



**CHALLENGE
HATE CRIME**

DEAL WITH IT

REPORT 07

HATE CRIME: TAKING STOCK
PROGRAMMES FOR OFFENDERS OF HATE

Hate Crime: Taking Stock Programmes for Offenders of Hate

Paul Iganski

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Introduction: Taking stock for the Challenge Hate Crime Project

The Challenge Hate Crime project established a partnership in 2009 between the Northern Ireland Prison Service (NIPS) and the Northern Ireland Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NIACRO) for a three year project funded by the Special EU Programmes Body (SEUPB) under Peace III. Its overall aim was to develop and trial a model for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders relevant to Northern Ireland. Research was undertaken by the project's Research Manager Monica Fitzpatrick to identify interventions for hate crime offenders to draw-out understanding for the Challenge Hate Crime intervention. The research updated the findings of an earlier report, *Rehabilitation of Hate Crime Offenders* (Iganski et al., 2011), published by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) (Scotland). This report brings together all of the information collected and the Challenge Hate Crime Project is grateful to the EHRC for permission to incorporate into this report the findings from their project. The report unfolds by briefly providing the legislative context for provisions for hate crime offenders in Northern Ireland along with police recorded data concerning the extent of the problem. The common dimensions are then drawn out of the identified programmes for the rehabilitation of hate crime offenders followed by case studies of those programmes currently operational. The final section of this report provides the key dimensions of the Challenge Hate Crime intervention with offenders.

Rehabilitation of hate crime offenders in Northern Ireland

In September 2004 following the issue of hate crime being raised by many representative groups and the consultations on legal reform, the *Criminal Justice (No2) (Northern Ireland) Order 2004* came into force. It enables an increase in sentence by the courts for offences aggravated or motivated by hostility demonstrated by the offender at the time of committing the offence, or immediately before or after doing so, based on - (i) the victim's membership (or presumed membership) of a racial group; (ii) the victim's membership (or presumed membership) of a religious group; (iii) the victim's membership (or presumed membership) of a sexual orientation group; and (iv) a disability or presumed disability of the victim (Section 2. *Criminal Justice (No2) (Northern Ireland) Order 2004*).

The following year, the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee published its report *The Challenge of Diversity: Hate Crime in Northern Ireland*, (U.K. House of Commons, Northern Ireland Affairs Committee 2005) which identified a number of actions for Government and statutory agencies while drawing attention to the wider social context of hate and prejudice.

In 2009 The Criminal Justice Board in Northern Ireland agreed the following definition of a hate crime:

Any incident which constitutes a criminal offence, perceived by the victim or any other person as being motivated by prejudice or hate towards a person's race, faith or religion, sexual orientation, disability, political opinion, or gender identity; or a person's perceived race, faith or religion, sexual orientation, disability, political opinion, or gender identity. (Criminal Justice Inspection Northern Ireland [CJI], 2010: 8).

The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) publishes annual figures on the levels and trends in incidents and crimes with a hate motivation. The annual counts have fluctuated, but there has been a declining trend in reported incidents and crimes with a hate motivation for the last two years. The exception to this trend has been the level of reported homophobic incidents (PSNI 2012).

Reported number of incidents with hate motivation 2004/05 – 2011-12

	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12
Racist	813	936	1,047	976	990	1,038	842	696
Homophobic	196	220	155	160	179	175	211	200
Sectarian		1,701	1,695	1,584	1,595	1,840	1,437	1,344
Faith/Religion		70	136	68	46	23	21	8
Disability		70	48	49	44	58	38	33
Transphobic			32	7	10	14	22	4

Reported number of crimes with a hate motivation 2004/05 – 2011/12

	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12
Racist	634	746	861	757	771	712	531	458
Homophobic	151	148	117	114	134	212	137	120
Sectarian		1,470	1,217	1,056	1,017	1,264	995	885
Faith/Religion		78	120	62	35	15	17	6
Disability		38	26	42	28	41	31	15
Transphobic			14	4	2	4	8	3

COMMON COMPONENTS OF PROGRAMMES FOR THE REHABILITATION OF 'HATE CRIME' OFFENDERS

Introduction: understanding the motivations and impulses of hate crime offenders

The term 'hate crime' perhaps conjures up an image of bigoted individuals who consciously act-out their hate in premeditated violent attacks. But this would arguably be a misconception. While there are some such offenders, most offenders that are known about do not seem to hate their victims, and most are not specialist hate crime offenders, or even committed bigots. Practitioner experience in the UK and elsewhere in the case of racist crime suggests that many offenders are generalists who are involved in a variety of offending activity over time. Practitioner experience also suggests that 'hate crime' offenders' actions are fuelled by a variety of impulses — anger, resentment, frustration, retaliation, revenge, thrill-seeking or fun — rather than being solely, or even mostly, motivated by animus against their victim. And practitioner experience of working with hate crime offenders also suggests that many offenders have chaotic and conflicted lives and that such disadvantage often provides the context for their offending. Such understandings that practitioners have developed about the impulses and motivations of hate crime offenders have informed the design of programmes for their rehabilitation. Each of the programmes offer an opportunity for offenders to reflect upon their behaviour in a way not offered when offenders are dealt with by the courts.

Acceptance, understanding and trust

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 is a principle which seems to characterise all of the programmes identified. While it might at first sight seem difficult for those committed to promoting respect for diversity, the adoption of a non-judgemental attitude opens up an opportunity to constructively engage and work with offenders (Lindsay & Danner 2008). For programmes in custodial institutions, as in the case of *Abschied von Hass und Gewalt*, for instance, the use of programme staff from outside the institution is seen by some to be significant for the establishment of trust between facilitators, or trainers, and programme participants. EXIT Sweden, which provides support to young people wishing to cut themselves off from racist, nationalistic and Nazi oriented groups and movements, includes former members of racist and Nazi groups among its key staff. The involvement of staff with 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 with those wishing to break away from racist and Nazi groups.

Victim empathy

There appears to be an implicit understanding behind some of the programmes that many hate crime offenders are not fully aware of the consequences of their behaviour at the time they offend and hence interventions which help them develop insight into the harms they inflict might potentially inhibit further offending. On the basis of such understanding, a number of the programmes explicitly seek to foster victim empathy: a belief that if the awareness of offenders can be raised about the impacts and the consequences of their actions and the words they use, then with such insight they might think twice before repeating their behaviour. In the Smile Mediation Hate Crime Awareness Programme, for instance, participants are asked in a sequence of questions to think about the consequences of their actions ("Who do you think gets hurt in a hate crime?") and then they are asked to focus specifically on the victim ("How do you think the victim is hurt?"). To spark their thinking participants are asked

to put themselves in the position of the victim, and also imagine their family in the victim's position ("How would you feel if you had been bullied, had your property damaged, or your family threatened because of your race/colour of your skin, your sexual orientation, disability, gender?" "What would you like to say to the person/people who had done this to you?"). The wider potential impact of hate crime beyond the person directly targeted is also explored with participants in the Smile programme by illustrating the ripple effect (Noelle 2001 & 2009), or the vicarious impacts, that hate crimes can inflict beyond the immediate victim. Other programmes, such as the *Diversity Awareness and Prejudice Pack*, *Promoting Human Dignity*, and *Think Again*, similarly seek to foster empathy on the part of the participants for the victims of their offences so that they might be more aware of the impacts and consequences of their behaviour and consequently think twice before behaving in a similar way again.

The principle of empathy for the victim also lies at the heart of restorative justice interventions. 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 appears to be increasingly used in the case of 'race-hate crime'. None of the rehabilitation programmes discussed in this report, however, appear to incorporate restorative justice elements and this therefore might be an avenue for potential development.

Anger and emotion management

Practitioner experience suggests that the actions of many offenders result from frustrations and anger directed at themselves, at other persons, or at institutions (such as schools). Sometimes the person targeted is a convenient scapegoat for the anger felt by the offender. Anger is a common consequence of the emotional, personal and social problems experienced by some offenders and such problems often precipitate incidents of offending. In seeking to work with the offender's anger mediators on the *Smile Hate Crime Awareness Programme* try to encourage insight by programme participants into how they might be displacing their anger by blaming others. The aim of encouraging such reflection is to encourage offenders to consider how they might address their anger in other ways than venting it on others. In a similar way, the *Promoting Human Dignity* programme, working with the principles of Rational Emotive Behaviour Therapy (cf. Ellis & Joffe-Ellis 2011) encourages participants to reflect on the connections between their emotions, beliefs, thoughts, and their behaviour, to potentially encourage different ways of thinking for behaviour change. The promotion of thinking differently provides the core of the *Think Again* programme, which aims to help offenders make changes in their thinking and behaviour by reflecting on the relationship between thought and action. The *Diversity and Prejudice Awareness Pack* offers the possibility for offenders to keep a diary reflecting on their participation in the programme.

Challenging prejudice and respecting diversity

Some programmes have a significant educational component that is intended to increase offenders' awareness of stereotyping and prejudice and to promote cultural awareness. *Can you hear the bigots sing?*, for instance, a programme delivered in a number of Scottish prisons to tackle sectarianism, focuses mostly on unravelling sectarian attitudes and their provenance, and the promotion of understanding across sectarian divides. But there is considerable variation across programmes in

the extent to which prejudiced attitudes and ideas are addressed. The *Think Again* programme specifically does not seek to overtly engage with the offender's attitudes or seek to challenge any misconceptions that offenders might have about minority communities on the principle that such challenges can be experienced by the offender as confrontational and hence invariably counterproductive. By contrast, the approach of *Abschied von Hass und Gewalt*, which can be characterised as the 'education of responsibility' (Verantwortungspädagogik), in working with violent offenders with far-right extremist tendencies, combines political education with work with participants to understand and manage the impulses and contexts behind their offending. The *Diversity and Prejudice Awareness Pack* offers the possibility for participants to carry out some kind of community project to provide an opportunity for offenders to get to know members of the group they have targeted and to see them as different from the stereotypes they previously held. As part of their educational component, some programmes include a description of the current legal landscape in the particular jurisdiction and this is seen to be particularly important in cases where offenders do not see their actions as illegal and are often surprised that police and courts have become involved.

Utilisation of group dynamics

Some programmes specifically utilise group dynamics in their interventions. The strength of the approach of *Abschied von Hass und Gewalt*, for instance, 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 are designed to enter into and make use of group dynamics to enable participants to counter them. For another programme, *Promoting Human Dignity*, it was noted in an evaluation of the programme (Palmer & Smith 2010) that 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 seem to occur — possibly because of the exclusion of ideologically committed racists from the programme as a matter of policy.

CASE STUDIES OF CURRENTLY OPERATIONAL PROGRAMMES

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

Location: Berlin, Germany

Website: www.violence-prevention-network.de

Background

“Taking responsibility – Breaking away from Hate and Violence” was established in 2001 and is organised and delivered by the Berlin-based Violence Prevention Network (VPN). 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.

The educational approach of the training can be characterised as the ‘education of responsibility’ (Verantwortungspädagogik): non-humiliating anti-violence work and political education instead of mere conditioning aimed at participants controlling their emotional states. It:

- brings together detailed examinations of the crime, reprocessing of the individual life stories and civic education;
- coaches the offenders beyond their release from detention to allow them to put into practice what they have learnt during the training; and
- develops the organisation’s activities further by qualifying new trainers and providing vocational training to detention centre staff.

It involves a pluralistic approach of combining political education with participants understanding their past and the examination of the criminal offence to improve the participant’s ability to fend off ideological manipulation and break off old relationship structures and build new ones.

Programme content and delivery

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

Research carried out to evaluate best practice of the project (Lukas 2006; Lukas & Lukas 2007) provided 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 overplay 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.

A recent evaluation study (Lukas & Korn 2012) of 188 participants in the VPN training courses in juvenile detention indicated that the recidivism rate was approximately 31% (in terms of known re-offending) – approximately half the rate for comparable offenders. The programme costs 8,500 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.

Can you hear the bigots sing?

Location: Scotland

Website: http://www.iona.org.uk/youth_home.php

Background

This project, devised by the Iona Community, a Christian ecumenical organisation, aims at tackling sectarianism, and was initially produced for work with young offenders in HMP Polmont, Scotland, in 2009. The Scottish Government Community Safety Minister took part in the course and wanted to use it to tackle sectarian behaviour across Scotland in adult prisons. A pilot project with adult offenders at HMP Addiewell and HMP Barlinnie took place in 2009 and 2010 funded by the Scottish Government. Following the success of the pilot, a further programme was funded up until March 2012 and 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 was then turned into a training pack which was distributed to Scottish prisons.

As part of the original project the Iona Community bought in a workshop and coaching session for participants from the Old Firm Alliance – a partnership of Celtic and Rangers football clubs, Glasgow City Council, Glasgow Life, and Glasgow Community Safety Services. This element of the project is not currently part of the in-house delivery of the training pack.

Overall, the course aims to provide learning as well as a positive change in attitude, producing an ability to tolerate diversity and promote citizenship. To be eligible for selection for the course participants are expected to:

- not be due for release during the course and not attended the course before;
- attend each session;

- be aged under 40;
- come from the West of Scotland where the majority of sectarian crime in Scotland is committed;
- show an interest in football; and
- have some knowledge of sectarianism.

Offenders who have expressed sectarian attitudes or have been convicted of a sectarian or racially aggravated crime are also prioritised for selection, but conviction for a sectarian crime has not been a required criterion. Participation is voluntary.

Programme content and delivery

Working with groups of up to 12 prisoners who participate voluntarily, and not all with convictions for sectarian offences, the intervention aims to change sectarian attitudes and other forms of prejudice in seven two-hour sessions delivered across four weeks:

1. An introduction to Sectarianism
2. What's in a stereotype?
3. Causes of Sectarianism
4. History of Celtic FC and Rangers FC & football in Scotland
5. History of Sectarianism
6. Evaluation week & Certificates
7. Old Firm Alliance workshop & coaching session (this is not part of the current in-house delivery of the training pack).

The sessions employ group discussions, debate, and group activities, aided by the use of images, music, films and role-play to prompt discussion.

Outcomes and evaluation

Outcomes have been measured by a questionnaire assessment of participants' attitudes at the beginning, during, and at the end of the course. Results from 60 participants in total from courses held in HMP Kilmarnock, Addiewell and Greenock in 2010, and HMP Barlinnie and HMP Glenochil in 2011, showed that the majority (38) of participants showed a positive change in attitude towards sectarianism, with only just over a quarter (16 participants) showing little or no change, and a small number (6 participants) demonstrating a negative change.

(see: http://www.iona.org.uk/youth_home.php#Results_of_the_anti_sectarianism_work_in_Scottish_prisons_2010_11)

A short evaluation is also recorded at the end of each group session by the group facilitator. The group evaluation records also contributed to an independent external evaluation of the project carried out by PS Enterprises, Project Scotland which also incorporates the views of group participants.

Diversity Awareness and Prejudice Pack (DAPP Toolkit)

Location: London, UK

Website: None found

Background

The DAPP, developed by London Probation Trust in 2001, initially focused on race hate crime perpetrators but then developed for all types of hate crime. It also meets 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 delivered as part of one-to-one interventions with offenders as part of a community and custodial order. Some voluntary groups have used the toolkit and also some housing bodies, where tenants have been served with Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) or civil sanctions as a result of hate offences. Training of staff working with the toolkit is seen to be fundamental to its proper application.

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 they contribute 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 antisocial 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.

Programme content and delivery

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; and
- strategies to avoid relapse in offending and manage prejudices more constructively

The first 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.

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. Flexibility appears to be the key in the delivery of this toolkit: the ability to make it fit the needs of individuals and their varying complexities. There are various assessment tools, and the initial sessions will determine the level and length of the intervention required.

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. 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 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.

EXIT Sweden

Location: Stockholm, Sweden

Website: <http://exit.fryshuset.se>

Background

This project was established in 1998 within the non-profit organisation 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. The main objective of the EXIT programme is to help and provide support to young people wishing to cut themselves off from racist, nationalistic and Nazi oriented groups and movements, or to those who have already left but need some support. EXIT cooperates with various housing corporations, social services, the police and other criminal justice legal professionals, and also offers counselling to the client's parents, siblings and friends. 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.

EXIT also aims to prevent recruitment to racist, nationalistic and Nazi oriented groups. Preventative work focused on the provision of information and dialogue with Swedish schools and governmental authorities through lectures, seminars and workshops to contribute to the understanding of the mechanisms behind involvement in racist groups. This was developed into, and has been replaced by, the production of a theatre play, the *Voice of Hate (Hatets Röst; <http://teaterfryshuset.fryshuset.se/repertoar/hatets-rost/>)*, performed by professional actors which portrays the radicalisation and subsequent disengagement of some members of the White Power scene.

A notable feature of the project is that it includes former 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. All the staff have been trained and equipped with various professional approaches, psychodynamic psychotherapy, cognitive behavioural therapy, and motivational interviewing.

Programme content and delivery

From the experience of the project the methodology has developed over time and is presented in a handbook published in 2009: *The Way Out. A handbook for understanding and responding to extreme movements (http://www.lanacs.ac.uk/fass/groups/hate-crime/documents/EXIThandbook_ENG.pdf)*. The handbook provides comprehensive information on extreme racist and nationalistic movements, their processes of recruitment, and offers strategies for prevention and disengagement.

Outcomes and evaluation

A first evaluation was carried out in 2001 by the National Council for Crime and Prevention. It showed that out of the 133 individuals who had received support from EXIT during its first three years of work, 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 among 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 of EXIT was carried out by the Swedish Youth Board in 2010 (see in Swedish: http://www2.ungdomsstyrelsen.se/butiksadmin/showDoc/ff8080812b1f8972012b764b60460017/avhopparverksamhet_2010.pdf). It concluded that there is a need for disengagement organizations to be supported by long-term funding, and that the experiences from Exit could be used towards other extremist groups. On the strength of the experience of the EXIT programme, an affiliate project, Passus, was launched in 2010. The target group for Passus are young gang members with a desire to drop out. The support and help offered by Passus has been developed out of the methodology developed by EXIT and the two projects employ a full time, in-house counsellor to assist clients. Swedish Government funding has also recently been provided to EXIT for the creation of a resource centre for Swedish disengagement NGOs to share experience and methodologies.

Promoting Human Dignity – Merseyside Probation Trust

Location: Merseyside, UK

Website: http://www.merseysideprobationtrust.gov.uk/news/default_item.php?id=145

Background

Principles of Rational-Emotive Behavioural Therapy underpin the programme. It is delivered primarily as a group work intervention, with one-to-one provision for offenders for whom group work is impractical. It has operated in its present form since April 2008 and is an adaptation of an earlier programme, *Against Human Dignity*, a one-to-one programme established and delivered in Merseyside from 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. The programme is provided mostly for racially aggravated offenders and is predominantly designed to tackle the issue of race hate crime. But it can also be used to address the issue of homophobic, religious and other forms of hate crimes and can be offered to anyone convicted of any hate crime.

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.

Programme content and delivery

The programme consists of 14 weekly two-and-a half hour sessions:

1. Introduction to Programme
2. Discrimination
3. Social Learning Theory
4. Labelling and Stereotyping
5. Emotional Recognition: the relationships between emotions, thought and behaviour.
6. Justifications and Minimisations: beliefs and behaviour.
7. Emotional Control: alternative ways of thinking.
8. Life Charts Part 1: how life experiences shape feelings.
9. Life Charts Part 2
10. Review Session
11. Victim Empathy: the impact of racially motivated offending on victims.
12. Tribalism
13. Relapse Prevention Part 1
14. Relapse Prevention Part 2

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 any future work that might be required.

Outcomes and evaluation

About 200 offenders have undertaken the programme since 2008. 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. While reconviction rates for the participants for racially aggravated offences are believed to be very low, analysis of re-offending was not part of the evaluation.

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.

Smile Mediation Hate Crime Awareness Programme

Location: Burnley, Lancashire, UK.

Website: <http://www.smilemediation.co.uk/hate-crime-awareness.php>

Background

This programme was initiated by Lancashire Constabulary in 2007 with the programme designed and delivered by Smile Mediation Ltd, a limited company and charity, which provides community, workplace and family mediation, as well as the Hate Crime Awareness Programme, with the services delivered by trained specialist volunteer mediators. The programme is founded on an understanding that many hate crime offenders are not fully aware of the consequences of their behaviour at the time they offend and hence early intervention which helps them develop insight might potentially inhibit re-offending more effectively than would criminal prosecution.

Offenders attend as a condition of a community sentence or as a requirement of post-custody supervision. Seventy-two offenders have been referred by Lancashire Constabulary to the programme since 2007.

The key principle underpinning the programme concerns the fostering of victim empathy: a belief that if the awareness of offenders can be raised about the impacts and the consequences of the words they use, then with such insight they might think twice before repeating their behaviour.

The programme also works with a premise, founded on the experience of the mediators, that most offenders referred to the programme are not committed 'haters', motivated in their actions or in things they say, by deeply held racist views which they consciously target to maximise hurts they inflict. Instead, offenders' words are seen to be expressive rather than instrumental with their racist thoughts lying below everyday cognition, springing to the surface with the right trigger, rather than consciously motivating their behaviour. Consequently, while the prejudiced attitudes of offenders are addressed, they are not the primary target of the intervention.

Programme aims

Given the understanding concerning offender-impulse and victim-impact underpinning the programme, the programme aims to better enable participants to:

- Empathise with the victims of their offence so that they will be more aware of the impacts and consequences of their behaviour and consequently think twice before behaving in a similar way again, and;

- Handle the emotional, personal and social 'baggage' that might have provided the antecedents to their offence, and;
- Manage their emotions, and especially their anger, in situations of stress so that they might be less likely to lash out when hurt.

Programme content and delivery

The programme is designed to be delivered jointly by two mediators in a two-hour session with offenders on an individual basis with a shorter follow-up session six weeks later. On a few occasions it has been delivered with small groups of offenders. The two-hour session is structured around the following:

1. A review of 'what happened': The participant is asked to recount and reconstruct the incident.
2. 'How hate crime hurts people': In a sequence of questions the participant is asked to think broadly about the consequences of their actions ("Who do you think gets hurt in a hate crime?") and then they are asked to focus specifically on the victim ("How do you think the victim is hurt?"). To spark their thinking participants are asked to put themselves in the position of the victim, and also imagine their family in the victim's position ("How would you feel if you had been bullied, had your property damaged, or your family threatened because of your race/colour of your skin, your sexual orientation, disability, gender?" "What would you like to say to the person/people who had done this to you?"). Participants are asked to complete an empathy questionnaire from which a 'victim empathy score' is calculated at the beginning of the session and again the end of the session. Most of the participants have shown an improvement between the two scores. Participants complete the empathy questionnaire again in a follow-up meeting six weeks after the intervention and the results have been more mixed. For some, the increase in empathy was consolidated and marginally further improved, while for others there was a decline in victim empathy.
3. 'Being different is okay – living in a multicultural and multiracial society'.
4. 'About conflict': participants are asked to reflect on emotional, personal and social problems which might have precipitated the incident to consider the role that such problems played in their offence, and steps that they might take to address them. For many offenders their problems will be so longstanding that they will need long-term support well beyond the input of the one session with Smile mediators. As the Smile programme is an independent non-statutory service it is not able to refer participants to the statutory criminal justice, health and social care agencies for support. However, as well as encouraging participants to think about the steps that they might take to address their problems, the mediators also suggest potential sources of support to which the participants can turn.
5. 'Looking to the future – potential ways of changing attitudes and responses'.

In concluding the session the mediators ask participants to think about and plan three actions they can take to change their behaviour. Offenders are asked to consider 'Where do I want to be in six months' time?', 'How am I going to get there?', 'What stops me?', and 'Think about what you did, now think about three things you would do differently next time'.

Six weeks after the session a follow-up meeting is held with the programme participants to review progress on their planned actions and the empathy questionnaire is administered again.

Outcomes and evaluation

An independent evaluation was commissioned in 2012. The evaluation research applied a 're-offending test' in which a group of 'Smile offenders' who had participated in the Smile intervention more than 18 months prior to the research was compared with a matched, or 'control', group of racially aggravated offenders dealt with by the courts and selected from Lancashire Constabulary's records of offenders who had been charged or cautioned for a racially aggravated offence under Section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986 since the inception of the Smile programme in 2007.

The re-offending test showed that when considering re-offending of any type, 18, or 45%, of the Smile programme participants included in the re-offending test, were charged with an offence on a future date after their completion of the Smile programme, a smaller proportion than the 78% of offenders from the control group who were subsequently charged with an offence on a future date after being dealt with by the courts for a racially aggravated offence.

None of the participants in the Smile programme were charged with racially aggravated offences on a future occasion following their completion of the programme. By contrast, four of the 42 matched offenders from the control group were charged with a racially aggravated offence on a future occasion after they had been dealt with by the courts for the earlier racially aggravated offence for which they were selected for the control sample.

While this result was at the margins of, and just below, statistical significance, it provided prima facie evidence that the Smile programme might be more likely to reduce the potential for future racially aggravated offending when compared with the disposal of offenders by the courts. At the time of writing the evaluation is being extended to include more cases.

Think Again

Location: West Yorkshire, UK.

Website: <http://www.westyorksprobation.org.uk/content.php?pageid=219>

Background

This programme is targeted at male and female offenders who have been convicted of an offence which is racially motivated or aggravated. In 2010, West Yorkshire Probation Trust replaced an earlier non accredited programme 'The Hate Crime Module' with a ten-session intervention 'Think Again'— which is a specified activity available to West Yorkshire courts to sentence as part of a community order. Think Again is delivered by Offender Managers as a requirement of the court disposal for a participant's community order or licence. The programme was developed by its author who was informed by qualitative research she undertook with Probation practitioners for Masters level study at the Cambridge Institute of Criminology. The content and structure of the programme 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. It is considered that 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.

Programme content and delivery

The aim of the intervention is to help offenders make changes in their thinking and behaviour. They look at the basis for their views, their background, the reasons behind offending, the impact of the offences and what needs to change.

The programme consists of one-to-one sessions delivered by a Probation Officer. They aim to make changes in thinking and behaviour by:

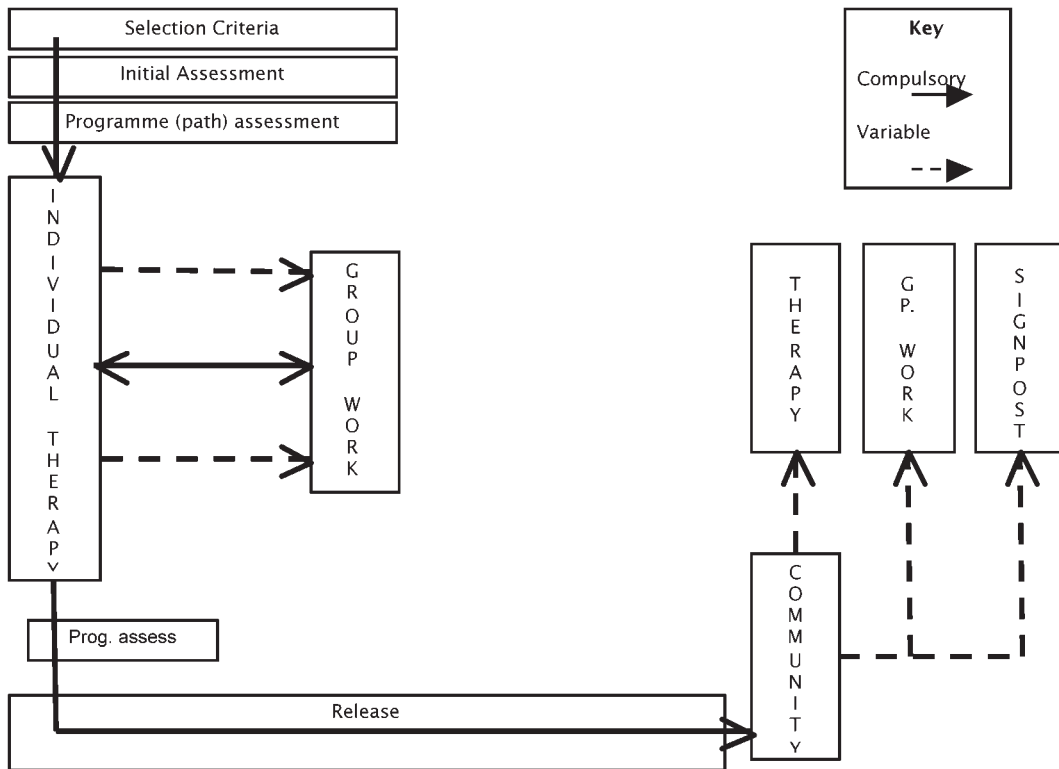
- Increasing offenders' recognition of themselves as citizens.
- Developing problem solving.
- Helping the offender to understand the process of assertion and negotiation.
- Assisting offenders to challenge commonly held assumptions.
- Exploring how stereotyping impacts on thinking and behaviour.
- Helping offenders to manage their feelings and anger.
- Increasing empathy and perspective taking.

The programme is currently being evaluated by West Yorkshire Probation Research Unit.

The Challenge Hate Crime Project

The Challenge Hate Crime Project aimed 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 evidence-based development of the programme of intervention was 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 has been subject to a rolling evaluation, with interim and final reports produced. A film record of broadcast quality involving interventionists and beneficiaries was made throughout the life of the project. The project was completed in September 2012.

The pilot model comprised a core spine, common for all participants, with customised elements tailored to fit the specific needs of the participants:



The selection of participants was carried out in close partnership with NIPS Offender Management Unit and Psychology Unit. Participants underwent an initial assessment meeting with a therapeutic facilitator from the Programme team who conducted a therapeutic assessment to determine the most appropriate therapeutic approach and assess suitability for the participant’s inclusion within group work. Participants also had a meeting with a mediative facilitator and their therapeutic facilitator who explored the potential pathways within the programme and formed a picture of the community context to which the CHC participant would be returning on release. This allowed for appropriate fieldwork to begin within the community context. That assessment meeting was completed with the Challenge To Change [the title of the intervention programme] participant immediately before their release. Appropriate involvement was sought from the Prison Psychology Unit in relation to these assessment meetings with participants.

Individual Therapy

A range of formal psycho-therapeutic approaches was offered to offenders participating in the programme. Some CTC participants benefited from seeing a therapist trained in one intervention such as Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT). However, there were others whose problems were more complex and required interventions which were not limited to a single technique but rather drew from an integrative model. The aim was for a standard pattern of therapy over three months within the prison setting with up to 12 sessions of therapy. Individual therapeutic interventions aimed to establish a trend that took into account the intense psychological and behavioural factors involved in the process for a person to be motivated to change. Where necessary, and with the commitment of participants, the individual therapy sessions were planned to continue on release from custody.

Group Work

Group work was provided within the prison setting with small groups of participants. Participants were exposed to information from fields that were new to them in terms of understanding tolerance, diversity, equality and societal responsibilities. The key focus of the group work was on helping participants solve, resolve and accept problems, make adjustments and cope with a changed positive future. The sessions involved facilitated work within the peer group to enhance the learning experience; however, where appropriate, the group work sessions involved interactions with relevant community groups or representatives.

Support in the community

The pilot programme was designed to provide tailored care and support for participants within their own community context on release from prison. It was anticipated that the nature of that provision would vary in response to the needs of each participant and the nature of their home situation. The mediative facilitator sought to assist the transition process from prison to community with reference to the everyday challenges of cultural diversity, tolerance, respect for differing community values and hopes for new relationships and positive engagement within a diverse community. It was also planned for representative groups from communities affected by hate crimes to be actively involved with the CTC participants where appropriate. This involved fieldwork by the mediative facilitators, engaging with local community leaders and neighbourhood support structures that may play a part in helping the CTC participants to engage positively within their community settings on their release.

It was expected that participants would experience pressures to conform to old patterns of relating and behaviour upon their release, finding themselves facing many of the same frustrations and dynamics that formed the backdrop to their offending behaviour. This work in the community was planned to give them a chance to establish broader networks of relating and new patterns.

Conclusion: taking into account the community context of offending

Understanding 'hate crime' offenders, and the impulses and motivations behind their crimes, is essential for the design and implementation of rehabilitation measures. It is clear that acts of 'hate crime' do not occur in a vacuum, and the contexts for such crimes matter. Over a decade and a half ago it was suggested in the U.K. Home Office publication, *The perpetrators of racial violence and harassment* (Sibbitt 1997), that there is a "reciprocal relationship" between the racist attitudes of perpetrators of racist crimes and the wider communities from which the perpetrators are drawn. Practitioner experience bears this out. And it might be suggested that there is a similar reciprocal relationship between offenders in other crimes where the victim is targeted because of some aspect of their identity — such as their religion, sexual orientation, or a disability — and the prejudices and hostility common to particular communities and localities. Such attitudes shape, and also serve to legitimise, the perpetrator's prejudice and hostility. While offenders' actions cannot therefore be fully understood without understanding the shared hostility and intolerances in the localities where they live, interventions with offenders cannot, arguably, be fully effective if they do not take into account the local contexts for offending. The logical conclusion is that programmes need to be tailored to the local conditions in which acts of 'hate crime' occur by addressing the shared values and attitudes which inform offending. Furthermore, the involvement of local communities in rehabilitative interventions with offenders is critical to counteracting the influence of locally shared prejudice and hostility.

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**The organisations which delivered
the Challenge Hate Crime project were:**

Northern Ireland Prison Service

www.dojni.gov.uk/index/ni-prison-service.htm

NIACRO

www.niacro.co.uk



Carecall

www.carecallwellbeing.com

Corish Film Productions

www.corish.tv

Institute of Conflict Research

www.conflictresearch.org.uk

Mediation NI

www.mediationnorthernireland.org

Violence Prevention Network

www.violence-prevention-network.de



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