

Rehabilitation of hate crime offenders

Research Report

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The views and recommendations expressed in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the policy or the views of the Equality and Human Rights Commission.

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Summary

In October 2010 the Equality Act came into force which, among the new general duties it places on public bodies, requires public authorities to take action to “promote understanding” and “tackle prejudice”.

The duty on a public body to reduce prejudice can be seen to include working with those people in the community whose prejudice has an impact both on them and the people around them and therefore applies to the area of criminal justice and ‘hate crime’ offenders.

However, despite the growing attention and interest in hate crime, there is a clear need for a shared learning about how to effectively manage offenders.

This report aims to provide a contribution to that learning by presenting a research review of some of the initiatives that have been established.

The aims of the research were to:

- Identify, from an international search, programmes designed for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders
- Determine the transferability of programmes, or elements of them, for practice learning in the UK
- Make recommendations for the design and delivery of rehabilitative programmes for hate crime offenders in the UK

The research drew on international knowledge and expertise to look for relevant programmes in North America, Australia and New Zealand, and Europe, as well as in the UK, and, when programmes were identified, sought more information wherever possible by visits and telephone contacts with those responsible for the programmes.

No programmes were found in Australia, New Zealand or Canada.

The programmes identified in the United States, most of which were aimed at young offenders, had mostly ceased to function, usually because of problems of funding.

Programmes were, however, identified in Germany and Sweden, which – unlike programmes identified in the United Kingdom – are intended specifically for offenders who have or have had some contact with far-right racist groups.

The UK programmes identified share with those in Europe a commitment to the acceptance and understanding, rather than the rejection and condemnation, of racially motivated offenders, and have shown that it is possible to work with them constructively while firmly conveying that racist attitudes and behaviour are not acceptable.

On the basis of the research findings, and in the context of the 2010 Equality Act, a number of recommendations are made for the design and delivery of programmes for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders in the UK

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the research

There is now a considerable scholarly and policy literature on the problem of hate crime. But despite the growing attention and interest in hate crime, a lot of essentials remain as yet unknown. Most importantly, there is a clear need for a shared understanding about how to effectively manage the problem, and there is especially a need to share learning about the management of offenders. This report aims to provide a contribution to that learning by presenting a review of some of the initiatives that have been established for their rehabilitation.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

Given that there is clearly a knowledge gap and a need for sharing understanding about what works, and in what circumstances, for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders, the research for this report first aimed to identify programmes that specifically set out to challenge and reduce reoffending in relation to targeted or hate crime, and then to review identified programmes to determine what learning can be drawn for working with offenders.

More precisely, the research aimed to:

- Identify programmes that specifically set out to challenge and reduce reoffending in relation to hate crime in Australia and New Zealand, Europe, the United Kingdom and North America.
- Determine, for any programmes identified, their potential transferability, or the transferability of some elements of programmes, for good practice learning in the UK.
- Provide some key recommendations for the design and delivery of rehabilitative programmes for hate crime offenders in the UK.

1.3 Research design

A common strategy was applied in each of the regions covered by the research to try to identify and gather information about programmes (more detail about the research strategy in each region is provided in the 'Research appendix'). The research team combined some of the leading international expertise on hate crime with practice and policy experience in the subject. The search for programmes was conducted by an internet key word search, and contacts by mail, email and telephone with criminal justice agencies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's), and colleagues and scholars with relevant expertise known to the researchers. It became clear that some of the programmes that had been established were no longer operational and therefore inevitably the research did not capture everything. However, for programmes identified, contacts were made by email, telephone, or in person, to gather more detailed information than obtained in the initial search. A template of

sensitising questions was used to guide the collection of information about programmes (Research appendix).

1.4 Defining ‘hate crime’

The term ‘hate crime’ has no legal status in most of the countries covered by the research, as while legal provisions cover acts of hate crime, no laws use the term. The United States stands as the major exception. Yet the notion of ‘hate crime’ has been enthusiastically embraced by the police, other criminal justice agents, victims’ rights advocates, and the media, in many of the countries covered by the research. The research team were guided by a shared understanding of the notion of hate crime as referring to any criminal offence motivated or aggravated by an offender’s hatred, prejudice or hostility, against someone because of their race, colour, ethnic origin, national origins, religion, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, disability, or age.

Such a conceptualisation of hate crime is consistent, for example, with the definition agreed by the Scottish Executive’s Working Group on Hate Crime as “A crime motivated by malice or ill will towards a social group”,¹ which as the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland notes, means that “incidents perceived to be motivated on the grounds of age, disability, faith, gender, race or sexual orientation will be classified as a hate crime.”² It is also consistent with the Association of Chief Police Officers and Crown Prosecution Service agreed definition of hate crime as “any crime or incident where the perpetrator’s hostility or prejudice against an identifiable group of people is a factor in determining who is victimised.”³

1.5 Equality legislation and the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders

The Race Relations Act 1976 (RRA) was the first to introduce a mandatory duty on Local Authorities who must “**in carrying out its functions, have due regard to the need— (a) to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination; and (b) to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups**” (Section 71). However, the ‘good relations’ part of the statutory duty was never defined in law and no guidance was issued by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) on the issue.

In 2002 the Race Relations Amendment Act came into force and the provisions of the Section 71 duty were extended to cover all listed public bodies and the enforcement of the Act strengthened. However, again, guidance on the issue was limited and no case law established under this section.

In 2005 the Disability Equality Duty was introduced through an amendment to the original Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (DDA). The new duty required public bodies to promote positive attitudes towards disabled people and to promote their involvement in public life. Although not directly addressing the good relations issue in the same way as the RRA, the new duty did clarify that agencies had to do more than simply respond to complaints about disability related harassment and negative public attitudes. The Sex Discrimination Act, RRA and DDA were further amended in the

2000's to include the prohibition of harassment on the grounds of gender, race or disability. And in October 2010 the Equality Act came into force which places new general duties on public bodies. The new Act requires public authorities to eliminate discrimination, advance equality of opportunity and foster good relations, and to take action to "promote understanding" and "tackle prejudice". In this context the duty on a public body to reduce prejudice can be seen to include working with those people in the community whose prejudice has an impact both on them and the people around them and therefore applies to the area of criminal justice and offenders.

2. What do we know about hate crime offenders?

Understanding the impulses and motivations that lead to hate crime is essential to designing rehabilitation measures for hate crime offenders as the goal of such measures is to inhibit the factors which cause offending, and hence prevent or reduce re-offending. However, there is little understanding provided in the research or policy literature about hate crime offenders and the types of crimes they commit. While the rehabilitation programmes that have been established to date (to be discussed in this report) have been informed by the experiential knowledge of practitioners and a few small scale research studies on offenders, such programmes have not been able to draw on any systematic body of evidence about hate crime offenders or evidence about what works and what doesn't when it comes to their rehabilitation.

While there has been some scholarly theorising about the background ideological contexts for the actions of hate crime offenders (cf. Perry 2001), and some mostly older empirical studies of the local political and socio-cultural contexts of offending in the case of racist violence (cf. Bowling 1998; Hesse et al., 1992; Hewitt 2005; Sibbitt 1997), there has been little applied research on the question of why particular people offend in particular circumstances — while many others who live in the same environments and experience the same circumstances don't offend. In short, what is it about those offenders that might explain their offending and the types of offences they commit? Such understanding is critical for the appropriate design of rehabilitation measures, and given its significance this section of the report discusses what is known about hate crime offenders to inform the review that follows of the programmes identified by the research for this report.

2.1 Characteristics of hate crime offenders

What is known about the characteristics of offenders may offer hints at some of the impulses and motivations behind their offending. Published data on hate crime offenders in the countries covered by the research are severely limited and inconsistent in terms of the data provided, and given that little is known about hate crime offenders, it is instructive to examine some known offender characteristics. There are no data published for Australia and New Zealand, and there have only been occasional published data in Canada. In the United States, data published under the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting Program have only included some limited data on what is referred to as the 'race' of offenders. For Europe, the 2010 Annual Report of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA 2010) noted the significant variation in the collection and publication of data on racist crimes across the EU, with the exception of three Member States — Finland, Sweden and the UK. Even for these countries though, the publicly available data are limited. In the UK, for instance, while the Crown Prosecution Service's annual Hate Crime Report for England and Wales (Crown Prosecution Service 2009) provides data on prosecutions for different victim categories of hate crime only data on the gender and ethnicity of offenders are provided.

Given the paucity of published data, to provide a snapshot of offender characteristics, requests were made for anonymized police data on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of those accused of hate crimes — their gender, age, ethnic

group and employment status — in the 2008-09 financial year from Lancashire Constabulary, the Metropolitan Police Service, and the Police Service of Northern Ireland. These forces were chosen to cover any differences in offending between mostly urban and mixed urban and rural areas and also to include reported sectarian offending in addition to the other strands of hate crime recorded across the UK. They also enable comparisons to be made with published data on racist incidents recorded by the police in Scotland (Scottish Government 2010).

Although it is well known that hate incidents and hate crimes are grossly underreported to the police, police data on accused offenders offer the most reliable information about the characteristics of offenders, compared with other sources of data on offending, as the information is collected directly from those accused. Such data are also the most relevant to informing a review of rehabilitation provision as the body of accused offenders serves as the pool from which referrals for rehabilitation are drawn following prosecution and conviction. Police forces in the UK also record information about the characteristics of suspects — a much larger number compared with those accused — but the information is not very reliable as it is drawn from the observations made about suspected offenders by victims and witnesses, rather than from offenders themselves. The same problem of a lack of reliability in the data affects the even larger information base on suspects collected by the British Crime Survey, as the information is solely drawn from questioning victims.

In addition to their reliability about the characteristics of offenders, police data are also more inclusive than other data sources. For instance, the Youth Justice Board's THEMIS database is confined to information about the characteristics of young people aged 10-17 referred to Youth Offending Teams in England and Wales, whereas the police data cover all ages. The Crown Prosecution Service's published hate crime data are confined to prosecuted offenders, excluding those offenders captured by the police data whose offences were 'cleared-up' by other means — such as a caution, restorative caution, or warning. In Scotland, while almost 7 in 10 (67%) known perpetrators were referred to the Procurator Fiscal or the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration (SCRA) in 2008/09, other actions were taken with nearly a fifth (19%) of perpetrators, including police warnings and referrals to other agencies (Scottish Government 2010: Table 15, page 20).

Table 2.1 Numbers of accused hate crime offenders 2008-09, Lancashire Constabulary, Metropolitan Police Service, Police Service of Northern Ireland, and Police forces in Scotland

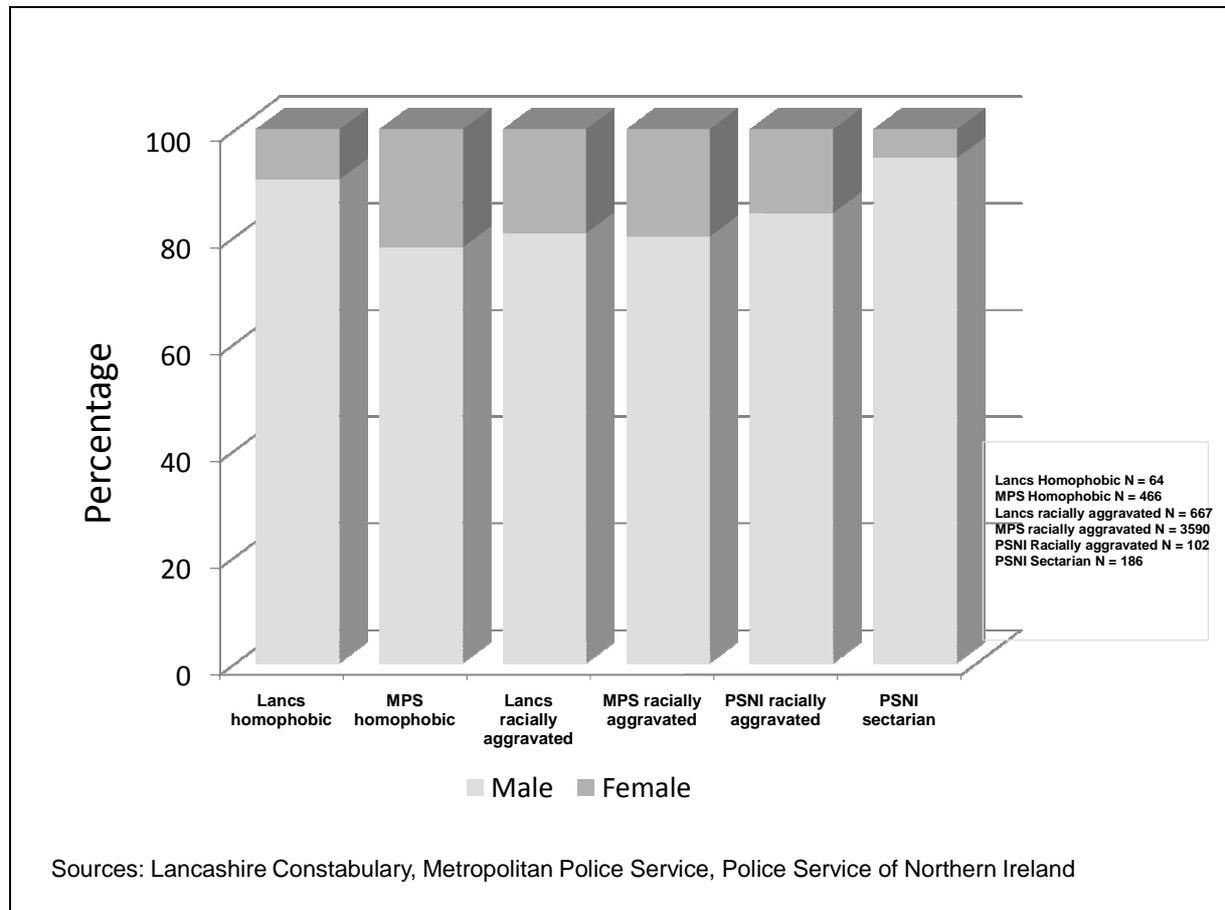
	Racially aggravated	Religiously aggravated	Homophobic	Disability	Sectarian
Lancashire Constabulary	667	22	64	11	—
Metropolitan Police Service	3590	123	466	11	—
Police Service of Northern Ireland	106	5	33	4	190
Scotland*	5423	—	—	—	—

*Source: Scottish Government 2010, page 19, table 12.

The Police data for some key variables of relevance to designing rehabilitation measures are briefly outlined below. The patterns evident in the data will be obvious to practitioners and others with knowledge of the field, but the data allow for an understanding of the characteristics of offenders beyond such anecdotal knowledge and there are no other places where such data are published.

First, males account for the great majority of those accused of hate crimes as recorded by the three police forces (Figure 2.1), as is the case for offenders in completed hate crime prosecutions in England and Wales (Crown Prosecution Service 2009) and for all offenders found guilty or cautioned for offences (excluding motoring offences) (Ministry of Justice, 2010: Table 1). Similarly, the great majority (79%) of known perpetrators of racist incidents in Scotland in 2008/09 were male (Scottish Government 2010: Table 14, page 20). The preponderance of males among offenders indicates that at the very least the salience of constructions of gender identity and masculinity for offending (Tomsen 2001) needs to be explored and addressed by rehabilitation programmes in relation to victimisation of all targeted groups. However, as the data also show that hate crime offending is not an exclusively male activity, rehabilitation interventions need to be adaptable to working with female hate crime offenders as well.

Figure 2.1 Sex of accused hate crime offenders, 2008-09



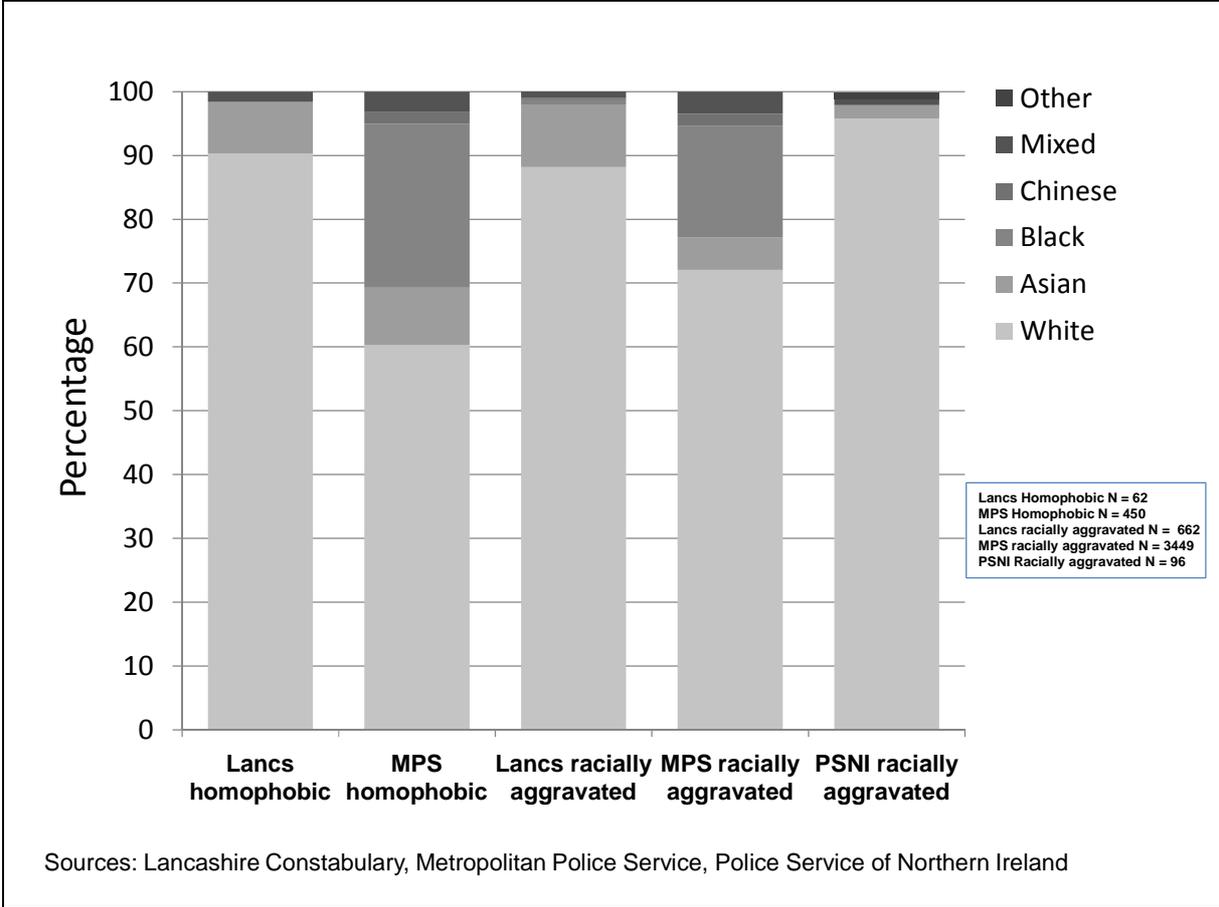
Second, while there are some differences in the age profile patterns between the police force areas and between the different types of hate crimes, it is clear that offenders are more likely to be concentrated in the younger age range, with over half of offenders aged under 25 in sectarian and racially aggravated offences and half under 30 for homophobic offences. This pattern is not dissimilar to the age profile of offenders in general, as under 21 year olds accounted for 30 per cent of all those found guilty or cautioned for indictable and summary offences (excluding motoring offences) in England and Wales in 2008 (Ministry of Justice, 2010: Table 1). In Scotland, over a fifth (22%) of male perpetrators of racist incidents in 2008-09 were aged under 16, and under twenty one year-olds accounted for almost half (46%) of the male perpetrators. The same was the case for female perpetrators of racist incidents as just over a quarter (26%) were aged under 16 and nearly half (46%) aged under 20 (Scottish Government, 2010: Table 14, page 20).

A similar pattern is evident in Canada where 12-17 year-olds accounted for 38 per cent of all those accused of hate crime in 2006 (Dauvergne, Scrim, and Brennan 2008), and in Sweden where 40 per cent of those suspected of hate crimes in 2008 were aged under 20 (Brå 2009: 41). Despite the skewing of offending to the younger age range, it is important to note when considering the design of rehabilitation programmes that offenders are represented across all ages, and substantial numbers

of offenders do not fall into the category of ‘young offenders’. It will be noted in the next section of this report, however, that most of the rehabilitation programmes that have been established in the US have been targeted at young offenders, although this has not been the case in the UK.

Third, the great majority of accused hate crimes offenders in the three police force areas classified themselves as ‘white’, as is the case with prosecuted hate crime offenders in England and Wales according to data published by the Crown Prosecution Service (2009). The great majority (95.5%) of perpetrators of racist incidents in Scotland in 2008/09 - for whom ethnic origin was known – classified themselves as ‘white’ (Scottish Government, 2010: Table 12, page 19). White offenders also account for the majority of known hate crime offenders recorded by the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reporting Program for the United States (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2009), although the proportion is much lower than in the UK.

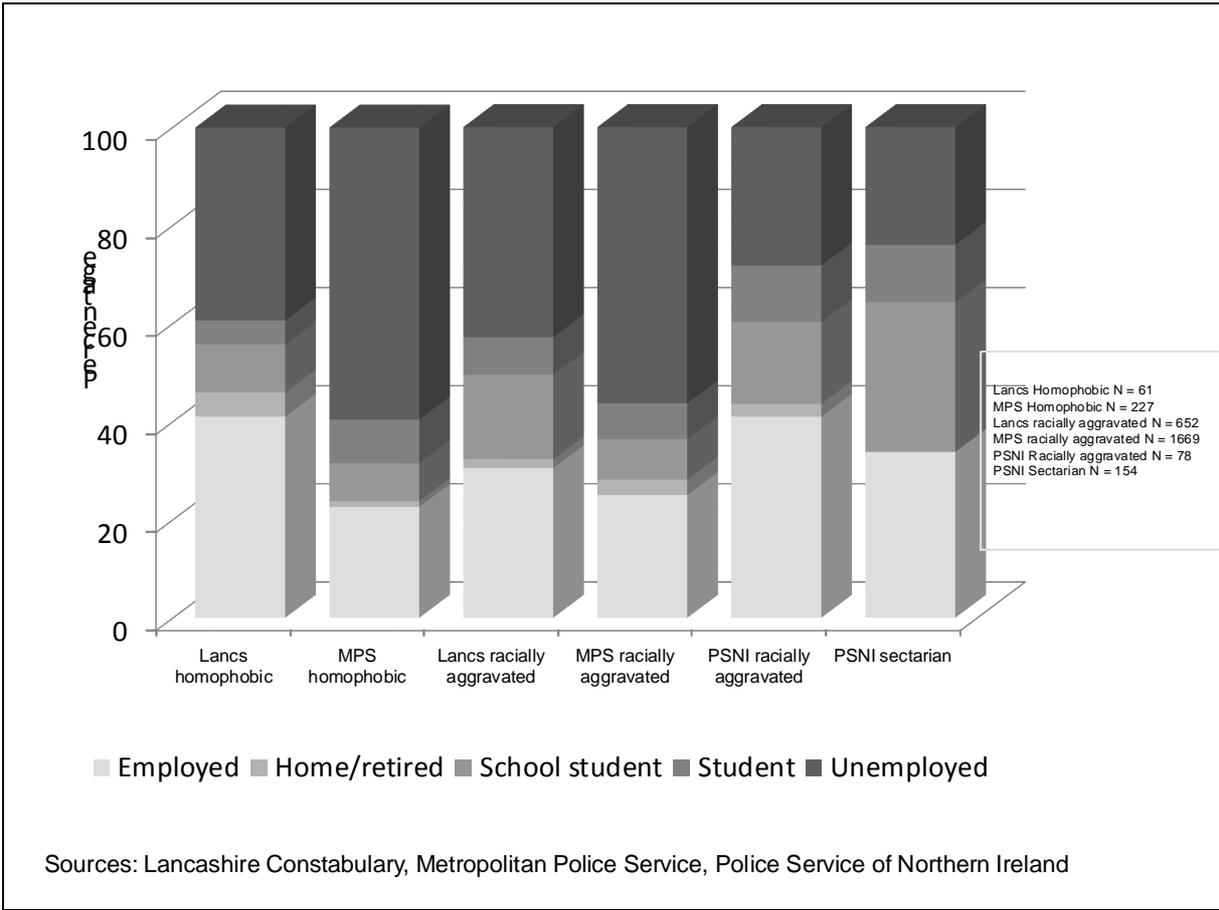
Figure 2.2 Accused hate crime offenders by ethnic group, 2008-09



But the data also indicate ethnic group diversity among offenders. Hence rehabilitation interventions cannot be constructed solely around the model of a white racist offender — a characterisation of offenders which has almost exclusively occupied the scholarly literature on racist violence to date.

Fourth, unemployed offenders constitute substantial proportions of the accused in each of the police force areas and for each type of hate crime, ranging from 24.5 per cent of those accused of sectarian offences in Northern Ireland to 59.5 per cent of accused homophobic hate crime offenders recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service. The large proportions of unemployed offenders indicate that the relationship between socio-economic marginalisation and offending clearly needs to be explored and addressed by rehabilitation measures for hate crime offenders.

Figure 2.3 Economic activity of accused hate crime offenders, 2008-09



2.2 The impulses and motivations of hate crime offenders

None of the data on the characteristics of hate crime offenders just discussed provide any indication about the significance of 'hate', prejudice, or bigotry, as a motivating impulse for hate crime offending. This is a fundamental question for the design and delivery of rehabilitation programmes. And it is a question informed to date by practitioner experience and a very small research literature. The term 'hate crime' arguably conjures up an image of hate-fuelled individuals who consciously act out their 'hate' in the offences they commit. But it is a misnomer as most offenders don't hate their victims. They offend for other reasons. And practitioner experience in the case of race-hate crime also suggests that many offenders are generalists who are involved in a range of offending activity rather than specialists in racist crime (Dixon, 2002: 208; Smith 2006: 32-33). This understanding has been informed by a small research literature which suggests that hate crime offenders' actions are fuelled by a variety of impulses — shared by offenders in other crimes — of which hate, prejudice or bigotry is just a part. Such impulses were influentially illuminated by a typology constructed by US scholars Jack Levin and Jack McDevitt using police records of hate crimes reported to the Boston (US) police department in the 1990s. One observation stood out from their typology: hate, prejudice, or bigotry commonly play a minor role in prompting hate crime offending, as other impulses are often at work. Levin and McDevitt (1993; 2002) suggested that many incidents appear to be committed for the fun of it, for the thrill, and other reasons such as resentment, retaliation and revenge (1993: 7).

Other research in the United States has characterised the motivating impulses of hate crime offenders in a similar way. For instance, drawing from self-reported homophobic offending in a survey of community college students, Karen Franklin proposed that two of the motivations behind incidents, 'thrill seeking' and 'peer dynamics', are related to "adolescent developmental needs". According to Franklin **"Thrill Seekers commit assaults to alleviate boredom, to have fun and excitement, and to feel strong. Peer Dynamics assailants commit assaults in order to prove their toughness and heterosexuality to friends"** (Franklin, 2000). And in the UK, research which analysed crime records of anti-Jewish incidents reported to the Metropolitan Police Service suggested that most offenders were not consciously acting-out their prejudice or bigotry by targeting victims in premeditated violent attacks. Instead, the research noted that many perpetrators of hate crime are 'ordinary people' — often known or recognized by victims as 'locals' (on this point see Mason, 2005: 856) — who offend in the unfolding contexts of their everyday lives: prompted not by a particular ideological conviction or volition, but expressing instead sentiments that lie beneath the surface of everyday cognition for many people (Iganski, Kielinger & Paterson 2005). Such sentiments rise to the surface for some people when an opportunity to vent their prejudices occurs, or when it is triggered by a grievance, an irritation, or conflict — the routine incivilities of everyday life (Iganski, 2008).

In some respects, the ordinariness of everyday offending that the research suggested is not dissimilar to far less frequent but more intense 'extremist' offending. In the United States, for instance, Pete Simi (2009), has noted how racist skinheads are more likely to be involved in opportunistic, situational and spontaneous violence,

often fuelled by real or manufactured interpersonal disputes, whereby the targets are based on convenience, rather than premeditated deliberate targeted attacks. The research literature on 'extremist' hate crime offenders has been highly valuable in the sense of humanizing the picture of such offenders and indicating that it is too simplistic to draw a hard distinction between 'extremists' and 'ordinary' people, as extremists have their ordinary lives too (cf. Blazak, 2009b). It also offers an understanding about the grievances such offenders express about their sense of exclusion and what Blazak has called their "ethnic envy" — their perceived lack of opportunity, compared with minorities, to express their 'white identity' (Blazak, 2008).

Even though extremist offenders might articulate their bigotry more intensely than most other people, their views are shared by many who do not express them in the same way. Nearly two decades ago, research involving economically marginalised youths in New York City (Pinderhughes, 1993) demonstrated that given limited job prospects, many saw themselves as victims of public policies and employment practices that favoured minorities, and of growing minority political power in the city. Against this background they perceived that they were under siege, and racist violence was seemingly used instrumentally to defend one of the few things over which they could act to try to exercise control — the space in which they lived. A decade later, research with convicted racist offenders, who were either unemployed or working in low-paid, casual and insecure jobs, and in contact with the probation service in Greater Manchester, England, revealed how some offenders articulated their offending in terms of the sense of shame and failure they felt about their social and economic marginalisation. In the context of the "routine, taken-for-granted racism that characterised their neighbourhoods" and also "in the context of a shared sense of being invisible and ignored" (Ray, Smith & Wastell, 2003: 125) their victims were scapegoated and blamed for their marginalisation — according to the offenders' rationalisations of their behaviour. The significance of the background context of social and economic disadvantage for 'race-hate' crime has also been indicated by Dixon, Gadd and Jefferson (cf. Dixon and Gadd, 2006) in research in North Staffordshire, as they highlight the preponderance of offenders with mental health problems and other social disadvantages. However, the small sample of convicted racist offenders included in the research limits the wider applicability of the findings.

2.3 The versatility of hate crime offenders

Arguably, the most telling observation that stands out from the police data and the research literature discussed in this section of the report is that hate crime offenders are in general much more like other offenders than unlike them in their characteristics and in the attitudes and beliefs they express. These attitudes issue in acts of overt hostility or violence in situations of emotional arousal and threat. While the data show that there is no single type of offender, there is a tendency for offenders to be young males for whom violence and aggression are acceptable and normal modes of interaction and problem-solving, and the translation of hostility into action is often fuelled by a sense of grievance, perceived slights, or the dynamics of acting out in front of friends and peers. The data, although limited, also suggest in the case of racially aggravated offenders that they are often generalist (or versatile) rather than specialist offenders (Messner et al., 2004) with a record of other offence types as well (Palmer & Smith 2010).

While most of the research reviewed in this section of the report has been small scale, concerned mostly with race-hate crime, and drawn primarily from the United States and the UK, and while there is still a great deal more understanding that needs to be developed, there is a large enough body of evidence to suggest that the patterns and observations noted are likely to apply to other countries and to different types of hate crime. In short, it is clear that there is an interplay of variables at work in the impulses behind hate crime offending. A key question therefore for analysing the interventions for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders to be discussed in the next section of this report, concerns the ways and extent to which they focus on the relationship between key variables - such as offender age, gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic marginalisation - and the impulses for acts of offending. But also, given that there is no one type of offender, and there can therefore be no 'one-size fits all' rehabilitation programme for all hate crime offenders, a further key question for analysing programmes concerns how they can be made flexible enough to manage the diverse array of motivating impulses of offenders. And perhaps the most fundamental question of all, given that hate, bigotry and prejudice are not uniformly present as motivations for all acts of hate crime, concerns the management of the balance between specialist provisions targeted at the attitudes and beliefs of hate crime offenders, and generalist provisions focusing on the needs that hate crime offenders share with other offenders.

3. Programmes for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders identified by the research

This section of the report describes the programmes identified by the research and offers case studies of four programmes, focusing on programme design and content, and programme outcomes and evaluation. The case studies are followed by brief descriptions of other programmes identified. Prominent elements of the programmes are then drawn out. Not all of the programmes identified are still operational, with most of the programmes identified in the United States having ceased to function — mainly due to a lack of funding. A summary of the programmes identified by the research that are still operational is provided in table 3.1.

No programmes specifically designed for hate crime offenders were identified in Australia or New Zealand. All those contacted for the research indicated that they were unaware of any rehabilitative programmes for hate crime offenders. Many spoke of the difficulty for agencies in identifying hate crime offenders as a specific group, given that no Australian or New Zealand jurisdiction, apart from Western Australia, has a specific offence in criminal law that would assist in doing so. Furthermore, the limited use of aggravated sentencing provisions in jurisdictions where they exist (New South Wales, the Northern Territory, New Zealand and, recently, Victoria) means that the number of those convicted under such provisions and consequently known to the agencies is too small to warrant the development of specialised rehabilitation programmes.

No programmes specifically designed for hate crime offenders were identified in Canada. As is the case for Australia and New Zealand, the absence of hate crime rehabilitation programmes in Canada might be understood in the context of the prevailing legislative arrangements. Canada has only limited hate crime legislation. In 1970, amendments to the Criminal Code recognised as criminal offences promotion of genocide (Section 318), public incitement of hatred likely to lead to breach of the peace (Section 319.1), and wilful promotion of hatred (Section 319.2) when directed against specified ‘identifiable groups’. In 2001, a bias motivated mischief provision was added (Section 430.4.1). Somewhat distinct from these provisions is Section 718.2 — which is a sentence enhancement statute. Very few cases have been prosecuted under any of these provisions.

Table 3.1 Current programmes for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders

Programme name	Country	Primarily prison or community?	Offender	Further information
Abschied von Hass und Gewalt	Germany	Prison	Far-right extremist	Contact: Judy.korn@violence-prevention-network.de For further information see: www.violence-prevention-network.de
Can you hear the bigots sing?	Scotland	Prison	Sectarian and all offenders	Contact: Laura McAleese, Youth Project Co-ordinator, The Iona Community Youth Department. Tel: 0141 332 6343, email: Laura@iona.org.uk For further information, see also: Lucy Adams 'Tackling bigotry behind bars', Herald Scotland, 15 March 2010.
The Challenge Hate Crime Project	Northern Ireland	Prison & Community	All hate crime	Contact: Monica Fitzpatrick, Research Manager, NIACRO. For further information see: http://www.niacro.co.uk/challenge-hate-crime/
Diversity Awareness and Prejudice Pack	England	Community	All hate crime, but mostly racist offenders	For further information see: Lemos, G. (2005) <i>The Search for Tolerance. Challenging and changing racist attitudes and behaviour among young people</i> , York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Chapter 3: "Diversity Awareness Programme, London, pages 33-39).
EXIT Sweden	Sweden	Community	Racist/neo-Nazi, White Power	Contact: exit@fryshuset.se For further information see: http://www.fryshuset.se/fryshuset/Fryshuset_social_projects.aspx , and...

				Bjørgero, T., van Donselaar, J. and Grunenbergh, S. (2009) 'Exit from right-wing extremist groups: lessons from disengagement programmes in Norway, Sweden and Germany', in Bjørgero, T. and Horgan, J. (eds.) Leaving Terrorism behind, London: Routledge, pages: 135-151.
Promoting Human Dignity	England	Community	Racist	For further information see: Palmer, J. and Smith, D. (2010) 'Promoting Human Dignity: An evaluation of a programme for racially motivated offenders', Probation Journal, 57, 4, pages 368-82.
Race Equality in our Communities	England	Prison	Racist	NOMS
Think Again	England	Community	Racist	West Yorkshire Probation Trust

The legislative context for managing hate crime in the United States is far more developed than it is in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Hate crime laws have a long provenance in the United States, which also appears to have a longer history than elsewhere in terms of the establishment of rehabilitation programmes specifically for hate crime offenders. Nine programmes were identified in the United States, although most were no longer active and many had been short-term. Attempts were made to interview staff from each of the programmes but because the majority were no longer active it was only possible for staff from three programmes to be interviewed.

The legislative context for managing hate crime in Europe (including the United Kingdom) is also far more developed than it is in Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and across the last decade – at least – a number of programmes have been established for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders. Two programmes were identified by the research in Germany, one in Sweden and six in the United Kingdom.

3.1 Case studies of current programmes for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders identified by the research

Case studies of four programmes are presented below: each selected because they are currently in operation and have been subject to some form of evaluation shared with the researchers for this report, even though in some cases the evaluations have not yet been published.

3.1.1. Abschied von Hass und Gewalt (Taking Responsibility – Breaking away from Hate and Violence) (Germany)

“Taking responsibility – Breaking away from Hate and Violence” was established in 2001 and organised and delivered by the Berlin-based Violence Prevention Network. It has been funded by Federal and State funds and the European Union (EU) Social Fund. It is a group training programme developed for young male offenders in a number of participating prisons who have committed serious violent crimes and demonstrate extreme far-right tendencies and xenophobic attitudes. The programme’s main objective is to show young people in prison ways to avoid future far-right extremist and violent behaviour. To achieve this goal a special training and education programme was developed to help participants understand their violent behaviour and how to resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner. The capacity for non-violent action is embedded in a strengthened self-esteem, which enables young people to become responsible for themselves and their actions and to positively plan and design their lives. The building and development of these abilities are therefore central to the training programme.

The training team comprises female and male facilitators from a variety of professions with extensive experience of working with violent youths with far-right tendencies, and members of the team cannot be employees of the correctional facilities. Involving trainers from outside the juvenile prison environment is seen to be essential to the programme to encourage the formation of trusting relationships between the trainers and the participants.

Programme design and content

A tailored curriculum was developed and is continually refined based on the experience of delivering the programme. Participation is strictly voluntary provided that participants are willing to speak to the group about themselves and the crimes they have committed and prepared to adhere to the pre-agreed rules of the group. Before the group training starts the project involves selection interviews to identify compatible participants. One-to-one discussions are then carried out to clarify mutual expectations, and start to build the basis for trust and explain the objectives of the training.

The core of the project is group training with 20 weekly sessions that consist of several successive modules over a period of five months. Each training group consists of six to nine young people with two trainers allocated to each group. The trainers use a variety of methods such as exercises, presentations, role plays, biography graphs and images. All training sessions in the group begin and end with a

'flash' round, during which participants can express everything that affects them or depresses them. This helps them practise the ability to express thoughts and feelings as well as problems of life in prison, and work together as a group to find opportunities for change. Within this setting of group dynamics a number of specific thematic modules are placed: working with the personal biography of the offenders and violence history therein, understanding the actual crime scene and the personal involvement of the offender, discussing and debating issues of civic education (prejudice, tolerance, human rights etc.), pedagogical exercises and role plays which lend themselves to these targets, and inviting and working with family and/or possible community advisors in view of the upcoming release.

The particular violent acts committed by the young participants are dealt with in what is called a 'violence session' with appropriately skilled trainers where each participant must provide a detailed reconstruction of the violent act. The goal is that young people understand their own violent behaviour, take responsibility for what happened and avoid the use of violence in future. Provocation exercises do not form part of the programme and a 'no touch' principle applies.

The matter of violence by far-right groups is the subject of a training module that is separate from the specific acts of violence committed by the young people themselves. Here, the trainers focus on shedding light on influencing factors such as friends in the far-right group. They encourage the participants to put themselves into the role of the victim to strengthen empathy.

Further training sessions focus on learning to handle conflict situations in a non-violent manner, and using everyday scenarios participants learn to identify their stimulus thresholds, understand body signals, learn to exit from escalating situations before losing control of their emotions, and practise conflict resolution options that do not result in violence.

Sessions closer to the release date of the participant focus on how the young people can avoid future conflict and stressful situations. They are designed to help them prepare for day-to-day life outside prison.

There are a number of other notable features of the programme:

- Family days are held to bring the young people and their families closer and help trainers assess future support mechanisms outside prison. Family members are shown ways in which they can provide help and support to the young people to avoid re-offending and maintain distance from the far-right scene.
- Open discussion groups are run —parallel to the training groups — which are open to all young inmates. They take the form of a debate and are addressed to the 'ideological leaders' in prison who are openly confronted. These debates aim at challenging extreme right-wing ideas and exposing misrepresentations and historical lies with the aim of eroding far-right theories as well as the mystique of the self-proclaimed ideologues in prison.

- Supervision and support are offered after release from prison based on a voluntary agreement between the trainers and the young people and can be provided for up to twelve months. The trainers are available as a trusted “emergency helpline” or coach and can visit the young people at their own homes.
- The immediate days after release from prison are usually particularly difficult and trainers can provide practical support with housing and furnishings, dealing with various agencies, and assisting the person in their search for work or training.
- Relatives, and also friends and acquaintances, are involved in this process by the trainers, to attempt to maximise the support available for the young people concerned. If necessary, local support networks and associations are also used to assist the youths.
- It is seen to be essential to involve prison staff in the work of the programme and develop their knowledge of the far-right scene. Therefore, the methodological approaches and details of the programme are discussed in education sessions with staff and knowledge of the far-right extremist scene, its symbols and music is shared. A hotline and a factsheet have been set up for urgent requests for information and for sharing up-to-date knowledge and research about the far-right scene.
- The search for new suitable trainers and the building of their competencies form an integral part of the project. In this way, the project experiences are passed on to others, who by receiving coaching and training are able to ensure its continuation.

Outcomes and evaluation

Interim findings from research carried out to evaluate best practice of the project provide a number of instructive observations:

- The potential success of the VPN's approach for altering behaviour is dependent upon a group-dynamic approach, whereby the processes and development of participation in the group, and relationships between group members, take the primary object of the group work. This is because much violent hate crime that the participants have been involved in has been noted to occur in the context of group behaviour. Therefore the interventions need to enter into and make use of group dynamics to enable participants to counter them.
- The programme goes well beyond behavioural aggression-reduction programmes and cognitively oriented anti-violence training which are viewed to have little long-term effect on this kind of offender.
- One-to-one interventions may be necessary and are used temporarily when group work becomes too intense for a participant. However, the significance of working with participants to alter their behaviour in the context of group dynamics is further underlined by observations that many grew up in fatherless families where they were socialised in dyadic two-way relationships. Consequently, they need to develop skills to alter their behaviour in the face of pressures in group, rather than one-to-one, situations.
- The establishment of trust between participants and the facilitators has been seen to be essential. To establish trust it has been important that the facilitators come from outside and not from within the prison. Participants need a 'protected space' so that trusting relationships can develop for them to open up and be frank about themselves, so that their 'life world' experiences constitute the dominant narratives in the group - with any pedagogic interventions and exercises taking a secondary role. Internal staff and facilitators would not be able to provide this protected space. However, the institution does need to be fully involved by signalling their respect for the outside facilitators - perhaps signalled by their involvement in training of staff in the institution, for instance - so that the outside work is not undermined.
- It has been seen to be important to put all moral judgements about participants' behaviour and attitudes to one side initially, so as not to inhibit them from opening up. Furthermore, factual arguments concerning morality and ethics have not only been regarded as having a potentially limited impact, but they have also been considered to potentially have a detrimental effect upon participants by provoking them to retreat inwardly when judgements are made. Matters of morality and ethics are instead seen to emerge in the process of the development of individual personal motivation for change.
- Facilitators need to be ready to involve themselves as persons if needs be, being prepared sometimes to open up and reveal personal information about

themselves to engender trust - although there is often little need to overlay this hand as the participants' narratives need to be the dominant narratives.

- Facilitators also need to apply a critical attentiveness to the participants' narratives, by making enquiries, conjectures, or expressing reasonable doubts about participants' stories by applying a 'respectful scepticism'. This is seen to serve as a useful example for the participants as many are likely to have had little experience of conflicts or friction occurring without accompanying deprecation or aggression.

The interim evaluation also reports that approximately 500 participants have completed the programme between 2001 and 2009. The drop-out rate is less than 3%. The recidivism rate is under 30% (in terms of known re-offending) and under 10% (for re-imprisonment) compared with a 78% recidivism rate for comparable offenders. The programme costs 10,000 Euros for each participant in addition to the costs of their imprisonment. But given that the cost of imprisonment for two years in a youth jail is approximately 73,000 Euros the much lower recidivism rate for those who have completed the programme represents a considerable financial saving.

3.1.2 Diversity Awareness and Prejudice Pack (DAPP) toolkit – case management materials for work with those convicted of hate related offences. (UK)

The DAPP, developed in 2001, initially focused on race hate crime perpetrators but it has been adapted to match the demands generated by subsequent legislative provisions for enhanced sentencing in cases of religiously aggravated, disability related, and homophobic crime. It has also been adjusted to meet the challenges where offenders describe a variety of reasons for their conduct — ranging from perceived slight, to misplaced anger, envy, ignorance, suspicion, hatred and retaliation. These reactions are frequently linked to deeply entrenched prejudices regarding their perception of the identity of their victims. The programme is provided by the London Probation Trust and is delivered as part of one-to-one interventions with offenders on community and custodial sentences, or as a requirement of post-custody supervision. Some voluntary groups have used the toolkit and also some housing bodies, where tenants have been served with Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBO's) or civil sanctions as a result of hate offences.

Programme design and content

The programme consists of seven sequenced modules which explore with the offender, using interactive exercises, visual aids, videos, as well as homework tasks:

- Socialisation processes from childhood
- Personal identity, offending attitudes, beliefs and values
- Thinking skills to avoid offending
- How prejudicial attitudes contribute toward offending
- Enhancing victim empathy
- Targeted violence

- Strategies to avoid relapse in offending and manage prejudices more constructively

Those working with the programme with offenders are encouraged to be creative and to introduce contemporary materials to encourage reflection. Exercises in the programme require staff to be flexible so that they can listen to offenders' experiences and hopes. One module incorporates a community project, resulting in some particularly innovative developments which have helped offenders in their journey out of crime and developed motivation to manage prejudice.

The overall aims of the programme are to reduce the risk of re-offending and protect victims; show offenders how and why their beliefs were formed and how this contributes to their offending behaviour; enable offenders to develop a secure sense of their own identity, which is not based on defensive reactions; challenge offending attitudes to develop new behaviours and attitudes; and reiterate that anti social behaviour that is acting on prejudice and hate is criminal and that persistence in hate related views puts offenders at risk of further offending and places the public at risk.

The initial five sessions of the DAPP assist in determining the level and length of intervention required. Multiagency consultation and assessment is of paramount importance in identifying the risk of harm and risk of reoffending posed by the offender, especially as hate crime offenders are frequently known to housing providers as anti-social tenants.

The programme can vary in extent of use and delivery depending on whether it is being used for risk assessment, as a supplement to other interventions, or as the core intervention for high risk offenders. In the case of risk assessment, racial or specific animosity to a victim's perceived identity is not always apparent at the outset and it may be unclear whether the prejudice is peripheral or central. By completing a Client Questionnaire exercise in the first module staff can identify and advise the court as to the level of risk posed.

A non DAPP intervention may be indicated where the offender takes full responsibility, as well as displaying remorse for his or her offending, and is assessed as low risk of serious harm or repeat offending. This would be dependent on confirmation from other Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership agencies that there is no other history of anti-social behaviour. Sentence proposals may then take the form of unpaid work benefiting the targeted community and, or alternatively, a financial penalty.

A brief DAPP intervention is usually proposed for 'risk reduction' or 'risk management' for cases where the offence appears to be racially aggravated rather than racially motivated. These are often generalist offenders who have a range of other criminogenic needs and whose prejudices were not the main issue prompting their offence. The objective is to encourage offenders to develop a more positive sense of their own cultural identity and to learn more about the potential impact of their prejudices on other members of the offending behaviour group.

The programme is also used as a 'core intervention' designed for the high risk of serious harm offenders, where prejudices and outsider group hostility provide the

motivation for their offences. Extensive one to one work using DAPP material would be indicated in such cases. DAPP work may be started in prison in conjunction with the prison's Race Equality Action Group, which is developing strategies and policies to identify and also monitor hate crime offenders' behaviours in custody. This information can then be shared with field staff and integrated into risk assessments prior to release.

Outcomes and evaluation

Over 2,000 offenders have undertaken the programme since its inception. Outcomes have so far been measured through re-offending rates, compliance rates and breach rates. London Probation Trust is already marketing the programme to other probation areas and has begun to deliver a modified version of DAPP within some custodial establishments. An unpublished internal evaluation by the London Probation Trust in 2005 found that a small number of probation staff and staff in Young Offenders Institutions interviewed about the programme, reported that it had increased their confidence about tackling the racist elements of offenders behaviour, and they believed that some offenders had been able to develop a more empathic approach to their victims. Staff believed that a one-to-one approach was necessary, as it minimised the potential of collusion between offenders that might lead to confirmation of prejudiced views, and that a group work programme in institutions might enhance the status of participating offenders. It was also felt that group work would not enable, or provide the flexibility, for staff to focus on the unique aspects of individuals' experiences — seen to be necessary for challenging individuals' attitudes. Offenders interviewed also echoed the importance of the one-to-one approach. They reported a greater sensitivity about their own attitudes and beliefs and how they impacted on their behaviour, a greater sensitivity towards others, and more awareness concerning issues of prejudice and racism.

3.1.3 EXIT Sweden

This project was established in Sweden in 1998. The main objective of the programme is to provide support to young people wishing to cut themselves off from racist and neo-Nazi groups, or to those who have already left but need some support. EXIT also educates and informs young people, their parents and others such as teachers, youth workers, and police officers about the White Power scene.

EXIT is one of many social projects organised by Fryshuset, a foundation established in Stockholm in 1984 and headed by the YMCA. Fryshuset's social and educational projects as well as its sport, entertainment and cultural activities focus on bringing people of all backgrounds together, and encouraging interaction and integration.

Contact with EXIT is mainly initiated by the young people themselves, although referrals are sometimes made by parents, teachers and others who know and work with the youngsters concerned.

A notable feature of the programme is that it includes ex-members of racist and Nazi groups among its key staff, and the project was initiated by one such individual who had left the White Power scene. Staffing the project with people who have first-hand

experience of the needs and problems that youngsters have to deal with after leaving the White Power scene is seen to give it credibility and help contact with those wishing to break out.

Programme design and content

EXIT provides a five-phase programme:

- The phase of 'motivation' - here the young person has doubts about their involvement in the racist or neo-Nazi scene and contacts EXIT. A contact person with personal experience of involvement in the scene is assigned to them. A discussion of their options takes place, questions are answered, and support provided.
- The phase of 'disengagement' - once the young person has made the decision to leave the scene, or has just left it, they need practical support commonly for accommodation, financial assistance, and assessment of threats of retaliation they may receive from members of the groups they used to belong to. 24-hour contact is available for youths in this phase as it is a particularly difficult and confusing time for them and they may experience fear and doubts about their decision.
- The phase of 'establishment' involves complete withdrawal from the scene and the friendships they had established. The young people involved begin to experience some structure in their lives: some have a job or undertake training, some go back to school or just try to figure out what to do. At this phase the social circle of the young person is restricted and feelings of loneliness are likely. EXIT's role here is to organise social activities that encourage social engagement with other youths.
- In the phase of 'reflection', the young person reflects on their previous behaviour, actions and ideas, as well as on the reasons for entering the scene. Some have changed their violent and racist perspectives completely. Others need more time and support in achieving a complete change of viewpoints. Consultation with a therapist may be needed and is offered, in order to deal with feelings of anxiety, fear, depression, and support in resisting violent urges.
- The phase of stabilisation - a point at which some stability of direction has been established with perhaps a job, studies or even a family. At this stage, even though old ideas and habits have been left behind, feelings of depression, guilt, and anxiety may still occur. EXIT is not actively involved in this last stage, but is still available as some young people may still maintain contact.

Outcomes and evaluation

An evaluation carried out in 2001 by the National Council for Crime and Prevention showed that 133 individuals had received support from EXIT during its first three years of administration. Of these, 125 had left the White Power scene, and according to their own accounts had also refrained from criminal activity. Only four individuals

were known to have returned to the scene. When interviewed, seventeen youths who had received assistance reported that EXIT had played a crucial role in their disengagement from the White Power scene. The evaluation also showed satisfaction amongst parents, schools and local authorities.

The evaluation did, though, highlight some limitations and made recommendations for improvement. Despite the expertise and insider knowledge of programme staff formerly involved with the White Power scene, and the trust they were able to establish with young people who wanted to disengage from the scene, they were not initially equipped with the appropriate organisational and administrative skills to deal effectively and systematically with the demands of the programme. These limitations were overcome by providing education and training to the programme staff and by the involvement of and cooperation with professionals and specialists from psychiatry, education, social work and policing.

By 2008, a decade after its establishment, 600 individuals had reportedly contacted EXIT for support in their efforts to leave the White Power scene. By then, only two were known to have gone back to the scene, although a lack of systematic follow-up with individuals after they cease contact with EXIT makes it almost impossible to validate this. Another evaluation is being carried out in 2010.

3.1.4 Promoting Human Dignity (UK)

This is a programme for racially aggravated offenders funded by the Merseyside Probation Trust and delivered mainly as a group work programme, with one-to-one provision for offenders for whom group work is impractical. It has existed in its present form since April 2008 and is an adaptation of an earlier programme, Against Human Dignity, a one-to-one programme available in Merseyside since 2000. Offenders attend as a condition of a community sentence or as a requirement of post-custody supervision. The programme has continually been adapted to respond to the reality of racially aggravated crime on Merseyside. The programme's initial emphasis on racist offending by whites against African Caribbeans has been modified to reflect the increasing diversity and complexity of offending resulting from new patterns of migration due to the flight to the area of refugees from civil wars and the movements of migrant workers associated with the enlargement of the European Union in 2004.

Programme design and content

The programme consists of 14 weekly two-hour sessions. Participants are expected to undertake 'homework' between sessions. At the end of the programme a report is sent to the relevant offender manager with suggestions for further work.

The syllabus includes factual material about 'race' issues - processes of labelling and discrimination; the relationships between emotions, thought and behaviour; alternative ways of thinking; how life experiences shape feelings, beliefs and behaviour; the impact of racially motivated offending on victims; and relapse prevention. The principles of Rational-Emotive Behavioural Therapy underpin the programme.

A contract signed by participants includes a prohibition of offensive language outside immediate discussion of the offence. In the group people are asked to rephrase offensive statements. If they refuse, there can be a formal warning and if necessary exclusion. Ideologically committed racists are excluded from the programme.

Outcomes and evaluation

About 200 offenders have undertaken the programme since 2008. Reconviction rates for racially aggravated offences are believed to be very low. The programme was evaluated in 2008-09 with the evaluation report presented to the Merseyside Probation Trust in March 2009 (Palmer & Smith, 2010). While unable to judge the effect of the programme on reconvictions, as outcomes have to date been measured only by observation, the evaluation concluded that the programme was relevant, well delivered, and capable of engaging offenders' interest and commitment.

Notably, the evaluation revealed that offenders initially failed to see the relevance of the programme when it was suggested to them, as they believed that they were not 'racists' and instead saw the expressions of racism in their offences as the product of a variety of factors: the taken for granted racist attitudes in their localities; ignorance; upbringing; the use of alcohol; and the loss of control. In the event though, most of the programme participants interviewed for the evaluation reported that they did find something that was relevant, and reported becoming more aware of, and sensitised to, the impacts and consequences of their language and behaviour. And although the racism expressed by offenders is not challenged in a confrontational way, the programme appears to be succeeding in getting participants to reflect upon and reconsider such rationalisations for their offending behaviour. Overall, participants reported positive outcomes in respect of better managing their anger and other impulses which fuelled their offending, and they were more likely to find relevance in the general cognitive-behavioural aspects of the programme than the specific elements concerned with 'race' and racism, which "were seen as relevant to 'real' racists but not to them". Participants did, though, report positive outcomes in managing their expression of racist attitudes (Palmer & Smith, 2010).

The evaluation also indicated that it had proved feasible to run the programme for a group in addition to a one-to-one programme. A common concern about group work with racist offenders is that, when they are gathered in a group, their racism is likely to intensify. However, this did not occur in the group version of the programme. The evaluation concluded that this is likely because, in addition to the skills of the facilitators, the participants "were not committed ideological racists; rather they agreed that racism was morally wrong and politically dangerous" (Palmer & Smith, 2010). Given this, it was also concluded that the exclusion of ideologically committed racists from the programme as a matter of policy was justifiable, and in practice would only exclude a very small proportion of offenders given what is known about hate crime offending in general.

3.1.5 Other programmes currently operational identified by the research

Details are provided below for four other currently operational programmes identified by the research. Just outline information is presented as each of the programmes has only recently been established.

Table 3.2 Outline details of other programmes currently operational identified by the research

'Can you hear the bigots sing?' is a recently established project aimed at tackling sectarianism, initially produced for work with young offenders in HMP Polmont in 2009. The project received funding from the Scottish Government to be piloted with adult offenders at HMP Addiewell and HMP Barlinnie in 2009 and 2010, and further funded until the end of March 2011 to be delivered with additional participants in those prisons and in three other prisons in the West of Scotland (HMP Glenochil, HMP Greenock, and HMP Kilmarnock).

The project is delivered by the Iona Community, a Christian ecumenical organisation, with a contribution from the Old Firm Alliance - a partnership of Celtic and Rangers football clubs, Glasgow City Council, Culture and Sport Glasgow, and Glasgow Community Safety Services - which provides a workshop and a football coaching session for participants.

Working with groups of up to 12 prisoners who participate voluntarily, and not all with convictions for sectarian offences, the project aims to change sectarian attitudes and other forms of prejudice in seven 2-hour sessions delivered across 4 weeks. The sessions employ group discussions, aided by the use of films and role play to prompt discussion. Overall, the course aims to provide learning as well as a positive change in attitude, producing an ability to tolerate diversity and promote citizenship. Outcomes are measured by a questionnaire assessment of participants' attitudes, at the beginning, during, and at the end of the course. In the pilot projects, 63% of participants in HMP Addiewell showed more positive attitudes related to sectarianism, and 58% in HMP Barlinnie.

An ongoing evaluation is recorded at the end of each group session by the group facilitator. The group evaluation records also contribute to an independent external evaluation of the project being carried out by PS Enterprises, Project Scotland. The independent evaluation will also incorporate the views of group participants. The evaluation report, to be submitted to the Scottish Government, is scheduled for completion at the end of the project, and will inform decisions about extension of the work among the prison population in Scotland.

The Challenge Hate Crime Project (Northern Ireland) is a recently established (2009) three year project funded by the Special EU Programmes Body (SEUPB), under Peace 111. It involves a partnership between a voluntary organisation, Northern Ireland Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NIACRO), and the Northern Ireland Prison Service (NIPS). The project aims to develop and

deliver an evidence based pilot model of intervention, with particular relevance to the context of Northern Ireland, with 30 prisoners convicted of actual or de facto hate crime. The project will seek to examine and address six types of hate crime: sectarian, racist, homophobic, faith/religion, disability and transphobic. It is anticipated that most, if not all, of the referrals to the project will come from Hydebank Wood Young Offenders Centre, which covers the whole jurisdiction of Northern Ireland. The interventions will commence in prison and continue with follow-up and support in the community following the release of the beneficiaries. Facilitator training is being designed and a training manual developed.

The evidence-based development of the programme of intervention is supported by a multi-agency approach consisting of a Research Advisory Group — advised in turn by the Institute of Conflict Research in Northern Ireland — and a Practice Advisory Group, advised by the Berlin-based Violence Prevention Network.

The project also proposes to undertake in-depth research into the nature and extent of hate crimes in Northern Ireland, which will result in the production of a working definition of hate crime that is applicable within the Northern Ireland context, and has a significant consensus within and beyond the criminal justice system. In doing so it is anticipated that the project will develop a clearer understanding and discourse around hate crime within the criminal justice system and beyond with particular regard to sectarianism.

The project is subject to a rolling evaluation, with interim and final reports planned. A film record of broadcast quality involving interventionists and beneficiaries is being made throughout the life of the project. The project is expected to finish by September 2012.

Race Equality in our Communities is a programme specifically for people convicted of racially aggravated offences, funded by the prison service arm of NOMS and in particular by the Race Equality Action Group within the prison service. The programme was established in February 2010 having been piloted in two Young Offender Institutions and an adult male establishment, with approximately 40 participants in total in the three pilot programmes. Offenders attend voluntarily whilst serving their sentence.

Think Again - In 2010 West Yorkshire Probation Trust replaced an earlier non accredited programme 'The Hate Crime Module' with a ten session intervention 'Think Again'. Think Again is delivered by Offender Managers as a requirement of the participant's community order or licence. Think Again was developed by its author from qualitative research undertaken by her at Cambridge Institute of Criminology. Its content and structure reflect what research suggests is most likely to be effective in reducing the risk of further hate crime. It attends to criminal characteristics commonly associated with hate crime perpetrators. It incorporates motivational and problem solving features of the Priestley One to One programme, which is the accredited intervention considered by NOMS to be most suited to such offenders.

In that many people have discriminatory views but do not commit hate crimes, Think Again does not overtly engage with the perpetrator's attitudes nor does it introduce information about minorities to challenge any misconceptions the offender may have. Both these approaches can be experienced by the offender as confrontational hence invariably are counterproductive. The emphasis of Think Again is upon empowering the participant to develop their own sense of place, purpose and potential and secure a positive foothold within society. Hence they are better placed to behave in a more reasonable and considered way and their tendency to scapegoat others starts to fade.

Think Again is currently being evaluated by West Yorkshire Probation Research Unit.

3.2 Case studies of some programmes no longer running

The research identified a number of programmes that are no longer functioning. However, sufficient information was able to be gathered to present case studies for four of the programmes, as detailed below.

3.2.1 Anti-Discriminatory Awareness Programme Training (ADAPT) (UK)

This was a programme for racially aggravated offenders funded by the Race, Refugee and Integration Fund of the Scottish Government Equality Unit, delivered as a one-to-one programme by the Director of the Grampian Racial Equality Council (GREC) in Aberdeen. The programme was active from April 2007 – February 2009, when funding ceased. Nine offenders started the programme, all but one as a condition of a probation order, and six completed it. One of the non-completers was the only person who undertook the programme without a court order, on the basis of a referral from the Procurator Fiscal. A pack is being produced which, it is hoped, will enable criminal justice social workers to use the programme with appropriate clients, although funds were not made available for the training which ideally would have accompanied the publication of the pack.

Programme design and content

The programme consisted of 12 fortnightly one hour one-to-one sessions. The design of the programme was informed by observation of the DAP programme in London, as well as by generic offending behaviour programmes. It also drew on GREC's experience of training in the public and voluntary sectors, and was adapted for the specifics of racially aggravated offences in Grampian, where the typical offences are against East Europeans and Scottish Travellers.

The programme did not follow a rigid syllabus, but was adapted according to the client's needs and response. It included material from generic offending behaviour programmes on feelings, thought, behaviour and consequences, goal-setting, alternative thinking, and the cycle of change. It also included material on stereotyping and prejudice, including the 'Eye of the Storm' video, and historical material on Scottish migration and the Scots' part in empire-building.

Expressions of overt prejudice were managed in the same way as in GREC's educational and training work – by reflecting the prejudice back and getting participants to consider their own lives and backgrounds.

Outcomes and evaluation

The specified outcomes for the programme were positive changes in attitudes and behaviour, including a reduction in racist offending. The programme aimed to increase empathy, self-awareness and confidence, and to encourage assertiveness rather than aggression or submission as a response to aggression. The programme is being systematically evaluated by an academic from Robert Gordon University, using a range of before and after psychometric tests supplemented by qualitative interviews with programme completers. The extent to which the findings from the

evaluation can be generalised beyond this particular programme will clearly be limited by the small number of subjects, but should be useful to inform criminal justice social work practice in Scotland.

3.2.2 PATHWAYS to Tolerance (US)

In 2002, the San Diego Anti-Defamation League (ADL) received funding from the California Endowment to implement a programme called PATHWAYS to Tolerance. Importantly, this programme followed two highly publicized school shootings in San Diego County: one at Granite Hills High School and one at Santana High School, both in 2001. Representatives from many organizations were involved in the programme's development, including: probation, San Diego Court and Community Schools, the District Attorney's office, the ADL executive committee, ADL staff, and the juvenile court. The programme was developed for youths who had committed hate crimes, were involved in bias-motivated offences, or were considered at risk of committing either. Over half of the participants had a referral that was bias-motivated, and the majority of those were identified as racially-motivated. It is notable that one judge in the San Diego County Juvenile Court was a strong advocate for the programme, and continually referred youths. Additionally, the judge talked with her colleagues at the courthouse and encouraged them to refer appropriate cases as well. This may be part of the reason that the programme never lacked participants.

Participants were referred by probation officers to the Programme Director who carried out intake interviews with the young people referred and their parents. If youths were determined to have significant issues concerning substance abuse, mental health, or cognitive dysfunction that would impede learning, they were considered ineligible for the programme.

Programme design and content

The programme used a curriculum developed in 1999 for the Colorado regional office of the ADL, augmented by the San Diego ADL regional office to use locally. Participants met for 12 weeks and attended one two-hour session per week run by the Programme Director, an Associate Clinical Social Worker, and a volunteer who had completed facilitator training. Attendance at each session during the twelve weeks was mandatory for successful programme completion. Extensive background investigations on each participant were carried out by the social worker before they began the programme. The volunteers who helped facilitate attended half-day training events and received a copy of the curriculum, and they were generally probation officers and other law enforcement personnel.

The sessions included an educational component and a period for processing what was taught. Some sessions included interaction with victims of hate, such as holocaust survivors, and included a field trip to the museum of tolerance in Los Angeles. The facilitators explained concepts and ideas relevant to bias and tolerance and provided participants with opportunities for discussion to help them process and remember what they were learning. The sessions alternated between experiential, team building, and psychotherapeutic processes disguised as play. Rather than simply discussing bias and prejudice, these activities helped the youths understand and respond to these concepts in a safe environment.

Outcomes and evaluation

Overall, 62 youths participated in ten groups throughout the course of the programme. The number of participants in each group varied from three to eleven. Four fifths of the programme participants were male, more than three quarters identified themselves as 'Caucasian', and about one-fifth identified as 'African-American'. The average age of participants was 16.4 years old, but participants ranged in age from 11.8 to 20.6 years old. However, most were between 13-18 years old. For the majority of participants, their current offence was their first contact with the juvenile court system. Not all of the participants completed the programme, and one of the major reasons appeared to be a lack of cooperation by parents. Often, participants were not able to get transportation to and from the sessions.

Aside from a six-month follow-up of all youths who successfully completed the programme, to see if they had committed any more bias or hate-related crimes, there was no contact with the participants after the programme ended. However, the programme sponsors required an evaluation, which was completed and published in 2004. The evaluators, San Diego's Regional Planning Agency (SANDAG), determined in their final report that the programme implemented most of their programme goals, that most of their stakeholders thought that the programme was effective in reducing the risk of youths committing bias-motivated offences, and that stakeholders felt the programme was useful in addressing prejudice and bias. The evaluation also indicated that about two-thirds of participants successfully completed the programme. During the intervention and up to six months after the intervention, none of the youths had committed subsequent hate crimes or bias-related crimes. Based on a knowledge test regarding tolerance, personal biases, and behaviour that was given during the first and last session, evaluators were able to determine that there was an increase in knowledge among participants of the programme.

Despite the positive results of the evaluation, funding for the programme provided by the California Endowment ran out in March 2004. It was suggested by a research respondent interviewed about the programme that although the level of hate crimes remained relatively stable when the programme was developed, waning media interest in hate crimes affected funding commitments for programmes such as PATHWAYS. Additionally, some of the programme sponsors had become concerned with liability. Because every participant who completed the programme was presented with a certificate of completion, some sponsors worried about possible legal retribution should participant recidivism occur.

Although the programme was halted in 2004, the San Diego ADL continues to receive inquiries about it and is willing to share the programme curriculum and materials to others interested in implementing the programme.

3.2.3 New York, NY Juvenile Diversion Program (US)

The New York Juvenile Diversion programme established in New York City in 1994 and run through New York City's regional office of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), was developed and facilitated by a former high school English teacher and a specialist on diversity, who had already been working with the New York City ADL as

a facilitator for a number of years. The regional director of the New York City ADL office was also involved in the development and formation of the programme.

The programme served juvenile offenders, and participants were generally referred by the city's family courts as an alternative sentence, and were drawn from all five boroughs of New York City. Participation was mostly limited to non-violent offenders, although this changed toward the later years of the programme when violent offenders were admitted, subject to a rigorous background examination to determine that they could benefit from the programme.

Programme design and content

The programme consisted of ten sessions. The first involved a general setting of ground rules and introductions, and was structured to incorporate a beginning diversity piece that involved exploring self-identity and introduction to the diversity in the room. The chief facilitator used this first session to set the tone that he was not there to pass judgment, but rather as an educator. The introductory session was followed by one on anger management and another on conflict resolution. Subsequent sessions were each co-facilitated by a representative of a group that may have been targeted by participants, and could include a representative from a Latino, African-American or LGBT community, for instance. One session was always co-facilitated by a Holocaust survivor, who had worked with the ADL for years. The final session brought together lessons learned from the programme and was tailored for the particulars of the individual groups.

Completion of all ten sessions was mandatory, but one-on-one make-up sessions could be held for participants who were absent for a session.

Outcomes and evaluation

No formal evaluation of the programme was ever conducted, nor was there any long-term follow-up of programme participants. Short-term follow-up, however, revealed a very low recidivism rate. It was believed, though that the diversity, anger management and conflict resolution components were particularly significant elements of the programme. The use of co-facilitators was also seen to be very important because the participants were able to experience diversity in the room, rather than being lectured to about it. In addition, the session co-facilitated by the Holocaust survivor was very powerful for the students, because survivors who are still alive were just children during the Holocaust, and their stories of being young, frightened and abused offered a strong point of identification for the youths.

The programme received funding through a grant agency that funds new and innovative programmes. The agency renewed this grant at least once, but was not able to sustain the programme indefinitely and the programme ceased operation in 1999.

3.2.4 Youth Diversion Program (Boston, Ma) (US)

This programme was developed in 1999 under the guidance of the then Director of the New England branch of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) following approaches

by a number of Massachusetts judges and probation officers to address what they perceived as a gap in services for young people adjudicated in hate crime cases. The programme was developed by a team which included a clinical social worker, a trainer experienced in teaching 'anti-hate' curriculum, an academic with experience in hate crime research, and a police official who led a hate crime investigation unit.

Programme design and content

The programme involved a 12 session curriculum. The early sessions focused on the causes and functions of bias and prejudice and included discussions of historical events such as the Holocaust, segregation and lynchings in the US, and the US civil rights movement in America during the 1960's. The curriculum also included a session on the current statutory and law enforcement practices against hate crimes in Massachusetts, and a session taught by one of the hate crime investigators from the Community Disorders Unit (the hate crime investigations unit) of the Boston Police Department about the seriousness with which they investigated and prosecuted all hate crimes. This session was believed to be particularly important since the young offenders seemed surprised that the police would care about such crimes.

A further notable feature of the programme was the inclusion in the curriculum of a focus on family violence and child abuse, informed by the experience of the clinical social worker who was involved in the development of the programme, and who noted that in his clinical practice with hate crime offenders many of the young people he worked with had been abused when they were younger. The clinical social worker also conducted a psychological assessment of each of the participants in the programme and part of the assessment involved a screening for indicators of prior abuse and neglect. Where such indications were positive, participants were offered individual or group counselling.

Another notable component of the programme was a community service provision, in which an innovative element involved a requirement to participate in a celebratory event of the group that had been attacked. The aim was to allow participants to see members of the group in a different context than they had been seen previously. The events included religious celebrations, community events such as barbeques, and in one case, a wedding. Programme participants reportedly found the experience particularly compelling since they may have never thought of members of the group they targeted in any role other than victims.

Participants were also required to keep a weekly journal, which they reportedly believed to be very helpful and which provided staff with very helpful feedback on how the programme was being perceived by participants.

Outcomes and evaluation

While no exact figures are available, most of the participants reportedly completed the programme. However, no formal evaluation was carried out and no follow-up information on participants is available. Despite the programme being established in response to expressed need by the courts and probation workers, the programme was discontinued after two years due to a lack of participants. Even after the referral

sources were expanded to include schools, there were reportedly insufficient numbers of referrals to justify the expense of maintaining the programme.

3.2.5 Other programmes no longer running identified by the research

For a number of other programmes no longer functioning, it was only possible to collect brief information, as listed below:

Table 3.3 Outline details of other programmes no longer running identified by the research

The **Bias-Related Incidents Diverted for Greater Equality (BRIDGE)** programme was developed in 2007 by the Long Island Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League specifically to respond to local hate crime offenders. The programme was first funded with a grant from the Long Island Community Foundation. It is no longer active. (A description of the programme is available at: www.adl.org/blueprint.pdf).

The **Tolerance Rehabilitation for Youth (TRY)** programme — active from 1994 to 1997 — was run by Rabbi David Nesenoff of the Oyster Bay Jewish Center in Long Island in conjunction with the Nassau County court system. The family court in Nassau County mandated the sessions as part of sentences for youths under 16 convicted of bias-related incidents. The programme was originally funded by a state grant but eventually required each participant to pay tuition.

The **Juvenile Offenders Learning Tolerance (JOLT)** programme was run by the District Attorney's Office of Los Angeles County from 2000-2003 and was funded by a grant from the Justice Department. The programme involved a partnership between the Los Angeles County District Attorney, the Juvenile Court, the County Sheriff's Department, the Department of Probation, County school districts, the Anti-Defamation League, and community organizations. JOLT combined early intervention, prevention and prosecution. The early intervention programme was a pre-prosecution programme for 12 to 18 year olds who had engaged in bias-motivated misconduct or 'low-level' hate crimes. Some were given the option of participating in the programme instead of being suspended or expelled from school. If youths elected not to participate, they were sent through the regular judicial process. A notable component of JOLT was that it actively involved parents. Participants started with an informal hearing in the District Attorney's office, accompanied by their parents or guardians, and signed a contract that they would complete an intensive anti-hate curriculum, attend a training programme focusing on anger management and conflict resolution, write letters of apology to the victims, fulfil a restitution agreement, attend school, get satisfactory grades, and demonstrate good citizenship. The anti-hate curriculum, which was taught in three-hour sessions for seven weeks, included elements for juveniles and also elements for their parents or guardians. Participants also met regularly with a counsellor for a year.

Eliminate the Hate was established in 2000 to address a rise in youthful hate crime offenders and organized violence by white supremacist gangs in Ventura County, California. This programme was developed by the ADL's A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute in Los Angeles, in collaboration with the Ventura County Probation Agency and a Ventura County juvenile court judge. The programme was tailored for offenders aged between 14 and 18 who were in custody at a juvenile detention facility, or who were out of custody but on probation. Juvenile graduates of the programme had the choice to become Peer Trainers, a role in which they would learn how to co-facilitate the programme for their peers. As well as working with offenders, the programme aimed to also equip teachers and parents to productively engage youth around the issues of intergroup violence and to cooperate with school and community agencies in empowering youth and their communities to carry on the campaign against bias and hate. The programme also included a community and family-outreach partnership, in which public meetings and discussions on hate crime prevention, identification and responses were held. The programme is no longer active.

The **Connecticut Hate Crime Diversion Program** was established in 2001 under Connecticut's accelerated rehabilitation programme which allowed the court to require people charged with certain bias crimes to participate in it as a condition of being granted accelerated rehabilitation. The programme is no longer active.

3.3. Prominent elements of identified programmes

A number of prominent elements and characteristics of programmes can be distinguished from the information collected for the research. Although not all of the elements are common to all programmes identified by the research, they were considered to be significant by particular programme providers :

- A commitment to the **acceptance and understanding**, rather than the rejection and condemnation, of hate crime offenders, and the setting aside initially of moral judgements about participants' behaviour and attitudes.
- The use of **group work**, with role plays and visual aids to prompt participants' reflections about their attitudes and behaviour.
- The **utilisation of group dynamics** whereby the processes and development of participation in the group, and relationships between group members, are entered into to encourage reflection on the part of participants.
- The **establishment of trust** between facilitators, or trainers, and programme participants. For those in custodial institutions, the use of programme staff from outside the institution is seen to be significant for the establishment of trust.
- **Anger management** - this component of some programmes was seen by staff as essential since the actions of many offenders were seen to result from anger directed at other individuals or institutions (such as schools). The person targeted was seen to be a convenient scapegoat for the anger felt by the offender.
- **Awareness of prejudice and bias** - some programmes have a significant educational component that is intended to increase offenders' awareness and sensitivity to bias and promote cultural awareness. Programmes use different pedagogical approaches to the educational component, with some programmes using a traditional lecture based approach, while others utilise a more active learning or group approach. Some of these programmes focus on a particular racial, ethnic or religious group but almost all present bias or prejudice as a challenge faced by a large number of groups in societies.
- **Community service** - a component of some of the programmes was the requirement to participate in community service or carry out some kind of community project. In some cases, offenders have been required to spend time working to support an organisation representing the group the victim harmed. This was seen to provide an opportunity for the offenders to get to know members of the group they attacked and to see them as different from the stereotypes they previously held. This situation can go badly, though, without proper preparations. One intriguing element of community service was developed in Boston's Youth Diversion programme. In this programme offenders were required to attend some kind of a celebratory event from the group they attacked. These events included church barbeques, and ethnic or

religious holiday celebrations, and it appeared for most offenders to be an important formative experience. The occasions were seen to be the first time offenders had thought about members of the victimised group as something other than victims, and the first time they saw them as people who laughed and celebrated just as they did.

- **Reflective diary** - some programmes include the requirement to keep a journal during the programme allowing offenders to reflect upon the interventions they are participating in. Programme staff must be ready to respond appropriately, however, to journal entries that may express prejudice and hate.
- The **legal landscape** - as part of the educational component, a number of programmes include a description of the current legal landscape in the particular jurisdiction. According to some programme staff interviewed, this component was seen to be particularly important as it was believed that many offenders do not see their actions as illegal and are often surprised that police and courts have become involved.
- **Apology and acts of redemption** - Some programmes have also included the requirement to craft a letter of apology to the victim or the community of the victim. Restorative justice interventions such as this may prove to be very valuable interventions in the context of young offenders. The restorative justice model goes beyond victim-offender mediation, to promote involvement of the victim, the offender, and the community in the justice process. In particular, restorative justice interventions help to restore victims' and communities' losses by holding offenders accountable for their actions by making them repair the physical and emotional harm they have caused. Such interventions also focus on changing the behavioural patterns of offenders so that they become productive and responsible citizens. The restorative justice model places emphasis on everyone affected by the crime — the community and the victim as well as the offender — to ensure that each gains tangible benefits from their interaction with the criminal justice system. Such victim-offender mediation has been used in an increasing number of contexts and it has proven to have some value as a response to hate crime as demonstrated by the case of Ali Ammar in Australia (see case study below).

Case study of victim-offender mediation

In late 2005, Ali Ammar* a 16 year old Muslim Australian-Lebanese boy, climbed onto the roof of a Returned Services League (RSL) club in Cronulla, a beachside suburb of Sydney, and stole the Australian flag. He threw it to his mates, who spat on it and set it alight. Ali's case received considerable coverage in the Australian media for many weeks as the flag burner of the Cronulla 'race riots'. Ali was arrested and charged by police with malicious damage to property, the only relevant offence available in NSW. He was 17 by the time he was subsequently referred to a youth justice conference by the NSW Children's Court. At the conference Ali met with and apologised to representatives from the RSL, including members of the club whose flag he had taken. Initially, it was agreed at the conference that Ali would carry the

Australian flag in the Anzac Day march (a parade to commemorate Australian lives lost in war). Following public outcry about the leniency of this part of the agreement, the RSL instead sponsored Ali to take part in the Kokoda Youth Leadership challenge 'as an act of redemption'. While Ali's offence is arguably less serious than more 'typical' forms of hate crime in Australia, his story does suggest that restorative justice processes, skilfully managed and combined with appropriate follow up, can be used to address and deal with crimes motivated by resentment, intolerance or prejudice.

*Ali gave his consent as an adult to the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) to use his name in their programs. It is unlawful to publish the name of a young offender aged 16 or over at the time of the offence without their consent: Young Offenders Act 1997 (NSW) s 65.

4. Conclusions

The research carried out for this report was the first ever attempt to internationally search for, identify, and learn from, programmes for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders. The research revealed that there is no provision of such programmes in Australia, Canada or New Zealand, very little current provision in the United States, and limited provision in Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom, which might be a surprise given that 'hate crime' is recognised by public authorities as a problematic issue in all these regions covered by the research, even though it does not have a formal legal status in each of the jurisdictions covered. The research consequently generated a great deal of interest in what might be learned. In the countries covered, programmes for offenders in general that follow a fairly well defined curriculum and use a broadly cognitive-behavioural approach are well established, but it seems to be chiefly in Britain that efforts have been made to use elements of such programmes in work specifically designed for hate crime offenders (and mostly for racist offenders), or to adapt general offender programmes for such work.

In the United States, where the hate crime policy domain is perhaps the longest established, the only programme still apparently in existence is the Victim-Offender Reconciliation Programme in Des Moines, Iowa, which does not specialise in work with hate crime offenders, although it is prepared to work with them. Other US programmes generally worked specifically with young offenders, often in partnership with schools. Usually run by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), among which the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) was particularly active, these programmes in general proved to be relatively short-lived.

The picture is different in Germany and Sweden, where the research identified programmes with an educational focus which are aimed at a category of offender so far excluded from provision in Britain – those affiliated to politicised skinhead groups including politically committed far right extremists with an overtly racist and xenophobic agenda. Typically, these are educative interventions which aim to strengthen democratic norms and values, combat xenophobia and 'hate', and encourage contact and empathy with victims, either individually or as a group. They aim to expand offenders' choices and encourage them to find alternative ways of viewing the world, as in the German prison-based programme 'Abschied von Hass und Gewalt'. These programmes are all specifically for racist offenders and do not engage with other forms of hate crime.

In Britain two programmes designed and run by probation service staff – the DAP in London and the Merseyside programme which began as 'Against Human Dignity' and evolved into 'Promoting Human Dignity' – are well established and have worked with substantial numbers of people convicted of racially aggravated offences. They draw on generic elements of cognitive-behavioural programmes for offenders but include additional educational material and exercises particularly relevant to perpetrators of racially motivated offences. The Merseyside programme has recently developed a group work version which has proved feasible and has been well received by participants. These programmes have also worked almost exclusively on racist hate crime, but their staff believe they could be adapted for offenders motivated

by other kinds of hostility or hate. Neither has been formally accredited by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS – part of the Ministry of Justice, and responsible overall for probation services in England and Wales), but both have influenced practice in other probation areas in England; and the ADAPT programme – run by an NGO (the Grampian Racial Equality Council) rather than a statutory organisation – also adopted elements of the DAP approach while drawing on the Council's own experience of educational anti-racist work. Like the NGO-led programmes in the USA, ADAPT has, at the time of writing, ceased to work directly with offenders.

The British programmes share with those in Europe a commitment to the acceptance and understanding, rather than the rejection and condemnation, of racially motivated offenders, and have shown that it is possible to work with them constructively while firmly conveying that racist attitudes and behaviour are not socially acceptable. This appears to represent a genuine advance on the attitudes to working with such offenders found by Ray et al. (2003) in their probation-based research of 1998-2000 in England. These programmes differ from their European counterparts, however, in explicitly refusing to work with politically committed racists. While, as noted above, they have influenced thinking and probably practice in other areas, the London and Merseyside programmes have over the past decade remained the only dedicated programmes for racially motivated offenders that have proved fully sustainable. This suggests, in comparison with the experience in the United States, that a basis in a public statutory organisation such as the probation service, or public funding for programmes run by civil society organisations, may be necessary for the long-term survival of rehabilitation programmes for hate crime offenders.

5. Recommendations for the design and delivery of programmes for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders in the UK

As mentioned in the introduction to this report, in October 2010 the Equality Act came into force, placing new general duties on public bodies. The new Act extends protections to discrimination based on the grounds of age, faith or belief and sexual orientation. The new Act requires public authorities to eliminate discrimination, advance equality of opportunity and foster good relations. “Fostering good relations” is further broken down for the first time to include actions which “promote understanding” and “tackle prejudice”. For a long time authorities have had to infer from guidance what “promoting” good relations means. The new Act for the first time defines this concept and the new requirement on public bodies to “reduce prejudice” can be applied to the area of criminal justice and offenders. In this context the duty on a public body to reduce prejudice can be seen to include working with those people in the community whose prejudice has an impact both on them and the people around them. Consequently, and consistent with the new Act, the findings of the research reported here suggest a number of major recommendations for the development of programmes for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders, both in the community and in custody. These recommendations are aimed at prison and probation services in England and Wales and Northern Ireland, at Community Justice Authorities and prison service managers in Scotland, and at third sector organisations working in partnership with statutory agencies to provide programmes for offenders:

1. A national policy on work with hate crime offenders, such as that as that commissioned on behalf of NOMS⁴ but not yet issued, should be developed in each of the jurisdictions of the United Kingdom. This would send a clear signal that hate crime is taken seriously in each jurisdiction and that there is a coherent high-level commitment to the development of practical means of countering it. Inter-departmental working groups should be established with a time-limited brief to develop policies based on the best available evidence, such as that summarised in this report.

2. Given that understanding of hate crime offenders is essential to the design of rehabilitation measures for such offenders, and given that there is a lack of such understanding, a substantial body of work should be commissioned to improve the knowledge base about hate crime offenders. For example, further research could explore the motivations behind homophobic and disablist hate crime, which have so far not been systematically examined. There is also a need to establish the potential for educational and vocational programmes to counteract the influence of locally shared prejudice and hostility, and examine more systematically than has hitherto been possible the effects on reconviction of interventions for hate crime offenders.

3. As most of the programmes established have been targeted at racist offenders, in-depth work should be commissioned on how programmes can be adapted for work

with those who commit other types of hate crime. The relevant agencies need to show that they take these types of crime seriously and are committed to the development of good practice in response to them, either by adapting existing programmes or by developing distinct interventions for perpetrators of homophobic and disablist offences, if research suggests that this would be a preferable approach.

4. Experience in the United States, where the short life of programmes is particularly noticeable, indicates that hate crime offender rehabilitation programmes need a commitment to on-going funding. In the United Kingdom, programmes should be developed and supported through public funds. This will help to ensure that programmes are durable and not dependent on unpredictable short-term funding.

5. Programmes are more likely to continue if they have a strong conceptual or therapeutic model behind them. While individual personalities can have a powerful role to play in spearheading programme development and delivery, programmes should not be dependent upon individuals. This is shown by experience in the United States where a number of programmes seem to have fallen into abeyance after individuals have moved on. It is therefore important to establish and disseminate knowledge of what constitutes evidence-based practice that can be shared with practitioners new to work with hate crime offenders.

6. Programme development:

- May be delivered either one-to-one or by group work
- Should be guided by existing examples of promising practice, and in due course by the forms of practice most strongly supported by evidence of effectiveness
- Should be tailored to local conditions and the scale of local demand
- Should be available both in the community and in custody
- Should be made widely available to the practitioner community, to allow for the dissemination of best practice.

7. Work needs to be carried out to

- Adapt and develop specific programmes for violent offenders as they present particular challenges.
- Develop targeted strategies for dealing with offenders whose offending is motivated by political ideology.

8. The government and its arms length bodies need to commission systematic evaluation for existing programmes and build evaluation into the development of any future programmes.

9. Post-programme follow-up of participants is crucial, including for evaluation, and should be built into existing and any future programmes.

10. Use evaluation outcomes to assess the advantages and disadvantages of programmes founded on therapeutic principles and those founded on an educational model.

6. Research Appendix

A common research strategy was applied in each of the regions covered by the research — Australia and New Zealand, Canada, Europe (including the UK), and the United States — to try to identify and gather information about programmes:

- An internet key word search, contacts by mail, email and telephone, with criminal justice agencies, NGOs, and colleagues and scholars known to the researchers.
- For programmes identified, contacts were then made by email, telephone, or in person, to gather more detailed information than obtained in the initial search using the following template:
 - What are the main aims and objectives of the programme?
 - Is it a specialist programme just for hate crime offenders?
 - How do offenders get to join the programme?
 - Do offenders attend on a voluntary or a compulsory basis?
 - Who funds it?
 - Who runs it?
 - How long is the programme?
 - Is there an after care or follow-up component?
 - How does it work - what is the syllabus?
 - Has it changed over time, and if so, why?
 - Is there any hands-on applied work for offenders with victims/victimised communities?
 - Does it involve group work?
 - How are expressions of overt prejudice managed?
 - What skills are needed by the staff delivering the programme?
 - What training and support do staff need?
 - What supervisory arrangements are there for staff?
 - Are there different components of the programme for different hate crime offenders - e.g. racist offenders, homophobic offenders, etc?
 - Are any elements of restorative justice used in the programme?
 - What outcomes are specified for the programme?
 - How are the outcomes measured?
 - Has any evaluation of the programme been carried out? If so, what were the findings?
 - Is the programme transferable for use in other nations?
 - What modifications might be required to make it transferable?

The specifics of the research strategy in each region are briefly outlined below.

• Australia and New Zealand

Literature searches of key Australian and New Zealand databases (such as CINCH⁵ and APAIS⁶) were conducted, covering published literature, governmental reports and media documents. The keywords used to try to identify programmes were: 'hate crime', 'racist violence', 'racial violence', 'racism', 'anti-Semitic violence', 'religious

violence' and 'homophobic violence'. These were coupled with other keywords including 'rehabilitation', 'programme', 'offender', 'corrective services', and 'deterrence'. Extensive telephone and email enquiries were also made with relevant agencies in Australia and New Zealand and the websites of these agencies were also searched as possible. Many of those contacted also forwarded the research inquiry to others or provided contact details for others who might help in the search.⁷

Details of the research project were also posted on CrimNet — an electronic criminal justice information email service managed by the Sydney Institute of Criminology. A request to email the researchers with information about programmes for hate crime offenders was circulated to CrimNet subscribers. CrimNet has over 1200 subscribers across Australia and New Zealand in the criminal justice professions (police, corrections, juvenile justice, academia, judiciary, lawyers and the like). A group email was also sent to participants at a 2009 roundtable on hate crime hosted by the Sydney Institute of Criminology. Recipients were invited to respond by email with information on any programmes for hate crime offenders of which they were aware.

- **Canada**

A systematic search and review of the relevant literature and electronic data bases on responses to hate crime offenders was undertaken in Canada using the key words: 'bias crime offender', 'hate crime offender', 'bias crime prevention', 'hate crime prevention', 'bias crime sentencing' and 'hate crime sentencing', 'young offenders', 'at-risk youth', 'hate crime intervention', 'anti-hate'. The electronic databases were mined for any relevant web-sites, programmes and scholarships on interventions with targeted/hate crime offenders. A search was also made of the websites of relevant Canadian provincial and federal agencies (e.g., provincial Attorneys General) and the agencies were contacted directly by email in the first instance, followed by telephone conversations, to inquire about the existence of any programmes not named on their websites. Scholars working in the field were also contacted.

- **Europe (including the UK)**

The search for programmes in Europe was conducted at two levels:

- Email inquiries to pan European organisations — the coordinator of **RAXEN** (RACism and XEnophobia Network) for the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, and the Director of the European Network Against Racism.
- A focused search on a sample of countries where it was already known to the researchers that programmes had been established — Germany, Sweden, The Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

The most comprehensive attempt to identify programmes was carried out in the UK, whereby the two UK researchers, David Smith and Andy Stelman, contacted (by email and letter) all the newly appointed Directors of Offender Management; the relevant section (Substance Misuse and Interventions) in NOMS; the Chief Officers of those probation areas and trusts where it was known that programmes exist; the

Chief Officers of areas where it was reasonable to speculate (because of the demographics of the area) that thought had started to be given to the development of programmes; the Scottish prison service headquarters; the governors of every prison in Scotland; the convenors of all Community Justice Authorities in Scotland; the Northern Ireland Probation Board, Constabulary and local Commission for Racial Equality.

As a result, the researchers were invited to meet with staff of a programme in Aberdeen (ADAPT); probation programmes in West Yorkshire, Merseyside and London; NOMS; a restorative justice programme and an ethnic minorities council, both in Northern Ireland; and the Race Equality Action Group from the prison service arm of NOMS. One of the researchers also received some written material from the West Midlands Probation Area.

Face to face interviews were carried out with staff from all of the above apart from the West Midlands, utilising a common pro-forma that formed the basis for discussion. The evaluator of the ADAPT programme was also interviewed. Each interview lasted between ninety minutes and two hours.

A telephone interview was also carried out with a representative of EXIT Sweden.

- **United States**

The primary method of programme identification used in the United States was a systematic search of the internet, using the Google search engine. The following search terms were used: 'Hate crime offender program', 'Hate crime diversion program', 'Bias crime offender program', 'Bias crime diversion program', 'Anti-Semitic offender programs', 'Anti-Arab offender programs', 'Anti-Islamic offender programs', 'Anti-Muslim offender programs', 'Homophobic offender programs', 'Anti-gay offender program', 'Racist offender program', 'Hate crime & victim-offender mediation', 'Bias crime & victim-offender mediation', 'Hate crime & alternative sentencing', 'Bias crime & alternative sentencing', 'Criminal offender programs'. A large number of "hits" were produced using these search terms.⁸ Consequently, for each of these search terms, the first five pages of "hits" were scanned. If any results were relevant, the first ten pages of "hits" were then scanned.

For those programmes identified, attempts were made to contact staff to determine the suitability of the programme for inclusion in the research using the criteria that either the programme must employ a rehabilitation strategy that specifically targets hate crime offenders, or programmes may target a broader range of offenders, such as Victim Offender Reconciliation Programs (VORPs). However, to be included they must have flexible curricula which include treatments that are directly responsive to the hate crime committed by the offender.⁹ Most of the programmes identified solely targeted hate crime offenders. When contact was made with programme staff, in addition to being asked to provide information about the programme, they were asked if they knew of any similar programmes that were not identified in the original web search. For each individual programme identified, the website was reviewed to determine if the programme met the selection criteria. Once eligible programmes were identified, snowball sampling was also employed to try to identify other known programmes.

7. References

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Endnotes

- ¹ Scottish Executive (2004) Working Group on Hate Crime Consultation Paper, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, page 6, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/1099/0001954.pdf>
- ² Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (2009) Diversity Booklet. A Practical Guide, page 132, http://www.acpos.police.uk/Documents/Policies/EQUALDIV_DiversityBooklet09.pdf
- ³ Home Office (2009) Hate Crime – The Cross-Government Action Plan, London: Home Office, page 1, <http://library.npia.police.uk/docs/homeoffice/hate-crime-action-plan.pdf>
- ⁴ Hate Crime: a NOMS framework for policy and practice development.
- ⁵ See: <http://www.aic.gov.au/library/services/cinch.aspx>
- ⁶ Australian Public Affairs Information Service. See: <http://www.nla.gov.au/apais/>
- ⁷ For example, the Director of Offender Programs and Services in the NSW Department of Corrective Services forwarded our inquiry to all counterparts in other jurisdictions in Australia.
- ⁸ For example the search for “Hate Crime Offender Programs” resulted in 745,000 “hits”, “Bias Crime Offender Programs” resulted in 861,000 “hits”, “Racist Offender Programs” resulted in 709,000 “hits” and “Anti-Islamic Offender Programs” resulted in 308,000 “hits”.
- ⁹ For example, a VORP may work with a range of offenders, but to be included in our review, when working with hate crime offenders, the programme must be known to employ individualized treatment that addresses the crime.