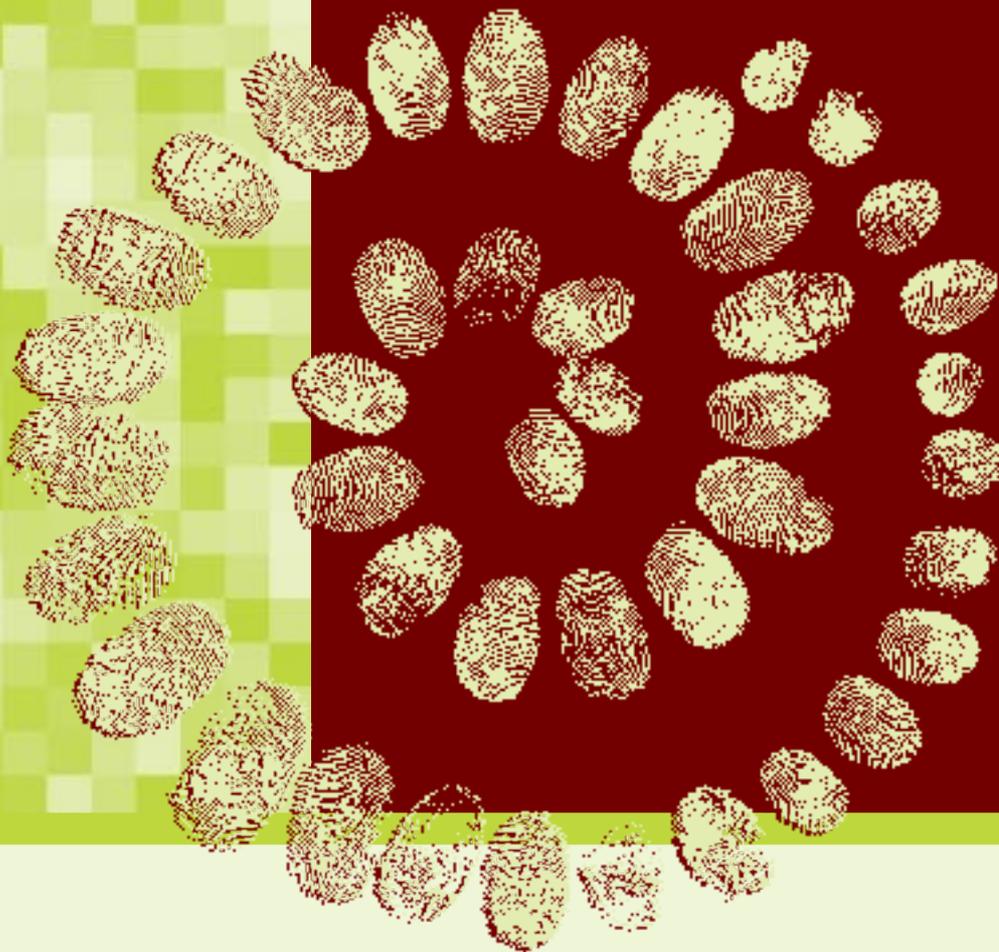


Preventing Racist Violence

**Work with Actual and Potential Perpetrators
– Learning from Practice to Policy Change**



**A Runnymede Report
by Sarah Isal**

About Runnymede

The Runnymede Trust is an independent policy research organisation focusing on equality and justice through the promotion of a successful multi-ethnic society. Founded as a Charitable Educational Trust, Runnymede has a long track record in policy research, working in close collaboration with eminent thinkers and policymakers in the public, private and voluntary sectors. We believe that the way ahead lies in building effective partnerships, and we are continually developing these with the voluntary sector, the government, local authorities and companies in the UK and Europe. We stimulate debate and suggest forward-looking strategies in areas of public policy such as education, the criminal justice system, employment and citizenship.

Since 1968, the date of Runnymede's foundation, we have worked to establish and maintain a positive image of what it means to live affirmatively within a society that is both multi-ethnic and culturally diverse. Runnymede continues to speak with a thoughtful and independent public voice on these issues today.

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Foreword

‘Murder is among the most horrendous of crimes, but any discussion of violent racism must link the extreme to the “everyday”.’

(Ben Bowling 1999: xiii)

Preventing Racist Violence publishes the findings and recommendations of two years of research work at the Runnymede Trust.

Runnymede started this project with the absolutely basic idea that something needed to be done to forestall racist violence before it could happen. We end this project and present this report with a similar message – preventative approaches need to be brought to the fore. Support for punitive approaches rather than addressing the root causes of violence has not reduced racist attacks and racist crime.

At the time of publishing our first report on this subject,* Dr Richard Stone, Vice-Chair of Runnymede, noted in his foreword that little attention could be paid by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry to those who apparently carried out the murder of Stephen Lawrence because of the Inquiry’s narrow terms of reference. This also limited the opportunity for discussion about those who had committed countless other racist attacks.

Beyond the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, we examined what others have had to say about preventing racist violence, and what they recommend when particular emphasis is directed towards actual and potential perpetrators. While there appeared to be a significant amount of project activity by researchers and care professionals that focused on the needs and problems of victims, little analysis was to be found on preventative interventions.

Throughout this programme of work, we have been identifying the many ways in which community-based organisations and the statutory sector respond to racist violence, particularly amongst the young. By assessing the preventative value of these strategies for devising and developing schemes to combat racist offending, we have developed recommendations on how to promote primary and secondary prevention as a means of combating racist violence and harassment.

Case study examples distributed throughout the pages of this report illustrate how these recommendations work in the day-to-day. These illustrations help us share the learning experiences of different real-life projects and interventions. They also promote our contention that good practice can always be improved upon, and that the sharing of experience is one of the best ways to bring what seems intractable within the bounds of achievement.

The recommendations go wider than on-the-ground practice, however, to include specific and targeted action. These individual action points are addressed directly to their potential audiences: central and local government, practitioners in the voluntary and statutory sectors and funders – government and independent funding organisations alike. Indeed, the need for a formal strategy and commitment to preventative approaches from within central government, and the delivery of such a strategy through multi-agency actions, is called for here. Likewise, the value of approaching this problem through both crime reduction and community cohesion agendas is strongly advocated.

The political and social context we find ourselves facing today – the bombings in London on 7 July and their aftermath, the racist murder of Anthony Walker on 29 July and the intense and often confused public debate on who and what we are as a society – renders the subject of this report even more pertinent than we could have imagined. We believe that the findings and recommendations presented in these pages can contribute to effective policy change, and will serve to improve the work we all do to address the root causes of racist violence in their many complexities.

Michelynn Laflèche

Director of the Runnymede Trust
October 2005

* O. Khan (2002) *Perpetrators of Racist Violence and Harassment*. London: Runnymede Trust. The Inquiry’s remit was to address matters arising from the death of Stephen Lawrence and to make recommendations mainly in relation to the policing of racist incidents.

Acknowledgements

This research project was made possible with the generous support of the Amberstone Trust, Bridge House Trust Jubilee Grants Scheme and the City Parochial Foundation. We could not have undertaken this important project otherwise and we are grateful for the opportunity provided by their support.

Throughout the course of this research many individuals have also offered us help and contributed to the project in a variety of ways: some as members of the steering group, others as members of the various local reference groups, others still through the provision of general and continuous support and guidance. We would like to express our thanks to all of these people for their help and encouragement, in particular to Ben Bowling, Dave Frame, Roger Hewitt, Vic McLaren, Doug Nicholls, Elena Noel, Aarti Patel, Balkiren Rai, Richard Stone, Keib Thomas, Baroness Whitaker and Aine Woods.

Finally, we could not have drafted findings and recommendations unless we had been able to interview and visit the many organisations and individuals who took part in the research process. Thanks to all of you for participating. We hope you can see your work in this report and that the learning you have gone through will benefit others in the future.

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Executive Summary

Racist violence remains a serious problem within the UK. All violence is a matter of concern. Violence that also denies the humanity of its subjects, destroys relationships between communities, and corrupts our ability to function together as a society is a cause for even greater concern. Last year over four thousand cases came before our courts that were deemed to have a racist motivation. This is likely to be the tip of the iceberg. Activities designed to challenge this trend are the subject of this research report.

Two years of research on projects that take on the challenge of preventing racist violence have provided us with some insight into what needs to be done to reduce racist violence. The recommendations of the report encapsulate where we think schemes to tackle racist violence should be going and the kind of policy reform that will be necessary to make effective change happen.

Current work to challenge attitudes to prevent racist violence is surprisingly scarce given the scale of the problem. Rather than finding, as we had anticipated, an existing network of activities directed towards a single aim, we found many layers of endeavour, with varying degrees of connectedness and success. While many sectors of practice and policy are, directly or indirectly, involved with tackling racist violence and harassment through changing the perpetrators' attitudes, their efforts are not being maximised or widely shared.

The recommendations contained in this report address action that should be taken by central government, local authorities, practitioners (across a range of sectors, including those working with the community cohesion and crime reduction agendas), the research

community and funders. Some represent the thinking and conclusions that arise from the practices we have examined; others express the thoughts and wishes of practitioners whose work in these fields is widely respected for all the right reasons. Some are drawn from examples of good practice encountered in the course of the research; others reflect the lessons that should be learnt and the challenges faced by groups and individuals trying to tackle racist violence through work with potential perpetrators. All, we think, are crucial in raising the profile, effectiveness and success of this work.

Government policy must also be tough on the causes of racist crime

- Crucial to the success of tackling racist crime is the need for strong leadership from central government to focus on a preventative approach. Punitive measures are certainly important for dealing with perpetrators of racist violence. These must be allied with preventative work with potential perpetrators. (R2, R3 + pp.23,25)¹

Good crime prevention includes prevention of racist crime

Mainstream crime prevention programmes that work with potential perpetrators do exist, but too often they fail to address racist attitudes and violence.

- Crime prevention programmes should be encouraged to examine how they can successfully impact on preventing racist violence. (R4 + p.25)
- Crime reduction legislation and policy (including anti-social behaviour strategy) needs to assess its impact on reducing or preventing racist violence, and tackling racism and racial harassment. (R5, R6 + p.25)

¹ Page numbered cross-references take you to the relevant section of the Main Findings text and to the tabular summary of Recommendations in the Appendix (numbered R1 to R28).

Preventing racist violence should be embedded in policy

For mainstream crime prevention programmes to take on board the prevention of racist violence as a priority, a formal structure within government is needed to provide strategic leadership, embed policy and share good practice. (R1 + p.23)

- A formal structure would encourage the sharing of good practice in the area, especially cross-sector exchange and information sharing. (R2 + p.23) This type of structure would encourage more work with potential perpetrators of racist violence.
- Youth services and local authorities should budget positively to provide adequate resources for youth work that aims to challenge the racist attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence. (R20 + p.42) For instance, government initiatives such as Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP) should be encouraged to focus on the cohesion dimension of their work, rather than only on the crime diversion aspect. (R7 + p.25)

Agencies must work together to prevent racist violence

Because prevention strategies rely so much on the sharing of ideas and techniques, effective networking and collaborative exchanges between agencies need to be encouraged and supported. (R2 + p.23)

- Multi-agency work on prevention needs to build on existing multi-agency structures, such as Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) and racist incidents panels operating within local authorities. (R22 + p.42)
- Where CDRPs already have multi-agency racist incident panels, they should include a prevention strategy within their remit, rather than only reactive responses. (R22 + p.42)
- Multi-agency work needs to take in the full range of sectors that are and could be involved in preventing racist

violence, including schools, primary care trusts, voluntary/community sector, black and minority ethnic community organisations, as well as criminal justice organisations.

(R23 + p.42)

- Partnerships formed to undertake collaborative work in relation to perpetrators need to be both strategic and pragmatic in their presentation and performance. They should take into account the sensitive nature of both the matter and the target group involved. For example, overt police involvement may be sensitive with certain target groups. (R25 + p.42)

Preventing racist violence should involve the whole community

- Work with potential perpetrators needs to take full account of the wider social context as well as the local situation in order to be able to intervene in the most effective way. (R9 + p.29)
- Alongside interventions with perpetrators, work should also take place to challenge the attitudes of wider society when it condones the racist attitudes of young perpetrators, and in so doing, explicitly or tacitly, gives dangerous support to their intolerance. (R11 + p.31)
- Agencies that work primarily with offenders, should consider how they could have an impact on potential perpetrators and the wider community. For example, how can probation work best engage with a preventative strategy? (R12 + p.31)
- Working together to tackle the racist attitudes of potential perpetrators calls for the building of strong partnerships between different sectors, especially between those who work with potential perpetrators and those who work with black and minority ethnic communities. (R18 + p.42)
- Prevention projects that bring together potential perpetrator and victim groups can be particularly successful if they are clear that one of their objectives is to challenge racist attitudes. (R10 + p.29)

Practitioners need more support in order to effectively prevent racist violence

- Practitioners (including youth workers, mediators and community support officers) should be provided with adequate support – vocational, psychological, and financial – to feel confident enough to work with potential perpetrators of racist violence in situations where they are challenging their attitudes and prejudices. (R19 + p.42)
- Youth workers feel that although their work can be effective in preventing or reducing racist crime, it should not be co-opted solely into diverting young people from crime (including racist crime). Instead they should define their work as more aspirational in its objectives and outcomes (e.g. challenging attitudes based on prejudice, or increasing social inclusion). (R8, R21 + pp.25,42)
- Black and minority ethnic community organisations and race equality organisations should offer greater support to those working with potential perpetrators of racist violence. (R18 + p.42)

Effective and innovative work challenging racist attitudes needs secure and consistent funding

- Funding for work to bring about attitude change should be long-term in order to allow for changes in attitude to take root. To sustain momentum and affirm long-term effects, funding must be allowed to support successful projects for longer periods than at present. (R15 + p.37)
- Given the demanding nature of doing the work that challenges racist attitudes, funding agencies should be bold in supporting creative attempts to prevent racist violence that respond to needs experienced at the grass roots. (R13, R14 + p.37)
- Funding should also be used to facilitate the sharing of practice across sectors. (R14 + p.37)

- Evaluation and measurement of outcomes in prevention work remains difficult. Funding agencies need to recognise the validity of anecdotal evidence and soft outcomes in assessing the success of initiatives. (R16 + p.37)

We need to know more about what works in challenging racist attitudes and preventing violence

- Specific and systematic research should look at the way CDRPs have included the fight against racist violence in their overall strategy, including how they are dealing with issues of resources, challenges and successes. This would help raise the profile of the importance of combating racist violence at local level. (R24 + p.42)
- There is a need for research appraising the effectiveness of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and other instruments provided by the anti-social behaviour agenda (i.e. Acceptable Behaviour Contracts – ABCs) on tackling racist violence. (R6 + p.25)
- Research that looks at how to measure the *effectiveness* of work that challenges racist attitudes would be useful for practitioners and policymakers alike. (R17 + p.37)
- Further research on perpetrators is needed – research that challenges popular assumptions around their motivations and the causes of both their racist and their violent behaviours. (R26 + p.43)
- Further research should explore the potential for devising a typology around potential perpetrators of racist violence, and examine whether such a typology could be effective in preventing racist violence. (R27 + p.43)
- Additional research is needed on racist violence between different black and minority ethnic communities (inter-racial violence) or towards recently arrived migrants and asylum-seekers. (R28 + p.43) □

‘The lack of support comes sometimes from local and central government. If they don’t put it on the agenda, it is going to be problematic for us to act on. There is a non-recognition of the fact that there needs to be intervention before it [racist violence] happens. It’s all very reactive. If we really want to eliminate racism, we need to work on that soft area, where it hasn’t happened yet, and that comes if it is made into a priority at central government or with education agencies where people will be more open and will make the time and resources to work with agencies on this...’

(A Mediator, London, 2004)

The Report in Context

Before going into the detailed findings of the report, it is important to understand the way in which our study fits the wider context of both policy and current research and how we carried out the work.

Section I outlines the policy framework, current research and definitions that have shaped our findings. It explains how our work fits within the wider policy context.

Section II brings together six separate observations on potential perpetrators. These observations draw on both our desk research and policy review findings, as well as our primary research with practitioners, in order to shed some light on the complex and at times controversial notion of the ‘potential perpetrator’.

Section III sets out the methodology we used for conducting our project. □



I. Research and Policy Framework

Background

Five years ago, public services in the UK faced severe criticism from the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry for institutional racism. The Inquiry acknowledged the racial motivation of the murder of Stephen Lawrence, and aimed to make recommendations mainly in relation to the policing of racist incidents. Although it produced valuable results, the Inquiry was bound by narrow terms of reference. It was not authorised to look into the possible causes of racially motivated crime, and no significant attention was paid by the Inquiry to those who carried out the murder of Stephen Lawrence.

Whilst the Inquiry provided the governmental impetus to consider racially motivated violence and more generally hate crime as a policy issue worth dealing with, the emphasis was placed primarily on bringing racially motivated offenders to justice and enhancing support to the victims. As a result, little work has been carried out on the origins and prevention of racist violence.

The Research Literature

We decided it was time to do some of that work, and we began with a research report *Perpetrators of Racist Violence and Harassment*.² The main function of that report was: (I) to summarise what the research literatures in sociology, social psychology and criminology could tell us about prejudice, delinquency and youth cultures; (II) by looking at the historical experiences of minority ethnic communities in the UK, to remind ourselves of what often underpins policy formulation by central government in their attempts to

legislate and act against racist violence; and (III) to examine existing typologies of perpetrators and their communities and thereby identify groups around which work to prevent racist violence might usefully be conducted.

Definitions that Shaped Our Work

Some of the key definitions that emerged from this 2002 report have influenced the shape and nature of the research we describe below.

1. *Who are the Potential Perpetrators of Racist Violence?* They are often perpetrators of other crimes as well.³ While those committing the violence tend to be young and male, with perhaps half between the ages of 16 and 25, females, the young and the old may be involved in creating a supportive context of prejudice and delinquency.⁴
2. *Environment.* Factors of deprivation and youth inactivity can encourage racist responses in those who are frustrated or insecure in their physical and social settings.⁵ 'The views held by all kinds of perpetrators towards ethnic minorities are shared by the wider communities to which they belong', and this wider perpetrator community needs to be confronted if racial harassment is to be reduced.⁶
3. *Three Categories of Intervention.* Hollin and Palmer⁷ worked with these definitions in a study in 2000. They bring environment and motivation together by reminding us that to effect change it is necessary to undertake Primary Prevention by working with society at large to

2 O. Khan (2002) *Perpetrators of Racist Violence*. London: Runnymede Trust.

3 Khan (2002: 14).

4 R. Sibbitt (1997) *The Perpetrators of Racial Harassment and Racial Violence*. Research Study no. 176. London: Home Office; C. Barter (1999) *Protecting Children from Racism and Racial Abuse*. NSPCC Policy Practice Research Series. London: NSPCC.

5 R. Hewitt (1996) *Routes of Racism*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

6 Sibbitt (1997) *op cit* Note 4.

change racist attitudes; Secondary Prevention, working with potential perpetrators of racist violence to prevent them from offending; and Tertiary Prevention, with those who have already offended, aiming to prevent them from reoffending.

4. A *Holistic Approach* to working with offenders was advocated by Sibbitt.⁸ Her three concentric circles – identifying and acting against *perpetrators*; identifying and diverting *potential perpetrators*; and developing a range of strategies for consistently addressing the *perpetrator community's* general attitudes towards ethnic minorities – are as much the backbone of thinking about how to prevent racist violence as are the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Prevention categorisations noted above. This is developed by Ben Bowling when he explains his use of the notion of violent racism because it ‘allows the connections between racist discourses, exclusionary practices, and experiences of violence to be explored. Subtle forms of racism ... can thus be reconnected with racism expressed in the form of aggression and violence. What unites all of these experiences is their root in the language and behaviour of racist exclusion’.⁹

Contexts for Our Research

As we began to examine work conducted with the perpetrators of racially motivated violence, and even more so with potential offenders, we were aware that reliable research was hard to come by. Yet these issues are of great importance, especially so in response to the 2001 eruptions of street violence in the Northwest of England.¹⁰ In 2003–4 there were 4179 prosecutions for racially aggravated crimes, of which 1056 were assaults or harassment. This is an increase of approximately 12.8% since 2002–3.¹¹

However, looking at what could be done to deter potentially violent racists

from fulfilling that potential for violence at the expense of young men like Stephen Lawrence,¹² we had some preconceptions about the work already going on. Our initial premise was that although projects that aimed to work with potential perpetrators of racist violence existed, they were mainly community-based, very local and operated in isolation with limited support and funding. It was also thought that practices from existing projects were unlikely to have been written up and shared.

We set out to map those existing local and community-based projects that use prevention as a means of reaching out to and changing the attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence (see the Methodology section for details). And much as we were motivated by the findings of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry we were also mindful of the policy context of the work undertaken by government in response to the same catalyst.

Policy Context

The government has taken a number of steps since the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry to tackle hate crime and more specifically racist violence. The measures we have focused on are either directly addressed through legislation, are part of policies such as community cohesion, or part of a wider remit for reducing crime in general. Other areas of policy development also offer support for work to prevent racist violence by challenging attitudes.

In general, these measures have materialised when the government has reacted to particular events. We have seen the emergence of proposals for new legislation to tackle religious hatred following the rise in ‘religiously aggravated crime’ since the terrorist attacks on New York on 11 September 2001. Similarly, the community cohesion agenda surfaced following the disturbances in the Northwest of England in the summer of 2001, and the

7 C. Hollin and E. Palmer (2000) *Reducing Reoffending by Racially Motivated Offenders: A review of the evidence*. Report commissioned by the Home Office, March 2000, University of Leicester.

8 Khan (2002: 44) *op cit* Note 2.

9 B. Bowling (1999) *Violent Racism: Victimization, policing and social context*, p. 13. Oxford: Clarendon Studies in Criminology, OUP.

10 ‘The perpetrators provoke feelings of horror and fear’ (Richard Stone in his Foreword to Khan, 2002: iii). In light of this observation it is not surprising, perhaps, that most of the analysis and project activity by researchers and care professionals has thus far focused on the problems of victims rather than the perpetrators.

11 Crown Prosecution Service (2004) *Racist Incident Monitoring Annual Report 2003–2004*. London: CPS.

12 The racist attack on Anthony Walker on 29 July 2005, which bears so many similarities to the circumstances of Stephen Lawrence’s death, speaks clearly of the obvious and ongoing need for hate crime to be brought to an end.

subsequent reports that indicated the existence of ‘parallel lives’.¹³ Examining this policy context shows the intentions of policymakers and the frameworks within which they are trying to operate when tackling racist violence and paving the way for practical outcomes.

Legislation

Various pieces of legislation, some more or less recent, are designed to support action against racist violence. These include:

- Public Order Act 1986 – prohibits incitement to racial hatred
- Crime and Disorder Act 1998 – added the category of racial aggravation to basic offences
- Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 – required the institutions of the criminal justice system to actively promote race equality in their functions
- Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 – added the category of religiously aggravated offences, as part of the December 2001 package introduced after 9/11 to counter terrorism.

In 2004 the government proposed a new offence of incitement to religious hatred, as part of the Serious Organised Crime and Police Bill introduced into parliament at the end of that year. This proposal prompted intense debate, among civil liberties and community groups in particular. Although the clause fell when the General Election was called in April 2005, the Labour Government that returned to power in May 2005 introduced a new Bill (The Racial and Religious Hatred Bill) to outlaw incitement to religious hatred.¹⁴

Other recent criminal justice provisions include the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act, introduced in April 2005. The Act establishes a Serious Organised Crime Agency and extends the powers of the Police in a number of areas, and of Community Support Officers (CSOs).¹⁵ In addition, the Violent Crime

Reduction Bill provides the Police with enhanced powers in relation to gun, knife and alcohol-related violence.¹⁶

The Crime Reduction Agenda

Despite Labour’s famous commitment to be equally tough on the causes of crime as on crime itself, in the last 8 years the criminal justice system has seen increasing numbers of sentences and a rising prison population. Over the last 5 years, the crime reduction agenda has witnessed a number of legislative and policy developments aimed principally at reducing the prison population, preventing reoffending and cracking down on anti-social behaviour.

• Sentencing and Prison Populations

The Halliday Review,¹⁷ set up to examine the sentencing process, saw many of its conclusions taken up in the White Paper ‘Justice For All’ (2002)¹⁸ and enacted in the Criminal Justice Act 2003.¹⁹ Recommendations were mainly geared towards a reduction of the prison population and wider use of rehabilitative practices including restorative justice. When prisoner numbers continued to rise rather than fall, another review – the Carter Review – was set up to examine correctional services and suggest a strategy to reduce crime in a cost-effective way.²⁰ This included the establishment of a National Offender Management Service (NOMS), merging Prison and Probation Services, with the possibility of contracting with the voluntary and private sectors to provide services within the criminal justice system.

• Reoffending

The Action Plan to Reduce Reoffending, published by the Home Office in July 2004,²¹ called on agencies to work more closely together. It explored how to intervene in an effective way, both nationally and regionally, along seven recognised ‘pathways’ (housing and accommodation,

13 T. Cantle (2001) *Community Cohesion*. A Report of the Independent Review Team. London: Home Office.

14 The Bill was given a third reading by 301 to 229, government majority 72 and at the stage of drafting this report, was due to go to the Lords in October 2005.

15 Home Office Press release, 21 April 2005 [http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/n_story.asp?item_id=1298]

16 The Bill is available on the Parliamentary website [<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cm200506/cmbills/010/06010.i-v.html>]

17 J. Halliday (2001) *Making Punishments Work*. Report of the Review of the Sentencing Framework for England and Wales, London: Home Office. [<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/docs/halliday.html>]

18 The White Paper ‘Justice for All’ is available on the Home Office website. [http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/docs3/justiceforall_whitepaper.html]

19 The Criminal Justice Act 2003 is available on the Parliamentary website. [<http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2003/20030044.htm>]

20 P. Carter (2003) *Managing Offenders – Reducing Crime*. The Carter Review. London: Home Office.

21 Home Office (2004e) *Reducing Reoffending*. A National Action Plan. London: Home Office. [<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/docs3/5505reoffending.pdf>]

employment and education, physical and mental health, drugs and alcohol, finance benefit and debt, family ties, and offender attitudes). The plan also called for increased partnership working between agencies.

- **Anti-social Behaviour**

Anti-social behaviour has fast become one of the government's most frequently invoked responses to calls for reducing crime, particularly at neighbourhood level. While a definition of anti-social behaviour is still vague (ranging from low-level nuisance such as noise to the more serious criminal behaviour of harassment), it is nonetheless endowed with a heavy legislative framework.

Introduced in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, anti-social behaviour was then given more prominence with the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003,²² which amended the legislation to extend the powers of the police and other local authorities.²³ The legislation allows for the distribution of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), which can be served on an individual even if he/she has not committed a crime but has been the subject of complaints for anti-social behaviour. Not only can ASBOs restrict access to specific areas of a town, a street or an estate, they can prevent groups of people from meeting. It is impossible to ignore anti-social behaviour – and the ASBO – as an instrument with the potential for tackling perpetrators of 'low-level' racist violence.

- **Crime Reduction and Racist Violence Prevention**

Crime reduction constitutes an obvious policy framework for preventing racist violence. Numerous programmes at local level aim to reduce or prevent crime,

which implies working with a number of agencies across the board (local authority, police, probation

'... since it would be impossible to devote enough resources to combating the racist psychology of every potential perpetrator, it is perhaps more effective to begin by addressing prejudice and delinquency in the community, keeping in mind the role of government to address social disadvantage and inequality on the broader canvas.'

(Khan 2002: 45)

service, housing, youth services, schools etc...). In particular, Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) typically involve the local authority, the police, and other agencies, such as Primary Care Trusts, Probation and Fire authorities. Priorities for CDRPs vary from locality to locality but where strategies do explicitly mention the need to tackle hate crime, they advocate the use of multi-agency racial harassment panels, for instance. However, they tend to focus on victim support (i.e. giving victims the confidence to report a crime) and/or punishing the known perpetrator.

The Community Cohesion Agenda

Community cohesion came onto the government agenda following the disturbances in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley in 2001. It was presaged by the emphasis on cohesion in the report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain,²⁴ in which cohesion, equality and diversity were identified as the key factors needing to be kept in equilibrium to support the building of a successful multi-ethnic Britain. After considerable debate about what Community Cohesion actually means for practical purposes, the Local Government Association, Home Office,

²² The Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 is available on the Parliamentary website. [<http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2003/20030038.htm>]

²³ A landmark judgment was won by a 15-year-old boy on 20 July 2005, when a High Court judge ruled that it was illegal for a police officer to forcibly return a young person to their home. This was one of the central provisions of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003.

²⁴ CFMEB (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report*. London: Profile Books for the Runnymede Trust.

Interfaith Network, CRE and ODPM published joint guidance on cohesion.²⁵ They defined a cohesive community as one where:

- *There is a common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities*
- *The diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and positively valued*
- *Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities*
- *Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods.*

A specific unit was established within the Home Office with the purpose of reviewing the impact of government policy on cohesive communities and sharing good practice through the establishment of a number of Community Cohesion 'pathfinder projects' across England.

Community cohesion is viewed increasingly as part and parcel of race equality, as illustrated by the government's new strategy on 'race equality and community cohesion'.²⁶ The CRE's recent publication of further guidance on 'good relations' between ethnic groups²⁷ also gives statutory and legislative force to the promotion of community cohesion.

• **Community Cohesion and Racist Violence Prevention**

The development of this agenda is significant in our research. It increases the impetus for action that encourages different communities to 'get along', particularly in areas where there are high levels of intolerance, inter-ethnic violence and segregation. Racist violence severely threatens the success of efforts to promote community cohesion, with reverberations often far beyond the individuals involved. Work with potential perpetrators of racist violence should therefore

figure prominently within the brief of the community cohesion agenda.

Other Policy Developments

• **Neighbourhood Renewal**

As the government's strategy for tackling social exclusion in the UK's most deprived areas, Neighbourhood Renewal uses a cross-sector approach that can include work to prevent or reduce crime generally. Rae Sibbitt's work for the Home Office on lack of identity among perpetrators and potential perpetrators of racist violence highlights how interventions with potential perpetrators can fit within the neighbourhood renewal/social inclusion agenda.²⁸

• **Citizenship Education**

In September 2002 citizenship education became part of the national curriculum for secondary schools. It includes programmes of study on human rights, ethnic diversity, and conflict resolution. Citizenship education can be a key route to challenging racist attitudes among school pupils.²⁹ Involving the education system could lead to the development of resources and an increase of activity in this area.

• **Civil Renewal**

All the major political parties have expressed their concern at the disengagement of citizens from politics, the decline in 'neighbourliness', and the importance of making public services responsive to the needs of citizens. A policy framework rather than an initiative, civil renewal may enable space for reflection on the impact of identities on relationships within and between communities, and with the state. Civil renewal aims to tackle the disengagement of individuals and communities from involvement with civil society. It

25 Local Government Association (2002) *Guidance on Community Cohesion*. London: LGA.

26 Home Office (2005a) *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: The Government's strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion*. London: Race, Cohesion, Equality and Faith Directorate. [www.homeoffice.gov.uk]

27 Commission for Racial Equality (2005) *Promoting Good Race Relations: A guide for public authorities*. London: CRE.

28 '[F]or perpetrators, potential perpetrators and other individuals within the perpetrator community, expressions of racism often serve the function of distracting their own – and others' – attention away from real, underlying concerns which they feel impotent to deal with. These include a lack of identity, insecurity about the future and physical and/or mental health problems' (Sibbitt 1997: viii).

29 For further discussion of citizenship education and antiracism see A. Osler and H. Starkey (2005) *Changing Citizenship: Democracy and inclusion in education*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

may offer opportunities to challenge attitudes that are anti-social, including racist attitudes.

- **Addressing Health Inequalities**

The Acheson Inquiry into health inequalities³⁰ has led to the Department of Health and health practitioners becoming more engaged with communities. Health policymakers have recognised the benefits to health and wellbeing of safer communities and lower levels of racism. The Inquiry Report noted that a reduction in racist crime would also reduce health inequalities.

- **Youth Policy**

In July 2005, the Department for Education and Skills published a Green Paper on Youth, *Youth Matters*,³¹ consulting on their new youth strategy. Building on the ‘Every Child Matters’ strategy, it aims to help young people make

informed choices about their lives, encourage them to be more active in their communities and provide better support for those who face

‘Rather than being confined to an extreme and abhorrent margin of society [racist] offenders mainly appear to come from the ordinary fabric of society, and incidents occur in the context of the unfolding dynamics of daily life...’

(Iganski et al. 2005: 50)

serious problems. Although *Youth Matters* does not mention race equality or racist violence, the Home Office’s *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society*³² strategy on race equality and community cohesion emphasises the importance of working with young people, particularly in relation to tackling racist violence. □

30 D. Acheson (1998) *Report of the Independent Inquiry into Inequalities in Health*. London: HMSO.

31 DfES (2005) *Youth Matters*. London: Department for Education and Skills. [<http://www.dfes.gov.uk/consultations/downloadableDocs/Youth%20matters%20pdf.pdf>]

32 Home Office (2005a) *op cit* Note 26.

II. Six Observations on the ‘Potential Perpetrator’

Observations (1) to (4), as recounted in the Research and Policy Context, originated in our 2002 report. Our research with practitioners, who are working with potential perpetrators under the umbrella of one or more government initiatives or agencies, expanded these first four and prompted two further sets of observations on perpetrating behaviour – numbers (5) and (6).

(1) A Home Office Definition

Rae Sibbitt’s (1997) report published by the Home Office drew on her research in two London boroughs to develop an understanding of perpetrators.³³ This report tried to come up with a ‘typology’ of perpetrators of racist violence based on Sibbitt’s case studies and led to the following general conclusions:

- Perpetrators of racist violence and harassment are of all ages
- The views held by all kinds of perpetrators towards ethnic minorities are shared by the wider communities to which they belong
- Expressions of racism often serve the function of distracting attention away from real, underlying concerns which they feel impotent to deal with
- Two sets of factors can lead to committing racist violence:
 - Factors which facilitate stress and delinquency
 - Factors which facilitate racial prejudice
- There is a need for a holistic approach when dealing with perpetrating behaviour, using Sibbitt’s three concentric circles of those already identified as perpetrators, identifying and diverting those at risk of becoming perpetrators, and changing the attitudes of those who influence the community that supports the perpetrating behaviours.

(2) As Used within Crime Reduction Agencies

The Diversity Directorate of the Metropolitan Police, in partnership with academic researchers of hate crimes including racist violence, has focused on known perpetrators to develop definitions for use with prevention projects.

Existing youth justice theory suggests using ‘risk and protective factors’ to indicate why some young people might get involved in criminal activity. These are used by the Youth Justice Board and within Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) to look at the combinations of factors that might lead a young person to offend (e.g. drug misuse, illiteracy), or prevent them from doing so (e.g. a strong bond of attachment with one or both parents).³⁴

(3) As Modified by Work Sector

Interviews carried out in the context of this research indicate that practitioners working with so-called ‘potential perpetrators’ have a clear understanding of who they are and where they operate. However, the understanding of who are the potential perpetrators depends on the sector of work the practitioners operate in.

- An enforcement agency talks about racial hot spots, areas where high numbers of racist incidents are reported.
- A detached youth worker operates in the context of his/her relationship with young people who can express racist attitudes and confess to racist behaviour, thereby relying on the use of anecdotal evidence.
- A mediator, working in the context of a particular dispute, will be basing his or her understanding of potential perpetrators on different perceptions and evidence.

³³ Sibbitt (1997) *op cit* Note 4.

³⁴ For more information see Youth Justice Board Research (2001) Note no. 5, November.

(4) Refuting Common Assumptions

Research on known perpetrators, as well as evidence from practitioners working directly and indirectly with them, challenges popular assumptions that see perpetrators and potential perpetrators as 'mission offenders', driven to their actions primarily by bigotry and racist ideology.

While extreme-right parties tend to exacerbate tensions between communities and feed off their success in creating these tensions, as seen in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001, an analysis of the Metropolitan Police records on hate crime as well as Sibbitt's research, show that, in a large majority of incidents, the perpetrators are members of the local community and are known to the victims (i.e. local youths, neighbours, schoolchildren and work colleagues). In addition, this research found that 'a proportion of incidents start off as so-called ordinary threats and/or criminal incidents, such as altercations or criminal damage arising from neighbour disputes'.³⁵

Motives for getting involved in racist violence can therefore vary along a continuum that goes from political extreme-right activity, to using racism as an aggravating factor in criminal activity or, as Sibbitt points out, to using racist violence as an expression of their anger towards other, underlying concerns that they feel unable to deal with. These concerns can be linked to their sense of personal failure or a perception that they are being treated less favourably than black and minority ethnic communities living alongside them.³⁶

Similarly, Sibbitt concluded that perpetrators of racist violence do not operate in a social vacuum, and their behaviour and racist attitudes are often condoned by the wider community in which they live (family, neighbourhood, etc.).

These findings imply that it is much more difficult to pinpoint what might lead a person to go down the route of racist abuse and violence, as it might break out at particular 'pressure points' (such as a neighbourhood dispute). Questions have to be asked about how to prevent such racist violence by targeting potential perpetrators. Rather than try to predict a potential perpetrator's behaviour, the solution lies in challenging the society at large that allows this behaviour to occur. In addition, prevention can only operate effectively if the social context in which these incidents occur is examined.

35 V. Kielinger and B. Stanko (2002) 'What can we learn from people's use of the police?', *Criminal Justice Matters*, 48 (summer): 5.

36 Hewitt (1996) *op cit* Note 5.

(5) Perpetrators Can Also be Victims

Evidence from interviews with practitioners drawn from mainstream crime statistics suggest that people who commit racist violence are often *victims* of crime as well. This is particularly true among young people: a recent report states that there is wide agreement amongst practitioners working with children and young people that tackling the causes of child abuse and neglect is at the heart of any strategy dealing with the causes of youth offending.³⁷ Similarly, evidence collected from interviews suggests that many young people involved in racist violence fall within the category of children in need under the Children's Act.

This implies an understanding of the wider context in which potential perpetrators are likely to operate. Knowledge of the wider context of racist violence is important both in terms of providing a better understanding of why an incident occurs and also the opportunity for early-warning systems that can detect a situation before it reaches the point of crime. In addition, this finding calls for work that recognises the ambivalence of perpetrators, and acknowledges that work to support 'vulnerable' perpetrators will have an impact on reducing levels of crime in general. Understanding this ambivalence will enhance our understanding of how addressing different factors or areas of dysfunction that do not seem to have any links with racist violence (i.e. illiteracy or drug use) could have an impact on preventing racist behaviour.

37 Esmée Fairbairn Foundation (2004) *Rethinking Crime & Punishment: The Report*. London: EFF.

(6) Perpetrators Seen as White vs Black

Can racist violence be reduced to a conflict between white and black perpetrators and victims? In this particular project, we chose to focus on work carried out with white perpetrators of racist violence. While recognising that in certain circumstances and areas violence between communities from black and minority ethnic backgrounds is as common if not more common than white on black or black on white violence, evidence and past research still suggests that the majority of reported racist incidents where the victim belonged to a black and minority ethnic group had been committed by white perpetrators.

In the 2000 BCS Findings report for example:³⁸

- Black victims identified 75% of offenders as White, 22% as Black, and 2% each as Asian or Mixed.
- For Asian victims, the offender figures were 67% white, 14% Mixed, 13% Black and 4% Asian.

In addition, figures from the most recent British Crime Survey (2002/3) continued to show that black and minority ethnic people, as ordinary citizens and members of society, are still far more likely to be the victims of a racist attack and racially motivated crime than their white counterparts. This does not preclude the necessity for further work on inter-racial violence as well as researching other victims of racist violence (i.e. recently arrived migrants, refugees etc...). Practitioners who discussed their work with us indicated that decisions to work with white communities only, or with all communities involved in a specific conflict, were made largely in response to the needs of particular local or geographical setting. □

38 A. Clancy et al. (2001) *Crime, Policing and Justice: The experience of ethnic minorities. Findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey*. Research Study 223. London: Home Office.

III. Methodology

This report presents our analysis of work being undertaken to challenge the attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence.

Given the lack of research into work in this area, our approach has been to ground theoretical understandings in response to practical experience. Though this is a challenging approach for the researcher, it allows for greater input from practitioners into shaping both the research and the outcomes. The findings are a product of the needs of those involved in this crucial area of work.

Through desk-based research contacting over two hundred organisations, and interviews with more than twenty practitioners and policymakers, the research investigates experiences of working with potential perpetrators of racist violence. Having taken a broad view initially, the research quickly took a closer focus on four London boroughs. This focus allowed us to appreciate the diversity of experiences and understandings operating in this field of work. Analysis of the data helped us improve our grasp of the policy impact of the work. This analysis was then triangulated through further discussions, involvement of an advisory group of practitioners, and the publication of a working paper.³⁹

An account of the types of challenges we faced in relation to devising and amending our methodology, responding to our initial findings, and the lessons we learnt from this process will, we feel, benefit others in the field, and is worth sharing. In pursuing accounts of a topic as sensitive and as important as the prevention of racist violence, the researcher is unwise to impose a framework, but needs to listen to the

constraints within which the practitioners operate and the approaches they take. The methodology we have chosen enables us to encourage further discussion of policy decisions and interventions that need to be made in order to respond effectively to race hate crime and its causes.

Three Phases

Our work on this project divided into three phases.

1. *Understanding existing theory* - We first examined existing theories around the particular problem of racist violence, and reviewed the work of academics in the field.⁴⁰
2. *Mapping initiatives to prevent racist violence* - Next we looked at how practitioners are currently working in order (i) to highlight positive examples of local work with potential perpetrators of racist violence, and (ii) to see how successful work in progress can point to developments for the future.
3. *Policy analysis* - Finally, we worked with academics and practitioners to develop policy recommendations that aim to challenge and improve practice, and extend policymakers' thinking on the prevention of racist violence.

Understanding Existing Theory

The scarcity of research into challenging the attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence was highlighted through our earlier publications, and is noted above. This posed a real challenge to the research as it meant that the theory would have to be developed alongside the research process. Key messages from existing research were used to form the focus

39 S. Isal (2004) 'Preventing Racist Violence: Interim Findings', a Runnymede Trust Working Paper, June.

40 Khan (2002) *op cit* Note 2.

for early conversations with the project advisory group and informed the interview schedule that was developed to investigate work in this field.

Mapping Initiatives to Prevent Racist Violence

An early objective of ours was to map local, community-based projects in London that worked with potential perpetrators to challenge their racist attitudes. It soon became evident that such projects were not easy to pinpoint. After making contact with individuals and organisations (both community and statutory), it turned out that instead of community sector organisations expressly working to challenge racist attitudes in potential perpetrators, the picture was more complex. We had to cast our net wider to discover the range of work and where it was located. Rather than attempt to map this work right across London, an approach that considered well-defined areas in more depth was found to yield a richer understanding of the initiatives being undertaken to prevent racist violence through changing attitudes.

This meant that we had to examine a broad range of expertise, which included:

- work in race equality to change society's attitudes towards racism (primary);
- preventative work with potential perpetrators of racist violence (secondary);
- and work carried out by probation officers with racist offenders in order to prevent re-offending (tertiary).

Maintaining a focus exclusively on community-based projects proved to be a limit to our understanding at a time when local multi-agency and partnership work were being embedded as a result of local and central government policy. Isolating community-based work from statutory-

led partnerships was impossible in some areas.

Focusing on four boroughs

Our original intention to map projects across the whole of London, whilst it added breadth did not provide the depth that, it was becoming evident, would be crucial to understanding this work. We therefore chose a smaller purposive sample of four boroughs, after consultation with members of the project advisory group. No sample of this size is ever representative, but we wanted to be able to show a diversity of experience, and the challenges and opportunities presented by differing contexts. The four boroughs we chose were:

**Brent • Merton • Southwark
Tower Hamlets**

Among the reasons for choosing these boroughs were:

- **Black and minority ethnic population**
According to the 2001 Census figures, Brent and Tower Hamlets have a 'majority' black and minority ethnic population, whereas in Merton and Southwark there is a smaller black and minority ethnic population. The largest minority ethnic communities also differ in each borough.
- **Reporting of racist incidents**
Southwark and Tower Hamlets have higher levels of reported racist incidents than Brent and Merton.
- **Initial contacts with groups or individuals**
Given the challenging nature of the topic for research, it was important to have access to research sites and networks of practitioners, willing and able to participate. Through the earlier efforts of the research process, strong contacts of this type had been established in these areas.

Focusing on four boroughs, and indeed on London, enabled the research to be conducted at the required level of depth. Our approach, however, always remained flexible enough to engage with interesting projects that emerged from other boroughs. Where we have identified valuable projects taking place in other parts of London, and elsewhere in the country, we have included them as case studies.

Policy Analysis

In order to track down projects that would fit within the parameters of this more detailed borough-level assessment, we made contact with the following types of organisations/institutions within each borough:

- Crime reduction agencies (Community Safety Teams within the Council, Police, Probation, Youth Offending Teams, etc.)
- Youth agencies and organisations (including Youth Services, Youth Centres, detached youth workers)
- Arts and Sports organisations
- Victim support groups
- Regeneration and social inclusion groups, when appropriate (i.e. when a particular neighbourhood is part of the New Deal for Communities programme)

Community-based projects that work with potential perpetrators of racist violence are scarce. In some areas, an extensive search would produce just a few interviews and meetings. In others, many promising leads turned out to be only remotely linked to what we were looking for. This was largely a problem about terminology and a reflection of the dispersed responsibility for work to challenge the attitudes of potential perpetrators of racism. This posed a challenge. Given the innovative nature of the research and the sensitivity of the area, there is little shared language that can be used to access research sites and build networks. Instead, the researchers had to find ways of

describing the work that reflected the concerns of the practitioners and attempt to build a common language throughout the course of the project.

The dispersed responsibility for the work in this area led to a need to speak to groups of people in each borough, and in some cases act as a networking resource even within a borough. The range of agencies and organisations involved meant that the research had to be able to marshal a large amount of information in order to focus on the key concerns of the project.

Formulating recommendations for policy development

The initiatives that we found were then analysed, highlighting the good practice aspects of each, and distilling from them a range of practical ideas and effective responses to working with perpetrators of racist violence.

Examples of good practice were then re-contextualised to produce a set of policy recommendations that are applicable across a range of circumstances. In identifying how existing projects operate within the current maze of funding and policy initiatives, we offer some guidance for policymakers, funders, and those hoping to develop projects in the future on how to support similar work.

When undertaking research on new and challenging areas, with issues that are often sensitive, it is crucial to maintain the flexibility to respond to the evidence. In this project the involvement of the advisory group of practitioners, the support of funders and the importance of the issue have enabled us to provide some new insight into this vital area of activity. In the following sections, the research findings are reported and, in response, recommendations for policy reform offered. □

Main Report

Findings in Detail

What follows is our account of what's going on and where. Our findings and recommendations for policymakers, both local and national, and practitioners from a wide range of fields are expressed in direct relationship to the types of project being described.

Case studies of successful projects are reproduced alongside the relevant analysis. These projects have successfully tackled the issues in the respective areas that exemplify how work with potential perpetrators can be most effective.

Section I examines how current practices around *racist violence prevention through work with potential perpetrators* is taking place within particular policy areas and directions (enforcement versus prevention), and on the basis of assumptions about known perpetrators and definitions of who is a potential perpetrator.

Section II assesses how work with potential perpetrators operates within the observed policy contexts highlighted above. It points to the importance of understanding the highly contextualised nature of any work that attempts to *challenge racist attitudes through work with potential perpetrators* and the need to place this work within strong holistic interventions that happen across primary, secondary and tertiary prevention work.

Section III offers guidance on the factors needed to sustain effective work and *interventions with potential perpetrators of racist violence, through challenging their attitudes*. It includes guidance on funding and the importance of multi-agency work and cross-sector partnership.

Section IV suggests where further research to support, develop and sustain *work with potential perpetrators to prevent racist violence* might be most usefully directed. □

Case Study 1:

Bede Anti-Racist Detached Youth Work Project (BDYWP)

Context, Aims and Objectives

In 1993, in the context of heightened racist violence in South London, including a number of racist murders, BDYWP was set up to carry out detached youth work in the area of Bermondsey where an alarming rise in the number of racist attacks on black and minority ethnic communities by white young people had been noted. The project involved working with potential and actual perpetrators of racist violence, with the aim of challenging the racist views of white young people in the area through providing them with alternative anti-racist views. It also looked at the wider picture and aimed to foster young people's sense of empowerment as well as their ability to take greater social, political and economic control of their lives.

Process and Outputs

Although challenging racism was always on the agenda for the detached youth workers, Year 1 was spent mostly gathering intelligence on the area, and building trust with the hard-to-reach young people, without necessarily any direct mention of racism. The process of gaining trust and allowing young people to feel they could engage with and talk to the youth workers was indispensable groundwork before any attempt was made at challenging racist views and attitudes. In addition, a number of months were needed to stabilise the team of detached youth workers, highlighting the difficulties of finding people who were both willing and able to operate in an unsafe environment where their patience and tolerance towards racism would be tested.

Years 2 and 3 were spent engaging the young people, inviting them to take on outdoor activities and using these activities as tools for talking about issues around their racist attitudes. Simply talking to them and sharing views and interests was often effective enough to create a change in attitudes.

Outcome and Monitoring

The outcome of the project, although hard to measure statistically, was a reduction of racist street crime in the targeted neighbourhood by 40% observed by the police. In addition, anecdotal evidence and systematic, continuous evaluation of the work by the detached youth workers through briefing sessions indicated that the project had a positive influence on the nearly 200 young people it came in contact with.

Funding

The project received funding from the DfEE Youth Work Development Grant, which was provided through the National Youth Agency. After the 3 years had elapsed, the project did not continue in its original format; however, Southwark Council provided funding for a detached youth worker to operate in a larger catchment area than the one defined by the project.

Good Practice Recommendations

The element to replicate is **ANTI-RACISM AS THE CORE OBJECTIVE**

Even if the anti-racist component is not openly stated, for fear of 'scaring away' the people that the project is working with (potential perpetrators), it was clear in the minds of the workers that the aim was to tackle racist attitudes. Diversionary work was therefore a means towards achieving this objective. The importance given to the anti-racist element of the project should be replicated in other geographical areas identified as racial 'hotspots'.

I. What's Being Done and Where in Current Prevention Practice

Self-standing Anti-racist Prevention Projects

When we set off to do our London-based research, we had in mind an example of a successful project we'd already encountered, one that tackled the attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence (see **Case Study 1**). Our initial premise was that we would come across more projects similar to this one. It was assumed that these projects operated at local level, were community-led, and their conclusions and potential lessons for policy were not yet written up nor relayed.

In fact, it soon became apparent that we were unable to identify community-based, local projects that primarily work with potential perpetrators to challenge their racist attitudes. Whilst preventative work with potential perpetrators to challenge their racist attitudes does exist, it does not represent the main or primary objectives of the identified organisations or projects. In addition, as demonstrated in the case studies we are presenting in the body of this report, projects that carry out this work do so as part of a wider remit.

Where Most of the Identifiable Work Takes Place

Groups that identifiably carry out prevention work through challenging racist attitudes often do so as part of a project with broader terms of reference. Consequently, this particular point of changing the attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence often becomes visible as an **outcome**, rather than as the **intent** of many of these

projects (see for example **Case Studies 2 and 3**).

An examination of these projects shows that they fall mainly within one or both of the following policy strands: Crime Reduction and/or Community Cohesion.

Within these two agendas can be found a variety of projects that directly or indirectly challenge racist attitudes through work with potential perpetrators. The variety itself can mean that examples of good practice are harder to find, learn from and share. This led us to an early conclusion and recommendation, which we tested with our target audience in autumn 2004 by publishing a Working Paper. Feedback from the readers of the Working Paper⁴¹ reinforced the validity of our findings at this crucial stage, and produced the first in our lists of Recommendations.

The Focus is on the Punitive rather than Preventative

Both research and interviews with practitioners have indicated that policy is consistently geared towards a **punitive and repressive** trend, rather than a **preventative** one. In addition, projects that were identified as working in the preventative field also tended to focus on dealing with racist offending behaviour rather than attitudes. Reasons for this are numerous:

(1) Punitive Within the mainstream criminal justice system

This focus on repression rather than

⁴¹ Isal (2004) *op cit* Note 39.

Case Study 2: London Bubble Theatre

Context, Aims and Objectives

London Bubble was set up over 30 years ago to make theatre and theatre-making relevant to Londoners, in particular in South East London, where it is based. While their work focuses on a number of different projects, their issue-based work has been relevant to challenging racist attitudes among potential perpetrators. Rather than calling them anti-racist, the company refers to its projects as 'art projects with an anti-racist dynamic'.

Process and Outputs

The company's issue-based work operates as follows.

Using various interactive techniques, the company gets together a small group of young people interested in a particular issue. Hate crime was one of the issues examined in this context. Young people are the active researchers on the chosen issue: they put together a play to tour schools in the area, and they present it to young people in other informal education settings such as youth clubs. This is therefore a powerful peer education project, where the young people viewing the play are invited to participate and are encouraged to engage with the issue(s) represented in the play. One of these techniques, 'forum theatre', re-runs the play and the audience can interact and stop the action or offer alternative solutions, etc. This approach is particularly good at providing a safe space in which potential perpetrators can express themselves and have their views challenged in a constructive way.

Challenges

Contacting the 'hard to reach' groups of young people represented one of the main challenges, which raised questions of how to market the work in a way that would not alienate those people who were the potential perpetrators or who did not want to engage. The difficulty was to get to the point where the most excluded or 'self-excluding' young people would engage, and then to make the performances relevant to them. Another challenge was to deal with the fact that the work the Company does might have an effect on young people in a particular setting, but that this positive effect could be reversed when they moved off into different settings, such as their peer group or their home.

Outcome and Monitoring

It does not label itself as an anti-racist project but, through its work, its outcomes are relevant to challenging racist attitudes. One of the outcomes of the issue-based work has been to successfully get groups of young people from the perpetrating communities and the victim communities together in a larger forum to watch and participate in the play. Much of the monitoring that takes place is anecdotal and difficult to assess, such as repeat attendance, feedback forms and number of people reached.

Funding

The Company gets its core funding from both the Arts Council and local government.

Good Practice Recommendations

The element to replicate is **USING ART AS A TOOL**

Art projects that work towards the objective of reducing racist violence have proved in this case to be very successful in both engaging with potential perpetrators and helping change their attitudes. While arts activities provide an opportunity to bring together different communities, they can also be used proactively as an instrument to challenge racist attitudes through choosing to focus on specific topics for plays, such as the Bubble Theatre has been doing with hate crime.

prevention is characteristic of a long trend in general criminal justice policy. The number of people in prison today is 75,000 (June 2005)⁴² with a projection by government that the prison population will reach 110,000 by the year 2010. This can be explained by tougher sentencing rather than a rise in crime, with magistrates twice as likely to issue prison sentences than 10 years ago.

This situation has been accompanied by a series of policies that encourage tougher sentencing, such as courts being allowed to take into account previous convictions when passing sentence or tougher sentences for drug offences and burglary.⁴³ In the same way that drug and alcohol problems are largely viewed by policymakers as a law and order issue, and not sufficiently as a health and welfare issue, public policy and racist violence are often examined solely through the prism of attempts to reduce crime, rather than through examination of the wider social context in which the violence occurs.⁴⁴

Recent legislation confirms that this trend is ongoing through, for example, the adoption of legislation to increase enforcement powers by agencies such as the police and to increase the number of instruments that can be used to punish perpetrators of crime. An example of this is the prominence given to anti-social behaviour legislation as a way to tackle crime.

CASE NOTE: *A practitioner interviewed explained the lack of work on perpetrators' attitudes by stressing that when racist behaviour occurs, the most urgent action required is to make the racist behaviour of the perpetrators stop as soon as possible, in order to reflect the needs of victims at the receiving end of the abuse and violence. This can mean that offenders will have been identified and 'processed' before any long-term action can be envisaged.*

Crime reduction as a government objective

Whilst multi-agency working is an important element for a successful strategy to prevent racist violence, the downside observed by practitioners who do not generally work in crime reduction is that they actually get 'co-opted' into the crime reduction agenda by government policy. As a result, keeping young people away from crime becomes the priority, and is encouraged by government policy for projects and organisations whose remit is not primarily crime reduction (i.e. arts and leisure or youth work).

Important as it is to ensure the involvement of such groups in crime prevention, this must be done with a wider vision. Investigation of the work of interactive theatre groups or detached youth work show that they can have a clear impact on the attitudes of the young people they work with, provided they are given the resources to do so. However, when the provision of resources is for diversionary work only, it does not make full use of the skills and potential of the youth workers. Conversely, diversionary work, when advocated, is too often seen as an end in itself, rather than as a means of achieving a broader-based social gain, such as greater social inclusion, or less prejudice and racism (see **Case Study 4**).

(2) Preventative Challenging attitudes requires long-term actions

Whereas a reduction in criminal behaviour can be measured and demonstrated quite rapidly (via a drop in reported statistics), prevention work is assessed over the long term, and is not so easily quantifiable even when visible. Interventions that work on prevention through challenging attitudes are therefore more difficult to fund, when the results of the work cannot be seen immediately and it's not easy to measure the true impact of something not happening. Difficulty in

42 http://www.hmprisonservice.gov.uk/assets/documents/1000/OCDAweb_bull_jun05.doc

43 Esmée Fairbairn Foundation (2004) *op cit* Note 37.

44 D. Walker (2005) 'Don't underestimate voters', *Safer Society* no. 24 (spring): 1.

Case Study 3: Southwark Hate Crime Mediation Project

Context, Aims and Objectives

The Hate Crime Mediation project started off as part of a Targeted Police Initiative (PPACTS – see Case Study no. 7). At that point, it functioned within a partnership operating in a particular ‘hotspot’ to ultimately help reduce racist and homophobic crime – in this case a specific area of Bermondsey. When PPACTS ended, the Southwark Hate Crime Mediation Project continued to operate as part of Southwark Mediation. The aim of the project is to use mediation as a tool to work with perpetrators and to challenge their racist attitudes and behaviours.

Process and Outputs

The mediator comes in as a neutral, non-judgemental person and works with both perpetrators and victims to try to reach an agreement by both parties to end the conflict. Cases are either referred to the mediator by another agency (police, local housing association, etc...) or, when voluntary agreements are reached, monitored by the mediator.

The work of the mediator is incident based: it often requires her to examine the whole context of a racist incident, including how the social and family surroundings of the perpetrator might affect his or her behaviour and attitude. Mediation enables those experiencing the crime to express their needs and it challenges the beliefs and stereotypes of the perpetrators. Based on anecdotal evidence from the cases that the mediator has dealt with in Bermondsey, many victims she comes across do not wish to prosecute their harassers but want to know the underlying cause of the hatred and want the perpetrators to fully realise the impact they have on their victims. The work of the mediator therefore attempts to build that element of empathy between the perpetrator and the victim.

Challenges

The fact that mediation remains a voluntary process means that some people do not wish to engage with it. Without that early intervention, it is likely that these young people will continue with the same pattern of offending. An added challenge is related to the difficulty in getting mediation recognised as a useful tool for tackling hate crime.

Outcome and Monitoring

The mediator has noticed that one of the most successful outcomes has been the impact of the project on repeat victimisation. This kind of victimisation was addressed over time by long-term mediation, relating to incidences of harassment that had sometimes persisted for 5 years by the time the mediator came in. Research into the outcomes of the project showed that, in response to the use of mediation over a period of 3 years, incidents of repeat victimisation had reduced from 1 in 12 to 1 in 4.

Funding

The Hate Crime Mediator first got funding from the Home Office, through the PPACTS programme. Once this project ended, alternative funding, including charitable trust funding and now SRB (Single Regeneration Budget) funding, has been obtained through Southwark Council.

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **BRINGING MEDIATION INTO THE REALM OF RACIST CRIME PREVENTION**

This example should be replicated in areas known for racial tensions. This case study shows the success of mediation in resolving conflicts where racism is a component of the dispute, in particular in preventing repeat victimisation. In addition, there is a need to share the very specific skills linked to mediation in the context of hate crimes and to move away from the assumption that mediation is a ‘soft’ option.

accessing funds might explain why there have been relatively few projects that tackle attitudes – though this is just speculation at this stage.

The Bede House project manager (see again **Case Study 1**) stressed the need for long-term planning, as a substantial amount of time needs to be spent on groundwork, building relationships, trust and establishing a 'safe' environment before any work can begin on attitudes. This project, which ran for 3 years, devoted Year 1 principally to building relationships between the detached youth worker and the youngsters.

Behaviour is easier to measure than attitudes

There is a distinction to be made between projects that aim to challenge behaviour and those that aim to change attitudes. While it is often most urgent to tackle the offending behaviour first, it is important to acknowledge the need for a long-term strategy to address attitudes in order to prevent the racist behaviour resurfacing.

It is easier to measure the impact of reducing offending behaviour than the effect of achieving attitudinal shifts. Although statistics relating to racist incidents always have to be used with caution, due to the high likelihood of under-reporting in any situation, there is still a way to measure the impact of interventions that tackle the offending behaviour. Changing attitudes, however, requires more long-term action of the kind that cannot often, if at all, be accounted for statistically, as it is difficult to measure something that has been prevented (and therefore has not happened).

Racist violence prevention is not given priority on the crime reduction agenda

Some of the known preventative methods or interventions used for crime reduction purposes don't automatically come to mind as tools or

Recommendations:

- 1. For all interventions to work effectively and be encouraged, a formal structure within government is needed and a strategy to bring it into operation. This formal structure would draw from the wide range of practice that has as a common thread the inclusion of preventative work with potential perpetrators of racist violence, by challenging their attitudes. It would encourage the sharing of good practice in the area, especially cross-sector exchange and information sharing.**
- 2. Whilst *de facto* mainstreaming⁴⁵ is welcome, it does not satisfy the need for a centrally located formal strategy and structure to promote preventative work. A strategy would be beneficial in a variety of ways, as it would:**
 - **Send a clear signal, from central government, that preventing racist violence is a priority and needs to be tackled in a holistic, cross-departmental way.**
 - **Devise clearly defined strategies that would provide the space to look in particular at prevention of racist violence among young people, an area which, as illustrated in this research, needs to be developed more explicitly, given better support and delivered more effectively.**
 - **Help to link the wide-ranging sectors that carry out this type of work. As described in this report, the various types of intervention that play a role in preventing racist violence come from a variety of sources. Guidance is needed in order to link their work effectively. Although some instances of effective partnerships have been identified, they struggle both to come into existence and to maintain long-term links. They should also be happening across the board.**
 - **Allow for further mainstreaming of work with potential perpetrators to challenge their attitudes. This mainstreaming would form part of a strategy developed centrally, rather than growing in ad hoc unstructured ways.**
 - **Clarify how responsibility can flow from central government to the localities where the action is needed. A central structure, supported by a well-formulated strategy, could be instrumental in delivering, at local level, projects to tackle racist violence by working with potential perpetrators.**

techniques for preventing racist violence specifically. Initiatives such as restorative justice, for instance, widely accepted by government as an effective tool for preventing re-offending, should also be promoted for work with racist offenders or potential offenders. This may already be going on, but we have found no evidence of it yet – which perhaps accounts for the apparent dearth of good practice in this area.

Similarly, since research shows that perpetrators of racist violence are likely to be condoned by the society around

45 In the interim Working Paper published by Runnymede, it was noted that 'work with potential perpetrators is *de facto* mainstreamed across a wide range of policy frameworks ... In parallel, central government action is taking place in an unstructured way through the work of various departments (i.e. ODPM, Home Office, DfES). There is currently no formal structure whose remit is to officially promote, guide and support projects working towards the prevention of racist violence' (Isal 2004).

Case Study 4: *Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP)*

Context, Aims and Objectives

PAYP has brought together various youth diversion programmes (Summer Plus, Splash and Splash Extra) into one government-led youth diversion programme, to provide a strategic framework for multi-agency operating. It funds youth services to deliver a series of activities (holiday schemes, summer activities, etc.) for young people, aged 8 to 19, most at risk of social exclusion and of committing crime. Its two objectives are therefore to divert young people from getting involved in crime and anti-social behaviour, and to promote community cohesion.

Process and Outputs

This is a national programme being delivered through Government Offices via contracts with a variety of Lead Delivery Agents (mainly Connexions). Another important aspect of the programme is the recruitment of Key Workers to support the implementation of individual PAYPs, in particular on the transition back into education or training. Because the PAYP programmes were delivered regionally there are variations in the way this scheme has operated across the country. Activities organised in the context of PAYP include those that support young people back into education or training, that bring together people from different geographical and ethnic communities to help break down prejudice and misunderstanding, that give young people opportunities for personal self-development through various activities such as arts, sports and other cultural activities, and that encourage them to contribute to their communities through volunteering and active citizenship.

Challenges

Although community cohesion is one of the objectives of the programme, there is no real assessment of how PAYPs are tackling potential racist attitudes among young people. In addition, we are not aware of a PAYP project that has undertaken to prevent racist violence in particular.

Outcome and Monitoring

An evaluation of PAYP was published in July 2004, but does not focus on the role of PAYPs in challenging racist attitudes.

Funding

PAYP is funded by a number of government departments, including the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, the DfES, Home Office, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and the Youth Justice Board.

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **A NEED TO FOCUS ON COHESION**

PAYP programmes need to develop work that contributes specifically to tackling racist violence by challenging racist attitudes. The PAYP objectives include the promotion of community cohesion, a dimension that needs to be fully activated and brought to the fore by those implementing the programmes.

CASE NOTE: *A Practitioner involved in reducing hate crime in a particular area stressed that changing behaviour was often the first issue dealt with, because it was the most urgent. For example, when a shopkeeper is being continually racially harassed in his/her shop, the priority is to stop the offending (e.g. by installing CCTV cameras nearby). At the same time, it is important to look at the perpetrators of the harassment and work towards addressing their racist attitudes through longer-term programmes (i.e. youth work, arts or sport).*

them, one could turn to parenting, which is used in the context of youth justice, as a tool to effectively impact on the racist attitudes of potential perpetrators. However, we've as yet found no examples of parenting initiatives being used to tackle racist attitudes specifically. □

Recommendations:

3. **A firm political commitment to direct work and policy more explicitly towards prevention is needed from central government. This would run alongside existing enforcement and punitive measures, and has potential to reduce the need for them. While punitive measures are certainly important in dealing with perpetrators of racist violence, they should be accompanied by preventative work with potential perpetrators.**
4. **General crime reduction programmes that work with potential perpetrators should be encouraged, where appropriate, to examine how they can successfully impact on preventing racist violence.**
5. **General crime reduction legislation and policy, whether punitive or preventative, needs to be assessed against its impact on reducing or preventing racist violence. This is particularly the case with anti-social behaviour and its effects on tackling racism and racial harassment.**
6. **Further research is needed to assess the effectiveness of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and other instruments provided by the anti-social behaviour agenda (e.g. Acceptable Behaviour Contracts – ABCs) on tackling racism and racial harassment.**
7. **Government initiatives such as Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP) should be encouraged to focus on the cohesion dimension of their work.**
8. **Youth work should not be co-opted solely into diverting young people from crime (including racist crime), but should be more aspirational in both its objectives and outcomes (challenging attitudes based on prejudice, increasing social inclusion, etc.).**

Case Study 5: Aik Saath

Context, Aims and Objectives

The Aik Saath project began in response to racial tension, between Sikh and Muslim communities in Slough, which had escalated in the mid-1990s. Incidents of racial violence were occurring within the town, involving a group from the local area and a group from Southall. A number of incidents hit the newspapers and fed into negative images of young people, especially the local Muslim and Sikh youths. The local council responded to the situation by bringing in a peacemaker, who set up a project that brought the perpetrators together for mediation or conflict resolution sessions. The interest this generated among the young people themselves led to the setting up of Aik Saath, which provides conflict resolution training for young people through a programme of peer education. The objective is to promote racial harmony and encourage people to understand each other in a positive way.

Process and Outputs

Aik Saath gets called upon by a variety of institutions or agencies (i.e. Youth Offending Teams or schools) to work with particular groups of young people among whom conflict has been identified as a problem. Sometimes the requests come from the young people themselves, who have seen the Aik Saath flyers and want to get involved. For instance, they have worked with young people who were part of PAYPs, organising workshops for them to discuss issues of racism and conflict. Another example was the production by the peer training team of a short film called *Common Ground*, which examines the causes of conflict between two rival groups and is accompanied by a resource booklet. Aik Saath uses that video to illustrate how young people can deal with conflicting relationships. A significant factor in its success is that it is based in the locality. The young people can identify with the locations, with the characters in the film. Most of all, they identify with the conflict, and that's been a major tool for Aik Saath.

Challenges

Initially, Aik Saath felt quite isolated in the work it was doing (conflict resolution, which is different from mediation) and felt a lack of practice-sharing in this area. They have reported that project workers are constructing a network of 'peace building' organisations to resolve this drawback. Another challenge is the resistance that the organisation encounters from other institutions that refuse to engage with it. How to recruit the right staff, and how to meet the very diverse needs of the different young people they engage with is another difficulty.

Outcome and Monitoring

The outcome of their work can be best appreciated, as for many organisations interviewed, in an anecdotal rather than a purely quantitative way. There are clear signs of changes in attitude by some young people – visible in their general behaviour or their reactions to certain things – after just a few weeks of working with the organisation. Monitoring comes in the form of a questionnaire given to the young people, asking what the sessions do for them. Aik Saath also try to monitor the impact of the work 6 months after their intervention, to assess its long-term effect. Here too they face the challenge of some schools not making the effort to engage with this process after a time lapse of that length.

Funding

The Big Lottery Fund contributes the majority of Aik Saath's funding. Whilst project funding doesn't present the organisation with too many difficulties, core funding is more of a struggle. In addition, as a small organisation, it faces a capacity issue in trying to deliver on more projects than it is funded for.

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **CONFLICT RESOLUTION AS AN EFFECTIVE TOOL TO TACKLE RACIST ATTITUDES**
By focusing on conflict resolution and peace building (as opposed to crime reduction or anger management), a different atmosphere and set of outcomes can be negotiated, which can work better in those particular areas where the nature of the conflicts between communities is not obvious (i.e. one group versus another), but more complex and involving several different social groups.

II. Working with Potential Perpetrators in the Current Policy Context

Understanding the Contextualised Environment

Projects we identified as aiming to prevent racist violence were also projects of a highly contextualised type. In general they were responding to a wide range of local issues that determined or affected the nature, aims, scope and outcomes of the intervention (see for example, **Case Study 5**).

Taking the local context into account is crucial both in understanding the form taken by prevention work and to ensure that any future work can be effective.

Examples of contextual factors include:

- the level of presence of extreme-right parties or groups in the locality
- the socio-economic make-up of a particular region

A ‘one size fits all’ approach does not reflect current practice and would have a negative impact on the overall objective of preventing racist violence. This observation is compounded by the variety of forms that racism can take. As outlined in the observations on potential perpetrators, a wide range of causes underlies why one person might racially abuse another, and the complexity of the problems encountered is generally reflected in the complexity of the solutions brought to it.

Work with Perpetrators versus Victim-focused Work

Bringing perpetrator and victim groups together: the Community Cohesion agenda

We found little evidence of projects

working exclusively with potential perpetrators. In a number of organisations or projects identified, the work is a collaboration with the local community, and brings together members of the potential victim groups as well as potential perpetrators (as seen in **Case study 6**). A number of factors contribute to this trend.

- (1) First, on a purely practical level, practitioners who do target potential perpetrators are unlikely to openly acknowledge this fact, for fear of alienating the very group they wish to work with. Anecdotal evidence suggests that to openly state this intention is counter-productive as it leads the target group to refuse to engage.
- (2) On a policy level, the community cohesion agenda encourages a focus on bringing different communities closer together, thus leading to projects that engage both perpetrator and victim communities, and provide a forum for primary prevention work and improving community relations.

Indeed, there are examples of projects that bring different black and minority ethnic groups together with white groups in a particular setting, such as a music or a theatre project, which offers a rare opportunity for two sometimes antagonistic groups to meet and interact in a ‘safe’ environment. Such projects, it can be argued, will impact on secondary prevention as well, as they develop a line of thought on the attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence alongside their main, primary aim – a better understanding of the diversity of the communities living in a particular area.

Case Study 6: CARE Partnership

Context, Aims and Objectives

The Charlton Athletic Race Equality (CARE) Partnership was set up as a partnership between Greenwich Council, Charlton FC, the Metropolitan Police, Greenwich College, Greenwich Council for Racial Equality and Greenwich Leisure Ltd (which runs sports centres). It works in Greenwich and covers a wide range of activities, from education, training and empowerment to engagement with disaffected young people through sports activities. It operates on both secondary and primary levels, and is open to all young people in the community, with the aim of increasing knowledge and tolerance amongst these young people.

Process and Outputs

Primary interventions include bringing black and minority ethnic young people and white people together for training as potential football coaches, for example, or, on the arts side, working with children in primary schools to improve their citizenship skills, help them value diversity, respect one another, and so on.

Secondary interventions include work with supporters of a particular football club that expressed prejudice and racist views, bringing them into contact with black and minority ethnic young people for training in coaching skills and attending a football match together.

Challenges

There is a high demand from schools for delivery of such projects, but lack of funding to deliver them as widely as they would like. Another challenging issue is having to adapt projects to the needs of communities that are new to the borough (i.e. new immigrant communities and Gypsy & Traveller communities)

Outcome and Monitoring

Over the years, the project has brought together people from different communities within the borough. In meeting each other they have begun to respect each other, particularly in contexts where such tolerance did not previously occur (i.e. at the Charlton FC ground or amongst supporters of the team). This same outcome was enhanced through the training provided in many schools within the borough through the medium of Arts projects.

Funding

Funding is mainly statutory and provided by the various partners.

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **ENGAGING THE LOCAL COMMUNITY**

Partnership with high-profile institutions, such as Charlton FC, is one of the obvious ways to attract people to this kind of project. Projects in other areas should seek out similar possibilities for fruitful partnership.

Perpetrator and victim work to prevent racist crime: the Crime Reduction agenda

Aside from the community cohesion stream of projects bringing victim and perpetrator groups together, the crime reduction agenda also provides examples of work that looks at victim and perpetrator in a holistic way. It usually takes place in the context of multi-agency panels, dealing with individual cases of racist violence and harassment when they have occurred. There, the needs of the victims are considered as well as what is required to prosecute the perpetrator or at least tackle his or her offending behaviour (through Acceptable Behaviour Orders, Anti-Social Behaviour Orders or expulsion from a particular location for example, and sometimes through criminal prosecution).

However, there is generally no developed multi-agency structure to examine prevention work in relation to both victims and potential perpetrators. Rather than look at incidents only in retrospect, a multi-agency panel bringing together practitioners dealing with both victims and perpetrators would be best placed to devise a prevention strategy. One example where such a partnership did exist was a Targeted Policing Initiative in Southwark (see **Case Study 7**) funded by the Home Office. This constitutes a good practice example that should be disseminated in other local situations. Unfortunately, this project no longer exists, since the funding, as with so many projects, was available for only 3 years.

Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Prevention – Linked or Confused?

While our original investigation identified a research gap in secondary prevention, namely *work with potential perpetrators to prevent racist violence* (identified by Sibbitt's research as

well), the majority of projects are currently working on primary interventions, and consequently focussing on work with society at large. A major challenge has been to untangle the different levels of intervention in most projects identified in the context of the research undertaken in London. Tertiary interventions are easier to isolate as they target specifically those individuals that have already offended, as in **Case Study 8** for example.

Primary and secondary interventions often operate simultaneously

It can be difficult to differentiate projects that work on primary interventions from those dealing with secondary interventions. Many of them operate at both levels – which is explicable because of the prominence of the community cohesion agenda, aiming to bring communities together, rather than working with one particular group.

Indeed, since the disturbances in the northern cities in the summer of 2001, while government policy acknowledges the importance of working with the so-called 'white' communities, it also stresses the need to encourage cross-cultural, cross-community work, and to shift away from the tradition of segregation, seen as one of the causes

Recommendations:

9. **Projects that intervene to prevent racist violence in a particular area need to take into account its specific context to assess the most effective intervention.**
10. **Prevention projects that bring together potential perpetrator and victim groups can be particularly successful if they are clear that one of their objectives is to challenge racist attitudes, even if this objective is not officially stated.**

of the disturbances. As highlighted in the various reports of the Community Cohesion Pathfinder Programmes funded by government, whilst the 14 funded programmes varied in nature

Case Study 7: Police, Partners and Community Together in Southwark (PPACTS)

Context, Aims and Objectives

PPACTS was set up as a Targeted Policing Initiative (TPI). Funded by the Home Office, TPIs look at innovative policing. PPACTS was set up as a multi-agency partnership of both statutory and voluntary organisations with the aim of reducing racist and homophobic crime and incidents in a particular area of Southwark that had been identified by the police as a 'hotspot'. It brought together the local Police Force, Victim Support, a Youth project from the area and Mediation Services. Although the project was primarily victim focused, it included an element of work with perpetrators through the mediation activity that took place alongside victim support and police intelligence-gathering.

Process and Outputs

This project used both a *problem-solving* and a *partnership* model to tackle racism and homophobia in the area.

The partnership model involved taking time to build strong linkages between different agencies (in particular the police) and the black and minority ethnic communities in these areas.

The problem-solving approach involved asking all partners in the project to look at what they could do in relation to three intervention strands: supporting the victims, dealing with the perpetrators, and impacting on the location. For example, although victim support was called in to deal with the victims principally, it was also asked how it could contribute to the other two strands of intervention. This approach allowed for the different agencies involved to share intelligence and examine the incidents in a wider context.

For instance, the project found that the young people it engaged with, in response to their racist attitudes and behaviours, were already known to the police for other non-racially motivated crimes and anti-social behaviour. Such information was vital in successfully working with the perpetrators. Also, such open support for victims of racist violence and harassment and their families, in a particular setting, acted as a deterrent to perpetrators and potential offenders.

Challenges

The setting-up phase took almost a year. For a 2-year project this takes you half way through the funding time before you can really get to the stage of directly addressing the problems.

In addition, although the project leaders had a clear objective of preventing future violence by working with perpetrators and potential perpetrators, they were also affected by the fact that, for victims at the receiving end of violence, the most urgent need was to have the offending behaviour stopped. By the time the project could look at further work on challenging attitudes, the funding from the Home Office had ended, and alternative funding needed to be found. Had this been a 4-year project, much more work could have been done on challenging racist attitudes, potentially through a detached intervention like the Bede Detached Anti-Racist Youth Work Project (see Case Study 1).

Outcome and Monitoring

The Police recorded a large reduction of racist incidents in the area. Although these figures are always treated with caution, as they can be interpreted as an under-reporting of racist incidents, community intelligence developed by the partnership model pointed to the conclusion that there had been a tangible reduction in incidents, thanks to the work of PPACTS. In addition, PPACTS received Demonstration Status from the Home Office, a sign that this was an example of good practice that should be replicated in other settings. As a result, it raised the profile of the project and its different components.

Funding

Because the project had achieved Demonstration Status, the Home Office extended the funding for 6 months, thereby giving it time to seek alternative funding to keep the work going. As a result, the Council, through its Campaign against Hate Crime, is now funding parts of the PPACTS project such as the mediation work, and has added some new elements to it (e.g. going borough-wide, whilst PPACTS had focussed on a particular area).

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **PARTNERSHIP MODEL**

Here it's not just the partnership model that could be replicated – including police/community group partnerships – but the problem-solving approach as well.

and outputs, ranging from arts projects to environmental initiatives, all had in common the objective of ‘breaking down barriers between and within communities’.⁴⁶

In this bid to ‘concentrate similarities and commonality rather than difference’,⁴⁷ projects have largely focused on primary interventions that are directed at all sections of the community and that encourage the bringing together of groups that would not necessarily meet in other circumstances and enhance understanding and interaction between them. Examples of such activities include the use of public events and theatre groups to create greater social cohesion (through for example the celebration of the local carnival or St George’s Day) or the creation of a multi-faith forum bringing different religious communities together.

Most of these projects did not therefore focus their attention on one particular group, let alone potential perpetrators, but often worked with the whole community. Only one example was found, within the Kirklees Pathfinder, of an anti-racist youth project that targeted young white people in particular to challenge ‘underlying issues about their perceptions of other races’.⁴⁸

Social approval of racist perpetrating behaviour needs to be neutralised

This observed simultaneous intervention at both primary and secondary levels is consistent with Sibbitt’s conclusion, which is that a perpetrator does not operate in a social vacuum but is, rather, condoned by his/her social milieu. As a consequence, the effectiveness of secondary interventions with identified potential perpetrators can be undermined by a lack of primary intervention with his/her family, peer group, neighbours etc.

Primary interventions can include education training in schools with

pupils and teachers, and work with parents as well as pupils, for example.

Case Study 9 is a good example of the way in which an agency generally associated with tertiary intervention can have an impact on primary and

Recommendations:

- 11. The 3 levels of intervention should run alongside one another, to prevent any gaps in the process which could reduce the effectiveness of one or the other approach (i.e. secondary prevention work will be undermined by lack of intervention at a wider primary level).**
- 12. Agencies that are obviously associated with one particular area of intervention should look at how they can impact on other levels of intervention (i.e. how probation work could be part of a preventative strategy).**

secondary prevention. A collaborative project between secondary school pupils and their local criminal justice agencies – including the police, criminal court, prison and court reporting services – it resulted in a video, which was then shown widely in other local schools. The video tracks the work of the local criminal justice board in tackling a perpetrator after he/she offended, and therefore is an example of tertiary intervention. The objective of making the video and of its post-production use (disseminating it to schools, etc.) was clearly, in the mind of the South Wales Local Criminal Justice Board, that it should be used as a preventative tool. □

⁴⁶ Home Office (2004b) *Community Cohesion Pathfinder Programme: London and South Pathfinder Consortium*, June, p.1. http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/docs3/comcoh_revised_london_south_booklet.pdf

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, Foreword.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 3.

Case Study 8: Hate Crime Offenders' Manual

Context, Aims and Objectives

The programme aims to work with racially motivated offenders to reduce their racist behaviours and attitudes. It was devised as a partnership between probation and the prison service to challenge the attitudes of racially motivated offenders or at least help them control their racist behaviour. Currently piloted at Feltham YOI and in a number of London boroughs, its ultimate objective is to reduce the risk of re-offending by the perpetrators, to enable them to build up a secure sense of their own identity and develop new behaviours and attitudes. It operates through one-to-one work between the offender and a facilitator, who is trained to remain impartial and objective throughout the process.

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING A SECURE SENSE OF IDENTITY BEFORE PREJUDICES CAN BE LET GO**

This project, although devised to work with convicted racially motivated offenders, could be replicated at an earlier level of intervention, with people expressing entrenched racist views.

* Case Study 8 is developed extensively in G. Lemos (2005) *The Search for Tolerance: Challenging and Changing Racist Attitudes and Behaviour in Young People*. York: The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Foundation

III. How to Support and Sustain Work with Potential Perpetrators

Long-term Support

While examining the projects identified in the context of our research, we realised that ensuring their sustainability was one of the biggest challenges they faced. There is a significant consensus around all strands of prevention work with potential perpetrators – which is that their work is made more difficult by lack of continuous, sustainable support in carrying out their objectives, particularly a lack of long-term funding.

A major difficulty is how to make convincing quantitative, rather than qualitative, measurements of outcomes. Funding agencies most often require feedback of this kind, and it can be hard to prove how effective a project has been, and will continue to be, in preventing something from happening. Estimates of effectiveness will usually be qualitative; and even when one attempts to report back on success rates it will be a negative figure contextualised by often obsolete data from sources that will have defined their criteria very differently from the project's. How, then, can one make an argument for continued funding and convey the importance of the work?

Measuring outcomes: (1) attitudes

There is currently a lack of statistical instruments to measure shifts in attitudes. When asked about this issue, practitioners have all mentioned the importance of considering the validity of anecdotal evidence, coming from those working on the projects, but also from those targeted by the

interventions, and the victim groups.

This points to the importance of listening to community intelligence. In addition, practitioners interviewed all mention the importance of long-term follow-up assessment to establish if the project has made a durable impact. Self-assessment by the target group (in this case the potential perpetrator) is another useful way of measuring the distance travelled, but is also part of an effective intervention as it can lead to an attitude shift and serve as an 'eye-opener' for the individual. However, all these measuring instruments are unlikely to be reflected in quantitative analysis.

Measuring outcomes: (2) prevention

Projects that try to impact on prevention are faced with the problems of demonstrating effective outcomes to encourage further funding. It is difficult to measure something that has not yet occurred. This is particularly true in the case of racist violence, as not only is it difficult to come up with quantitative instruments to measure a shift in attitude, but the available statistics that we do have, i.e. racist incidents reporting, cannot always be relied on for accuracy due to high levels of under-reporting. Indeed, a reduction in racist incident reporting does not automatically mean a reduction in the incidents themselves. In addition, crime statistics do not spot the impact of interventions on low-level harassment, which does not fall within the scope of the law and is therefore not always picked up by law enforcement agencies.

Case Study 9: *South Wales Local Criminal Justice Board Initiative*

Context, Aims and Objectives

Research has established that the use of racist language by young people is prevalent in secondary schools throughout South Wales (an issue identified in the Macpherson Report on the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry). In response to this, the South Wales Criminal Justice Board agreed a project enabling young people to visit every criminal justice agency to question the professionals, understand how they tackle racism, its impact on victims and the consequences for offenders.

Process and Outputs

The Headteacher of Pentre Hafod School in Swansea selected 14 students from diverse backgrounds to follow a fictitious racially aggravated case from start to finish. The students' participation in the project included visits to the custody suite in Swansea Police Station, the Crown Prosecution Service, the Courts Service (including a conversation with a Probation Officer) and finally the cells at Swansea Prison.

The students' involvement in the case ended with a tutorial given by a crime reporter who explained how racist offences are covered by local newspapers. During the tutorial the students received guidance on how to draft a newspaper article on the case. The articles written by the students were assessed by a panel, who awarded prizes of £50 to the two best entries.

As agreed during the planning process, the students on their return to school shared their experiences with others during classroom debates. The whole project was filmed and the resulting video, produced in conjunction with Quadrant Media Company Ltd and introduced by Lord Falconer, Secretary of State for Constitutional Affairs, was subsequently recognised as 'best practice' by the National Criminal Justice Board. It has also received a national Equality and Diversity Award from the Crown Prosecution Service HQ.

Outcome and Monitoring

Evaluation was done with the views of the young people and what they thought of the project. Feedback from the monitoring shows that most students felt it helped them get a better understanding of the criminal justice system and raised their awareness on the effects that racist crimes have on victims.

Funding

Funding by the Local Criminal Justice Board.

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **TAKING WHAT YOU LEARN AT ONE LEVEL OF INTERVENTION PROACTIVELY TO ANOTHER LEVEL**

This project is a good example of an agency traditionally associated with tertiary intervention (i.e. working with actual offenders) taking proactive measures to apply their learning and expertise to primary and secondary (preventative) interventions.

* Fuller coverage of this project can be found on the website:
http://www.lcjb.cjsonline.org/South%20Wales/achievements_new.html#Criminal

An additional challenge in monitoring the impact of work with potential perpetrators is the difficulty in measuring what they have prevented (i.e. no racist violence). Apart from this being particularly significant in relation to funding, and how to attract funding when it is difficult to measure tangible outcomes, it is also important in knowing when interventions are successful and what lessons need to be learned from them.

Funding policies on secondary intervention

As a result of the difficulty in measuring the impact of work such as that related above, we have not been able to identify one single funding policy that provides resources to organisations whose primary aim is to tackle racist violence through secondary intervention.

Findings from our research suggest that funding for organisations that include preventative work with potential perpetrators of racist violence comes from a variety of governmental as well as private sources, often determined by the sector that these organisations work in and sometimes guided by the nature of the work or specific projects that they choose to undertake.

In this way arts organisations will get funding from another arts organisation or the Arts Council, but can also receive funding from crime reduction government programmes if they use the arts to divert young people from crime, for example. However, among all the organisations we identified, not one of them was receiving their funding on the basis of doing preventative work with potential perpetrators of racist violence.

Questions have to be asked about how organisations carrying out this type of work have to present their work in order to get funding. Since there are no projects achieving funding based on the sole objective of *working with potential perpetrators of racist violence by challenging their attitudes*, there is no

evidence from which to draw conclusions about the extent to which there is resistance to funding such activities or projects.

Lack of long-term funding

The sustainability of prevention work is also significantly affected by the lack of long-term funding. Projects that have been identified as specifically working with potential perpetrators of racist violence talk about the need to build trust with the targeted people, those who are expressing extremely entrenched racist views, which cannot be challenged in the short term. This creates problems for organisations that are unable, because of the protracted timescale necessary for their work, to present a tangible outcome by the time the funding ends. They will often need to search for alternative funding to carry out the same work and complete, or simply continue, the project.

Policymakers in funding organisations need to consider this and not cut funding in a search for innovation when a project has proved effective in achieving a valuable objective; a project does not just finish, attitudes don't just go away, they will always be modified by the next 'tranche' of young people needing to establish their own identities, often in opposition to their peers as well as other sections of society. Cutting the funding of a programme that works can severely affect the immediate and long-term outcomes.

CASE NOTE: *In the course of our study, we came across projects that reflected our findings around funding patterns of anti-racist work. In the case of a particular anti-racist youth project, the practitioner confirmed that the work did get renewed funding from the local council; however, the anti-racist component of the work was not supported, and the project became a mainstream detached youth project.*

Dependence on government priorities

Many projects have suffered from the fact that funding depends on the topic

Case Study 10: *Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA)* *Race Hate Crime Forum*

Context, Aims and Objectives

Set up by the Metropolitan Police Authority, this forum aims to support the development of effective strategies to deal with race hate crime within each of the London boroughs, through sharing of good practice and multi-agency work. Its overall objective is to prevent race hate crime from occurring, increase the reporting of the race hate crime that does occur, provide better support for victims, and ensure that perpetrators are brought to justice.

The Forum's membership consists of the Metropolitan Police, Metropolitan Police Authority, the Greater London Authority, the Crown Prosecution Service, as well as local authority and central government representatives and other community and black and minority ethnic groups.

Process and Outputs

After carrying out research to ascertain the state of racist incidents in various London Boroughs, the Forum has organised a number of meetings with the Chief Executive and the Borough Commander of each of these boroughs. The objective is to work with them on the elaboration of their local strategy to tackle race hate crime effectively. Meetings between the Forum and the local authorities are public. Generally a community representative from the borough being scrutinised attends, to ensure there is at least one perspective being offered from the community at the receiving end of the racist violence.

Challenges

During its first year, the Forum faced the challenge of looking for accurate information on race hate crime in each borough it was planning to scrutinise. It also wished to develop a more accurate picture by looking at racist incidents more generally, rather than just those recorded by the police. This involved examining third-party reporting and its use, and other trends around the reporting of incidents. Another challenge has been to engage with the wide variety of actors in the field of prevention, so as to work in a truly multi-agency way.

Outcome and Monitoring

The Forum now intends to monitor the progress made by the boroughs that have been approached over the last year.

Funding

The Forum is funded by the Metropolitan Police Authority and is currently seeking further funding to sustain its work.

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **SHARING PRACTICE ACROSS BOROUGHS**

The fact that the Forum gathers information from across London boroughs makes it potentially a useful place to share crucial information outside the local setting. This sharing could be very useful, in particular since the Forum intends to develop the prevention aspect of its work over the next year 2006. Holding local authorities to account on their prevention work would be useful in ensuring that prevention is put on the local authorities' agenda.

heading the governmental agenda at a given time, which means that the funding source determines the project, rather than the reverse. The community cohesion agenda – a central plank of the government’s priorities over the last 4 years and currently exemplified by the recent strategy document *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society*⁴⁹ – has provided the policy framework for most programmes on the prevention of racist violence.

This top-to-bottom approach, as applied by the government over the last 4 years, has meant that in the first instance grassroots organisations have found themselves in the role of implementing the government’s vision, rather than being encouraged to devise projects that respond specifically to the needs on the ground. Organisations have had to pitch their work according to the agenda and approach advocated by government policy. Similarly, the focus by successive governments on repression rather than prevention in the criminal justice system helps explain why there is a shortage of projects that work to deal with racist violence before it occurs.

As a consequence, it is harder for organisations that work on challenging attitudes to find adequate resources. Even organisations whose main remit is to work with people at a more

aspirational level (i.e. youth workers, arts organisations), trying to build new attitudes for the future rather than just ‘tidy things up’ for the present, are faced with getting support only if they incorporate the reduction of crime as a priority, and prove their effectiveness with statistics.

Encourage Networks, Multi-agency Work and Cross-sector Partnerships

Importance of information-sharing beyond localities

Throughout the research it has been noticeable that, outside of local settings, there is little information-sharing in relation to preventing racist violence. Although Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) within each borough have the same objectives of reducing crime locally, they exhibit differences in their approaches to tackling racist violence or hate crime across the various boroughs. An organisation such as the Metropolitan Police Authority Race Hate Crime Forum (see **Case Study 10**) would be a great instrument if it were to include prevention as part of its exchange of practice and information.

All CDRPs investigated in the context of the research have a strategy to tackle hate crime, which includes

⁴⁹ Home Office (2005a) *op cit* Note 26.

Recommendations:

13. Although governmental agendas must set the guidelines for the provision of resources, funding agencies should support creative implementations of this agenda that respond to the needs experienced at the grass roots.
14. Funding agencies should take the lead in developing programmes that explicitly support work with potential perpetrators that aims to prevent racist violence by challenging racist attitudes and facilitate practice sharing across sectors
15. Funding for work to bring about attitude change should be long-term funding in order to allow for the change in attitudes to take root. Similarly, successful intervention projects should be able to access ongoing funding beyond the short term.
16. When assessing the value of work to challenge racist attitudes, especially in an application for repeat funding, the funding agencies need to recognise the validity of anecdotal evidence and soft outcomes.
17. Research that looks at how to measure the effectiveness of work that challenges racist attitudes would be useful for practitioners and policy makers alike.

Case Study 11: REWIND

Context, Aims and Objectives

REWIND is an anti-racism peer education project based in the West Midlands. Its objective is to challenge racism by exposing the myths that have been created around issues of 'race'. It states clearly that the project is not about cultural diversity training or equal opportunities training. Significantly, it also stresses that it is not about blaming or shaming anyone, but is, rather, about providing the arguments to challenge racist views.

Process and Outputs

It has developed a 'REWIND' training pack for use in all three strands of the work:

1. Schools-based Work: Peer educators from the project deliver sessions to their form groups, year groups, assemblies in primary and secondary schools, and so on. They also work in the context of PSE and citizenship classes.
2. Youth Work: Peer educators work with other young people on issues of racism, through various methods of youth work such as centre-based, music/arts-based youth forums and, importantly, detached youth work.
3. Training for organisations, professionals and community groups, directed in particular at those working with young people. Participants are given the opportunity to reappraise their existing beliefs based on a wider perspective, and to examine how these beliefs can impact upon practice. Groups trained thus far have included representatives of the police, youth workers, teachers, housing staff, health staff, community workers, and so on.

Challenges

Audiences need to be clear about the content and objectives of REWIND training, i.e. that it is not 'cultural diversity' training.

Outcomes and Monitoring

What comes out of a project of this type is mainly anecdotal evidence, of the kind that allows the trainers to determine the distance travelled by the people who go through the training.

Funding

REWIND was initially funded by the Children's Fund, the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and through the Home Office's Community Cohesion Pathfinder Programme. The Neighbourhood Renewal Fund has now agreed to continue funding the project, and the Local Strategic Partnership has decided to mainstream REWIND within Sandwell. In addition, the Home Office has commissioned REWIND to carry out its work nationally as well.

Good Practice Recommendations

Element to replicate: **HOLISTIC APPROACH**

The 'philosophy' of the training and the holistic approach (involving action at all 3 levels of intervention) could be replicated in areas of tension between communities. It could provide the appropriate skills required by youth workers when trying to devise ways of challenging racist attitudes among the young people they work with.

racist violence and harassment, but it is different in each borough. Some boroughs have taken further steps to ensure that the prevention aspect of the strategy takes account of work with potential perpetrators, whilst others continue to work in a reactive way. There would be invaluable benefits from sharing experiences across boroughs to encourage replication of good practice by CDRPs.

Multi-agency work – models for prevention

Although partnership is encouraged in tackling racist violence, it is not applied in respect of prevention work. Indeed, multi-agency work is already advocated to deal with racist violence after it happens (i.e. to ensure increased reporting for victims, proper recording by authorities, and appropriate prosecution of perpetrators). However, there are few examples of multi-agency work when it comes to preventing racist violence by targeting the potential perpetrators.

A number of CDRPs surveyed in the context of our research revealed that they have set up multi-agency panels to examine individual cases of racist violence and harassment, and to decide on the appropriate redress mechanisms for victims and punitive measures for offenders. However, these incident panels tend to adopt an ‘incident based’ perspective (as put by Kielinger & Stanko 2002).⁵⁰ They focus largely on how they can work together to hold a perpetrator to account or support a victim, once the incident has occurred.

CDRPs are the ideal setting for a multi-agency model to be applied to prevention strategies. In order to get a clearer picture of the extent to which racist violence is part of CDRPs’ agendas and priorities, it would be useful to conduct systematic research into their strategies, resources, successes and challenges in tackling racist violence, similar to that conducted in relation to domestic violence.⁵¹ This would usefully raise the profile of the importance of multi-

agency work in relation to racist violence, and would provide useful recommendations for strategic change.

A multi-agency approach, which encourages information-sharing, is important. Both Sibbitt and Kielinger & Stanko have stressed that racist violence and incidents do not operate in a vacuum. They often occur in a particular social context that must be addressed in any prevention work. Information-sharing can help identify the right people or organisations that understand the particular setting or context around racist violence. Clear referral mechanisms will then allow both for the identification of people that might be at risk of offending and for proactive early intervention (rather than reactive intervention).

Joined-up intelligence would also allow clear remits to be defined by agencies as various as the police, mediators, Registered Social Landlords, community organisations and so on. Again, a parallel can be drawn between these findings and the approach recently advocated to prevent domestic murders. Indeed, research commissioned by the Metropolitan Police found that domestic murders could have been avoided if various care professionals had shared information around the events and incidents that were leading up to the final, fatal attack. The report⁵² thus calls for an early warning system through multi-agency panels.

This approach, if proved to be effective through further research, should be replicated for racist violence. Anecdotal evidence, and the success of the isolated example of good practice of the PPACTS in Southwark (see again **Case Study 7**), which started using the multi-agency approach to work with potential perpetrators, actual perpetrators and victims simultaneously, make a good case for piloting multi-agency work more extensively.

Understanding the ambivalence of partnership

Although recommending the use of multi-agency work when dealing with

50 V. Kielinger & E. Stanko (2002) ‘What can we learn from people’s use of the police?’, *Criminal Justice Matters*, 48 (summer): 5.

51 A. Diamond et al. (2004) *Domestic Violence and Crime & Disorder Reduction Partnerships: Findings from a self completion questionnaire*. Home Office Online Report 56/04. London: Home Office.

52 P. Sully and K. Greenaway (2004) *An Investigation into the Antecedents of Domestic Homicide with a View to Its Prevention: A collaborative research project*. Executive Summary. London: City University and Metropolitan Police. <http://www.city.ac.uk/ippr/dps/executivesummary041212.doc>

potential perpetrators, our primary findings also encountered the challenge that partnership between public authorities and community-based groups can represent for the latter. Indeed, we have identified case studies where the effect has been to alienate precisely those whom the community-based organisation was trying to target (potential perpetrators of racist violence), thus rendering the outcome less successful. This is a pitfall to avoid, with particular reference to cross-sector partnerships, when some participating agencies have been generally well received by the community they work with, and other agencies are not so well regarded (i.e. enforcement agencies).

Cross-sector partnerships: crime reduction and community cohesion

From the early stages of the research we identified that the work carried out to prevent racist violence by changing the attitudes of potential perpetrators comes from a variety of sectors and fields of work. A further finding is that there is a lack of partnership work between these different strands. Crime reduction

CASE NOTE: *In conversation with the manager of a youth organisation, the latter expressed concern that PAYP funding was distributed only to youth organisations that did crime reduction and diversionary work, rather than more aspirational work. This approach ignored the impact long-term exploratory work could have on the reduction of criminal activities, and also sidelined the community cohesion strand of the PAYP objectives.*

projects don't include a sufficiently aspirational dimension to their work. As a result their work focuses on changing behaviour as opposed to attitudes.

Community cohesion projects, on the other hand, home in on bringing different communities together, without taking a line on the 'hard-to-reach' work with potential perpetrators. When community cohesion projects have a crime diversionary component, it is often to the detriment of the more

aspirational objectives of their work, as seen with Positive Activities for Young People, where the diversionary strand of the programme becomes the sole objective, and the community cohesion objectives get forgotten (**Case Study 4**).

Cross-sector partnership work, when it occurs, has been employed more often in the service of driving the crime reduction agenda than in supporting community cohesion. In this sense, youth workers, or theatre or arts organisations, have in numerous cases been approached to work in partnership with the police or enforcement agencies in order to 'keep young people off the streets', but there has been no such partnership the other way round.

Cross-sector partnerships: anti-racism and anti-crime

Although projects working with potential perpetrators of racist violence are rare, when they occur, they seldom sit within the 'anti-racist' sector. This challenges a popular assumption that work to prevent racist violence by working with racist white people would be considered 'anti-racist' and would place itself firmly within the anti-racist agenda.

In this context, the 'race relations sector' is defined as organisations that work with black and minority ethnic communities and aim to tackle discrimination towards them and lead to their empowerment. Agencies working with people expressing racist attitudes are coming from sectors as wide-ranging as crime reduction, mediation, arts or education. The question is, therefore: can work with white potential racists be considered 'anti-racist'? (see **Case Study 11**).

When examining the mission statements of organisations researched, they do not all officially state that their objectives are anti-racist. Some of these organisations do not work with black and minority ethnic communities but primarily with white communities. What then are the potential benefits of linking up anti-racist work and work with potential perpetrators?

There are arguments for coordination between these two lines of work, for one thing, because the overall objective is the same: to reduce racism. Similarly, working with potential perpetrators requires a philosophy, tools, mechanisms that cannot be isolated from black and minority ethnic communities themselves. Members of these communities are just as likely as anyone else to find themselves in the position of either a victim or an empowered member of a society that the work with potential perpetrators is trying to change for the better. These questions and the debate they raise are just one element of the wider debate on anti-racist education and the tools required to deliver it. More importantly they highlight the problems faced by practitioners who wish to work with potential perpetrators of racist violence but who lack the moral backing, and sometimes the skills to carry out such work.

An Undervalued Sector That Needs Moral Support and More

Practitioners often find themselves in a challenging situation, when faced with racist attitudes, and do not feel equipped to deal with them. This lack of confidence and skill can often result in a lack of or an inappropriate response when racist attitudes are encountered.

This problem, one faced by youth workers in particular, needs to be addressed within a wider reframing of the role of youth work. Indeed the latter are currently faced with challenges linked to the fact that it is an undervalued sector of work, extremely draining, and in need of more recognition and financial support. Evidence from research commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation found that detached youth work in particular is an effective way to engage with disaffected, socially excluded young people, especially if developed in a flexible way and based on voluntary

CASE NOTE: *A mediator had noted that Somali families were targets of racist abuse and harassment on a particular estate. In thinking what she should do about it, she brought together a number of local agencies, such as the local police, the local authority's youth unit and, most importantly, representatives of the Somali community. After discussing what could be done to put a stop to the harassment, it was agreed that the mediator would organise a series of workshops in the local youth centre, focussing on issues that included tolerance and bullying, and targeting specifically the young people who had been identified as those harassing the Somali families. She went into this work with the full backing of the victim groups. This dialogue and moral backing made the intervention more effective and has perhaps helped in gathering support for the project.*

involvement by the young people themselves. However, it also found that this created problems in relations to funding, with funders expecting fast, quantifiable results and 'the capacity of street-based intervention to control young people's behaviour'.⁵³

These findings echo the views of detached youth workers interviewed in the context of work with potential perpetrators of racist violence. The evidence (both policy research and anecdotal) shows that youth work, especially detached youth work, is a useful and effective way to deal with problems faced by young people. This includes working with them on attitudes that might lead them to become perpetrators of racist violence. Detached youth work allows for a relationship to be built outside the usual formal education settings (i.e. schools). The detached youth worker has to reach out to the young person on his/her territory, thus allowing for work with the most excluded of young people. More support for this sector would make a real change in the long-term effectiveness of those who are working to address young people's racist attitudes, both actual and potential.

The announcement in the government's race equality and

53 D. Crimmens et al. (2004) *Reaching Socially Excluded Young People: A national study of street-based youth work*. A National Youth Agency Report. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Recommendations:

18. Partnerships should be developed between agencies/organisations that work with potential perpetrators and those working with black and minority ethnic groups to ensure that the latter are involved in work to challenge racist attitudes. Partnerships that constructively engage potential victim and perpetrator groups will help devise proper solutions and will provide moral backing to those that are working with people that have entrenched racist views.
19. Youth work needs to be provided with adequate support to feel confident enough to work with potential perpetrators of racist violence to challenge their attitudes and prejudices. This support should be signalled through strong leadership from central government and should be filtered down to the local authorities and youth services.
20. Youth services and local authorities should budget positively to provide adequate resources for youth work that aims to challenge the racist attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence.
21. Cross-sector partnerships should be devised in a way that encourages aspirational activities, rather than purely diversionary ones. Youth workers and other practitioners who have proved their ability to work successfully with young people in achieving the more aspirational objectives should not be co-opted into working only on crime reduction and diversionary activities.
22. Multi-agency work is necessary for the successful prevention of racist violence by working with potential perpetrators. At the local level, if CDRPs already have multi-agency racial incidents panels, they should be sure to include a prevention strategy, rather than just a reactive response.
23. Multi-agency work needs to happen across the full range of the different sectors involved in preventing racist violence.
24. Specific and systematic research should be carried out into the way that CDRPs included the fight against racist violence in their strategy, including issues related to resources, successes and challenges. This would usefully raise the profile of the importance of multi-agency work to tackle racist violence and would provide useful recommendations for strategic change.
25. Partnerships in relation to perpetrators need to be strategic and pragmatic, and to take into account the sensitive nature of both the matter and the target group involved.

not unless there is political leadership and support for the work itself.

There is an assumption that, when faced with a situation where people express racist views or are identified as potential perpetrators of racist violence, practitioners and youth workers in particular are equipped to deal with it. However, practitioners themselves have expressed the difficulty of dealing with this situation when it occurs. Research carried out for the Commission for Racial Equality in 1999 corroborated the view that carrying out anti-racist education with white 'at risk' offenders is a delicate task that youth workers do not feel comfortable to undertake.

Reasons quoted for not embarking on anti-racist youth work include fear and insecurity in relation to carrying out the work; lack of knowledge and skills, denial of the problem altogether, and organisational issues, such as lack of support from staff or senior managers, or the worry that their interventions will not work.⁵⁵ At the same time, challenging racist behaviour through enforcement rules (for instance banning some people from entering youth clubs, and so on) is not always the best way to bring about long-term changes of attitude. Also, for racist views to be challenged, they first need to be expressed and heard. That becomes an issue for a youth worker who feels he/she runs the risk of being seen to condone such attitudes. With no formal structures devoted to supporting this work of prevention of violence through changing racist attitudes, a vacuum exists in relation to the guidance needed by practitioners at the point where they actually encounter the problem. □

community cohesion strategy⁵⁴ that it will provide more support to youth work that tackles prejudice among young people is welcome. However, the question remains: how will this support be provided? Guidance for youth workers on how to work with potential perpetrators of racist violence is essential to equip them with both sufficient confidence and instruments, but this alone will not be good enough,

⁵⁴ Home Office (2005a) *op cit* Note 26, p. 50.

⁵⁵ Commission for Racial Equality (1999) *Open Talk, Open Minds*. London: CRE.

IV. Areas for Further Research

In the section ‘Six Observations on the “Potential Perpetrator”’, we observed that there are three areas where further research is needed in order to develop and sustain work with potential perpetrators to prevent racist violence. These include understanding the motivation of potential perpetrators and mapping the complexity of perpetrating behaviour in the context of racist violence. □

Recommendations:

- 26. More research is needed into perpetrators – research that challenges popular assumptions around their motivations and the causes of both their racist and their violent behaviours.**
- 27. Further research should explore the potential for devising a typology around potential perpetrators of racist violence, and examine whether such a typology could be effective in preventing racist violence.**
- 28. Additional research should examine racist violence between different black and minority ethnic communities (inter-racial violence) or the hostility directed towards recently arrived migrants and asylum-seekers.**

‘Addressing the needs of victims of racist violence must remain paramount. But the prevention of such violence ought to begin to drive strategy and policymaking over the next decade. We – academic researchers, research organisations, voluntary and community organisations, and local and central government – should begin to systematically explore and examine the causes of racist violence, its permutations, its current and potential perpetrators, and assemble the evidence of interventions which have been successful in preventing it from taking hold ... Any methodology that fails to capture the importance of addressing the communities that surround the perpetrators will miss a crucial opportunity to prevent potential perpetrator groups from forming amongst the next generation.’
(Khan 2002: 54)

Appendix I

Tabulation of the Report Recommendations

Tackling racist violence by working with the potential perpetrators is multi-dimensional. When it happens, it happens between and across many sectors of activity in the community. The recommendations contained in this report are summarised as actions that broadly speaking are the responsibility of any or all of the following agencies: Central Government, Local Government, Practitioners, the Research Community and Funders. Column 3 of this Table of Recommendations reminds readers which sector(s) could or should consider taking up any individual action advised.

Recommendations:	Directed to:
1 For all interventions to work effectively and be encouraged, a formal structure within government is needed and a strategy to bring it into operation. This formal structure would draw from the wide range of practice that has as a common thread the inclusion of preventative work with potential perpetrators of racist violence, by challenging their attitudes. It would encourage the sharing of good practice in the area, especially cross-sector exchange and information sharing.	Central Gov
2 Whilst de facto mainstreaming is welcome, it does not satisfy the need for a centrally located formal strategy and structure to promote preventative work. A strategy would be beneficial in a variety of ways, as it would:	Central Gov Local Gov
• Send a clear signal, from central government, that preventing racist violence is a priority and needs to be tackled in a holistic, cross-departmental way.	Central Gov Local Gov Practitioners
• Devise clearly defined strategies that would provide the space to look in particular at prevention of racist violence among young people, an area which, as illustrated in this research, needs to be developed more explicitly, given better support and delivered more effectively.	Central Gov Local Gov Practitioners Funders
• Help to link the wide-ranging sectors that carry out this type of work. As described in this report, the various types of intervention that play a role in preventing racist violence come from a variety of sources. Guidance is needed in order to link their work effectively. Although some instances of effective partnerships have been identified, they struggle both to come into existence and to maintain long-term links. They should also be happening across the board.	Central Gov Local Gov Practitioners
• Allow for further mainstreaming of work with potential perpetrators to challenge their attitudes. This mainstreaming would form part of a strategy developed centrally, rather than growing in ad hoc unstructured ways.	Central Gov Local Gov Practitioners
• Clarify how responsibility can flow from central government to the localities where the action is needed. A central structure, supported by a well-formulated strategy, could be instrumental in delivering, at local level, projects to tackle racist violence by working with potential perpetrators.	Central Gov

3	A firm political commitment to direct work and policy more explicitly towards prevention is needed from central government. This would run alongside existing enforcement and punitive measures, and has potential to reduce the need for them. While punitive measures are certainly important in dealing with perpetrators of racist violence, they should be accompanied by preventative work with potential perpetrators.	Central Gov
4	General crime reduction programmes that work with potential perpetrators should be encouraged, where appropriate, to examine how they can successfully impact on preventing racist violence.	Central Gov Local Gov
5	General crime reduction legislation and policy, whether punitive or preventative, needs to be assessed against its impact on reducing or preventing racist violence. This is particularly the case with anti-social behaviour and its effects on tackling racism and racial harassment.	Researchers Funders
6	Further research is needed to assess the effectiveness of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and other instruments provided by the anti-social behaviour agenda (e.g. Acceptable Behaviour Contracts – ABCs) on tackling racism and racial harassment.	Central Gov Local Gov Practitioners Researchers Funders
7	Government initiatives such as Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP) should be encouraged to focus on the cohesion dimension of their work.	Central Gov Local Gov
8	Youth work should not be co-opted solely into diverting young people from crime (including racist crime), but should be more aspirational in both its objectives and outcomes (challenging attitudes based on prejudice, increasing social inclusion, etc.).	Local Gov Practitioners
9	Projects that intervene to prevent racist violence in a particular area need to take into account its specific context to assess the most effective intervention.	Practitioners
10	Prevention projects that bring together potential perpetrator and victim groups can be particularly successful if they are clear that one of their objectives is to challenge racist attitudes, even if this objective is not officially stated.	Practitioners Funders
11	The 3 levels of intervention should run alongside one another, to prevent any gaps in the process which could reduce the effectiveness of one or the other approach (i.e. secondary prevention work will be undermined by lack of intervention at a wider primary level).	Local Gov Practitioners
12	Agencies that are obviously associated with one particular area of intervention should look at how they can impact on other levels of intervention (i.e. how probation work could be part of a preventative strategy).	Local Gov Practitioners
13	Although governmental agendas must set the guidelines for the provision of resources, funding agencies should support creative implementations of this agenda that respond to the needs experienced at the grass roots.	Central Gov Local Gov Funders
14	Funding agencies should take the lead in developing programmes that explicitly support work with potential perpetrators that aims to prevent racist violence by challenging racist attitudes and facilitate practice sharing across sectors.	Funders
15	Funding for work to bring about attitude change should be long-term funding in order to allow for the change in attitudes to take root. Similarly, successful intervention projects should be able to access ongoing funding beyond the short term.	Funders
16	When assessing the value of work to challenge racist attitudes, especially in an application for repeat funding, the funding agencies need to recognise the validity of anecdotal evidence and soft outcomes.	Central Gov Local Gov Funders

17	Research that looks at how to measure the effectiveness of work that challenges racist attitudes would be useful for practitioners and policy makers alike.	Practitioners Researchers Funders
18	Partnerships should be developed between agencies/organisations that work with potential perpetrators and those working with black and minority ethnic groups to ensure that the latter are involved in work to challenge racist attitudes. Partnerships that constructively engage potential victim and perpetrator groups will help devise proper solutions and will provide moral backing to those that are working with people that have entrenched racist views.	Central Gov Local Gov Practitioners Funders
19	Youth work needs to be provided with adequate support to feel confident enough to work with potential perpetrators of racist violence to challenge their attitudes and prejudices. This support should be signalled through strong leadership from central government and should be filtered down to the local authorities and youth services.	Central Gov Local Gov Practitioners
20	Youth services and local authorities should budget positively to provide adequate resources for youth work that aims to challenge the racist attitudes of potential perpetrators of racist violence.	Local Gov Practitioners
21	Cross-sector partnerships should be devised in a way that encourages aspirational activities, rather than purely diversionary ones. Youth workers and other practitioners who have proved their ability to work successfully with young people in achieving the more aspirational objectives should not be co-opted into working only on crime reduction and diversionary activities.	Central gov Local Gov Practitioners
22	Multi-agency work is necessary for the successful prevention of racist violence by working with potential perpetrators. At the local level, if CDRPs already have multi-agency racial incidents panels, they should be sure to include a prevention strategy, rather than just a reactive response.	Local Gov Practitioners
23	Multi-agency work needs to happen across the full range of the different sectors involved in preventing racist violence.	Local Gov Practitioners
24	Specific and systematic research should be carried out into the way that CDRPs included the fight against racist violence in their strategy, including issues related to resources, successes and challenges. This would usefully raise the profile of the importance of multi-agency work to tackle racist violence and would provide useful recommendations for strategic change.	Central Gov Local Gov Researchers
25	Partnerships in relation to perpetrators need to be strategic and pragmatic, and to take into account the sensitive nature of both the matter and the target group involved.	Central Gov Local Gov Practitioners
26	More research is needed into perpetrators – research that challenges popular assumptions around their motivations and the causes of both their racist and their violent behaviours.	Researchers
27	Further research should explore the potential for devising a typology around potential perpetrators of racist violence, and examine whether such a typology could be effective in preventing racist violence.	Researchers
28	Additional research should examine racist violence between different black and minority ethnic communities (inter-racial violence) or the hostility directed towards recently arrived migrants and asylum-seekers.	Researchers

Recommendations are directed to one or more of five possible agents for change or further support: Central Government (Central Gov), Local Government (Local Gov), Research Community (Researchers), Practitioners and Funders.

Appendix II

How Racist Incidents are Recorded

What is the definition of a racist incident?

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's definition of a racist incident is now widely accepted and used in reporting mechanisms. The Inquiry defined a racist incident as 'any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person'.

How do victims report a racist incident?

Most victims report a racist incident to the police. Each borough has a Community Safety Unit (CSU) within the police force to collect data and tackle racist incidents locally. However, some victims may report incidents to their housing services, local authorities and a wide range of third-party agencies, such as community organisations or Citizens' Advice Bureau. The various agencies acknowledge that there are high levels of underreporting, which local authorities attempt to tackle at various levels (i.e. encouraging third-party reporting, increasing confidence in the police etc)

What is done with the figures collected by boroughs?

Locally:

Most boroughs have a racist incident or racial harassment panel, a multi-agency panel usually set up under the Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership, which includes members of the Police, Victim Support, the Local Council and

its agencies such as Housing and Social Services. These panels review racist incidents or crimes where a multi-agency approach is required. They work to protect the victim as well as deal with the perpetrator. These panels are therefore more reactive than proactive: they look at ways to repair a situation where racist violence or harassment has already occurred. They look at cases individually rather than at patterns or general trends.

Centrally:

(a) Metropolitan Police

The CSUs in each borough feed their local information to the Metropolitan Police's Diversity Directorate set up to improve the prevention, investigation and review of hate crimes. The aim of the Diversity Directorate is to monitor hate crime across London, to develop strategy and policy in relation to investigation, victim care and use of intelligence, to promote good practice and to provide appropriate training to officers.

(b) ODPM Best Value Performance Indicators

The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) requires local authorities to provide them with Best Value Performance Indicators on all aspects of their policy. These include an indication of the number of recorded racist incidents per 100,000 population (BV174) and the percentage of racist incidents that resulted in further action (BV175). These figures are provided mainly as an indicator of the local authority's performance, rather than to inform policy in the field of racist crime. □

Appendix III

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