC raised a concern regarding the possible duplication of efforts between the SAfAIDS NTT project and the COC manual. Sibongile noted that both projects have similar goals, including developing training manuals and changing attitudes of service providers. In response, Maserame provided assurance that she and Munya had already discussed the possibility of working together to find ways to synchronise their efforts. However, Maserame also pointed out the COC project incorporates the whole Southern African region, and the SAfAIDS project is restricted to South Africa. While the SAfAIDS project may lead to lessons that can be exported to the rest of the region, there may also be particularities that mean the lessons from the South African experience may not be relevant in Southern African more broadly. Nonetheless Munya and Maserame have undertaken to find ways of working together, particularly at the national level. Munya added that COC is planning a meeting in July that will bring regional partners together with the various organisations that have developed manuals in South Africa, including SAfAIDS, so that similarities and transferrable lessons can be identified and incorporated into the project.

Round-table discussion

The *StepUp* project for PWID

The *StepUp* project works with PWID in Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria. Shaun Shelly from THCA spoke to the delegates to share lessons from his experience in working with LE as the advocacy, communications and psychosocial coordinator for the *StepUp* project. The *StepUp* project was able to capitalise on the Khayelitsha Commission to gain access to LE. As result of the Commission, the police set up a committee to deal with the issue of drugs in the Khayelitsha community. At the time of the meeting, the project was in the process of making initial steps towards working with LE, and had only conducted one training session, which had included both Metro Police, and SAPS.

However, the outcomes of the training session were both interesting and significant. The project implementers are exploring methods of reorienting the ideas and attitudes of the police officers and changing the way they relate to drug users. Many police officers have a difficult and antagonistic relationship with drug users, having faced the harmful consequences of drug use since joining the police force. As such, police officers came to the training session with preconceived ideas about drug use and drug users. As a result of the training, project implementers saw a significant upward shift in the number of trainees who thought that the police had an important role to play in public health and who agreed that the police can make a real difference to the wellbeing of the people in the communities they serve. Project organisers saw a positive change in the attitude of police officers and felt that the success of the training session was promising. Organisers also found that the police themselves represented an important source of information regarding how to overcome possible obstacles to scaling up the project.

The session facilitator pressed Shaun to expand on how the project coordinators succeeded in gaining access to the police at the ground level, given that the hierarchical nature of the police force often makes it difficult to gain access to the police at the local level,

necessitating a ‘top-down’ approach. In response, Shaun noted that the Khayelitsha commission presented a significant window of opportunity, as it created an obligation for officials to address the drug-related issues in the community. The project implementers are hopeful that the opportunity can be expanded on, allowing for the project to be carried forward and scaled-up.

Dylan McGarry from the Urban Futures Centre raised a concern that projects such as *StepUp* that focus on PWID exclude other, non-injecting drug users. Because drug use in general is as a pathway into SW and other high risk behaviours, it is important to ensure that all people who use drugs are included in projects such as these. Shaun responded that while the focus of this particular project is on PWID (largely because the funding of the programme is focused on HIV reduction), the project organisers are aware on the need to expand the scope of such projects to include non-injecting drug users. To this end, THCA are looking at studies that focus on the transition from non-injecting drug use to injecting drug use, to develop a more robust evidence base for the expansion of the focus from injecting drug users to drug users in general. Helen from CDC expanded the discussion by pointing out that while it is important to include drug users more generally, it is also important to distinguish injecting drug users from non-injecting drug users as two distinct target populations. This is because the two groups require very different interventions, as in the case of PWID HIV transmission occurs through needles, while with other drug users the concern is more about high risk sexual behaviours. Janine from Mainline added to the discussion, pointing out that many PWID used to be non-injecting drug users, as the latter is a pathway into the former. As such, while the two groups do require different interventions, we should look for interventions that help injecting drug users and non-injective drug users alike.



Session delegates (source: author)

The experience of SWEAT working with sex workers

A second example from the South African context, in particular the Western Cape, was presented by Dianne Massawe from SWEAT. The 2012 project was driven by SWEAT, the Women's Legal Centre (WLC), and the Triangle Project, and successfully engaged with LE on issues affecting SWs and LGBTI individuals in contexts where individuals are in conflict with the law. While the primary focus of the project was SWs, who are constantly in conflict with the law, some of the SWs happened to also be members of the LGBTI community. Transgender SWs, experience particularly extreme police targeting, and it is not uncommon for these individuals to be arrested for petty crimes because the police know that they are SWs. By putting pressure on the Deputy Minister of Police, and demonstrating the need for the project, SWEAT and the WLC the organisations were able gain access to the police and trained 80 police officers in 3 separate training sessions, each lasting 3 hours. However, since the initial training sessions, the organisers have been unable to gain access to the police officers that were trained. Project organisers have also been unable to expand the project into other contexts in which vulnerable individuals are in conflict with the police, due to difficulties in gaining access to the police.

However, Dianne pointed out that the initial training sessions did demonstrate promising outcomes. SWs, particularly LGBTI and transgender SWs, did report that the training was helpful. For example, in the past, when transgender SWs were arrested, they would be locked up with men, whereas after the training, transgender SWs were put in separate cells. While this is a significant gain, the improvement was restricted to the particular police stations at which the training had occurred, and was not a generalised improvement across the province. Dianne pointed out that the project nevertheless demonstrates the gains that can be achieved by educating individuals about their rights, particularly as they relate to being transgender or being a SW, and as they apply to interactions with the police. When SWs insisted that that they should not be locked up with men, the police were responsive. This indicates that when transgender SWs, and SWs more generally, are aware of their rights, they are able to demand that they are treated accordingly in interactions with the police.

With regard to the earlier point of discussion concerning the importance of ensuring that projects are inclusive of all KPs, Dianne noted that while this project was primarily focused on SWs, it did also involve LGBTI individuals, and project organisers found that conflicts arose between the SW sector and the LGBTI sector. The conflicts were apparently driven by the fact that while LGBTI individuals approach the police to seek services (and commonly encounter stigma and discrimination), SWs are actively targeted by the police and are in conflict with the law on a daily basis. In other words, while SWs are actively targeted by the police for arrest, the police rarely target those in the LGBTI community for arrest. This conflict with the police is more extreme for transgender SWs, who are commonly homeless in addition to being SWs. These differences between the two KPs meant that programme organisers could not come to agreement regarding and scope and focus of the project and ultimately lead to the dissolution of the partnership. The session facilitator suggested that this was indicative the need to remain cognisant of the differences between KPs and the

possibility of these differences leading to conflict, while working to take advantage of commonalities and opportunities for collaboration.

The session facilitator asked Dianne to expand on the mechanisms the project organisers employed to gain access to the police, in particular, how they succeeded in pressurising the Deputy Minister of Police into granting them access to the police force. In response, Dianne noted that a range of mechanisms were employed, including sending letters and putting out press releases that mentioned the difficulties organisers had in working with the police. In other words, the organisers worked through the media to put third-party pressure on police officials at the provincial level.

Monique Marks, a delegate from the Urban Futures Centre, raised a concern about individual training sessions for police officers. Monique noted that in her experience, interventions that lead to long-term change must take place at the level of basic police training. Any interventions targeting police officers that are already trained, cannot not lead to positive behaviours becoming a central component of police activities. The delegate felt that training sessions and manuals that are not organised into a comprehensive programme and introduced into the basic training curriculum do not have the capacity to affect long-term change. Monique also noted that a review of the basic training curriculum is sorely needed. It is vital to carefully consider our approach to changing police behaviour and to gain an understanding of the types of interventions police officers are most receptive to. For example, it is beneficial to involve senior police officers from other countries in training, so that the lessons being communicated come from other members of the police community.

The Dutch experience

Janine Wildschut from Mainline added to the conversation by pointing out that the Dutch experience is indicative of the need to work from within the police force to change attitudes. In the 1980s, many socially-minded organisations in the Netherlands were doing harm reduction and HIV prevention work with drug users. At the same time, the police were battling with a high incidence of drug use in public spaces. Initially there was conflict between social workers and the police. In time, however, it became clear that there was dissatisfaction within the police regarding the ineffective strategies being employed to combat the problem. Police were simply arresting people for using drugs in public spaces, holding them for a night, and releasing them the next day; and many police officers were unsatisfied and frustrated with the approach. Although these sentiments were not expressed publically, internally many police officers were speaking about the lack of progress being made and demanding a change in approach. Once social workers became aware of the dissatisfaction among the police, the police officers themselves became powerful allies and the biggest advocates for changes to the laws and policies. Police officers were willing to work together with organisations providing social support to address the problems with long-term solutions. Collaboration of this sort requires open lines of communication between KP advocates and the police.

While changes to the basic training curriculum is an important long-term solution, it is also vital to find solutions that will have a more immediate effect by changing the attitudes of the police officers currently working with these communities. Janine reaffirmed that it is vital to work from within the police ranks, by identifying those individuals within the police force that are sensitive to the needs of KPs and working with those individuals to bring about change. In this way, individuals within the police force become a catalyst for change, and the change is not imposed from the outside. However, a long-term solution involves changes to the basic training curriculum, which must be advocated for among high-level decision makers. As such, Janine suggests that it is vital to work from both ends, to achieve long-term change while ensuring making a difference in the short-term.

Janine also shared a personally moving experience that had direct bearing on the earlier conversation point around the need take advantage of commonalities between various KPs and work together to achieve change. The event occurred at a MSM sensitisation and training session. One of the trainees admitted to having negative feelings towards MSM. However, the trainee also said that he used to feel negatively towards PWID, and his perspective was changed through training. As such the trainee expressed that since his feelings towards PWID had changed as a result of training, he was open to changing his perspective about MSM. The anecdote is indicative of the power of training, but also suggests that a victory for one KP can be harnessed for the benefit of all KPs. Even when commonalities between the KPs are few, there is potential for training on one KP to create windows of opportunity for other KPs. Thus we must work together to encourage open minds among police officers, by creating safe spaces in which police officers can discuss issues and share feelings openly.

Ensuring effective training mechanisms

The issue of the best way to drive a change in attitudes among police officers was raised repeatedly over the course of the session with session delegates suggesting that police officers should be involved in the development of the curriculum to create ownership, that changes to the basic training curriculum are more effective than once-off training sessions for qualified police officers, and that sympathetic individuals within the police force should be harnessed as advocates for change from within. Dylan McGarry, a session delegate from the Urban Futures Centre, furthered the discussion by providing useful input on the basis of his experience in bringing about behaviour change.

Dylan suggested that manuals and workshops are problematic insofar as they are driven by moral imperatives. Manuals are commonly founded on the assertion of moral absolutes regarding SWs and PWID. However, the way individuals respond to others, especially those who are different from themselves, is largely a matter of intuition. As such, it is important to think carefully about our approach to behaviour change. Dylan suggested that the ultimate goal is to teach the trainees to empathise with KPs and the communities they serve. Dylan further suggested story-telling as the ideal way to increase people's capacity to empathise. This is because empathy requires imagination, attentiveness, intuition and a safe space in which to immerse oneself in the story of another without judgement or fear. Rather than asserting moral imperatives, training materials should be used to help people to develop their

capacity for moral intuition and empathy. Ethnographies from individuals representative of KPs can be used to tell stories that immerse the listener in the perspective of a SW or a drug user. Using this approach, trainers can capitalise on the trainee's innate empathetic capacity. It is important that we are critical of our own methods, and that we work hard to ensure that the most effective training methods are used. As Janine mentioned, developing a capacity to empathise with one KP is beneficial to all KPs, and as such, this is a significant opportunity for collaboration. It is vital to think about the capacities we want police to have, and moral intuition is one of these. Moral intuition is a building block to affecting change for all KPs.

Jos Luteijn, a trainer from Mainline, added to the discussion by pointing out that in addition to having comprehensive and practical manuals, it is also vital that effective and skilled trainers are employed to conduct the sessions. The manuals themselves are only one component of successful behaviour change, it is also necessary to ensure that the information is being transferred the most effective way. In many instances training fails and does not lead to change. In such cases, it is usually because the training was ineffective. In addition, training is the start of the behaviour-change process, but the process continues post-training, because ideas that are transferred during training develop in practice. As such, on-the-job coaching is an important component of any intervention aiming at organisation-wide behaviour change.

Monique from the Urban Futures Centre made a useful contribution to the discussion by pointing out that there are a number of mechanisms through which to prompt behaviour change among police officers. With particular reference to the middle-management level, Monique shared her experience of working with Captain Naicker, accompanying his team on their operations. This allows trainers to help police officers see the complexities of the situations they are dealing with, and question their own behaviour in real-time. This approach also allows for the individual working with the police to gain a better understanding of the problems they encounter and the factors that contribute to negative behaviour patterns. For example, police performance is measured internally by the number of arrests made by a particular police officer. In other words, making arrests is how police maintain a positive image within the organisation and the number of arrests each police officer makes effects their chance of promotion. This structure is imposed from the top-down and constitutes a barrier to behaviour change, one that advocates and trainers must be aware of. As long as police performance is measure on this basis, there is very little scope for change. As such, it is vital to consider how the group you are working with defines their core function, and to work within the bounds of that organisational culture. Monique reiterated that it is vital to develop and explore different mechanisms of working with the police, including developing trusting relationships between police officers and social workers.

Janine reaffirmed the need to find innovative and effective mechanisms of behaviour change by pointing out that police-on-police training proved an effective mechanism in the Netherlands. Police officers from other countries came to the Netherlands to work with the Dutch police and share ideas and experiences. Robin agreed, noting that champions within the police force have the advantage of understanding the organisational culture and structure.

Champions within the police force have been used to lead interventions for KPs in Kenya and Ghana, and the strategy was effective. However, Robin also noted that it is challenging to find such champions within the South African police where negative attitudes are deeply entrenched.

The perspective of the police

The session was attended by two representatives from the police, Captain Naicker from the Durban Metro Police, and Captain Magin from the SAPS. As such, the session presented a unique opportunity for the session delegates to hear suggestions from the police as to how best to gain access to police officers, but also allowed the delegates to gain insight into the perspectives of police officers and the difficulties they face in working with KPs.

Captain Magin from SAPS, pointed out that the SAPS has a training department, and suggested that the best way implement training for SAPS officers would be to contact the SAPS training department, first at the national level, and then at the provincial level. The training department is distinct from basic training as the recipients of the training are officers already working in the police force, and not new recruits. The training is based on manuals, and officers are expected to learn the manual and write a written competency test. Captain Magin pointed out that working through the training department would allow KP advocates to train the SAPS trainers, who would in turn train the police officers themselves. As such this avenue of approach would have the advantage of coming from within the organisation, instead of being externally imposed. However, Captain Magin also reiterated that advocates should ensure that the police officers getting trained are those that work with KPs at the community level, rather than those higher up in the organisation, as it is the police officers ‘on the ground’ that have the greatest impact.

Captain Naicker, from the Durban Metro Police Crime Prevention Unit, added that while SAPS works on a national, provincial and cluster level, Metro Police works on a local level. The Metro Police Commissioner reports to the SAPS provincial commissioner and the City Manager. The Metro Police work predominantly around prostitution and drug use, and they do not do investigative or detective work, which is handed over to the SAPS. As such, Metro Police is comprised of the ‘foot soldiers’ of the police force, interacting with SWs, drug users and drug dealers on a regular basis. Captain Naicker reaffirmed Captain Magin’s suggestion that additions to the training programme have to be implemented first at the national level, and then come down to the provincial level. The Metro Police Commissioner sits at the provincial level, and instructions from the national level come down to the city level and are implemented through a workshop. Some workshops combine for Metro Police officers and SAPS officers, such as the human trafficking workshop. In short, all additional training has to be implemented from the top down, and advocates must remain cognisant of the politics that happen at the higher level so the police. Real change can be achieved by putting pressure on the Deputy Minister of Police.

Captain Naicker went on to share a personal reflection regarding the change in his own attitudes towards SWs as a result of being involved with the human trafficking task team.

While the Captain used to think of SWs as criminals, he now understands that they are also victims, deserving of compassion and assistance from the police. Captain Naicker feels that this is a very significant change and notes that if his attitude towards SWs can be changed, then the same can be done for others. However, the Captain also reiterated and lent his voice to the view that manuals alone cannot change people's behaviour. Because the police force is a strictly hierarchical organisation, new rules must come from higher up. When this happens, those working at the community level will be cognisant of, and accepting of, the changing expectations.

However, Robin from the THCA pointed out that even when advocates successfully gain access to higher levels of the police, it is difficult to ensure that the changes discussed at that level are actually implemented. As an example, Robin presented an occasion on which the THCA were invited to attend the meeting where the cluster heads share information with the station commanders. While the meeting was successful, advocates were not given the opportunity to conduct the training and sensitisation with the police, and so could not take the project forward. The problem is that the police focus on crime prevention and do not have the human resources capacity to release police officers from duty so they can attend workshops. In response, Captain Magin pointed out that all stations have a social crime prevention unit. This unit focuses on social crimes, rather than crime prevention more broadly. As such, the Captain suggested that a more successful strategy might be to engage with the social crime prevention unit officers regarding how to deal with cases involving KPs.

Alina Bocai, from UNODC, interjected at this point to reiterate the importance and potential impact of changing the basic training curriculum. Alina pointed out that in order to change the behaviour of the police in dealing with KPs on a national level, we must ensure that they have the information they need. Experience from other countries indicates that the first step in this regard is to change the basic training curriculum. This would mean that police officers are already sensitised and well trained on the needs of KPs before they start working with these groups. The second step is to reach police officers through continuous education and training. This allows advocates to reach those officers that were not trained on KPs during basic training, and also allows advocates to reinforce the desired behaviours with regards to KPs. However, Monique pointed out that there are not viable opportunities for continuous education training for police officers in South Africa.

Captain Naicker also added that the Metro Police don't have a social crime prevention unit, and must rely on the Safer Cities initiative, which carries out a number of social crime prevention projects. Captain Naicker went on to give valuable insight regarding the difficulties the Metro Police face in working with KPs. The Metro Police attend various forums and are accountable to various organisations, such as the community police forum and business forums. When the Metro Police hold back on certain LE objectives in the interest of PH priorities, such as the distribution of clean needles, they commonly come under fire from the various civic forums they engage with. Such projects are not in line with the expectations powerful community members have for the police. By way of example, Captain Naicker shared his experience of an occasion on which the City Manager gave permission for a group

of affluent people to sleep on the side-walks in order to raise public awareness of homelessness. While public sleeping is an offence, the Captain's team was told not to enforce the restriction over the course of the initiative. However, the initiative has led to significant conflict both between the police and the community police forums who look to the Metro Police for assistance in removing people sleeping on the streets, as well as within the ranks of the metro police. Some of the officers working in the Metro Police were trained under the old dispensation, and as such, even when the young officers enter the police force with appropriate attitudes and knowledge received during basic training, the existing senior officers often fail to reinforce these values. Despite the difficulties of the project, Captain Naicker reported that the police were able to have a constructive dialogue with the homeless community in which the homeless shared their experiences regarding the problems they were having with police, such as being treated disrespectfully and having their possessions confiscated. Captain Naicker expressed a desire for the continued support and assistance of the NGO community in working with the police to facilitate better working relationships with KPs, as well as in putting pressure on the decision-makers within the police to demand more progressive behaviour and attitudes from all police officers.

Nisha from the CDC expressed a concern about a possible misunderstanding of what PH advocates are asking for from the police. Nisha noted that while there are sometimes legitimate conflicts between PH priorities and public law, these conflicts can only be addressed through policy change. However, it is not often the case that PH advocates are asking the police not to fulfil their duty of enforcing the rule of law. Members of KPs are not immune from the law and PH advocates accept that when a law is broken due process must be followed. It is important that even individuals who break the law, particularly KPs, have access to the PH services they need. As such, the discussion is about how the working relationship between PH advocates and police can be improved to enable the provision of PH services to people who are potentially breaking the law. The law enforcement process is an easy avenue through which to access these people and ensure they get the services they need. In other words, the question is how to make the provision of PH services a part of the legal process, not how to suspend the legal process in deferment to PH goals. Nisha suggests that it needs to be made clear to LE officers that facilitating access to PH services for KPs will help alleviate the crime situation. Ultimately, it is important to remain cognisant of the distinction between the high-level process of addressing the conflicts between PH and the rule of law, and the need to work with police on the ground to facilitate the provision of health services as a part of the law enforcement process.

Janine from Mainline expressed her disagreement with this way of framing the problem. Janine noted that while PH advocates rarely ask the police not to enforce the rule of law, it is also the case that in some situations we do need to police to de-prioritise certain crimes to allow space for a PH initiative to be carried out. The police make decisions about which crimes to prioritise on a daily basis, and there is space for PH advocates to work with the police in reorienting their priorities on the basis of PH goals. In addition, at times, the police themselves target certain individuals on the basis of their personal feelings towards these groups, and some KPs are targeted on the basis of the moral qualms of certain officers, rather

than on the basis of legitimate LE priorities. In such cases, advocates for KPs are asking police officers to change their behaviour with regard to how they enforce the rule of law. So this is a multi-level and complex issue and will not be resolved through action on a single level. When the activities of KPs are criminalised it does make it difficult to ensure that they have access to PH services, so the laws and policies must be changed. However, at the same time, it is possible to provide services through the process of LE. So, we must tackle the problem on multiple levels to ensure long-term change.

Conclusion

The session facilitator underlined the main outcomes of the meeting as follows:

- There is a need for further discussion on instigating a combined approach that is inclusive of all three KPs. While there are difficulties and possible areas of conflict within a combined approach, there are also significant advantages of working together. These advantages must be capitalised on. By exploiting the commonalities between various KPs we can work in a way that is more efficient, and present stronger proposals to government.
- In improving the situation that exists between KPs and the police, it is vital to work with the police on multiple levels. Senior officials in the DoH should be used to champion changes in police protocol from the national policy level. PH advocates must facilitate collaboration between the DoH and the DoJ.
- It is important to use a range of strategies in working with community-level police officers to build KP champions. Possibilities include study visits to other countries, the identification of champions within the police force, and PH advocates working closely with police as they carry out their day-to-day duties. It is important to remain cognisant of the hierarchical nature of the police force, and to note that police officers are often more receptive to change when it is suggested by other police officers, rather than by PH advocates. Lastly, interventions aimed at changing the basic training curriculum may be more likely to have sustainable, long-term results.
- Given the hierarchical nature of law enforcement, we need to work on strategies to gain access to senior officials and decision-makers within the police. Following SWEAT's approach, a possible strategy is to use the media to demonstrate the conflicts between human rights, PH goals and LE priorities, and to put external pressure on senior officials.
- We need to make sure that when we do gain access, we have a comprehensive and effective intervention to implement. In addition to an inclusive and informative training manual, we must have a well thought-out approach to training to ensure long-term change in the way police officers interact with KPs.
- It is important to learn from the experiences of other countries and other sectors in resolving similar issues, and to ensure that our work makes judicious use of existing knowledge and resources.

Mr Nel closed the meeting by thanking THCA for hosting the session, and Mainline and COC Netherlands for their generous funding without which the meeting could not have taken place.