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Racially motivated offending and targeted interventions

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Racially Motivated Offending and Targeted Interventions

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Executive summary

Background

The exploratory research presented in this report was commissioned by the YJB and conducted by the Applied Criminology Centre at the University of Huddersfield. The aim of the research was to identify the prevalence of racially motivated offending among young people in England and Wales and to shed light on the response to racially motivated offending within the youth justice system.

Methodology

The research required a multi-method approach and this consisted of the following four strands:

1. literature review
2. analysis of Themis (software used by YOTs and the YJB to record information about young people who offend) data
3. distribution of a survey to all YOTs and secure establishments in England and Wales
4. site visits to selected YOTs and secure establishments.

A literature review was conducted to provide a theoretical basis for the research and this assisted in the development of the research instruments used – survey and interview schedules. The YJB provided the authors of the report with aggregate Themis data for the period from 2002/03 to 2006/07 for the 157 YOTs in England and Wales. This data was analysed and an assessment of trends and the prevalence of racially motivated offending was formulated. The data was complemented with more inclusive data sources, including the British Crime Survey.

In order to establish the extent of provision for racially motivated offenders in the youth justice system, a survey was sent to all YOTs and secure establishments. To ensure that a high response rate was achieved, establishments were reminded frequently to return the survey. This persistent approach resulted in a 78.4% response rate. Responding YOTs were found to be representative of all YOTs in terms of geographical location and rural/urban mix. A purposive sample of responding establishments was then visited and interviews were conducted with practitioners to gain a deeper understanding of the different types of intervention in operation. Interviews were also conducted with the young people who had been subject to an intervention for racially motivated offenders, in order to explore the motivations for their offending and ascertain their views of

the work they had undertaken during the intervention. In addition to interviewing practitioners and young people, notes of the resources used by each of the establishments were made. It had been hoped to conduct a limited amount of observation of practice, but this did not prove feasible. Twenty-one site visits were made between November 2007 and March 2008, and 38 practitioners and 17 young people were interviewed.

Literature review

A review of English language literature published from 1995 to 2007 was conducted to explore existing practice in relation to racially motivated offending as well as what is known about the causes of racially motivated offending. Prior to the mid-1990s, racially motivated offences generally went unreported. Since then, however, policy concerning racially motivated offending, as well as the operational landscape upon which it is dealt has changed considerably. This is partly in response to factors such as high-profile racially motivated murders, riots and disturbances in the North of England during 2001, and public concerns following the 9/11 and other attacks. As a result, the issue of racially motivated offending has moved up the political and public agenda. For example, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 defined a series of racially aggravated offences, while the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 placed a duty on local authorities to produce a race equality scheme. Other significant documents included *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry* (1999), which put forward a definition of racially motivated incidents, and the Home Office's *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society* report (2005).

The literature review revealed that there was a limited amount of published research available relating to young people who had committed a racially motivated offence. As a result, the scope of the review was widened to include literature on adult racially motivated offenders, specifically within the National Probation Service, although it should be noted that the literature on adults does not necessarily apply to young people. This revealed that there was a paucity of racially motivated offending interventions operating in the National Probation Service, as the numbers of racially motivated offenders were relatively small and there was a need to improve the confidence of staff working with such offenders. There has been even less emphasis on developing racially motivated offending interventions within the youth justice system.

The causes of racially motivated offending identified in the literature can be grouped broadly into three categories: micro-level factors (individual beliefs), meso-level factors (the influence of family, friends, peers, and local community), and macro-level factors (influences of national government, media and other bodies). In a similar vein, it has been suggested that those committing racially motivated offences can be categorised according to the main motivation for their offending: 'thrill-seekers', 'defenders', 'retaliatory offenders' and 'mission offenders'. It was also evident that there was an overwhelming focus on White racially motivated offenders and little on Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) racially motivated offenders.

Extent of racially motivated offending

The YJB provided the authors of the report with Themis data for the period from 2002/03 to 2006/07. However, as this only relates to young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending, it was felt that it would be valuable to examine other data sources to gain a wider understanding of the nature of the problem. Therefore, data from the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey (2005), Ministry of Justice, and British Crime Survey was reviewed, together with police-recorded crime data. Analysing these varying datasets allowed both reported and unreported incidents of racially motivated offending to be examined.

From the data analysed, it was clear that there was a diverging trend between the Themis and police data, which indicated that racially motivated offending by young people was increasing proportionately faster than racially motivated offending by all age groups. The Themis data for 2002/03 to 2006/07 shows a 94% increase in the number of racially motivated offences resulting in young people being referred to YOTs. Over the same period there was an increase of just 39% in racially motivated offences recorded by the police for all age groups. The number of harassment offences demonstrated the sharpest increase over 2006/07.

According to Themis data, the majority of youth racially aggravated offences dealt with by YOTs from 2002/03 to 2006/07 were committed by males (75.5%) and the peak age for offending was 16 years (15 for females). British Crime Survey data indicated that, according to victims, while the largest single group of offenders were White, they were not in the majority (accounting for 42% of offences). Asian and Black offenders were said by victims to be responsible for significant proportions of racially motivated offences (34% and 29% respectively). However, analysis of the YJB's Themis data indicated that nearly 87% of offenders referred to a YOT for a racially motivated offence were White. This rather interesting finding may be the result of White victims of racially motivated offending being much less likely than other ethnic groups to report such incidents to the police (as suggested by one interviewee). Additionally, there may be some kind of bias operating within the criminal justice system, whereby White suspects are more likely to be detected and then proceeded against than suspects from other ethnic groups.

The analysis of Themis data at a regional level revealed that, once variations in population were taken into account, there were higher levels of racially motivated offending in the North East, Yorkshire and the Humber and the North West than in other regions. In fact, there appeared to be a noticeable 'North-South' split in the prevalence of racially motivated offending, with levels in the North generally higher than in the South. The prevalence of offending at a more localised YOT area level was also examined. 6% of YOT areas accounted for almost one quarter of all racially motivated offences over the five-year period. Once the size of the youth population in each YOT area was taken into account, most of the 'top ten' YOTs with the highest levels of racially motivated offending were in the North of England, although when racially motivated offending as a proportion of all offending was calculated, this was no longer the case. A

handful of YOTs, again mostly in the North, appeared in the 'top ten' rankings according to two or more of the definitions.

When looking at the sanctions the young people received after committing a racially motivated offence, Themis data for the three most recent years (2004/05–2006/07) were analysed, as this information was not recorded in earlier years. This data showed that, if one compares sanctions for racially motivated offences to sanctions for *all* offences, racially motivated offences are treated on the whole more harshly. One-third of young people sanctioned for a racially motivated offence received a pre-court disposal. The most common court disposals used were the Referral Order, followed by the Supervision Order.

Ethnicity data for the 10 to 17-year-old population of the YOT areas was used to investigate whether there was any relationship between the prevalence of racially motivated offending and the proportion of ethnic minorities in the YOT areas. It was found that in areas where there were very low proportions of BME young people (less than 2%) or where the youth BME population was in the majority, the rate of racially motivated offending per 1,000 young people was much lower than in areas where White youths represented between 50% and 90% of the population.

Provision for racially motivated offenders – survey results

In September 2007, a survey was sent to all YOTs and secure establishments in England and Wales to ascertain the nature of provision for racially motivated offenders. Almost 80% of surveys were returned and responses indicated that less than a fifth of respondents felt that racially motivated offending was a significant problem in their area. Despite this, two-thirds of respondents believed that there was a need for an intervention or programme to deal with racially motivated offenders, presumably because racially motivated offending, while not significant, was still a problem. Just under half of YOTs and one-third of secure establishments stated that they had specific provision for racially motivated offenders. Of these, 28 establishments said that they used generic interventions, namely 'From Murrmur to Murder' (a National Probation Service resource), 'Teen Talk!' and 'Show Racism the Red Card'. The remainder used a variety of one-off interventions that focused largely on education and issues of diversity and culture. Respondents indicated that interventions typically comprised between four and eight one-hour sessions and were mainly delivered on a one-to-one basis. The effectiveness of the interventions was rarely formally assessed, and when it was, this generally comprised feedback from the staff and/or the young people. The survey provided an overview of provision, but in order to be able to describe the type of work undertaken with racially motivated offenders in more depth, a sample of establishments were visited.

Case studies of service provision

In total 21 sites were visited. These comprised 16 YOTs, three secure children's homes, one secure training centre (STC) and one young offender institution (YOI). These sites were selected to represent a variety of the types of programme available and also a varied geographical distribution. These visits typically involved interviewing one or more practitioners involved in the design and/or delivery of the programme and reviewing and making notes on any programme materials that were used. The interventions in place at these establishments can be broadly divided into two categories: those developed in-house and those purchased from elsewhere. The interventions that were developed in-house consisted of many different resources – worksheets, quizzes and games, etc. Some of these interventions involved more recreational or outward-bound activities and the inclusion of guest speakers. Resources purchased commercially included 'From Murmur to Murder' and the 'Diversity Awareness Programme' (both National Probation Service tools), 'Show Racism the Red Card' and 'Teen Talk!'.

Few, if any, of the programmes reviewed met the stringent criteria for an accredited programme and there was a lack of a clear model of change underpinning most interventions. Monitoring and evaluation was sporadic, and where it did exist, it generally consisted of feedback sheets completed by programme attendees, which simply asked them to comment on the programme, e.g. did they enjoy it, what did they find useful. There was little evidence of any systematic attempt to measure change in racist attitudes or behaviour. One exception was the 'Stop Racism' programme (Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 12), which included a 10-item questionnaire containing statements relating to racism, which was designed to be used before and after the intervention. While a number of sites reported looking at changes in *Asset* scores, the generality of *Asset* means that it is not an adequate measure of racist attitudes.

On the positive side, the majority of practitioners involved appeared to make efforts to engage and motivate participants, as evidenced by the range of multi-media resources employed. There were also examples of effective partnership working between YOTs and voluntary organisations and of flexibility in approach.

Practitioner interviews

Thirty-eight practitioners were interviewed at 21 YOTs and secure establishments across England and Wales. The practitioners were asked generic questions about racially motivated offending as well as more specific questions about the types of racially motivated offenders that they had worked with. When the practitioners were asked what they perceived the main causes of racially motivated offending to be, they identified three main factors. These were:

1. the ignorance of the young people
2. the influence of parents' values and beliefs
3. the media.

Practitioners were asked whether they felt that the intervention that they used addressed the causes they identified. Surprisingly, fewer than half of the interviewees who responded to this question felt that it did. Some explained this in terms of inadequate resources or training, while others argued that racist attitudes were complex and potentially entrenched and therefore not able to be fully addressed by a one-off, short-term intervention. Practitioners were also asked whether the young people they had dealt with represented different types of racially motivated offenders. The majority of respondents said that they had come across young people who had committed a racially motivated offence because they felt they had to defend their country or their area ('defenders') and/or because they simply enjoyed targeting others ('thrill-seekers'). Few had come across any 'mission offenders' (those motivated by extreme right-wing views).

Young people's experiences

As well as interviewing those who deliver the interventions, it was also felt to be important to interview the young people engaged in these interventions. 17 young people were interviewed, 12 of whom were male and 14 of whom were White. All the young people interviewed were aged between 15 and 18 years. Interviews explored the motivations for the offending as well as the young people's views on the interventions they had undertaken. In relation to the former, there was an almost universal rejection by young people of racial motivation in regard to their offending, in fact, only two interviewees thought that their offence should have been prosecuted as racially motivated. The offences that the young people interviewed were convicted of were racially aggravated assault, criminal damage and harassment. When the young people were asked why they had committed the offence that they were charged with, respondents tended to explain their behaviour in terms of retaliation to a perceived slight or the influence of drink. Most reiterated that race had nothing to do with the offence. It was not possible to determine empirically the true motivations for the offences these young people had committed, but if one takes their explanations at face value, one could argue that there are three possible types of convicted racially motivated offender:

1. those who *are* racist and *admit* to being racist
2. those who *are* racist but *deny* they are racist
3. those who are *not* racist, yet have been *convicted* of a racially motivated offence (perhaps due to conflicting or vague definitions of what actually constitutes a racially motivated offence).

When the young people were asked what they thought about the work they had undertaken as part of the intervention they were placed on as a result of committing a racially motivated offence, the majority of the respondents spoke positively about the intervention. Some had built up a rapport with the practitioner delivering the intervention, while others found the work they completed useful and interesting. Only a couple of the respondents said that they found the intervention lasted too long. The young people were asked what groups of people they had found problematic prior to commencing the intervention. While some reiterated that they had never had problems with other groups, others identified a number of groups that they had found problematic, including Poles, Asians, Kosovans and Muslims. However, the young people also felt that these views had subsequently changed in a positive direction as a result of the intervention.

Conclusion

This exploratory study of racially motivated offending has presented trends in the occurrence of such offences and shed light on the extent and nature of provision for racially motivated offenders. The survey returns and subsequent site visits showed that current practice with racially motivated offenders is at an early stage of development and while there are examples of promising approaches, there are also aspects that could be improved. In the final chapter, therefore, a number of recommendations are made for both the YJB and those responsible for delivering interventions. For YOTs and secure establishments, these centre around linking the content of interventions to what is known about the causes of racially motivated offending, identifying the specific causes in each individual case, improving the measurement of change in racist attitudes and learning from the experiences of other YOTs in terms of the resources and approaches available. For the YJB, the recommendations relate to the central role it can play in facilitating the exchange of information, encouraging YOTs and other organisations to provide resources for racially motivated offenders, facilitating a more systematic approach to implementation and monitoring, and working with the Home Office and others to commission research into the many gaps in knowledge in this important area of crime.

Introduction

Background

In the last ten years, policy concerning racially motivated offending, as well as the landscape in which it operates, has shifted significantly. This shift is in response to many factors, in particular:

- high-profile racially motivated killings, such as the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993
- riots and disturbances arising from conflicts between racially-demarcated communities in the North of England during 2001 in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham
- concerns about security following the events of '9/11' and the impact of this on cohesion between communities.

The translation of these policy and legislative responses into operational responses within the youth justice system to racially motivated offenders is the subject of this research study.

There has been an increase in the number of racist incidents recorded by police services across England and Wales over the last ten years. Commentators such as Docking and Tuffin (2005) have suggested that this may, in part, be due to:

- an increase in the relatively low level of reporting of racist incidents
- the creation of a unifying and nationally recognised definition of racist incidents
- the implementation of measures (outlined in *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*) by police, local authorities, and voluntary and community sector agencies to promote the reporting of racist incidents.

Specifically, this research study aims to address the following four questions.

1. What is the extent and nature of racially motivated offending in England and Wales?
2. How do YOT and secure estate staff assess racially motivated offending?
3. What service provision is available to young people who racially offend?
4. How are such programmes delivered and what outcomes are measured?

Methodology

The nature of the research questions called for a multi-method approach to the study. The first stage of the research involved a review of the research and practice literature regarding relevant aspects of racially motivated offending. The study reviewed articles and documents published between January 1995 and September 2007. The search terms used were:

- race crime
- racially motivated + (offenders/offending/young people who offend/youths)
- racist + (offenders/offending/violence/youths)
- hate
- hate crime
- hate + (offending/young people/youths).

The review focused on English language literature. Given the limited timescale of the research, the focus was on published material rather than grey literature. Studies were included that contributed to the following:

- an understanding of the motivations for racially motivated offending
- risk factors for racially motivated offending
- an evidence base for effective and non-effective interventions to address the offending behaviour of racially motivated offenders.

This helped provide a theoretical basis for the research and assisted in the design of research instruments, including the YOT survey.¹ It also informed the approach to data collection in the case studies. The literature review also looked at the state of the existing research evidence in relation to what works in effective interventions aimed at addressing racially motivated offending.

The second aspect of the research involved the analysis of the Themis database from the YJB. The YJB provided aggregate data for the period from 2002/03 to 2006/07 for the 157 YOTs in England and Wales. The datasets contained information on the number, age, gender and ethnicity of young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending, and (for the period from 2004/05 to 2006/07) the type of sanctions received by young people for racially motivated offending.

The data was analysed in order to map the extent of reported and recorded racially motivated offending, and regional and local trends were also calculated. While the Themis analysis is a useful exercise in making an assessment of the

¹ This survey was sent to all secure establishments in addition to YOTs, but for brevity it is referred to as the YOT survey throughout.

prevalence of racially motivated offending and trends concerning those convicted of racially motivated offending, the authors recognise that there remain significant levels of under-reporting of racially motivated crime by victims. In fact, the police estimate that the majority of racist and religious hate crime (and as much as 90% of homophobic crime) goes unreported.²

Furthermore, racially motivated crime is an activity that is likely to respond to shifts in demographic, economic and political trends. These considerations indicate the partial nature of official statistics on racially aggravated crime. This means that trends in the official statistics over time may be more of a reflection of changes in willingness to report such offences, for example, than changes in the actual level of offending. It is important to note such limitations when interpreting this data.

The third main strand of the study involved a survey of all YOTs and secure establishments (YOIs, secure children's homes and STCs) in England and Wales. Contact details of the managers of the YOTs and secure establishments were provided by the YJB, and managers were contacted initially by email to explain the nature of the research. They were provided with a link to an online form of the survey, which had the benefit of allowing the results to be collated automatically into a database. However, respondents were also given the opportunity to complete the survey by email, over the telephone or via hard copy.

The aim of the survey was to identify:

- the availability of programmes for racially motivated offenders
- the levels of need for such services
- the allocation process and characteristics of attendees
- the availability of interventions
- the programmes' aims and objectives
- the content of the different interventions.

Discussion with officials at the YJB revealed that previous surveys of YOT managers had achieved response rates of around 40%. The authors of the report were, however, keen to increase this and set a target of 65%. In order to ensure that such a high response rate was achieved, the following measures were taken:

- a dedicated email address was provided to allow YOT and secure estate staff to obtain support and assistance regarding how to complete the survey and general trouble-shooting

² *Hate Crime: Delivering a Quality Service*, Home Office. See: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime-victims/reducing-crime/hate-crime/?version=2>.

- after two weeks a follow-up email was sent to non-respondents, reminding them of the survey and offering assistance in completing the questionnaire
- after three weeks, a follow-up telephone call was made to non-respondents
- those who still did not respond were followed up by email and telephone for two months.

This persistent approach was very successful, and an overall response rate of 78.4% was achieved – significantly higher than the target. There were no obvious differences between responding and non-responding YOTs and secure establishments. Further details of this aspect of the methodology can be found in Chapter 3.

The final aspect of the research involved visits to a number of YOTs and secure establishments to generate a more detailed description of the types of interventions offered. Fieldwork for this project was conducted from November 2007 to March 2008. Analysis of Themis data revealed that custodial sanctions for racially motivated offending were rare (around 3–4% of disposals) and it was therefore decided to concentrate visits on YOTs. In total, 16 YOTs and five secure establishments were visited. The latter comprised three secure children’s homes, one STC and one YOI. The YOTs and secure establishments visited reflected a variety of geographical locations (urban/rural, North/South, England/Wales) and types of intervention offered. Anonymised details of the YOTs and secure establishments visited are listed below.

Table 1: Details of the YOTs and secure establishments visited

Type	Region	Name of intervention/s
STC	North East	Teen Talk!, Victim Empathy Programme, Throwing Stones
YOI	East	Equality and Diversity (within Personal, Social and Health Education)
Secure children’s home	South West	Teen Talk!
Secure children’s home	Yorkshire and the Humber	Respect: The Rewards and Sanctions System, My Thinking; Chillin’ Out: Break the Anger Habit, In Other People’s Shoes, Offending Behaviour Programme
Secure children’s home	North West	Culture and Diversity, Rights and Responsibilities
YOT	South West	Changes
YOT	London	Individual Differences
YOT	East	<i>Different</i> DVD, Show Racism the Red Card, <i>Discrimination</i> video, <i>Just Listen</i> DVD, From Murmur to Murder
YOT	Wales	Racial equality council outreach work
YOT	Wales	<i>Black and White</i> DVD
YOT	West Midlands	Diversity Awareness Programme

YOT	West Midlands	Who Lives Here?, Asylum Game
YOT	West Midlands	Cultural Awareness Programme, <i>HomeBeats</i> multimedia CD-Rom; <i>The Eye of the Storm</i> video, <i>Stephen Lawrence Story</i> video
YOT	Yorkshire and the Humber	Anti-discrimination Programme, Diversity and Victim Awareness Programme
YOT	Yorkshire and the Humber	Stop Racism Project
YOT	North West	From Murmur to Murder: Working with Racially motivated and Racist Offenders: A Resource for Probation Officers and Others, Joe Blagg; Pathways, Targets for Change
YOT	North West	Teen Talk!, Colour Blind: What it Means to be British in the 21st Century, Folens Photopacks, Operation Christmas Child
YOT	North West	From Murmur to Murder, Teen Talk!, Chalkface Project, Anti-racism in Schools
YOT	North West	Social Education: Racism Programme
YOT	North West	Show Racism the Red Card, Teen Talk!; <i>Can You Beat Racism</i> , Rafiki
YOT	North East	Teen Talk!. Show Racism the Red Card

During each of the site visits the authors of the report asked to interview one or more members of staff who were involved in the design and/or delivery of racially motivated offending programmes. A total of 38 practitioners were interviewed at the 21 sites. Interviews explored issues including the origin of the interventions, their theoretical bases, partnership-working practices, what the programmes 'looked like' and details of any assessment and monitoring processes. Interviews also provided an opportunity to discuss staffing (recruitment, training, supervision and management), links with other agencies and the more practical elements of delivering programmes to racially motivated offenders.

While visiting the YOTs/establishments, records were also made of any materials that were used in the delivery of racially motivated offending interventions. In some cases this involved watching videos or DVDs (e.g. *Show Racism the Red Card*, *Just Listen*), while in others notes were taken from worksheets or course materials (e.g. 'From Murmur to Murder').

At each establishment visited the authors of the report asked whether it would be possible to interview one or two young people who had taken part in a racially motivated offending intervention. Due to the low numbers of racially motivated offenders referred to most YOTs, this proved difficult at some establishments. Of the 21 YOTs/establishments visited, there were no young people available for interview at 11 of them. In the remaining 10 establishments, a total of 14 young people were interviewed. In addition, two young people were interviewed at YOTs who were not in the sample for fieldwork visits. Interviews with young people were designed to elicit their views on what worked or did not

work with any intervention they had taken part in, as well as exploring the background and motivations for their offending, and any changes in attitude.

It had been intended to conduct a limited amount of observation of practice. However, it became apparent that, in the majority of establishments, there were few, if any, young people participating in interventions during the fieldwork period. As a result, it was decided to concentrate efforts on interviewing practitioners and young people, and on making detailed records of any resources used.

The research methods described above were designed to answer the research questions as fully as possible based on the available data. The study was commissioned as an exploratory study rather than as an outcome study, and this means that some of the findings presented are indicative rather than conclusive. It is hoped that they will prompt further study into the many research questions surrounding racially motivated offending.

1: Literature review

Introduction

The aim of this literature review is to provide an overview of existing practice in relation to racially motivated offending, as well as to explore what is known about the causes of this type of offending. The findings from this review were used to inform the development of research tools for the interviews and to choose the interventions that will be examined in this research study, while also assisting with the development of recommendations in relation to future policy, strategy and practice.

It was originally intended that a key focus for the review would be studies of evaluated interventions with racially motivated young people who offend. The objective was to report and grade the findings according to the Maryland scale of methodological rigour (Farrington et al., 2002). However, it became apparent through the initial searches of published literature that:

- there were no randomised controlled-outcome studies of interventions aimed at racially motivated young people who offend
- there was scant literature available for evaluated studies of interventions with racially motivated young people who offend at any level on the Maryland scale.

The search was widened to include studies of evaluated interventions with racially motivated adult offenders. An unpublished literature review commissioned by the National Probation Service (Hollin and Palmer, 2000) and reported by Dixon (2002: 207) found that “there was no published literature specifically establishing dynamic risk factors associated with racially motivated offenders nor were there any controlled outcome studies of the effects of work with this group”.

The search has identified that, since the production of the literature review in 2000, some work has taken place to identify risk factors for racially motivated offending. However, no rigorous outcome studies have been found. In order to further the aims of this research study, this literature review has therefore considered the published literature in relation to the following:

- factors identified by researchers that appear to have influenced racially motivated offending of adult offenders and young people who offend
- the development of policy and practice in relation to addressing racially motivated offending by adults – this has lessons for the development of policy and practice for addressing racially motivated offending by young people who offend

- accounts of interventions that have been deployed to address racially motivated offending by adults and young people
- the motivations and typologies of hate crime offenders.

It should be noted that currently the literature that can be drawn upon in relation to racially motivated offending by BME offenders is limited. The overwhelming focus has been on White racially motivated offenders. This is reflected in both the absence of specific interventions targeted at racially motivated offenders from BME groups and the lack of development of such interventions.

The development of interventions with racially motivated offenders

Until relatively recently, policy responses to racial unrest and racist crime have been small scale, and it was an area that was not a political priority. Racist crime was not monitored and as a result there was no accurate picture of its extent or impact (Dixon and Ray, 2007). Most of the changes in policy and practice in the 1980s and 1990s were driven largely by victim groups, rather than political pressures (Bowling, 1998). However, since the mid-1990s, the policy and operational landscape has changed considerably in response to:

- high-profile racially motivated killings, such as the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993
- riots and disturbances arising from conflicts between racially demarcated communities in the North of England during 2001 in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham
- concerns about security following the events of '9/11' and the impact of this on cohesion between communities.

In part, this literature review reflects the translation of these policy and legislative responses into operational responses and interventions, principally within probation services across England and Wales. In relation to youth offending, the survey and in-depth interviews with YOT and secure estate staff (which form other elements of this study) will provide an assessment of the current operational responses within the youth justice sector.

The key national policy and strategic documents that provide the current framework for tackling racially motivated crimes are:

- *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* (Macpherson, 1999) – this sets out over 70 recommendations for tackling racism, institutional racism, racial harassment and racially motivated crime
- *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society* (Home Office, 2005) – the Government's strategy to promote community cohesion and race equality.

The legal framework for tackling racially motivated offending is contained within:

- the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (ss28–32) – this defined racially-aggravated offences and introduced higher tariffs for those convicted of racially-aggravated offences
- the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 – this imposes a general duty on all public authorities to have due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups.

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 requires public authorities to produce a race equality scheme and to monitor the implementation of this in relation to policy making, service delivery and employment. The operation of services in relation to racially motivated offending delivered through YOTs and secure establishments are therefore covered by the general and specific duty for those partner agencies involved in YOTs and those bodies (local authorities and the Prison Service) that manage secure children’s homes, YOIs and STCs.

Considering firstly developments with adult offenders, Dixon (2002) commented that, following the publication of *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* in 1999, “there was huge pressure in the National Probation Service to act quickly to tackle racist offending”. However, Dixon also commented that the political momentum subsided in the wake of the race riots in the north of England in 2001. The National Probation Service Inspectorate’s (HMI Probation) thematic inspection on race equality (HMI Probation, 2000) was critical of the work of the National Probation Service with Black offenders and racist offenders. The Inspectorate’s most recent thematic inspection of work with racially motivated offenders (HMI Probation, 2005) found that:

...the National Probation Service is dealing with a relatively small number of racially motivated offenders. However, in our view, there is considerable scope for improvement in the way these offenders are dealt with. We found examples of good practice but it is important that these do not remain isolated exceptions.

In summary, as stated by Smith (2005a), interventions to tackle racially motivated offending among adults in the United Kingdom have “developed slowly and unevenly”. This appears to be due in part to:

- the relatively small numbers of racially motivated adult offenders being dealt with by the National Probation Service (HMI Probation, 2005); Dixon (2002) reported that a sub-group set up by the Prison/Probation Accreditation Panel stated that only 1% of offenders on current probation caseloads presented racially motivated offences
- a general lack of availability and use of resources to work with racially motivated offenders (Smith, 2005a)

- a need to improve the confidence, capability and motivation of probation staff to work with racially motivated offenders (Sibbitt, 1997; HMI Probation, 2005).

In relation to BME racially motivated offenders, as indicated above, within the development of interventions to tackle racially motivated offending there appears to be an absence of:

- specific interventions to address BME racially motivated offenders
- reporting of the use of existing interventions that may have been developed to address racially motivated offending by White offenders with BME offenders
- the adaptation of existing interventions with White offenders for BME offenders.

Smith (2005a: 38) sums up the situation in the National Probation Service as follows:

One of words rather than actions, of good intentions not realised in practice and of promising local initiatives that have remained local rather than becoming nationally available.

The situation in youth justice is no more optimistic. There appears (from the review of the literature) to have been even less emphasis on developing interventions with racially motivated offenders within the youth justice system than with adult offenders on probation. One of the few studies of projects aimed at challenging young people's views on race was conducted by Lemos (2005). That study looked at five projects: two school-based educational projects, one intensive one-to-one programme involving young people who offend, one voluntary and informal learning initiative, and one neighbourhood-based football project involving professional football players as role models (Lemos, 2005). Thus, four of the projects were not aimed at racially motivated offenders, and most of those participating did not in fact hold negative views towards other ethnic groups. There was some evidence, according to Lemos, that projects had a positive impact on attitudes towards others, but less so for those whose views were entrenched. Lemos concluded that projects were more likely to succeed where they were well structured, involved a range of activities and presenters, and brought young people from different groups together to build trust and empathy.

Overall, the focus in relation to young people appears to have been on prevention through education or through general and/or targeted youth work. The empirical part of this research study will assess the extent to which this is still the case.

The YJB commissioned Communities that Care to undertake a comprehensive review of risk and protective factors associated with youth crime and

programmes that addressed risk factors and promoted protective factors to reduce offending (YJB, 2001). However, the applicability of these risk and protective factors in relation to racially motivated offending remains largely untested by research.

The findings from the interviews and the survey will be used to inform the under-researched area of provision for young racially motivated offenders. The implications of these general findings for this research study and for the development of future policy and practice are considered in the following sections along with more specific findings.

Developing a rationale for interventions

This section considers findings in relation to the development of a rationale for interventions with racially motivated offenders – in other words it attempts to answer the theory of change question ‘why should it work?’

A number of writers have identified factors that appear to be related to racially motivated offending and it is possible to categorise these according to the level at which they operate. In proposing an over-arching framework, the authors of the report drew upon Goudriaan et al.’s (2004) work on the role of social context in the decision to report crime. In that study, Goudriaan et al. propose that causal factors can be assigned to one of three levels of influence – the micro, the meso and the macro. Although their framework was not designed as a means of categorising the different influences on racially motivated offending, it is a useful framework to adopt.

The model proposed here suggests that there are a range of interrelated normative factors that contribute to racially motivated offending, and in some instances legitimise it in the minds of offenders. As Ray and Smith (2004: p.681) argue: “to explain racist violence we need to think in terms of not a single issue, but of multiple issues of bias, and cultures of violence, exclusions and marginalisation”. In the proposed model these work at three levels:

- Micro level** Individual beliefs

- Meso level** The influence of: family, friends, peers, the local neighbourhood and community, and the actions of local public agencies such as local authorities, police and local media

- Macro level** The actions of Government and other national bodies including political parties and the media

A more detailed breakdown of these factors is presented in the following table. It should be noted that much of the research summarised below is based on interview data with offenders and/or practitioners and, as such, it is subject to the possible errors or biases that such methods may involve, e.g. offenders

lying about their motivation. Furthermore, as a full systematic review of the literature was outside the remit of this study, it cannot be claimed that the summarised research represents all of the literature in this area. That said, the review does illustrate some of the influences on racially motivated offending and the levels at which these operate.

Table 2: Micro, meso and macro-level factors associated with racially motivated offending

Level	Key factor	Details
Micro level (individual beliefs)	Perception of victims as 'fair game'	(Bowling, 1998)
	The translation of perceived injustice into hatred and the committing of offences ('hurt' into 'hate')	(Beck, 2000)
	Alienation from the police leading to vigilante action among BME young men	Asian young men came to see direct vigilante action against White people to whom racist incidents against Asians were attributed as a "feasible alternative to police involvement" (Ray and Smith, 2004)
Meso level (influence of family, peers, neighbourhood, local community, and the actions of local public agencies and local media)	The creation of racialised 'maps' of local areas, which exacerbate tensions between different ethnic communities	White and Asian communities incorporated racialised maps of a local authority area based on territorial lines "marked by mutual suspicion and hostility" (Ray and Smith, 2004)
	The scapegoating of 'others', usually individuals from other ethnic groups, for economic and social problems	Community-based stereotypes projecting the experience of economic and social disadvantage onto racialised scapegoats (Ray and Smith, 2001)
	Biased media reporting exacerbating tensions between ethnic communities	Unbalanced reporting within local media of racist incidents, which represented Asian young men as "a threat to social order and in particular to innocent Whites" (Ray and Smith, 2004)
Macro level (actions of Government and national public bodies)	The public and political legitimising of violence against another racial group on the basis of self-defence	The British National Party in 1998 issued a leaflet that claimed that "Community self-defence is no offence!" and encouraged the use of force to rescue White victims from "gangs of Muslim thugs"
	Creation of perceived injustices followed by antipathy towards other ethnic communities through the unintended criminalisation of already marginalised and disadvantaged people	There is some evidence that, under the racially-aggravated offences provisions of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, individuals from already marginalised and disadvantaged (principally White) communities are being unnecessarily criminalised where their "principal offence may not be any extraordinary commitment to racism, but an inability to control their language in moments of stress and/or when under the influence of alcohol" (Dixon and Gadd, 2006)
	Influence of national media on people's attitudes towards particular groups, for example asylum seekers	As a prime source of information, the print and visual media play a role in the formation of attitudes towards issues such as race and tolerance (e.g. Nelson et al., 1997)

The implications of such a model for dealing with racially motivated offending are important. Effective interventions will need to incorporate analysis of the various causal factors involved, some of which may vary according to when and where the offending took place. If interventions only try to deal with individual level factors (e.g. alienation, beliefs) without addressing wider family, peer and societal influences, then their efficacy is likely to be limited. This model will be drawn upon when discussing the provision for racially motivated offenders among YOTs and the secure estate.

A number of writers have suggested that racially motivated offenders can be categorised according to the basis of their motivations. In 1993, Levin and McDevitt argued that hate crime offenders could be divided into three different categories:

- thrill-seekers
- defenders
- mission offenders.

These three typologies were derived from undertaking interviews with members of the police, victims and hate crime offenders themselves (McDevitt et al., 2002). However, in 2002 McDevitt et al. added a fourth category to the typology: the 'retaliatory' offender. This fourth category was added because:

...it occurred to us that there are sometimes additional factors and indicators present that seem to relate to bias motivation but are not currently specified in the literature. Offences that involve these factors and indicators are bias motivated but include distinct characteristics that indicate a retaliatory theme.

McDevitt et al., 2002 p.306

McDevitt et al.'s (2002) four typologies are described below:

1. **Thrill-seekers** – who commit hate crime offences for the thrill and excitement. Thrill-seekers choose their target because they perceive the victim to be in some way significantly different from themselves. Dixon and Court (2003) have suggested that such offenders are influenced by a wider peer group “often getting drawn into violence without any regard to the victim”. In addition, “they may consider their activities territorial rather than racist”.
2. **Defenders** – who commit hate crime offences in order to protect their neighbourhood from outsiders or intruders. Dixon and Court (2003) referred to “reactive offenders” as individuals who are older than thrill-seekers and who have “a sense of grievance and believe that they are acting to protect a perceived threat to their way of life”.

3. **Retaliatory offenders** – who commit hate crime offences in response to a hate crime against themselves or an individual in the group to which they belong.
4. **Mission offenders** – who commit hate crimes inspired by a higher order. Dixon and Court (2003) have suggested that such offenders may have mental health problems (David Copeland, the ‘nail bomber’) and that this category includes politically motivated offenders such as right-wing or religious extremist activists.

McDevitt et al. assessed deterrence to be least effective for mission offenders, and most effective for thrill-seekers. Again, it will be interesting to see whether any of the resources developed for use with racially motivated offenders by YOTs and secure establishments take account of the possibility of different typologies of offender, as it is likely that the success of any intervention will depend on the extent to which it deals with the underlying motivation/s to offend.

There is a range of potential dynamic risk factors that have an impact on racially motivated offending. Dixon (2002) reported that the sub-group of the Prison/Probation Accreditation Panel identified the following dynamic risk factors based on the available literature and the views of sub-group members:

- racist attitudes
- pro-criminal attitudes
- acceptance of violence as a means of conflict resolution
- cognitive deficits including factors such as rigidity of views
- lack of self-identity/conflict in cultural identity
- distorted perspective concerning victims, for example the perception of victims as ‘fair game’ (see Bowling, 1998)
- poor emotional management
- erosion of masculine identity
- perception of superiority/inferiority and in-group/out-group
- perception of territorial invasion.

Through the survey and interviews with staff, it will be considered whether dynamic risk factors such as these have been incorporated into assessments of racially motivated offenders and whether they are likely to be addressed by the interventions offered.

Local, social and community context

It has been argued that unchallenged community prejudice linked to the development of a perceived 'in' and 'out' group is one factor that may contribute to racially motivated offending. Bowling (1998) and Hewitt (1996) reported that offenders had acted out of community prejudice that had gone unchallenged. Offenders felt justified in expressing racist views and 'intent' based on a perceived injustice that had been carried out by an 'out' group. Such feelings are likely to be more common where there is a cultural milieu in which violence is normalised, allowing racist violence to occur.

Ray et al. (2002: p.8) suggested that interventions with the racially motivated offenders (in Greater Manchester) that were the subject of their study needed to recognise that "racism was a resource that [offenders] could deploy to facilitate and justify particular acts of violence". The offenders they interviewed "inhabited cultural milieux in which violence was an accepted and normalised means of solving conflicts and settling disputes" (ibid: p.8). While the offenders agreed that "racism was morally at least dubious" and sought to deny and minimise it, most "felt no comparable need to minimise their violence" (ibid: p.8). Ray et al. (2002) suggested that programmes on anger management might form part of effective interventions with violent racists, but that the offenders would have to be "convinced that violence is not an acceptable means of solving problems" and "helped to explore feasible and culturally accessible alternatives to both racism and violence" (ibid: p.8).

Sibbitt (1997) commented that victims became dehumanised in the eyes of the offender because they belonged to the 'out' group and as a result were 'undeserving'. As suggested by Dixon and Ray (2007: p.118), "assaults that occur in this context can lead to further escalation as they raise the stakes about what is permissible by the wider community". If community prejudice is to be addressed by interventions, then practitioners would need to be aware of its existence and the impact of 'in' and 'out' group influences on young people. An expanded permissibility within communities arising from racially motivated offending (leading to a potential escalation of violence) should be recognised and addressed by local partnership bodies.

The role of 'authoritative bodies' in public sanctioning of 'in' and 'out' groups can contribute to racial tension and violence. Ray and Smith (2004) have suggested that a specific factor that contributed to the riots in Oldham in 2001 was the emergence of the construction of the Muslim community as 'violent thugs', combined with a public endorsement of 'White victimisation'. They commented that "the trend towards White victimisation was treated as an established fact in the local authority's crime and disorder audit" (Oldham Metropolitan Borough, 1999). Ray and Smith (2004) further suggest that the definition of 'the problem' as an escalation in race attacks on the White population by Asians "emerged initially with the full authority of the police and was reproduced with little or no critical commentary in the local press".

Taken together with the previous findings, this suggests that a combination of unchallenged community prejudice and perceived endorsement by authoritative bodies can produce conditions favourable to racially motivated offending. This means that those designing or delivering interventions need to be able to assess whether such public endorsement on individual offending is an issue in their area and to consider how this might be tackled by their intervention.

A number of commentators have highlighted the contribution of 'unacknowledged shame' (Scheff, 1997) within racially motivated offending, which again is linked to the perception of 'in' and 'out' groups. Beck (2000) suggested that, for offenders, the victims' perceived success in life and lack of concern for the offender led to the offenders feeling disrespected, which in turn hurt their feelings and induced a sense of shame. Ray and Smith (2004) suggest that the unacknowledged shame of violent, racially motivated offenders was due to low self-esteem associated with a sense of anxiety, insecurity, loss and failure. Ray et al. (2002) concluded that The National Probation Service's face-to-face practice needed to respond to the role of unacknowledged shame in racially motivated offending by recognising that a purely cognitive approach that assumes that racist violence is primarily the result of rational calculation is likely to fail. They also suggest that approaches that are "purely educational" or that "seek to convince offenders that racism is morally wrong or socially unacceptable" are "likely to miss the point".

A related personal level factor is 'minimisation' (Bowling, 1998), in which offenders draw on community prejudices when they carry out offences against victims, who have been dehumanised and assigned to the 'out' group. The offending is often committed without a full consciousness on the part of the offender and the link between attitude and action is not recognised. Ray et al. (2002) suggested that denial and minimisation had occurred because the offenders in their study generally recognised that racism was wrong and therefore something which needed justifying to themselves. Minimisation is a cognitive trait which those delivering programmes should seek to uncover and challenge. However, this is likely to be no easy task. A number of writers have noted the difficulties in getting racially motivated offenders to talk about racism, and argued that confronting offenders directly with their racism can be counter-productive. The risk is that such challenges damage the working relationship with the offender, making any attempt to engage offenders in a process of changing their attitudes and beliefs that much more difficult (McGhee, 2007).

Geographical patterns of residence can have an impact on racial tensions and racially motivated offending. A Home Office report (2001) suggested that residential segregation on ethnic lines was associated with increased interracial suspicion and hostility. This appeared to confirm findings by Scheff (1997), who suggested that segregation reduced the opportunities for forming and maintaining secure social bonds. Webster (1996) suggested that such segregation tended to produce, among all ethnic groups, a racialised sense of urban space associated with a defensive and sometimes aggressive sense of territoriality.

The study by Ray et al. (2002) of racist offenders in Greater Manchester highlighted the specificity of local context to racially motivated offending. These offenders lived in estates almost exclusively inhabited by Whites, where the only routine contacts that the offenders had with their victims, South Asians, were commercial. These contacts occurred in shops on the estate run and owned by South Asians and in the taxis run by South Asians which the offenders used. The encounters that offenders had with South Asians in these contexts, and previous experiences, provided some rationale for a range of resentments. These included:

- perceived undeserved economic success, i.e. not founded on 'hard graft'
- cultural advantages such as supportive kin and community networks denied to 'poor Whites'
- vivid cultural and religious traditions that had been celebrated at the expense of 'English' culture in anti-racist education 'remembered from school'.

In addition, Ray et al. (2002) found that the offenders were physically and emotionally isolated from the cosmopolitanism of central Manchester. They constructed "an image of themselves as 'real Mancs' who, among other things, by definition were supporters of City and not United".

The rise of vigilantism is another location-specific factor that can lead to racially motivated offending. In their account of the 'riots' in Oldham in 2001, Ray and Smith (2004) suggested that young Asian men came to see direct vigilante action as a justifiable alternative to police involvement. This resulted from Asian young men being portrayed in the local press as the main perpetrators of racist violence. As a consequence Asian young men believed that there was no point in reporting incidents to the police as they were likely to be met with "disbelief or victim blaming". This led to further alienation from, and mistrust of, the police.

The various factors outlined above suggest that to address racially motivated offending successfully will require a considered and multi-layered approach to prevention. Hollin and Palmer (2000) proposed a three-tiered strategy to prevent racially motivated offending. Primary prevention would seek to create change socially and culturally across the whole of society to tackle those causal factors operating at this level. Secondary prevention would seek to identify individuals who have the potential to commit racially motivated offences and target preventative interventions at these individuals. Finally, tertiary prevention would target interventions at known offenders with the aim of preventing further offending. The interventions that will be described later in this study fall mainly into the tertiary category, as primary prevention is not something that YOTs or secure establishments alone can be expected to tackle.

Resources and implementation issues

This section considers findings from the literature in relation to the inputs and resources required to enable interventions to work and the processes undertaken in the delivery of interventions. It is a common finding across many areas of public policy that organisational culture is important in facilitating the delivery of effective interventions, and this is equally the case in relation to racially motivated offending programmes. Sibbitt (1997) argued that, at time of her research, “the very culture of the probation service” discouraged offenders from being open and truthful about their views and attitudes. This was reflected in notices on the walls of offices and waiting areas which stated that the use of racist language or behaviour (by anyone) was unacceptable on National Probation Service premises and would not be tolerated. In addition, Sibbitt also suggested that ‘ordinary’ racism went unchallenged by some probation officers, while other officers “almost demonised racist offenders as extremely violent political extremists” (ibid: p.94).

The confidence and capability of staff are also vital to the effective delivery of interventions. HMI Probation’s thematic inspection (2005) of seven probation areas found that, despite “relatively good provision of training”, probation staff “expressed a lack of confidence in working with racially motivated offenders”. This lack of confidence in dealing with race issues was also found in their supervisors, the senior probation officers. HMI Probation also found that, in many of the cases they inspected, “staff had left unchallenged the racially aggravated/motivated dimension and had colluded with offenders’ minimisation”.

It is outside the scope of the current research to assess factors such as organisational culture and the competence and confidence of staff – this would require a more in-depth approach along the lines of a formal inspection. However, during the interviews the staff were asked about any training they had received in relation to working with young racially motivated offenders and the adequacy of resources available.

An inspection of racially motivated offending programmes for adult offenders found a number of problems in implementation. HMI Probation’s thematic inspection (2005) found that racially motivated offending interventions were not delivered in a timely manner, resulting in delays or interventions not being carried out. Case managers were not proactive in liaising with others delivering interventions and victim issues required far greater prominence and attention. There was little evidence of reinforcement of learning and there was a lack of consistency regarding the inclusion of racially motivated offenders in accredited programmes.

The identification of racially motivated offending among adult offenders was also found to be inconsistent. HMI Probation’s inspection (2005) revealed that, in a number of assessments and pre-sentence reports relating to racially motivated offenders, descriptions of racially aggravated offending had been reinterpreted by case managers in the pre-sentence reports as not racially motivated, for

example, because “the offender had been drunk or acted out-of-character”. The inspections also found that risk of harm assessments of racially motivated offenders were “generally unsatisfactory in terms of both quality of content and timeliness”. The assessment and identification of young people who offend – i.e. the extent to which the identification of racially motivated offenders is solely based on offenders presenting with racially aggravated offences – is something that shall be explored through the case studies of YOTs.

There has long been widespread acceptance that generalised offending behaviour programmes need to take account of the three principles of risk, need and responsivity if they are to be effective. It has been argued that the same principles are equally important in relation to racially motivated offending programmes (Smith, 2005b). In brief, it is argued that:

- the intensity and duration of an intervention should be proportional to the risk of reoffending (risk)
- the focus of the intervention should be on the factors that are related to offending (needs)
- the intervention should be adapted to the offender’s learning styles and should provide opportunities for their active participation (responsivity).

Conclusion

The findings from this literature review suggest that the causes of racially motivated offending are numerous and operate at a variety of levels. It should be noted that much of the literature relates to adult probationers, and it may be that motivations for young people who offend differ somewhat. If interventions with young racially motivated offenders are to be effective, then they should be designed at the outset to be able to address the wide range of causal factors, yet at the same time offer sufficient flexibility to enable practitioners to focus on the specific factors that an individual presents. This is a tall order for any one intervention to address, and it may be that a range of specific interventions is required to address the full range of factors that might be encountered by the young people referred to a YOT. The approaches that the various YOTs and secure establishments have adopted are described later in this study.

The findings from this literature review also suggest that working effectively with racially motivated offenders is dependent on practical factors such as the availability and type of interventions that practitioners can use and the support provided by senior management for staff. These issues will be further investigated during the course of the study.

2: Extent of racially motivated offending

Data sources

This section of the study examines the prevalence of racially motivated offending by young people within England and Wales. Much of the analysis relates to data provided by the YJB from its Themis database. However, it should be noted that the Themis data relates only to young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending – who inevitably represent a small proportion of the total quantity of such offences. Therefore, the Themis data has been placed in a wider context by examining a range of other datasets including the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey (2005) and data from the Ministry of Justice, as well as British Crime Survey data and official police statistics. It should be noted that these datasets are not directly comparable, firstly, because they do not all deal with the same age range, and secondly, because the nature of what is captured varies between victimisation surveys, self-reported offending surveys and police figures.

Table 3 identifies the five data sources used in this analysis of prevalence and trends in reported and recorded racially motivated offending.

Table 3: Data sources used in study

Name	Type	Age range
British Crime Survey	Victimisation survey	16 years and older
Police-recorded crime data	Recorded incidents and notifiable offences	All ages
Offending, Crime and Justice Survey	Self-report survey	10–25 years
Ministry of Justice	Racist incident data and disposals	10–17 years
YJB Themis data	YOT records	10–17 years

The YJB's Themis database is based on the quarterly returns that each YOT provides to the YJB. Among other variables, it contains information about the characteristics of young people (aged 10 to 17) referred to the 157 YOTs in England and Wales for racially motivated offences, including those who were sentenced to custody. Themis data is collected at the offence level and not the individual level. The Themis data supplied was complete, with no missing data in terms of age or sanction received, while ethnicity of the offender was recorded in over 90% of cases.

The Offending, Crime and Justice Survey is a national, longitudinal, self-report offending survey for England and Wales, which examines the extent of offending, anti-social behaviour and drug use among household populations, particularly young people aged 10 to 25. The Offending, Crime and Justice

Survey also measures racially and religiously motivated assaults and anti-social behaviour, with one of its four anti-social behaviour components focusing on racially/religiously motivated abuse, being threatening or rude to someone because of their race or religion. Throughout the study, the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey is used to complement Themis data analysis and criminal conviction data.

Both the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey and Themis data are limited to youth victimisation and youth offending, although the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey covers a wider age group (10–25) than does Themis (10–17). The Themis data has been aggregated and analysed for the previous full five years of data (2002/03–2006/07) in order to map the extent of racially motivated youth offending addressed by YOTs. Each year of data within Themis runs from April to March of the following year.

The British Crime Survey is a large-scale, systematic victimisation survey which provides a measure of the level of crime committed against the private household population in England and Wales, but it does not currently include young people under 16, although there are plans to do so. The British Crime Survey involves face-to-face interviews with a representative sample of the adult population, and measures the amount of crime, by asking people about the number and types of crimes they have experienced in the previous 12 months. As the British Crime Survey includes crimes that are not reported to the police it is an important addition to police records.

By contrast, official police statistics only provide information about those incidents that have been reported to the police and then recorded by them. Police crime data covers all indictable and triable-either-way offences. It is estimated that only around 40% of British Crime Survey crimes end up in police statistics (Nicholas et al., 2007).

Racially aggravated offences

In England and Wales the Home Office is responsible for collating and publishing official statistics relating to the criminal justice system and for issuing guidelines to law enforcement agencies on how to record crimes. It should be noted that such data has been subject to a number of definitional changes over the years, the most important of which was the creation of the category of racially aggravated offences in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Racially aggravated offences are defined in this legislation as follows:

(1) An offence is racially aggravated for the purposes of sections 29 to 32 below if—

(a) at the time of committing the offence, or immediately before or after doing so, the offender demonstrates towards the victim of the offence hostility based on the victim's membership (or presumed membership) of a racial group; or

(b) the offence is motivated (wholly or partly) by hostility towards members of a racial group based on their membership of that group.

s28, Crime and Disorder Act 1998

This resulted in nine existing offences in the areas of assault, harassment, criminal damage and public order having racially aggravated labels appended (see Box 1 below), all of which carry higher potential penalties or tariffs.

Racially aggravated offences are also legally defined under the Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (s 39), the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) and the Race and Religious Hatred Act (2006). This has resulted in a systematic reconfiguration of the ways in which the criminal justice system now deals with prejudice-related offending. The 2000 and 2006 statutes added the religiously aggravated aspect and had the effect of broadening what constitutes racial or religious hatred. However, it should be remembered that racially or religiously aggravated offences cannot be identified separately in police-recorded crime data, in Themis data, in Offending, Crime and Justice Survey data or in the British Crime Survey data.

The various offences comprising racially motivated offending are detailed in Box 1, and these definitions of racially motivated offending are used within this study.

Box 1: Home Office racially aggravated offences for data analysis period

8D: Racially aggravated less serious wounding
8E: Racially aggravated harassment
105B: Racially aggravated common assault
58E: Racially aggravated criminal damage to a dwelling
58F: Racially aggravated criminal damage to a building other than a dwelling
58G: Racially aggravated criminal damage to a vehicle
58H: Racially aggravated other criminal damage

NB: The above Home Office list offences details those racially (and now religiously) aggravated offences which were in existence for the data analysis period. This necessarily excludes more recent racially or religiously aggravated Home Office list offences.

It should also be noted that the offences of 'Racially or religiously aggravated criminal damage to a dwelling' and 'Racially or religiously aggravated criminal damage to a building other than a dwelling' were added to the Home Office series from 1 April 1999. Religiously aggravated offences were added to the series from April 2002 (Nicholas et al., 2007).

An offence may be classified as racially or religiously aggravated if:

- at the time of committing the offence, or immediately before or after doing so, the offender demonstrates towards the victim of the offence hostility based on the victim's membership (or presumed membership) of a racial or religious group
- the offence is motivated (wholly or partly) by hostility towards members of a racial or religious group, based on the victim's membership of that group (s 28, Crime and Disorder Act, 1998).

The British Crime Survey employs a somewhat wider definition of a racially motivated incident, one broadly in line with that recommended by *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* and which has subsequently been adopted by the police:

A racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person.

Macpherson, 1999

Such a definition inevitably draws in a wider range of behaviours than the legal classifications noted above, and this needs to be borne in mind when making comparisons between different data sets.

British Crime Survey respondents are asked, in respect of all crimes of which they have been victims, whether they thought the incident was racially motivated. A victim of racially motivated crime is then defined as anyone who judged that racial motivation was present in any household or personal crime which they experienced in the relevant year, including threats. However, it was only from 2005/06 that victims were given the option of indicating whether they thought the incident was religiously motivated (Nicholas et al., 2007). Whether such incidents would be recorded as offences by the police depends upon whether the offences meet the Home Office criteria of a racially or religiously motivated offence. It is generally believed that the British Crime Survey provides a more accurate measure of the number of racially and religiously motivated incidents experienced by victims, because it includes incidents that are not reported to or recorded by the police.

Limitations of official statistics

It is well known that there is a 'dark figure' of hidden crime – there is often a large discrepancy between the number of incidents defined as a crime and officially recorded as such and the experiences and perceptions of victims (Coleman and Moynihan, 1996). An even greater reduction or 'attrition' occurs when the number of offenders actually 'brought to justice' (cautioned or convicted) is considered. This process of attrition of the true figures is particularly severe with regard to racially motivated offending. The true number of unreported and unrecorded incidents is of course unknown, but it is subject to

the same processes of attrition within the criminal justice system that other categories of crime are subject to – aided by the varying definitions and institutional mechanisms used in capturing such data.

The chief cause of attrition is the notoriously low level of reporting of racially aggravated crime by victims. For instance, the police estimate that the majority of racist and religious hate crime – and as much as 90% of homophobic crime – goes unreported.³ Further attrition can take place within the criminal justice system itself, from the reporting stage, through to recording, detection and conviction. Although a considerable proportion of the ‘dark figure’ of racially motivated offending is due to under-reporting, studies of police recording practices more generally suggest that under-recording by the police – due either to police discretion or the application of an evidential standard to allegations of crime – also plays an important role (Burrows et al., 2000).

However, in response to these institutional criticisms, police forces adopted ‘ethical’ crime recording practices in 2000 (Simmons et al., 2003). This is the practice whereby the police record all incidents that are reported by the public, whether or not the police believe that evidence exists to support the report or whether the incident in fact constitutes a racial or religiously motivated crime.

Furthermore, in 1998/99 the new Home Office Counting Rules came into force. This was followed by the introduction of the National Crime Recording Standard in April 2002, which led to a rise in recording in 2002/03 and 2003/04, despite the fact that total police-recorded crime then fell – a 10% fall between 2003/04 and 2006/07. In addition, police-recorded offences were also boosted by the inclusion of offences recorded by the British Transport Police from 2002/03 onwards. Consequently, any trends in police-recorded crime from this point need to be interpreted with caution due to changes in recording practices.

All of the above considerations indicate the partial nature of official statistics on racially aggravated crime and emphasise that official statistics detailing trends over time may be more of a reflection of changes in willingness to report and record such offences, or in definitional issues for example, than changes in the actual level of offending.

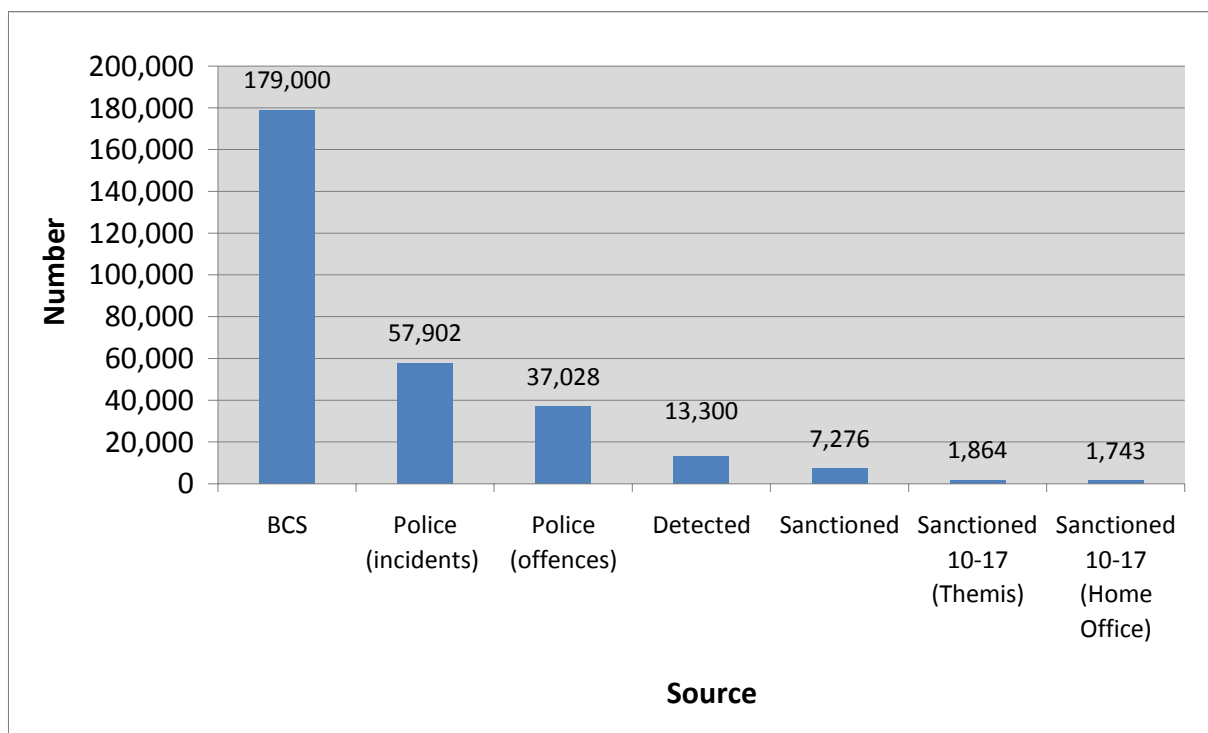
What this means is that while the following analysis using the assorted data sets has some value when assessing trends and prevalence in racially motivated offending, the true picture of racially motivated offending remains unknown. These considerations need to be borne in mind when interpreting the analysis.

³ *Hate Crime: Delivering a Quality Service*, Home Office. See: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime-victims/reducing-crime/hate-crime/?version=2>.

Overview of racially motivated offending

Figure 1 provides an overview of the different estimates of racially motivated incidents or offences in England and Wales in 2004/05, as noted above, some data sources capture incidents, while others capture offences. The graph shows that figures for racially motivated offending vary considerably by the individual data source used, and, not surprisingly, whether it is limited to youth or adult offending.

Figure 1: Estimates of racially motivated incidents/offences in England and Wales in 2004/05



As a victimisation survey, it is not surprising that the British Crime Survey generates by far the highest estimate, indicating that there were 179,000 racially motivated incidents in England and Wales in 2005 (Home Office, 2006: p.9). The British Crime Survey estimate is substantially higher than the number of racially motivated incidents recorded by the police (57,902) and this suggests that over two-thirds of racially motivated incidents are never reported to the police (67.6%). This is somewhat higher than British Crime Survey estimates that 59% of all crimes go unreported to the police (Nicholas et al., 2007) because, for example, victims consider the offences to be too trivial, or because they lack confidence that the police could do anything about them.

When one considers the number of incidents that the police recorded as racially motivated offences in 2004/05 (37,028), there is still further attrition (Home Office, 2006: p.10). In other words, over one-third of incidents that the victim perceived to be racially motivated and reported to the police, did not achieve the

evidentiary threshold required to be recorded as a racially motivated offence (36%).

As with other types of crime, the police do not 'clear up' or detect all racially motivated offences. For a crime to count as detected, the police must identify a suspect and make that person aware that s/he will be recorded as being responsible for committing the crime. For offences to be cleared up by a formal sanction, the offender must be charged or summonsed, cautioned, reprimanded or given a Final Warning, have an offence taken into consideration, or receive a penalty notice (Mitchell and Babb, 2007: p.4).⁴ The clear-up rate for racially aggravated offences in 2004/05 was 36%, compared to 30% for non-racially aggravated offences (Home Office, 2006). In other words, racially motivated offenders were around one-fifth more likely to be detected than offenders whose motivation was not racial. Based on the detection rate of 36%, this would indicate that around 13,300 of the 37,028 racially motivated offences recorded by the police were cleared up.

Not all of the people committing these offences received a caution or were prosecuted at court. In fact, figures for 2004 show that a total of 7,276 people (around 54% of those detected) were cautioned or prosecuted. It is not possible to determine from the figures presented in the Home Office report (2006) the reasons for this discrepancy, but it is likely that non-sanction detections accounted for some of the gap, while some charges will not have proceeded to prosecution. A Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) report on racially motivated offences indicated that the main reasons that some charges were dropped were because:

- the witness failed to attend or refused to give evidence
- there was insufficient evidence for the racially motivated element of the charge
- it was not in the public interest to proceed
- the case was written off
- the defendant was bound over (not a conviction) without trial (Crown Prosecution Service, 2007: p.10).

What these figures do show is that only a small minority (around 4%) of the estimated 179,000 racially motivated incidents that occurred in 2004/05 resulted in the cautioning or prosecution of an offender.

⁴ There are also 'non-sanction' detections, where the offence is cleared up but no further action is taken, for example, because the witness or offender is dead or too ill, or the CPS decides that no useful purpose would be served by proceeding (Mitchell and Babb, 2007).

This study is concerned with racially motivated offending by young people. It is not possible to establish from British Crime Survey or police incident data what proportion of incidents was committed by 10 to 17-year-olds. However, it is possible to do so for offences that resulted in a sanction. The YJB's Themis data for the year 2004/05 indicates that there were 1,864 racially motivated offences (not people) committed by young people which resulted in the referral of a young person to a YOT. This is slightly higher than the Home Office figure (1,743) relating to the number of young people who were prosecuted or cautioned for a racially motivated offence in 2004/05 (Home Office, 2006). The discrepancy is due to the fact that a young person may be sanctioned for more than one racially motivated offence at one sanctioning occasion. The Home Office figures indicate that young people accounted for 24% of the 7,276 people cautioned or prosecuted for racially motivated offending.

The outcomes for those offenders who were cautioned or prosecuted varied considerably depending on whether they were adults or youths. For young people aged 10 to 17, around one-quarter received a caution (24.5%) – by comparison, fewer than 9% of adults were cautioned for such offences. Adults were far more likely (17.2%) to be committed for trial than young people (1.4%) and were also more likely to receive a conviction (52.3% against 35.3%). The reasons for this difference in outcome are unclear, but it may be that the typical racially motivated offence committed by a young person is genuinely less serious on average than that committed by an adult. A second and not mutually exclusive, explanation is that young people may be sanctioned less harshly on account of their age and the fact they will generally have fewer previous convictions than adult offenders.

The following sections look in more detail at trends in racially motivated offending by young people in recent years.

Trends in racially motivated offending

This section begins by describing trends in the British Crime Survey's estimates of racially motivated crime, over the five-year period from April 2002 to March 2007.

British Crime Survey trends

With the exception of the most recent year's figures (2006/07), the British Crime Survey has shown a downward trend in racist victimisation in recent years, in line with experiences of crime more generally. According to British Crime Survey estimates, the number of racially motivated incidents (as experienced by victims) was around 206,000 in 2002/03 and 2003/04. The following two years saw substantial decreases (Jansson, 2006). In 2004/05 there were an estimated 179,000 incidents (a 13% decrease), and by 2005/06 there were around 139,000 incidents – an overall decrease since 2002 of almost one-third (32.5%). However, the most recent British Crime Survey figures indicate that this decline has been reversed: in 2006/07 there was a substantial increase of

32% in the number of incidents (184,000) compared to the previous year (Jansson et al., 2007: p.7). Over the five-year period as a whole, the number of incidents declined by 10.7%.

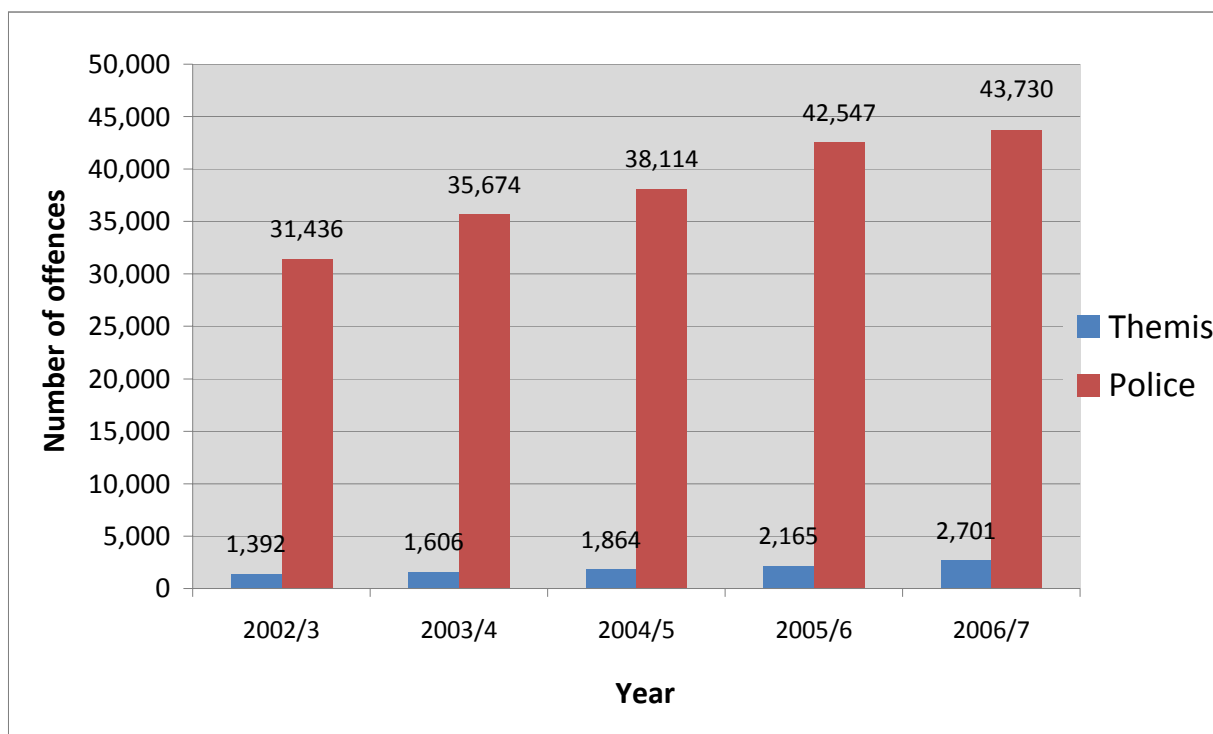
The British Crime Survey produces estimates for racially motivated property crime and racially motivated violent crime. While the offences do not precisely map the categories used by the police to record offences, there is considerable overlap. British Crime Survey estimates of racially motivated common assault (often without injury) show this to be the most prevalent offence (84,900), followed by racially motivated criminal damage (39,500).

In summary, the evidence from the British Crime Survey shows that after a period of declining racist victimisation (in line with the declining crime rates more generally), there was a significant increase in 2006/07 in the number of such incidents.

Themis and police data

Looking at Themis and police data over the five-year period from 2002 to 2007, it is apparent that there is a diverging trend between the two data sources. The Themis data indicates that there has been a near doubling (94% increase) in the number of racially motivated offences resulting in young people being referred to YOTs. Over the same period there was an increase of just 39% in racially motivated offences recorded by the police for all age groups. This suggests that racially motivated offending by young people increased proportionately faster than racially motivated offending by all the other age groups. The reasons for this are not clear, although part of the explanation may lie in the fact that the two data sources deal with different age groups. Of course, it should be noted that the absolute number of offences resulting in a referral to a YOT is considerably smaller than the number of racially motivated offences recorded by the police, as Figure 2 shows. Thus, over the five years for which data is available, the number of racially motivated offences resulting in referral to YOTs rose from 1,392 in 2002/03 to 2,701 by 2006/07.

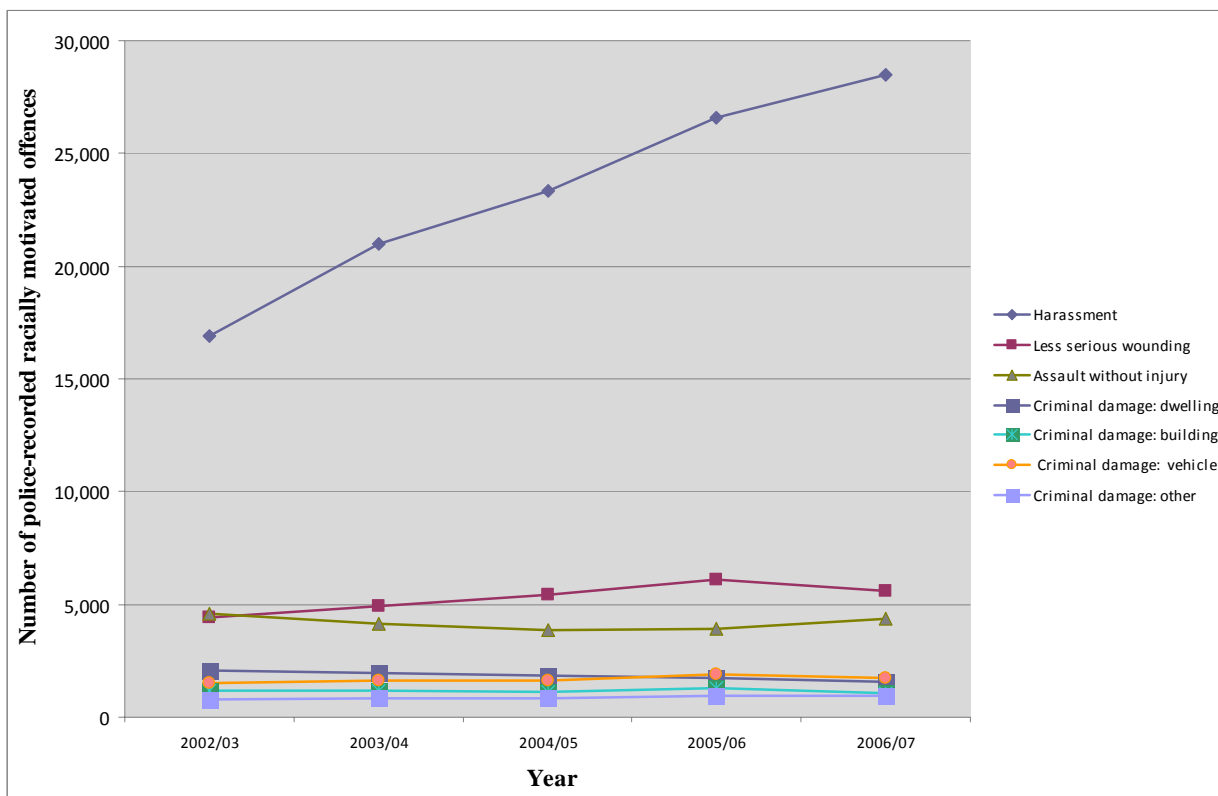
Figure 2: Trends in number of racially aggravated offences as recorded by Themis and the police (2002/03–2006/07)



It is interesting that the trends in British Crime Survey figures (declining, with the exception of the latest year's figures) and police and Themis data (increasing) are in opposite directions. What this suggests is that while overall victimisation appears to be falling, reporting and recording rates seem to have increased, as have the chances of young people who offend being detected and referred to YOTs.

The Themis data provided by the YJB have been aggregated so that it was not possible to determine the original sub-categories of the overall category of religiously/racially motivated offences. As noted earlier in this section, there are a number of racially or religiously aggravated offences set out in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998: less serious wounding, harassment, assault without injury, and criminal damage (to a dwelling, other building, vehicle or other). Figure 3 shows all racially/religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police (relating to offenders of all ages) over the period from 2002/03 to 2006/07.

Figure 3: Police-recorded racially motivated offences 2002/03–2006/07



Source: Nicholas et al., 2007

As can be seen, by far the majority of police-recorded racially motivated offending takes the form of aggravated harassment – a total of 28,485 offences in 2006/07 compared to 5,619 offences in the next largest category (less serious wounding). Harassment offences also demonstrated the sharpest increase over the one-year period (68%). Among the other offence categories, there were increases in the numbers of racially motivated less serious wounding (27%), criminal damage to a vehicle (12%) and other criminal damage (21%). Conversely, there were decreases over the period in offences of racially motivated criminal damage to a dwelling (down 24%), criminal damage to a building other than a dwelling (down 7%) and assault without injury (down 5%).

The Offending, Crime and Justice Survey (2005)

The 2005 Offending, Crime and Justice Survey found that the proportion of 10 to 25-year-olds who said they had physically attacked someone because of their skin colour, race or religion in the last 12 months (racially/religiously motivated assault) was less than 1% – the same proportion found in the 2004 survey. This was also the first time that racially/religiously motivated attacks and abuse were asked about separately.

The Offending, Crime and Justice Survey also measured anti-social behaviour, with one of the four components focusing on racial or religious offending – defined in the survey as being “threatening or being rude to someone because of their race or religion” (racially/religiously motivated abuse). The survey found

that racial or religiously motivated abuse was relatively rare, accounting for only 2% of their sample, again a similar proportion to that found in the 2004 Offending, Crime and Justice Survey (Budd et al., 2005). Respondents in the survey were asked how often they had committed each of the racially/religiously motivated anti-social behaviours within the last 12 months. The majority (56%) of those who had, had committed the offence once or twice in the last 12 months, while 18% had committed three or four offences, and 10% between five and 10 offences. There was a significant minority (16%) who reported committing racial/religious abuse more than ten times in the last 12 months. The mean age for committing racial/religious abuse was 17 years old.

Victim characteristics

In relation to 'general' (non-racially motivated offending) crime, the 2004/05 British Crime Survey indicated that a person's ethnicity was not associated with their risk of victimisation for either personal crimes (a crime they themselves had experienced) or 'all violent incidents' (as documented by the British Crime Survey). What were found to be the strongest predictors of the risk of victimisation were the age and sex of the person, the frequency with which they visited the night-time economy (pubs or bars), living in an area with high levels of perceived anti-social behaviour, and also the person's marital status (Home Office, 2006).

Victims of racially motivated crime, British Crime Survey (2004/05)

The British Crime Survey provides data on the number of racially motivated offences experienced by different ethnic groups for those aged over 16. The British Crime Survey for 2004/05 indicates that 92,200 racially motivated offences were committed against the White population, compared to 51,100 offences against Asians, 16,000 offences against Blacks, 11,400 against Chinese and Other ethnic groups, and 8,600 against those of Mixed race (Jansson, 2006: p.15). In other words, over half of all racially motivated offences recorded in the British Crime Survey were committed against White people.

However, since White people account for approximately 91% of the population, such figures do not indicate the risk of victimisation by various ethnic groups. Jansson et al. calculated this and found that the risk of victimisation varies according to ethnic group. White people (or households with a White household reference person)⁵ were found to have a lower risk of becoming a victim of racially motivated crime than people in any of the BME groups. In terms of total crimes recorded in the British Crime Survey, less than 1% of the White

⁵ The household reference person refers to the member of the household in whose name the accommodation is owned or rented, or who is responsible for the accommodation. In *joint* occupancy households, the person with the *highest income* is taken as the household reference person, or if the householders have exactly the same income, the oldest person is taken as the household reference person.

population had experienced a racially motivated crime. For the BME population this figure increased to 2% (Jansson, 2006), indicating that they experienced at least twice as many racially motivated crimes per head of the population as White people. While there were some small degrees of variation across crime types and individual BME groups, the risk of being a victim of racially motivated offending did not vary (in a statistically significant manner) between individual BME groups.

According to British Crime Survey figures for personal and violent offences committed against the individual, the risk of being a victim of a racially motivated crime of this type was again lower for White people (less than 1%) in comparison to people from Mixed (1%), Asian (1%), Black (1%) and Chinese and Other (1%) ethnic groups. A similar pattern emerges when analysing the ethnicity of victims of household crimes that are racially motivated. Again victimisation was found to be lower for households with a White household reference person (less than 1%) than for households where the household reference person was from an Asian (1%), Black (1%), Mixed (1%), or Chinese and Other (1%) ethnic group (Jansson, 2006).

A more detailed analysis between the sub-groups indicated that there was no significant difference in the risk of becoming a victim of racially motivated crime between Asian Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups, or between Black-Caribbean or African respondents. This held true for all the main crime types (vandalism, burglary, vehicle crime, violence, all personal crimes, all household crimes and all crimes recorded in the British Crime Survey) that had been racially motivated (Jansson, 2006).

Religiously aggravated offences

The Crown Prosecution Service's monitoring of racist and religious incidents across England and Wales presented information about those who had been the victim of a religiously (as opposed to racially) aggravated offence for the period between April 2006 and March 2007. This information derives from summary case reports. The first point to note is that the number of such offences was far smaller than racially motivated offences. During that year there were just 27 defendants recorded as religiously motivated. This may be due to the difficulty of distinguishing between racial and religious motivations, and the fact that religiously motivated offences are newer to the statute book. The victims of these religiously motivated offences were mostly Muslim (63%), with Christians the second largest identifiable group (11%).

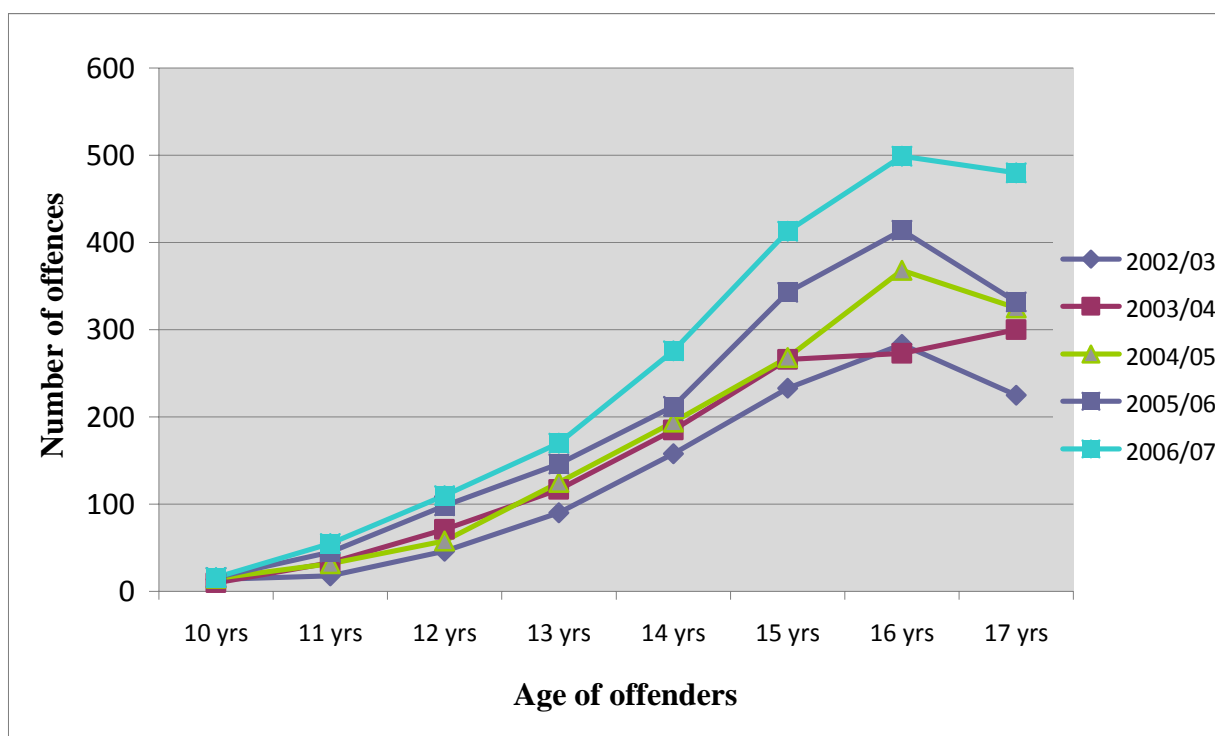
Offender characteristics

According to Themis data, the majority of youth racially aggravated offences dealt with by YOTs from 2002/03 to 2006/07 were committed by males (75.5%); the remaining 24.5% of offences were committed by females. This figure is similar to that found by the British Crime Survey (2005), with 70% of perceived racially motivated offences being attributed to males and 20% to females – in

the remaining cases people of both sexes were believed to have been involved. The proportion of offences accounted for by males and females remained fairly constant over the five-year period.

The trends will now be explored by age at offence for both males and females. Figure 4 shows how, in each of the five years under study, the prevalence of male racially motivated offending increases with the age of the offender up to the age of 16. This is to be expected in light of the age-crime curve that constitutes one of the most robust regularities within criminology and demonstrates that offending is highly correlated with age – for example, Farrington (1986). For males, the peak age for racially motivated offending was 16 years, with just over one-quarter of all young racially motivated offenders falling within this age group. The only exception to this was the 2003/04 data, where the peak age rose to 17. Least likely to offend were 10-year-old males, who accounted for less than 1% of all offences.

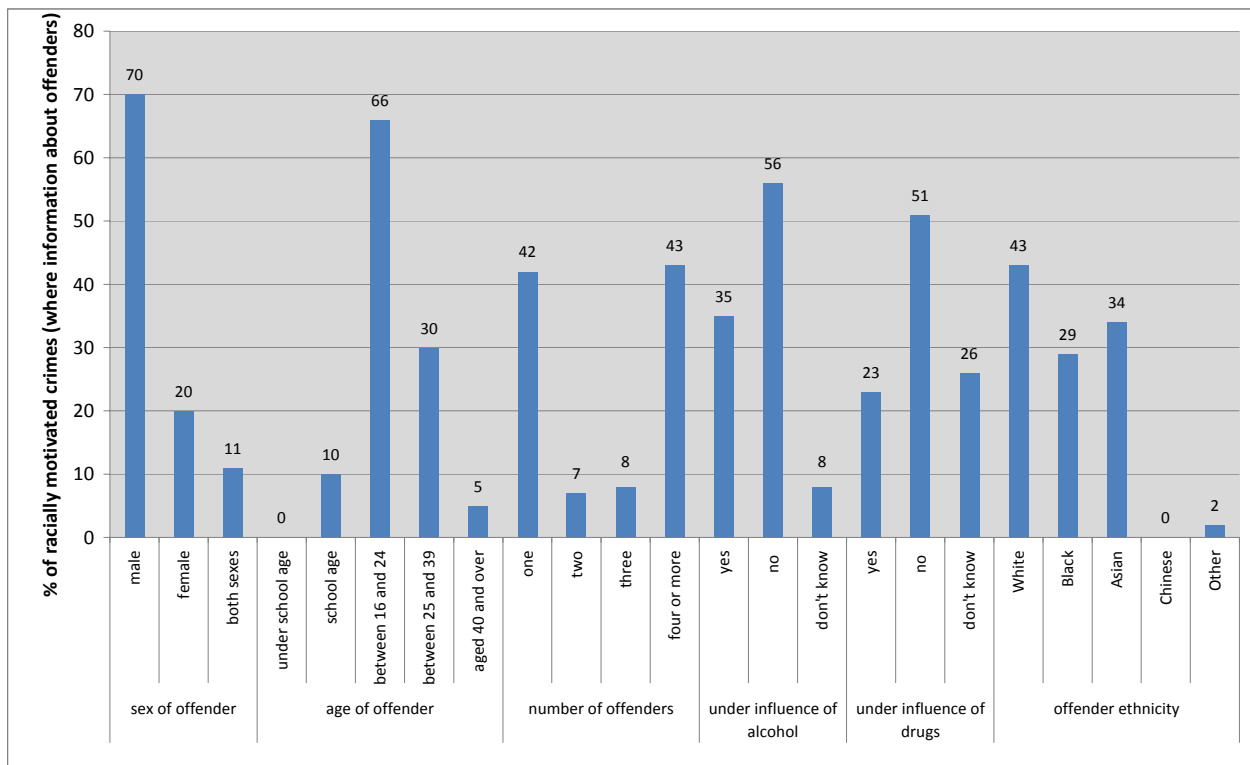
Figure 4: No. of male racially motivated offenders referred to YOTs (2002/03–2006/07)



A similar age-crime relationship is apparent for females. The only notable difference is that the peak age for committing racially motivated offences is a year earlier (15 years) for females than for males.

Further information about the characteristics of offenders is provided by the British Crime Survey, a summary of which is provided in Figure 5 below. It is important to note that the survey is based on victims' perceptions of the age and other characteristics of the offender (where known).

Figure 5: Characteristics of racially motivated offenders, British Crime Survey 2004/05



Source: adapted from Jansson, 2006

In terms of the age of offenders, the age groups used do not correspond exactly to the 10–17 population of concern to YOTs. As Figure 5 shows, just 10% of offenders was believed to be of school age (10–16), whereas by far the largest group of offenders was thought to be aged between 16 and 24.

Unfortunately, the Themis database does not indicate the extent to which racially motivated offending is conducted as part of a group. However, the British Crime Survey data shows that there is a near even split between racially motivated offences committed by a lone individual (42%) and racially motivated offences committed by a group of four or more offenders (43%). A smaller percentage of offences was committed by either two (7%) or three (8%) individuals. Overall, therefore, the majority of racially motivated offences were committed as part of a group, suggesting that peer influence is a key factor in such offences.

According to the British Crime Survey data, over one-third of respondents thought that offenders were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the offence (35%), while just under one-quarter of offenders was thought to be under the influence of drugs (23%). This is in line with findings from self-report surveys about crime and drug/alcohol use, which suggest that offenders are more likely to commit offences when drunk or under the influence of drugs (e.g. Matthews et al., 2006).

Perhaps the most striking finding to emerge from the British Crime Survey is in relation to victims' perceptions of the ethnicity of offenders, where this was known. This shows that while White offenders comprised the largest single group identified, they did not represent the majority (43%), and victims believed that in 34% of cases offenders were Asian, and in 29% of cases offenders were Black. These findings are in stark contrast to the YJB's Themis data for young people (see Table 4 below). According to this data, the overwhelming majority of racially motivated offenders that YOTs dealt with were classified as White (nearly 87%). This dwarfs all the other ethnic categories, which together accounted for just 10.7% of offenders (in the British Crime Survey this figure was 65%). Within the YOT data for BME offenders, Black offenders were marginally more prominent (4.5%) than Asian offenders (3.4%), a finding that is reversed in the British Crime Survey data (29% and 34% respectively).

In Table 4, the number of offenders referred to YOTs in each of the five years from 2002/03 to 2006/07 is presented by ethnicity, along with the percentage of the total that each ethnic group represents.

Table 4: Ethnicity of racially motivated offenders 2002/03–2006/07 (Themis data)

Year	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/ Other		Not known		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
2002/03	1,162	83.4	26	1.9	60	4.3	77	5.5	7	0.5	60	4.3	1,392
2003/04	1,376	85.7	19	1.2	76	4.7	90	5.6	7	0.4	38	2.4	1,606
2004/05	1,640	88.0	44	2.4	57	3.1	85	4.6	3	0.2	35	1.9	1,864
2005/06	1,911	88.3	73	3.4	49	2.3	83	3.8	2	0.1	47	2.2	2,165
2006/07	2,372	87.8	78	2.9	92	3.4	100	3.7	7	0.3	52	1.9	2,701

NB: Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding

As just noted, the majority of young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offences were White (varying between 83% and 88%). Black young people comprised the second largest group of referrals (around 4–5%) and Asian young people comprised the third largest group (2–4%). People from Chinese or Other ethnic backgrounds were rarely among those referred (less than 0.5%). The ethnicity of those referred was not known or not recorded in 2–4% of cases. Over the five-year period, the largest proportionate increase in racially motivated offending was among Mixed Race offenders (200% over five years), although this was from a very low base number (26). The number of White offenders more than doubled over the period, while increases for Black offenders (30%) and Asian offenders (53%) were considerably smaller.

The question arises as to the reason for the apparent discrepancy between the British Crime Survey and Themis data regarding the ethnicity of offenders. Of course, it should be emphasised that the British Crime Survey details victims' perceptions of the ethnicity of the offender/s (of all ages, and only when this is

known), while the Themis data records the actual ethnicity of detected 10 to 17-year-old offenders. Furthermore, the British Crime Survey covers only the experiences of those aged 17 and above, while Themis data relates to those aged 10–17. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that these factors alone account for the major disparity between the two data sources.

Given the implications of this finding (discussed below), it is worth exploring the data in more detail. Firstly, evidence from the British Crime Survey and other sources shows that offending and victimisation is a complicated picture. Racially motivated crime can be committed by, and against, any ethnic group. Table 5 presents some re-analysis of figures from the British Crime Survey report (Jansson, 2006) and combines this with census data on the ethnic make-up of the population to try to shed some light on the interaction between racially motivated offending and ethnicity.

Table 5: Ethnicity of victims of racially motivated offences (British Crime Survey and census data)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ethnicity	No. of offences experienced	% of racially motivated offences	No. in population (England and Wales)	No of racially motivated offences experienced (rate per 1,000 population)	% of racially motivated offences committed	No. of racially motivated offences committed	Rate of racially motivated offending per 1,000 population (based on BCS estimates)
White	92,200	51.4	48,072,000	1.9	43	77,099	1.6
Asian	51,100	28.5	2,134,000	23.9	34	60,962	28.6
Black	16,000	8.9	1,194,000	13.4	29	51,997	43.5
Mixed and Other	20,000	11.2	906,000	22.1	2	3,586	4.0
Total	179,300	100.0	52,426,000	-	108*	193,644	-

* Percentages total more than 100 because more than one offender could be involved, and in some cases the additional offender/s may be from different ethnic groups.

As can be seen, the second and third columns present data already discussed above which shows that Whites experienced the majority of racially motivated offences, followed by Asians, Mixed and Other groups. Given that the White population accounts for around 91% of the total population of England and Wales,⁶ it is not surprising that Whites experienced the largest number of racially motivated offences. In order to calculate the risk of victimisation, one needs to take into account the size of the various ethnic groups – this is shown in columns four and five. It can be seen that the White population has a low risk

⁶ See: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/STATBASE/Expodata/Spreadsheets/D5984.xls>

of being a victim of racially motivated offending, with around two offences per 1,000 people. By contrast, Asians and Mixed and Other groups experience over 20 racially motivated offences per 1,000 people. In other words, according to the British Crime Survey, people from BME communities experience far higher levels of racially motivated offending than do White people.

In the last two columns of the table some estimates are made about the ethnicity of racially motivated offenders. It is important to point out that they are just that – estimates – and that a number of assumptions have been made. Firstly, some of the racially motivated offences experienced by people from an ethnic group will have been committed by people from the same broad ethnic group. The crude categorisations of White, Black and Asian can hide ethnic differences and racially motivated crimes such as Black (Somali) on Black (Nigerian), Asian (Pakistani) on Asian (Indian) or White (English) on White (Polish) racially motivated crimes. The data does not allow the proportion of such offences that occurred within these broad ethnic groups to be determined. However, it is a reasonable assumption that most racially motivated crime will be between rather than within these broad categories. One can therefore hypothesise that most of the 92,200 racially motivated offences experienced by Whites were committed by people from Asian, Black, Mixed or Other ethnic groups, and that most of the 51,100 racially motivated offences against Asians were committed by Whites, Blacks or Other ethnic groups, and so on.

It follows therefore, that since the majority of racially motivated offences were committed against Whites, the majority of offenders are likely to be from non-White ethnic groups. This assumption receives support from the victim reports of offender ethnicity noted above and in column six of Table 5, which shows that the majority of racially motivated offences were said by victims to have been conducted by a non-White offender. As with the earlier calculation of the risk of victimisation, the 'risk of offending' can also be estimated. This is done by firstly apportioning the racially motivated offences experienced by British Crime Survey respondents according to the ethnicity of the offender (column seven). This gives an estimate of 77,099 (43% of the total of 179,300 racially motivated offences) for Whites, and 60,962 for Asians and so on. By dividing the number of offences committed by each ethnic group by the number of people in that group we arrive at a risk of offending (column eight). This shows that Whites were by far the least likely to commit racially motivated offences (two per 1,000), while Black and Asian groups were most likely to offend (over 30 per 1,000). These estimates seem to show that BME groups (at least the broadly defined Asian and Black groups) are both most at risk of experiencing racially motivated offending and most likely to commit it.

Again, the available data does not provide an explanation as to why this might be the case. One can only hypothesise that the cause may lie in a mixture of retaliation and segregation. The high level of victimisation experienced by Asians may lead, through a process of retaliation, to a high level of offending. With regard to segregation, a number of studies (e.g. Home Office, 2001) have shown that BME communities (particularly Asians) tend to live highly

segregated lives, and most live within very small geographical areas of the country. This means that many White people will have little or no contact with BME communities, and therefore no 'opportunity' to commit a racially motivated offence. This may explain the low overall rate of racially motivated offending among the White population. Furthermore, it may follow that most racially motivated offending is likely to occur at or near areas of ethnic segregation. These are hypotheses that merit further investigation.

The estimates above are based on assumptions (e.g. that most racially motivated offending is between rather than within broad ethnic groupings) and survey data (e.g. victim reports of offender ethnicity based on a small sample), either of which may be erroneous. However, these estimates are probably a reasonably accurate reflection of reality, not only because they are mainly based on a rigorous large scale survey and census data, but also because they chime with what some of the young people and practitioners who were interviewed said about the nature of offending in their area (see Chapter 6). Offending in some of the YOT areas that were visited (primarily in the North) appeared to be fairly evenly split between White and Asian youths, and retaliatory in nature, with attacks by Whites on Asians being followed by attacks on Whites by Asians, and so on. However, interviews with some of the young people indicated that the motivations for such attacks were not primarily racial, but rather gang-related.

As gangs⁷ tended to be linked to location (e.g. postcode gangs) and the young people who were interviewed lived in highly ethnically segregated areas, gangs tended to be either White or Asian. The traditional model of racist offending – which is generally portrayed in terms of powerful White offenders and vulnerable BME victims – did not reflect the reality as they saw it. It was interesting that a number of young people described fights or other incidents with other young people from different ethnic groups in terms of territory or respect rather than race, as the following quote exchange with a 17-year-old Asian male illustrates:

Interviewer: *You said you didn't have a problem with race, it was about how they looked at you.*

⁷ While there is little, if any, consensus among researchers as to what actually constitutes a 'gang' (and who a gang member is) we use the term in the sense of incorporating some of the five features of gangs as defined by the Gangs Working Group, namely: 'A relatively durable, predominately street-based group of young people who (1) see themselves (and are seen by others) as a discernible group, (2) engage in a range of criminal activity and violence, (3) identify with or lay claim over territory, (4) have some form of identifying structural feature and (5) are in conflict with other, similar gangs'. Dying to Belong, (2009:21).

Interviewee: *Basically, I didn't have a problem with race. My fights were just with people looking at me. But obviously some fights we used to fight in groups. Different area [post]codes and all that.*

Interviewer: *Would that be based on race?*

Interviewee: *No, no. We used to fight some Asians from [estate], it's areas isn't it?*

Interviewer: *What's that about, why do you fight people in other areas? Is it about defending territory?*

Interviewee: *No, it's like if one my boys got in trouble with someone else from a different crew, obviously he's going to bring his people down, and my boys are going to bring my people down, so from there, it becomes bigger and bigger.*

Interviewer: *Is it about retaliation, respect, what is the reason?*

Interviewee: *Respect really.*

If it is indeed the case that offending between young people from different ethnic groups is fairly evenly split (and, moreover, often motivated more by territory or retaliation rather than racism per se), why is it that the vast majority of young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending are White? Firstly, it may be that White victims of racially motivated offending are much less likely than other ethnic groups to report such incidents to the police, thus reducing the chances that Black or Asian offenders are detected by the police and subsequently sanctioned. This may be because victims think that the offence would not be taken seriously, or are unaware that the definition of racially motivated offending includes offences against White people. In fact, one YOT practitioner interviewee believed this to be the case, saying that he had found that young White males were much less likely to consider reporting racially motivated offending committed against them, in part because they believed that because they were White, the offences could not be defined as racially motivated:

One of the biggest problems at that time was you couldn't get a good reflection because a lot of the White kids were attacked by Asian youths, and they got beaten up, and the White youths would not report it, and we started looking into it, they could not conceptualise that a White person could face racism, it was difficult for them to accept it. They didn't want that tag of racially motivated offence, they just got attacked by some Asians.

Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 12

A second possibility is that there may be some kind of bias operating within the criminal justice system, whereby suspects from the White ethnic community are more likely to be detected and then proceeded against than suspects from other

ethnic communities. To put this another way, it is possible that the police and/or the CPS, for whatever reason, take racially motivated offending more seriously – or devote more resources to the offence – when the suspect is White, than when the suspect is Black or Asian. Similarly, when the complainant is White, the police may be less likely to ascribe a racial motivation to the offence, than when the victim is non-White. While such explanations might appear improbable or unpalatable, the fact remains that British Crime Survey respondents who had experienced racially motivated offending believed Whites to be the offenders in 43% of cases, yet Whites represented 87% of cases referred to YOTs. Conversely, Asians were believed by victims to be the offenders in over one-third of racially motivated offending cases (34%), yet just 3.4% of young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending were Asian. This is certainly an area that warrants further research.

Geographical trends in racially motivated offending

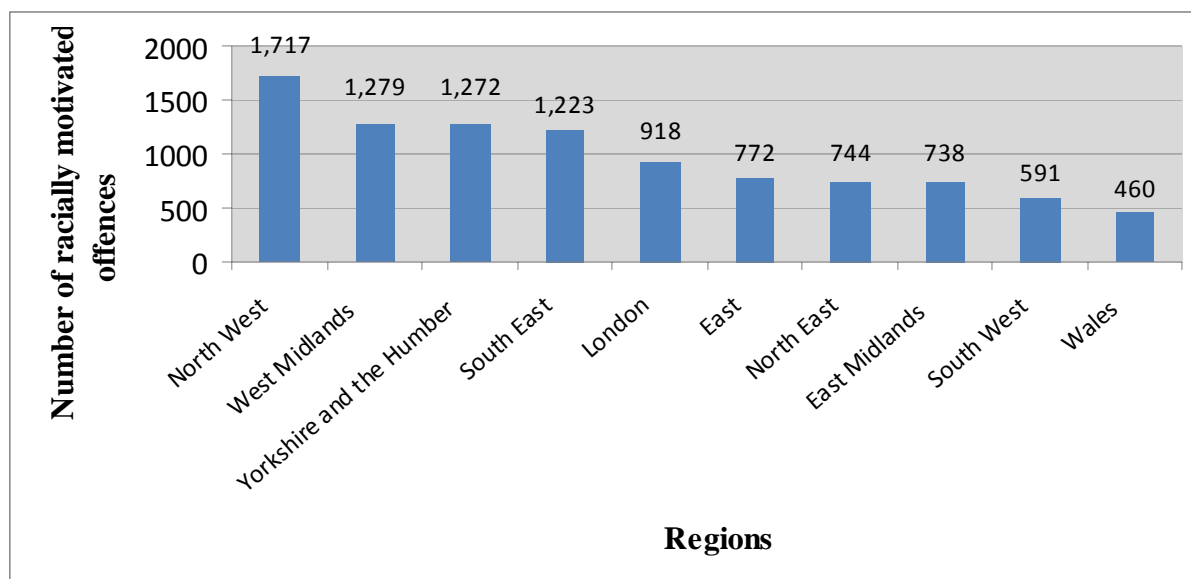
In this section the number of racially motivated offences are analysed by geographical area, looking at individual YOT areas and regional patterns.

Youth offending by region

To begin, the researchers allocated each YOT in England and Wales to one of the Government's 10 regions for regional development agencies (nine in England, and one in Wales).⁸ The frequency of racially motivated offending was then analysed by these 10 regions over the five-year data period (see Figure 6 below) in order to establish which regions have the highest numbers of racially motivated offences.

⁸ See: <http://www.yjb.gov.uk/en-gb/yjs/YouthOffendingTeams/ContactDetails.htm>

Figure 6: Number of racially motivated offences by region (2002/03–2006/07)



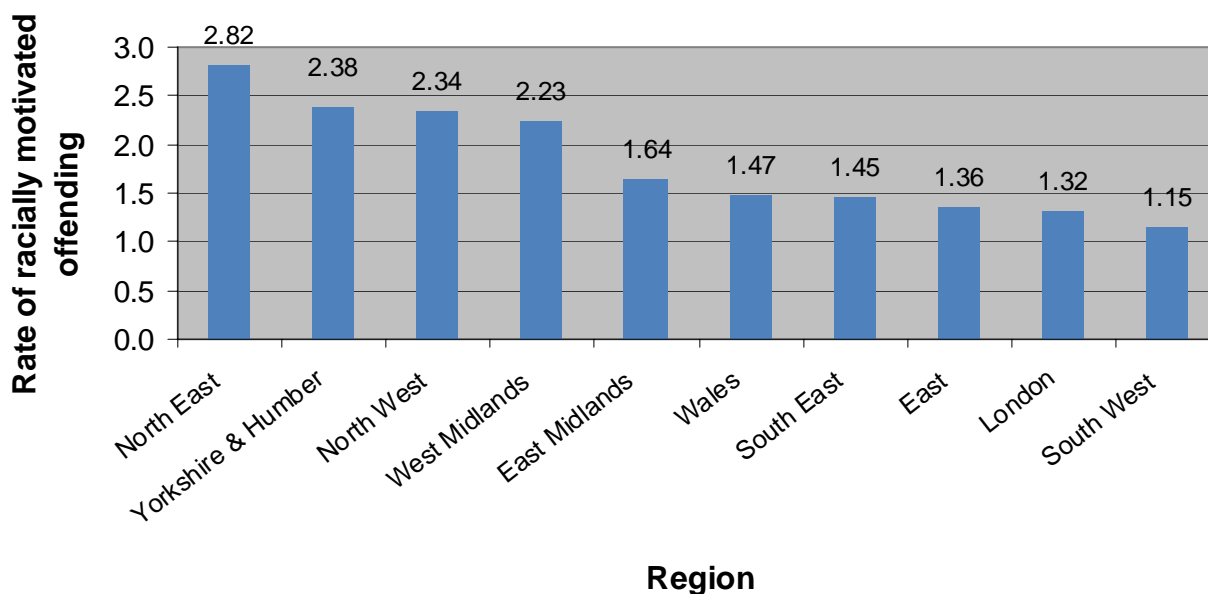
The North West region has by far the highest number of racially motivated offences (1,717 offences) over the full five-year period. This is 34.2% higher than the next ranked YOT region, the West Midlands, at 1,279. The regions with the fewest offences are Wales (460), followed by the South West (591). There were almost four times as many offences in the highest ranked region (North West) than in the lowest (Wales). The distribution of offences by region was relatively stable over time. If one ranks the regions for the latest year of data (2006/07), for example, the North West still has the most offences, although Yorkshire and the Humber replaces the West Midlands with the second highest total. Wales and the South West remain the regions with the lowest number of racially motivated offences.

Of course, one would expect to find differences between the YOT regions simply due to the fact that the total population in the regions (and the population of 10 to 17-year-olds) varies. Nevertheless, it is a useful exercise to view the variable number of offences at regional level. However, a more meaningful comparison between YOT regions would need to take account of these differences in population. One could do this in relation to the total population of each region, or in relation to the population of 10 to 17-year-olds in each region. As it is offending by young people that is of interest, it makes more sense to do the latter. According to statistics from the YJB derived from census figures (YJB, 2006: p.57), there are wide variations in the number of young people in each region. The North East had the fewest young people (263,653), while the South East has over three times as many (845,883).

The figure below presents the rate of racially motivated offending by YOT region, taking into account the size of the 10 to 17-year-old population. The rate has been worked out by dividing the total number of racially motivated offences committed by young people in each region over the five-year period by the

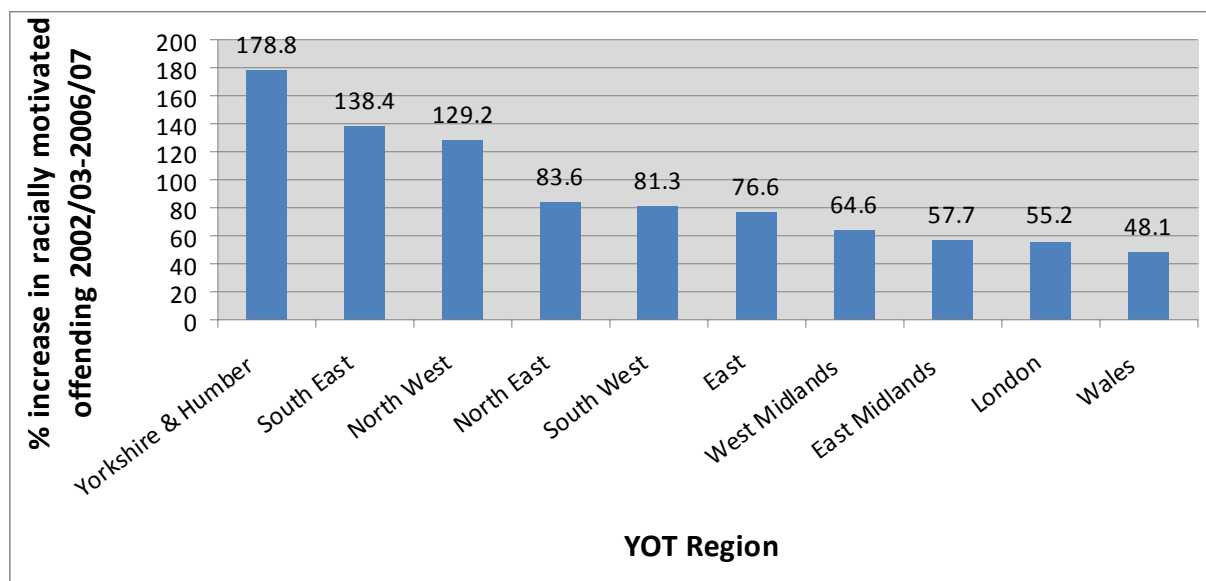
number of young people in that region. As the number of such offences was small in comparison to the number of young people, for presentation purposes this number has been multiplied by 1,000. As can be seen, this more valid comparison shifts the relative rankings.

Figure 7: YOT regions ranked by rate of racially motivated offending per young person 2002/03– 2006/07 (x 1,000)



The most striking change in rank is in the North East region, which now tops the table with the highest rate of racially motivated offending at 2.82, having been placed seventh when the calculation was restricted to raw numbers of offences. Yorkshire and the Humber, the North West and West Midlands (ranked 2nd, 3rd and 4th respectively) have very similar rates (around 2.3) and remain in the top four regions for racially motivated offending, albeit reordered. Another significant change is in London's ranking, which was previously fifth, but now ranks second lowest (9th) of the regions. What this new picture reveals is that there is a North/South split in the rate of racially motivated offending, with higher rates apparent in the regions of the North and West Midlands, than in the South or in Wales. When the number of racially motivated offences is mapped over the five-year period (using frequencies) for the 10 YOT regions (Figure 8), three of the 10 regions (Yorkshire and the Humber, South East, and North West) display increases of over 100% from 2002/03 to 2006/07. There were increases of around 80% or less in the remaining six regions, while the increase in Wales was under 50%.

Figure 8: Percentage increase in racially motivated offending 2002/03–2006/07 by YOT region



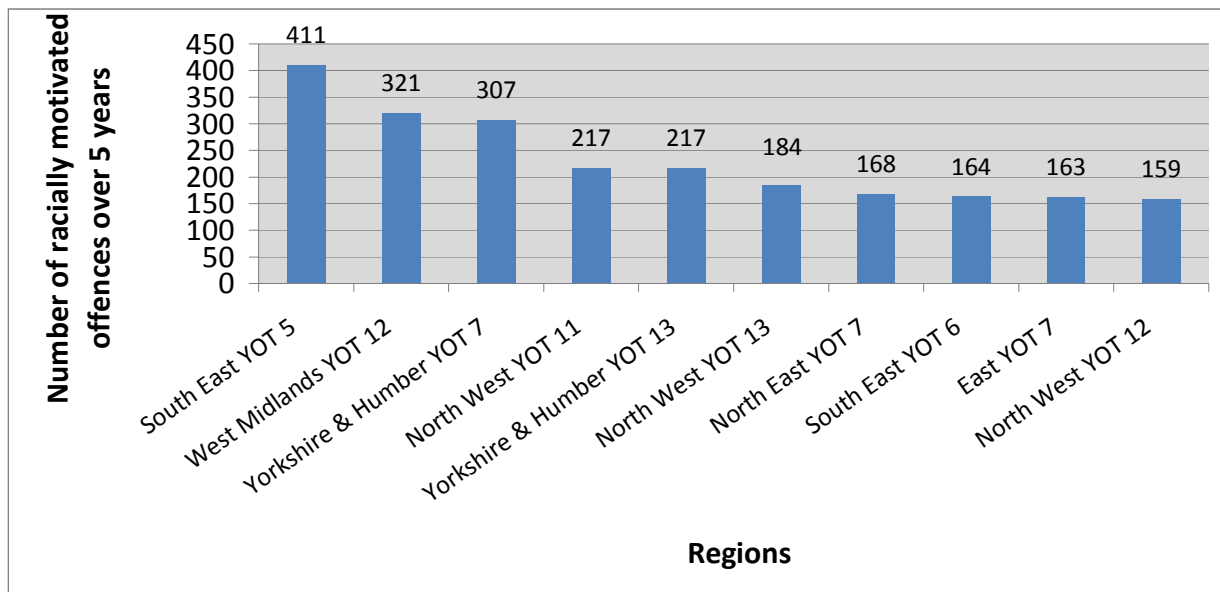
The overall picture that emerges from examining the 10 regions using three different methods is the prominence of the North West and Yorkshire and the Humber within the analyses. The North East shows the highest prevalence when considering the number of young people living in the region, but figures less prominently when considering increases in racially motivated offending over the five-year period. It is the North West and Yorkshire and the Humber that display the most consistent measures of prevalence for racially motivated offending, irrespective of how it is measured. From the data available, it was not possible to determine the reasons for regional variations in racially motivated offending. Further investigation would be needed to determine whether factors such as levels of residential segregation or deprivation are associated with racially motivated offending.

Racially motivated offending by individual YOT area

So far the rate of racially motivated offending has been analysed at regional level. In this section, the rate of racially motivated offending at the level of individual YOT areas is considered. Given the number of YOTs (157), it is not practical or useful to present the results by individual YOT. It was therefore decided to concentrate on a smaller number of YOTs (10) that handles the largest numbers of racially motivated offenders.

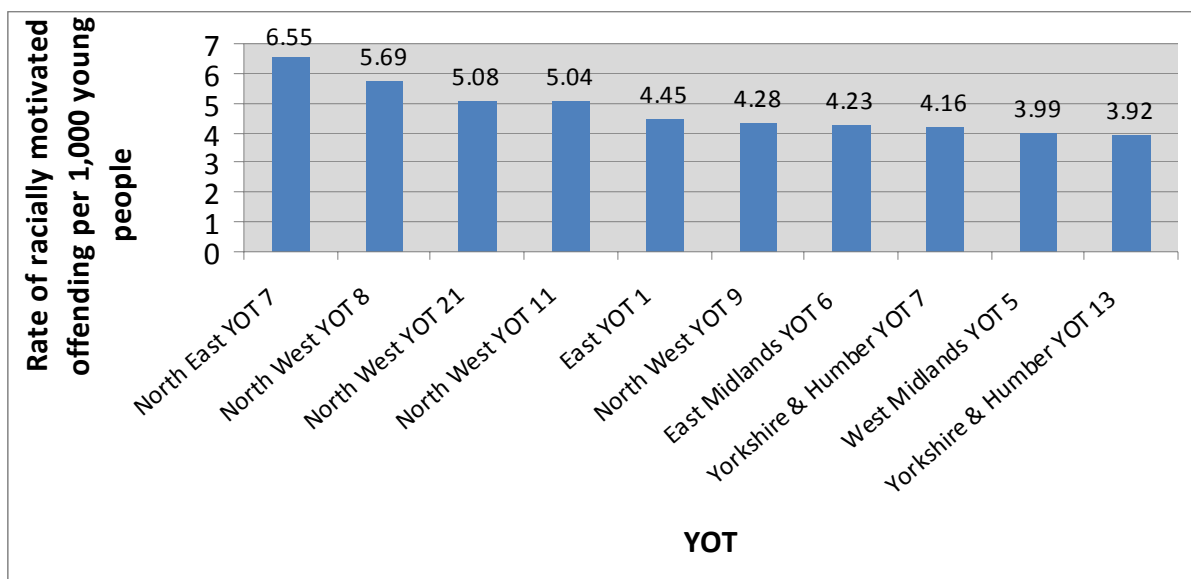
These 10 YOTs were identified by adding together the total number of offences over the five-year period and ranking them. The results are shown in Figure 9. The 10 YOTs (representing 6% of the 157 YOTs in England and Wales) together accounted for almost one-quarter (23.8%) of all racially motivated offenders dealt with over the period from 2002/03 to 2006/07. In line with YJB policy the names of the YOTs have been anonymised. Instead, throughout this study they are referred to by region and a number (e.g. South East YOT 1).

Figure 9: The 10 YOTs handling the greatest numbers of racially motivated offenders aggregated for the period (2002/03–2006/07)



As with the earlier analysis conducted on the YOT regions, it is an important factor that YOT areas vary in terms of their geographical size and, in particular, the number of young people in these geographical areas. Therefore, to take account of these differences in population, a rate of racially motivated offending per 1,000 young people in each YOT area has been calculated, based on figures from the YJB *Youth Justice Annual Statistics 2005/06*: Appendix. The results are presented in Figure 10.

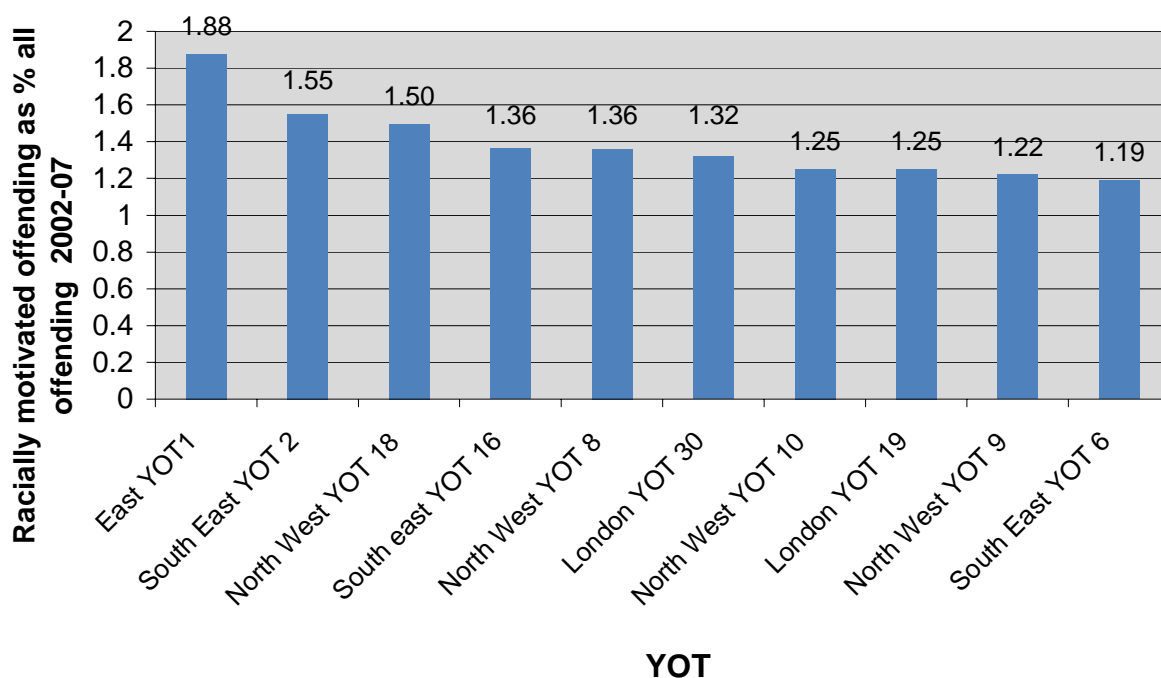
Figure 10: The 10 YOT areas with the highest rates of racially motivated offending per 1,000 young people (2002/03–2006/07)



When the size of the youth population is taken into account, there is a marked displacement of the YOT areas with the highest prevalence of racially motivated offending. South East YOT 5, which had the highest number of young people referred for racially motivated offending of any YOT, no longer features in the top 10. In fact, just four of the YOTs in the top 10 based on absolute numbers of racially motivated offences are still in the top 10 based on the rate of racially motivated offending per 1,000 youth population. These are Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 7, North West YOT 11, Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 13 and North East YOT 7. In fact, the latter moves up to become the YOT area with the highest rate of racially motivated offending at 6.55 offences per 1,000 young people, followed by North West YOT 8 (5.69). At the other end of the scale, 38 YOT areas had a rate of offending of less than one racially motivated offence per 1,000 young people.

Another way of assessing the significance of racially motivated offending within YOT areas is to calculate racially motivated offending as a percentage of all offending within each YOT area. The results of this analysis for the full five-year period are presented in Figure 11.

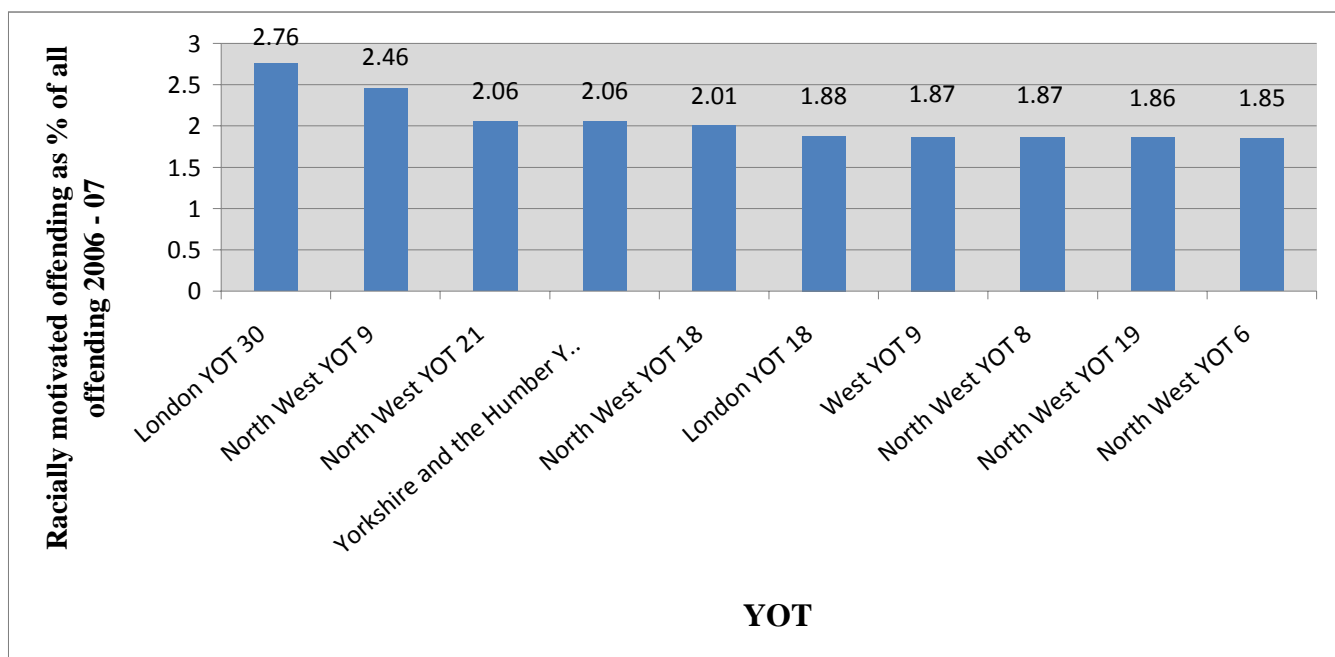
Figure 11: The 10 YOT areas with the highest rates of racially motivated offending as a percentage of all offending, 2002/03–2006/07



As can be seen, the East YOT 1 area has the highest rate of racially motivated offending, with almost 2% of all offences being racially motivated (1.88%), followed by South East YOT 2 (1.55%). This analysis presents very different results to analysis by either the raw figures or the youth population rate. Most notably, North East YOT 7 drops out of the top 10 entirely. In fact, only North West YOT 9 and North West YOT 8 are in the top 10 according to this and the previous analysis.

Finally, the rankings change once again if one considers the rate of racially motivated offending as a percentage of all offending for only the most recent year of data (2006/07). As Figure 12 shows, the London YOT 30 area now has the highest rate of racially motivated offending at 2.76% of all offending, followed by North West YOT 9 (2.46%), North West YOT 21, Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 13 and North West YOT 18. Again, this provides very different results to analysis by either the raw figures or the youth population rate.

Figure 12: The 10 YOT areas with the highest rates of racially motivated offending as a percentage of all offending in 2006/07



So far the extent of racially motivated offending within the individual YOT areas has been analysed by a number of different definitions:

- raw frequencies over a five-year period
- rate of racially motivated offending per 1,000 young people in each YOT area for 2006/07
- racially motivated offending as a percentage of all offending in each YOT area from 2002/03 to 2006/07
- racially motivated offending as a percentage of all offending in each YOT area for 2006/07.

Each of the ways of ranking YOT areas has its uses as well as drawbacks. The raw frequencies show which YOTs deal with the largest number of racially motivated offences – figures that would be useful, for example, if one were considering which YOTs might have sufficient numbers of young people to be able to pilot a group work programme for racially motivated offenders. As raw frequencies take no account of the size of the YOT area or its population, they cannot indicate whether the level of racially motivated offending is ‘significant’, however that may be defined. The rate of offending per 1,000 young people is one way of assessing this, and shows something about the level of involvement in racially motivated offending among young people in the YOT area. As seen, this rate can vary considerably – from less than one offence per 1,000 young people to over six offences per 1,000. This is one way to gauge which YOT

areas have a particular problem with racially motivated offending. Finally, calculating the proportion of known youth offending in each YOT area that is accounted for by racially motivated offences indicates how significant racially motivated offending is among those referred to YOTs. The following table summarises the findings from these analyses, and presents the ranks of the YOT areas according to these different definitions.

Table 6: Ranking of YOT areas according to raw frequency, rate and percentage of all offending

Rank	Raw frequency of racially motivated offending 2002–2007	Rate of racially motivated offending per 1,000 young people 2002–2007	Racially motivated offending as a % of all offending 2002–2007	Racially motivated offending as a % of all offending 2006/07
1st	South East YOT 5	North East YOT 7	East YOT 1	London YOT 30
2nd	West Midlands YOT 12	North West YOT 8	South East YOT 2	North West YOT 9
3rd	Yorkshire & the Humber YOT 7	North West YOT 21	North West YOT 18	North West YOT 21
4th	North West YOT 11	North West YOT 11	South East YOT 16	Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 13
5th	Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 13	East YOT 1	North West YOT 8	North West YOT 18
6th	North West YOT 13	North West YOT 9	London YOT 30	London YOT 18
7th	North East YOT 7	East Midlands YOT 6	North West YOT 10	Wales YOT 9
8th	South East YOT 6	Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 7	London YOT 19	North West YOT 8
9th	East YOT 7	West Midlands YOT 5	North West YOT 9	North West YOT 19
10th	North West YOT 12	Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 13	South East YOT 6	North West YOT 6

Key: No shading = YOT area appears in one of the top 10 rankings
 Green shading = YOT area appears in two of the top 10 rankings
 Amber shading = YOT area appears in three of the top 10 rankings

As can be seen, a number of YOT areas appeared in more than one of the rankings. Eight YOT areas appeared in two of the rankings; these were: Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 7, North West YOT 11, North East YOT 7, South East YOT 6, North West YOT 21, East YOT 1, North West YOT 18 and London YOT 30. With the exception of East YOT 1, London YOT 30 and South East YOT 6, these were all in the North of England. A further three YOT areas appeared in the top 10 in three of the rankings: North West YOT 8, North West YOT 9 and Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 13. It is interesting that two of these are also in the North West region, which has previously been identified as having the highest raw number of racially motivated offences, and one of the highest rates of racially motivated offending.

Overall, these results suggest that although there are a handful of YOT areas that appear in more than one of the top ten rankings, there is also considerable variance. For example, comparing the last two columns of Table 6, only four YOT areas that were in the top 10 for racially motivated offending as a percentage of all offending over the five-year period from 2002 to 2007 were also in the top 10 in the last year of data (2006/07). The numbers of young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending appears to rise and fall with some regularity. What cannot, of course, be determined from these figures is why. Why, for example, did the East YOT 1 area have the highest rate of racially motivated offending as a percentage of all offending over the five-year period, yet fall out of the top 10 in 2006/07? It is likely that some of the changes can be explained by natural statistical variation (i.e. regression to the mean), while local factors, such as media coverage or political events, may also play a part. Finally, it should not be forgotten that factors such as the willingness of victims to report racially motivated crimes, the police's ability to detect them, and the effectiveness of the CPS in securing convictions, help to determine the number of young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending. All these factors are likely to vary both between YOT areas, and over time.

The next section of this chapter looks at the sanctions received by those young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending.

Sanctioning outcomes for the period 2004/05–2006/07

The Themis data provided contained sanctioning⁹ outcomes only for the three most recent years of 2004/05 to 2006/07. Sanctioning outcomes across the three years of available data were aggregated and examined for all 157 YOTs. The following table presents the percentage accounted for by each of the main sanctions, over the three-year period.

Table 7: Disposals for racially motivated offenders 2004/05–2006/07

Sanction	2004/05 (%)	2005/06 (%)	2006/07 (%)
Reprimand	13.1	17.0	16.6
Final Warning (no intervention)	3.0	3.3	6.2
Final Warning (with intervention)	12.9	13.4	12.0
Total pre-court disposals	29.0	33.7	34.8
Conditional or Absolute Discharge	4.7	4.3	4.8
Bind over	1.6	0.5	0.4
Fine/Compensation Order	3.1	3.3	3.6

⁹ The term 'sanction' is used in preference to sentence, as some of the disposals (Final Warnings, reprimands) are not court sentences, but police disposals.

Referral	27.6	26.0	24.5
Reparation	2.5	2.6	3.7
Attendance Centre Order	2.3	1.5	2.2
Action Plan Order	5.1	5.9	5.7
Supervision Order	12.1	11.8	10.4
Community Rehabilitation Order	2.8	2.0	2.1
Community Punishment Order	3.0	2.9	1.9
Other*	2.2	1.7	3.1
Detention and Training Order and other custodial*	4.2	4.1	2.9

*Includes Drug Treatment and Testing Order, Community Punishment and Rehabilitation Order, and Curfew.

**s90/91 (conviction for murder; or conviction for which an adult would receive at least 14 years in custody) and s226-8 (includes detention for life; detention for public protection).

NB. Figures may not total to 100% due to a young person be given more than one disposal.

As can be seen, only a few of the sanctions were used with any regularity. For example, in 2006/07 just five sanctions were used in more than 5% of cases: these were reprimands, Final Warnings with intervention, Referral Orders, Action Plan Orders and Supervision Orders. Pre-court disposals – reprimands and Final Warnings – accounted for around one-third of all sanctions, and their use increased over the period from 29% to just under 35%. It is interesting to note that the use of Final Warnings without interventions doubled over the period to account for 6% of sanctions. If one considers also that most reprimands are unlikely to receive any YOT intervention, then this means that around one-fifth of racially motivated offenders probably received no intervention designed to challenge their offending.

The most common single disposal was the Referral Order, which in 2006/07 accounted for just under a quarter of all sanctions (24.5%). The only other court order that was used with any regularity was the Supervision Order, which was used in around 10% of cases. The remaining eight different community disposals are infrequent, with none accounting for more than 6% of total disposals. Custodial sentences for racially motivated offences were quite rare (around 3–4%).

If one compares sanctions for racially motivated offences to sanctions for all offences, it is clear that racially motivated offences are treated on the whole more harshly. For example, in 2005/06, almost half of sanctions for all offences were pre-court (44.5%), compared to 33.7% for racially motivated offences in the same year. Conversely, those charged with racially motivated offences were far more likely than offenders generally to receive a Referral Order (26% against 13.4%) or Supervision Order (11.8% against 6.7%) (YJB, 2006: p.16).

The variety of disposals received for racially motivated offending has implications for the nature of any intervention that could be carried out with young people. For example, most of those on Action Plan Orders and Referral Orders are likely to be in contact with the YOT for no more than three months,

while those on Supervision Orders may have a much longer involvement. Any intervention for racially motivated offenders would need to be sufficiently flexible to be able to deal with these variations in length of contact.

Ethnicity and racially motivated offending

This final section considers whether there is any relationship between the prevalence of racially motivated offending and the proportion of ethnic minorities in the YOT areas, and if so, what the nature of the relationship is. There are a number of potential hypotheses about the nature of the relationship. For example, on the one hand, one might expect that, as the proportion of BME residents in an area increases, the rate of racially motivated offending would also increase, due to the greater number of potential victims. Conversely, it could be argued that as the proportion of BME residents increases, this leads to greater interaction and integration between different ethnic groups, and thus fewer incidents of racially motivated offending. Of course, there may also be no relationship between the rate of racially motivated offending and the proportion of BME residents.

As the focus of this study is on youth racially motivated offending, the authors of the report agreed with the YJB to use ethnicity data for the 10 to 17-year-old population of the YOT areas. In most YOT areas the 10 to 17-year-old population is largely White (90% or higher), while in a small number of YOT areas, the youth White population is in a minority. The proportion of White youths in the 10 to 17-year-old population ranges from 27.9% to 99.1%, with a median value of 92.5%. Table 8 breaks the distribution into five bands.

Table 8: Distribution of White 10 to 17-year-olds in YOT areas

Band	Percentage of YOT areas in band
0-50% White	5.7
>50-80% White	20.4
>80-90% White	14.6
>90-98% White	47.1
>98-100% White	12.1

As can be seen, in fewer than 6% of YOT areas, there is a minority White population among 10 to 17-year-olds, and in a further 20%, the White population varies between 50% and 80%. Almost half of YOT areas have a White youth population of between 90% and 98%, and in 12% of YOT areas, the white population is higher than 98%. If there is some relationship between the level of BME population and offending, one would expect to see some variation between these bands.

Table 9 compares the rate of offending for each of the bands. The rate of racially motivated offending was calculated in the same way as earlier in this

chapter, i.e. a rate of racially motivated offending per 1,000 young people in the YOT area, based on the full five years (2002/03–2006/07) of data.

Table 9: Rate of racially motivated offending among 10 to 17-year-olds according to percentage of this population who are White

Band	Rate
0-50% White	1.17
>50-80% White	2.26
>80-90% White	2.15
>90-98% White	1.77
>98-100% White	1.35

This reveals an interesting relationship. In the areas where the youth White population is in the minority, the rate of offending is the lowest (1.17). In the areas with the highest youth White population, the rate of offending is also lower than average (1.35). In the band 90–98% which contains almost half of all YOT areas, the rate of offending is somewhat higher at 1.77. It is interesting that the highest rates of offending are to be found in YOT areas where the BME population is larger than average, but not yet in the majority. The table lends some support to the hypotheses that areas with a majority BME population suffer less racially motivated offending, perhaps due to integration, and also that areas with very low BME populations have lower rates, perhaps due to the relative paucity of victims.

Conclusion

This chapter of the study has surveyed the extent and prevalence of racially motivated offending across a range of data sets. A range of characteristics of offenders has been identified and efforts have been made to locate geographically where racially motivated offending (according to Themis data) by young people is most concentrated.

One of the key issues to emerge regarding the prevalence of racially motivated offending is the contrasting picture from the different data sets. In summary, the evidence from the British Crime Survey shows that the level of racist victimisation fell (until 2006/07 at least) in line with the overall crime rate over the past few years. However, at the same time, police recorded racist incidents and racially aggravated offences increased, as did offences dealt with by YOTs. Indeed, these saw some sharp increases in prevalence, although absolute numbers remained small compared to the overall number of racially motivated incidents indicated by the British Crime Survey.

The central question remains: is the increase in the number of offences dealt with by YOTs the result of a recording or reporting phenomenon, or, alternatively, has there been a genuine increase in the number of racially and religiously motivated offences in England and Wales?

Docking and Tuffin's (2005) research concluded that a sharp rise in police recorded racist incidents coincided with *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*, and was sustained following the publication of the Home Office's *Code of Practice on Reporting and Recording Racist Incidents* in 2000. Furthermore, evidence from 1999 suggests that while victimisation fell, a higher proportion of incidents were reported to the police (Clancy et al., 2001). Indeed, rates of reporting victimisation to the police have increased compared with the rates recorded in 1995 for both White and BME respondents, although there have been sharper rises for BME victims (28% to 40%) compared with White victims (54% to 61%). These different rates of improvement in the reporting of victimisation appear to demonstrate an increased willingness on the part of BME victims to report incidents, which perhaps reflects the success of *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* and the *Code of Practice on Reporting and Recording Racist Incidents* in encouraging reporting by agencies and community groups, as Docking and Tuffin (2005) argue.

This pattern of increased reporting (especially by traditionally victimised groups) and recording by agencies could explain at least part of the substantial increase in racially motivated offending by young people indicated by the Themis data. However, whether this explains the full extent of the increase remains an open question.

According to the Themis database, almost three-quarters of young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending were male, and the peak age for offending was 16 for males and 15 for females. The vast majority of these young people were also White (around 87%). There were very few Asian (3.5%) or Black (4.5%) young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated crimes. These figures are at odds with the British Crime Survey, which asks victims about the ethnicity of offenders, where known. According to the British Crime Survey, around 34% of offenders were said to be Asian, 29% Black, and a large minority (43%) White. The reasons for this discrepancy are unclear, but a number of possible explanations were put forward.

Another key theme to emerge from the analysis relates to the geographical clustering of racially motivated offending at both regional and YOT area levels. Regional analysis revealed that, once variations in population were taken into account, there were significantly higher levels of racially motivated offending in the North East, Yorkshire and the Humber and the North West than in the East, London and the South West. In fact, there was a noticeable North/South split in racially motivated offending, with levels in the North generally higher than in the South. When prevalence of racially motivated offending was mapped over the five-year period, three regions (Yorkshire and the Humber, South East and North West) saw increases of over 100%.

At the YOT area level, there was an even more pronounced clustering of cases. Just 6% of YOT areas accounted for almost one-quarter of all racially motivated offences over the period. Once the size of the youth population was taken into account, most of the top 10 YOT areas (i.e. with the greatest rates of offending) were in the North of England, although when racially motivated offending was

calculated as a proportion of all offending, this was no longer the case. A handful of YOT areas, again mostly in the North, appeared in the top 10 rankings according to two or more of the definitions.

With regard to sanctions, around one-third of young people received pre-court disposals – the most common court disposals were Referral Orders, followed by Supervision Orders. Custodial sentences were very rarely given for such offences. Sanctions for racially motivated offences were more severe than for offences generally.

Finally, there was an interesting relationship between the ethnicity of the youth populations within YOT areas and the rates of racially motivated offending. In areas with very low (less than 2%) proportions of BME residents or where BME residents were in the majority, the rate of racially motivated offending was considerably lower than in areas where White youths represented between 50% and 90% of the youth population.

3: Provision for racially motivated offenders – survey results

This section of the study provides an analysis of results from the survey of all secure establishments (young offender institutions (YOIs), secure training centres (STCs), secure children's homes) and YOTs in England and Wales. It gives a brief overview of the methodology used in conducting the survey and the achieved response rate. It also presents the results from the survey, which cover the following areas:

- the availability of programmes for racially motivated offenders
- the levels of need for services
- the allocation process and characteristics of attendees
- the programmes' aims and objectives
- aims and content of the interventions
- selection, assessment and evaluation criteria.

Methodology

Before sending out the survey to all YOTs, it was tested at two YOTs where the authors of the report had contacts. This involved asking the contacts to review the content of the survey to determine whether they thought anything was missing, or conversely whether there was redundancy. They were also asked to complete the survey in order to elicit their views on ease of completion. The piloting exercise revealed no problems with the questionnaire, and no substantial changes to the survey design were made. In early September 2007, all 157 YOTs, 18 secure children's homes, 15 YOIs and four STCs in England and Wales received a request to complete a 20-item research survey (see Appendix 1) and an accompanying covering letter outlining the nature of the research. This correspondence was initially addressed for the attention of senior management, either for their completion or for delegation to appropriate colleagues for completion. This also established the initial liaison by which non-responders could be followed up.

The survey was provided in HTML format for ease of completion by practitioners and to facilitate analysis by research staff. A dedicated email address was also provided for support and assistance to YOT and secure estate staff to help them complete the survey and to troubleshoot any issues. However, it was found that this support facility was rarely used.

A follow-up email was sent to all non-respondents after two weeks had elapsed, reminding them of the survey and offering assistance in completing the questionnaire. Follow-up telephone calls to all remaining non-respondents were made after a further week. From this point forward non-respondents were routinely contacted on a weekly basis, usually by both email and telephone in order to maximise the response rate. At the end of October the response rate stood at approximately 43%, with all non-respondents having been contacted a minimum of four times, twice by email and twice by phone.

This process of chasing up non-responders continued throughout the months of November and December. This required an intensive administrative effort to track the survey within the institution and to continually remind individuals of the request to complete the survey. At the survey closing date of 20 December 2007, all non-respondents had been contacted on average 20 times in an effort to secure the highest possible response rate. At the survey closing date, the total response rate was 78.4% – considerably above the original target of 65%.

While the average number of contacts made with each YOT may seem high, this was not to say that the same person was contacted twenty times. Often the initial email to the YOT or secure establishment manager was then forwarded to a member of the team with overall responsibility for racially motivated offending, who might in turn pass it on to a practitioner with day-to-day experience of this area. At each stage, one or more reminders might be necessary.

Among the different types of institutions surveyed, YOTs had the lowest (but still high) response rate of 75.2%. Five of the YOTs declined to complete the survey, citing either staff shortages or work pressures. A further 37 YOTs also failed to complete and return the survey despite the researchers' concerted efforts over a four-month period.

In the secure estate, 13 of the 15 (86.7%) secure children's homes responded, as did 17 of the 18 YOIs (94.4%). Responses were received from all four STCs. The overall response rate for the secure estate was 91.9%.

A key question in any survey is the extent to which respondents are representative of the population of interest. Given the very high response rate, this is less of a problem than for surveys with a response rate of 30%, for example. However, the geographical distribution of responding and non-responding YOTs was compared and this revealed that of the 10 Government regions, YOT response rates were over 70% in eight of them, and only the East Midlands (63%) and the North East (55%) had lower response rates. Responding and non-responding YOTs did not obviously differ in terms of whether they primarily served an urban or rural population. The authors of the report were confident, therefore, that the sample of responding YOTs was representative of the 157 YOTs in England and Wales.

Only 18 respondents (9.3%) used the online HTML provision – the vast majority of the surveys were returned as an email attachment. A small number (22) were

completed over the telephone as a result of follow-up phone calls by researchers, and a smaller number still (eight) were received as hard copies.

Survey results

Results from the survey have been analysed thematically and quantitatively, the results of which are presented in this section. Each of the questions in the survey is addressed in turn.

Significance of racially motivated offending as an issue and number of racially motivated offending cases

Just 18% of the combined YOT and secure estate respondents believed that racially motivated offending was a significant issue in their YOT area/secure establishment, leaving nearly 80% of respondents believing that it was not a significant issue (the remainder were unsure). Some 21.6% of YOT respondents thought racially motivated offending was a significant problem in their area. Secure estate respondents were less likely to state that racially motivated offending was a significant problem – just 11.8% of YOI respondents and none of the STC or secure children's home respondents thought that it was.

Whether racially motivated offending was seen as a significant issue by respondents varied according to the number of racially motivated offenders that organisation had dealt with over the previous twelve-month period. Those that cited racially motivated offending as a significant issue in their area (and were able to indicate the number of racially motivated offenders) reported having dealt with an average of 46 racially motivated offenders. However, figures were wide-ranging for this group (from four to 404) and if the 404 figure is discounted (which was most likely input erroneously), the average reduces to 23. Nevertheless, both of these figures are considerably higher than the 9.3 average number of racially motivated offenders dealt with by organisations that did not consider racially motivated offending to be a significant problem (and were able to state the number of racially motivated offenders) over the same period.

Just under three-quarters of respondents (74.3%) were able to state how many racially motivated offenders had been referred to their organisation with over the past twelve months, although at times this was qualified as a 'guesstimate'. Among responding institutions, a total of 1,599 racially motivated offenders had been referred, an average of just over 14 offenders per organisation. These figures are very close to the Themis data, which suggests that the 157 YOTs dealt with around 2,700 cases of racially motivated offending in 2006/07, an average of 17 per YOT.

Need for and availability of provision for racially motivated offenders

Respondents were asked whether they thought there was a need for an intervention or programme to deal with racially motivated offenders in their YOT

area or establishment. Over two-thirds (67.8%) said that there was a need for such an intervention, while 31.1% said there was not.

If these figures are broken down by the individual types of organisation that responded, then a slightly different picture emerges. Just over 70% of YOT respondents thought that there was a need for such a programme. This figure declines for the secure estate (with the exception of the four STCs), with 56.3% of responding YOIs, and 46.2% of responding secure children's homes also citing a need for a programme. It is perhaps not surprising that secure establishment respondents were less likely to consider that they had a need for a racially motivated offending programme, given that they were also less likely than YOT respondents to consider that racially motivated offending was a significant problem in their establishment.

Also, as one might expect, answers to this question were associated with respondents' views on whether they thought racially motivated offending to be a significant issue in their area or establishment. Thus, all but one of those stating that racially motivated offending was an issue in their area/establishment (96.3%) also stated that there was a need for a racially motivated offending programme. Those who thought that racially motivated offending was not a significant issue were less likely to consider that a programme was needed (61.0%). It is interesting to note, though, that even where racially motivated offending was not considered to be a significant issue, the majority of respondents thought that there was still a need for a programme to address this type of offending.

All institutions were asked whether there was any service provision for racially motivated offenders within their YOT/establishment. Just over 40% of respondents said that such provision did exist. YOTs were the most likely to have provision for racially motivated offenders (44.1%), followed by secure children's homes (30.8%), and YOIs (29.4%), while just one of the four STCs had any provision (25%).

Linking in with the previous question, those organisations that felt there was a need for provision for racially motivated offenders were, unsurprisingly, more likely to have provision (53.6%) than those who thought there was no need (37.5%). What is surprising is that provision for racially motivated offenders existed in over one-third of organisations in which the respondent had said there was no need for it.

It should be pointed out that these figures relating to service provision need to be interpreted with considerable caution. This is because some respondents from YOTs and secure establishments indicated that they had service provision for racially motivated offenders but went on to describe vague one-to-one offending behaviour work with racially motivated offenders as constituting 'service provision'. Meanwhile, other respondents indicated that they had no specific service provision, but when asked to describe current practice with racially motivated offenders, they described similar one-to-one practices. This

problem of overlap between categories means that the above figures for service provision are indicative rather than absolute.

Clearly the question turns to the definition of 'service provision'. The practice described by respondents who stated that they did not have racially motivated offending service provision was examined. On reflection it appeared that 10 of these institutions had described practices that would reasonably constitute racially motivated offending service provision, in contrast to the more ad hoc and informal provision otherwise displayed by the remaining group. These ten institutions cited a variety of interventions, which are listed below.

1. Teen Talk!, or adaptation of the programme, using the section under Citizenship exploring prejudice, discrimination and stereotypes. This was described by three YOT respondents.
2. Group work sessions on diversity awareness.
3. From Murmur to Murder, Throwing Stones, Show Racism the Red Card and Positive Difference.
4. One-to-one key-working sessions on racial discrimination, although not focused on racially motivated offending.
5. A resource pack based on a series of exercises, which include an initial assessment process.
6. The 'Respect Programme' (Incentive Plus).
7. Group work sessions provided by the charity Stop Hate UK.
8. Group work sessions on diversity, racial issues and citizenship.

It makes sense to recode the answers provided by respondents in these organisations so that they are included within the service provider category. By the same logic, a more accurate figure is gained if one also excludes from the earlier total the five institutions that had indicated racially motivated offending service provision, but more accurately were referring to rather ad hoc one-to-one work with offenders. This recalculated figure for racially motivated offending service provision means that the proportion of organisations with racially motivated offending service provision increases somewhat. This new calculation is displayed by institution type in Table 10.

Table 10: Recoded organisations citing service provision for racially motivated offenders, by institution type

Organisation type	Percentage with racially motivated offending service provision (No.)
YOT	49.1 (58)
STC	50.0 (2)
Secure children's home	30.8 (4)
YOI	23.5 (4)
Total	44.7 (68)

The effect of this recoding is to add one further STC and five additional YOTs, while excluding one YOI. This means that almost half of all YOTs now have service provision – the proportion of the secure estate remains unchanged at 29.4%. This recoding exercise provides a more accurate indication of racially motivated offending service provision than simply relying upon the previous survey result. This is because it corrects errors and misinterpretations by a small number of respondents. Furthermore, in recoding the survey the authors of the report erred on the side of caution, and only reassigned respondents where there is clear evidence of, or absence of, a racially motivated offending intervention.

Reasons for absence of provision for racially motivated offenders

A total of 87 respondents stated that they had no racially motivated offending service provision, and they were asked why this was the case. The reason given by the majority of respondents (some 60%) for not having any service provision for racially motivated offenders was the low numbers of these offenders that the YOT or secure establishment dealt with. Often implicit within this response was that relatively low numbers of such offenders (compared to other offence types) equated to low priority. As one of several YOT respondents stated: “Very few cases come through therefore it is not a priority for the YOT”.

A related issue, which was raised particularly by YOT respondents, was the possibility that the apparently low level of racially motivated offending was due partly to the CPS dropping the racially motivated aspect of offences in order to increase the chances of securing convictions or guilty pleas. This process would reduce the apparent number of racially motivated offences and consequently the throughput of racially motivated offenders experienced by respondents (this issue is discussed further later in this chapter).

Another YOT respondent argued that other offences, such as alcohol-related violence, were higher priorities. This, combined with resourcing issues, usually meant prioritising some offences over others. Similarly, having limited resources and low numbers of racially motivated offenders was referred to by one of the secure establishment respondents, who also questioned the suitability of a racially motivated offending programme in a custodial setting:

RMO [racially motivated offending] is not a frequent issue at this [secure establishment] and time and resources limit the amount of programmes that can be run. It may be addressed in one-to-one sessions on an informal basis, but it may be that a RMO programme is more appropriate in a community setting.

The issue of racial tensions between different ethnic groups within the institutional catchment area was mentioned by some respondents; however, this was not seen to have necessarily translated into actual offences and was not therefore seen as a priority. As one YOT respondent candidly noted:

[...] bottom of list of crimes to address. Only a small BME community, some racial tension but no large numbers of racially motivated offenders.

Other institutions highlighted what they saw as the practical and logistical problems involved in implementing any intervention above and beyond a one-to-one general approach. This included the difficulty of gathering sufficiently large numbers of young people together at the same time to run group work sessions, not only because of limited throughput of racially motivated offenders, but also because many young people had poor punctuality, which would impact on co-ordinating programmes in community settings. A more challenging difficulty mentioned was how to manage the many different ages, learning styles, degrees of racist views and behaviour that any potential group may contain:

[We] need to exercise great caution with logistics of running groups, especially arranging meeting times – need large number of sufficiently homogenous young people, and as they have quite challenging behaviours, the practical problems are big.

Several respondents indicated that such difficulties meant that the preferred option was to use general one-to-one offending behaviour sessions incorporating a diversity awareness element.

Seven of the respondents who had stated that they had no service provision were currently reviewing their provision or were in the process of developing an intervention, and a number of YOT respondents signalled their readiness to undertake more specialist work, should a 'quality' or proven intervention be made available to them:

We are waiting for other YOTs to develop a tried-and-tested approach. We have asked several other YOTs about RMO [racially motivated offending] approaches, but very little published. Did ask [our] own diversity panel for help with this matter, but they were reticent in coming forward, and slightly ducked the issue.

Given that unevaluated programmes may not be effective, this is a sensible approach.

Several respondents were opposed to the idea of a specific or generic programme for racially motivated offenders. One felt that their current informal one-to-one provision was adequate for the task, especially when operating within a largely rural setting, as some YOTs do:

[The] skills of most YOT workers are able to tackle this quite adequately without the need for a specialist programme or workers. There is also a danger of de-skilling YOT workers. There might be a need in large inner city areas where there is a high incidence of RMO [racially motivated offending], but not in [our YOT area].

Two further YOT respondents raised the danger of inadvertently creating a network for racially motivated offenders if a group work approach were followed within a generic programme. Similarly, another YOT respondent mentioned the problem of a 'contamination' process, where more extreme forms of prejudice can be spread to other potentially willing participants in such settings.

Current practice in YOTs/secure establishments with no specific racially motivated offending service provision

The fact that a YOT or secure establishment has no specific provision for racially motivated offenders should not be taken to mean that they do no work with racially motivated offenders or that offenders' racist offending goes unchallenged. Those respondents who had indicated that there was no service provision for racially motivated offenders were asked to describe their current practice with racially motivated offenders. A range of responses was received, which have been codified in Table 11. It should be noted that the different practices across the institutions vary by degree rather than constituting discrete categories. Some interventions may combine one or more approach – Table 11 gives only the main focus of the intervention.

Table 11: Focus of current practice for institutions stating no racially motivated offending provision

Focus of current practice	Number of institutions
Tailored to individual need (one-to-one basis)	24
Operate a racially motivated offending programme of sorts	10
Support from multi-disciplinary team	7
Challenge attitudes	4
Offending behaviour with equality/diversity focus	4
Developing own intervention/seeking one	4
Staff equality/diversity training	3
Discussion of issues	2
Other*	5
Missing	27
Total	90

*One each of: victim awareness, cognitive behavioural therapy and self-esteem, mediation and restorative justice, counselling and victim work, and child-centred approach.

The picture that emerges is that racism and racist offending tend to be addressed on a one-to-one basis, which would generally be tailored to the perceived needs of the individual young person in order to support and encourage a process of behaviour change. Among the 63 institutions that responded, 24 could be categorised in this way (38%). As several respondents noted in explaining their practice with racially motivated offenders:

Case-responsible officers deal with this type of behaviour on a one-to-one basis and develop their own approach based on capacity and need of the young person.

We conduct an individualised programme, identify if there is an aggravating issue to their offending and then challenge it through addressing attitudes towards people of different racial groups; look at respect towards others; build self-esteem (possibly through introducing new leisure activities and sports to develop new interests and provide a less structured means of interacting with that young person).

These individualised approaches may well include components on victim awareness and how others perceive the young person's behaviour, thereby challenging a young person's attitudes and behaviour. This victim component was the central focus of one institution. Respondents also emphasised the knowledge and skills of individual caseworkers as a key resource in tackling racially motivated offending. As one YOT respondent noted:

We rely on the skills of the caseworker to work [one-to-one] with the young person accordingly and adapt materials to deal with RMOs [racially motivated offenders]. RMOs are usually assigned to a more experienced member of staff.

A further seven respondents (11%) emphasised the additional support they received from other agencies who would work with them in addressing racial offending. These ranged from diversity officers, housing services, and a hate crime worker to more specialist agencies such as a forensic psychology unit. The main element of three YOTs' approaches to racially motivated offenders was reliance on the equality and diversity training provided for staff. This would again require the caseworker to challenge the offending behaviour and perhaps address any broader social and living conditions. As one YOT respondent outlined:

All YOT workers had diversity training so all are capable of dealing with issues around race and prejudice racist offending [and] form part of overall assessment and intervention plan tailored to young people, depending on risk element and racist element of the offence.

With the exception of the 10 institutions that operated a programme 'of sorts' (discussed above), the remaining practice focused on challenging attitudes, providing a discussion forum, or more specific focuses such as raising awareness of victims or providing some form of counselling.

Within the secure estate, the emphasis seemed to be more upon containment and risk assessment procedures, as one secure estate respondent candidly acknowledged:

The diversity officer would speak to them one-to-one, and talk about the dangers of racially motivated offending. It's difficult to change racially motivated offenders, so I just try to make sure they don't raise their ugly head while they're in here, it's more about managing them (than changing them).

Another YOI respondent stated that they had a policy of challenging any young person using inappropriate behaviour or language. The response outlined a process of risk assessment and a complaints procedure, along with a number of interventions aimed at tackling anti-social behaviour:

Despite single-cell occupancy rooms for all, [young people] have cell-sharing risk assessments which highlight any known racially motivated offences or behaviour. Each residential unit holds an electronic record of all individuals sentenced or proved of racially motivated behaviour. A specific racial complaints procedure is effectively used by staff, young people and visitors where all incidents are logged and investigated. There are several methods available to staff in managing inappropriate language and behaviour, all of which are effective in addressing anti-social behaviour, including a rewards and sanctions

scheme, a three-stage anti-bullying programme, culminating in governor's adjudications for the more serious offences, which in turn can be referred to the police.

The following quote highlights the emphasis that is put on record keeping and risk management, as opposed to trying to tackle the causes of their offending:

They are placed on a racist offenders log, and behaviour is monitored. If the need presents itself they are also referred to the public protection clerk. We may also complete a security information report, make relevant notes in personal history record/file and ensure a high cell-sharing risk assessment score. This is noted in red on front of personal file. Further the [racial equality officer]/diversity manager will see such individuals and advise them clearly about the prison service policy and our expectations locally. The consequences of any such misconduct are also clearly explained.

What is apparent from reviewing the responses regarding practice in YOTs and establishments that did not have specific racially motivated offending service provision is that this does not necessarily equate to 'doing nothing', or failing to address racism and racially motivated offending. Rather, most YOTs have adopted a more ad hoc and usually individualised approach, where the racial component is addressed within the context of offending behaviour through some combination of challenging attitudes, cognitive behavioural work, or the provision of information or education about diversity and discrimination. Secure establishments tended to place more emphasis on risk management while offenders were in custody, and less on direct work with the causes of the offending.

Descriptions of specific racially motivated offending interventions

Those respondents who reported having service provision for racially motivated offenders were asked to describe current practice. A wide range of interventions were recorded by respondents, with many organisations having more than one intervention addressing racially motivated offending. The details of the interventions and their aims are reported below in Table 12 and Chapter 4.

A total of five respondents described interventions that were broadly speaking ad hoc one-to-one individualised interventions with racially motivated offenders, or those displaying racist attitudes or behaviour. A separate category has been designed for these, with accompanying descriptions. In addition, 12 respondents cited service provision that lacked an official name. These interventions tended to incorporate a number of different components, which included challenging discriminatory beliefs, promoting racial awareness, raising awareness of victims and highlighting other damaging effects of racism, bigotry and racial stereotyping in order to change attitudes and behaviour.

There were three central programmes that were reported by respondents which were used with some frequency. These had been borrowed from a number of

sources, and included a National Probation Service resource called 'From Murmur to Murder', a Football Association project entitled 'Show Racism the Red Card', and a commercial programme called 'Teen Talk!' by Talking Heads Resources & Training Ltd. A brief description of each is provided in Table 12.

Table 12: Descriptions of the three most commonly used programmes for racially motivated offenders

Name	Description
<p>From Murmur to Murder Used by 10 (recoded 11) organisations</p>	<p>The resource pack contains a suggested programme for tackling racially motivated offending, which prompts participants to think about where their ideas about race come from and challenges prejudices in a non-confrontational way using third-person scenarios. This is designed to cause cognitive dissonance within offenders in order that they may begin to challenge their own beliefs and those of others, and to thereby reduce the risk of reoffending and serious harm to the public.</p> <p>Sessions: Ranging between 10 x two-hour sessions over two/three months and four x one-hour sessions, depending on offence.</p> <p>Delivery: both one-to-one and group.</p>
<p>Teen Talk! Used by nine (recoded 12) organisations</p>	<p>A programme primarily directed at younger offenders. Has a section under Citizenship that explores prejudice, discrimination, stereotypes, and bullying, and addresses some racially motivated behaviour (although this is not a specialist resource for racially motivated offenders).</p> <p>The programme is described as child-friendly and interactive. It focuses on the individual and helps young people address their lives and opportunities for change. The approach employs a series of prompt cards provoking thoughts and feelings which lead to discussions. Used in one-to-one sessions with young people. Teen Talk! Workbooks are published nationally.</p> <p>Sessions: Highly variable: thirty to sixty minutes (depending on attention span) once a week for variable period.</p> <p>Delivery: one-to-one.</p>
<p>Show Racism the Red Card Used by five organisations</p>	<p>A published campaign DVD and educational pack aimed at combating racism and supported by a range of agencies. The programme provides an anti-racist educational message and seeks to raise awareness of racism and familiarise young people with the consequences of racism. Also addresses issues of 'male image' and stereotyping to enable young people to develop good relationships with others and respect the differences between people regardless of their ethnicity.</p> <p>Sessions: between one and four x one-hour sessions over variable time, depending upon understanding.</p> <p>Delivery: one-to-one or group.</p>

These three programmes are described in more detail later in this study, based on visits to YOTs and secure establishments and interviews with practitioners. In Appendix 2 a brief description is also provided of each of the large number of programmes that were reported by just one YOT and secure establishment.

YOTs and secure establishments have developed a wide variety of programmes and activities for their work with racially motivated offenders. What a large proportion of these programmes share is a focus on trying to challenge racist beliefs through education. Many of the programmes are described as 'challenging stereotypes, discrimination and prejudice' by means of providing young people with information about diversity and cultural issues. The implicit rationale behind such interventions is that racially motivated offending is largely

caused by distorted thinking due to a lack of knowledge. However, if one recalls the micro-, meso- and macro-level factors associated with offending which were set out in the literature review in Chapter 1, lack of education is only one of many potential contributory factors. Alienation from the police, feelings of injustice, racialised maps of local areas, and public and political attitudes also play a part. The typologies of offenders – thrill-seekers, defenders, retaliatory offenders and mission offenders – also suggest that the causes of racially motivated offending are more complex than simply lack of education/information. One has to question, therefore, whether programmes that concentrate solely on educative means are likely to achieve effective results with the various types of racially motivated offender.

Some of the programmes described by respondents do attempt to tackle other causes of racially motivated offending. For example, there are interventions that work simultaneously on factors such as lack of self esteem, anger management problems and victim empathy. A variety of methods are used including mentoring, target setting, social skills training, cognitive behavioural therapy and counselling.

A further five programmes described by respondents could most accurately be categorised as rather ad hoc pieces of work with offenders, rather than constituting a specific programme or even an approach to dealing with racially motivated offenders. As two respondents indicated when describing the nature of their interventions with offenders:

[The work] depends on the need of the individual; we have low numbers therefore we can tailor whatever we need to that individual.

If a need [is] identified through our public protection system or reported incidents of racism within the prison, the young woman will be picked for a one-to-one intervention. This may be part of a structured one-to-one intervention with her YOT worker or the RRLO [race relations liaison officer].

Consequently these are best thought of not as racially motivated offending programmes per se, but as rather vague ad hoc provision. These 'programmes' have, therefore, been deducted in the recalculated figure assessing the level of racially motivated offending service provision.

Respondents were asked how long any interventions had been running in their YOT/secure establishment. Of those that were able to say, 24% had been in use for one year or less, 31% for between one and two years, and in 45% of cases, the resources had been available for three or more years. Not all the resources or interventions had been developed by the YOTs or secure establishments themselves. In cases where the resource had been bought in from elsewhere, therefore, it is possible that it was in existence for longer than respondents indicated.

The overwhelming majority of YOT respondents stated that funding for any racially motivated offending interventions came from their core budget. There were only six exceptions to this: two Welsh YOTs had managed to secure some additional funding from the National Welsh Assembly, one of which had used this money to make a DVD jointly with South Wales Police. Another YOT had secured part-funding from their Basic Community Unit, and one other from the Children's Framework Partnership, Resettlement and Aftercare Programme (RAP) funding and Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (ISSP). Finally, one YOT received additional funding from a racial harassment forum (although the training of their caseworker was bought in from the racial harassment forum), and another reported some funding from a Youth Inclusion budget.

Across the secure estate, funding for racially motivated offending interventions was largely provided by internal funding sources, and, in a handful of cases, YOT funding. This indicates that, in the vast majority of YOTs and secure establishments, any provision for racially motivated offenders has to come out of the core budget. This may explain why some YOTs and secure establishments felt that this type of offending was not a sufficient priority to devote resources to developing an intervention.

YOT and secure estate respondents were asked if their interventions were based on an existing intervention or, alternatively, developed in-house. 44% of respondents stated that their service provision was based on an existing intervention, while 52% had developed the intervention in-house. Interventions based on existing provision tended to include resources such as 'From Murmur to Murder' and 'Teen Talk!', while the less structured one-to-one approaches accounted for much of the provision developed in-house.

The majority of interventions in YOTs and the secure estate were delivered by YOT staff (86%) and secure estate staff (60%). In around 30% of the secure estate, however, YOT staff were solely responsible for the delivery of the programme, and in a further 10%, YOT staff delivered them in conjunction with secure estate staff. Outside agencies such as charities were rarely involved in delivering programmes on behalf of YOTs (4%), and never in the case of the secure estate.

Evidence base for programmes, assessment and evaluation

All respondents were asked why they thought the intervention they used would be effective. These responses have been codified and are displayed in Table 13. The reasons offered varied widely. Fourteen respondents could offer no evidence, or just their unsubstantiated belief that the intervention was effective. Twenty-four respondents claimed that either the intervention was supported by a research base, or that the intervention drew upon 'established principles', such as cognitive behavioural therapy. A further two establishments made a more general reference to a theoretical basis to the programme, but were unable to state what this was. Anecdotal evidence of effectiveness either from

young people undergoing the intervention or from staff was provided by another five respondents.

Table 13: Reasons given for using chosen programme

Reason given	Number
No evidence offered/unsubstantiated belief	14
Based on prior research	12
Based on cognitive behavioural therapy principles	9
Anecdotal feedback from young people and/or staff	5
Because an established programme	5
Based on effective practice principles	3
Has potential to change young people	2
Challenges young people's thinking and behaviour	2
Reference to another theory	2
Missing	8
Total	62

A range of justifications were used for choosing the more established resources (such as 'From Murmur to Murder'), although there was little coherence of justification across the different users. Reasons varied from the assertion that the programme was 'evidence-based' or an unspecified reference to 'theoretical research' to the candid admission that there was nothing else available, as the following YOT worker's response acknowledged: "[...]without a more formal national programme that is all we have to work with."

The evidence base for the 'Teen Talk!' programme was also somewhat vague. Again there was a claim by some users that the programme had a theoretical basis, with several citing a cognitive behavioural component or stating that it had proved "useful" in the past. Respondents from YOTs asserted, for example:

Teen Talk! is well respected and researched; the unit interventions generally have positive results.

Teen Talk! covers a wide variety of topics that may be relevant to young people who offend and has been designed by people who have experience of working with young people who offend.

The overall picture that emerges from reviewing the reasons why programmes were used is just how weak the available evidence base appears in supporting the current interventions across YOTs and the secure estate. Indeed, only three respondents said that their racially motivated offending provision had been evaluated (5.5%) – the majority of respondents stated that it had not (89%), and a further two did not know.

The general lack of supporting details and results does suggest that few, if any, of the cited programmes have been evaluated, independently or otherwise. Indeed, in the review of the literature no reference could be found to evaluations of any of the named interventions.

Survey respondents were then asked about how young people were assessed as suitable for racially motivated intervention. Table 14 below categorises responses into 12 assessment methods.

Table 14: Methods of assessing suitability of young people for racially motivated offending programme

Assessment method	Number
Asset and offence analysis	25
Asset	14
Offence analysis	5
Asset and observation of behaviour in supervision	4
Observation of behaviour in supervision	3
Asset and in-house assessment tool	3
Asset and internal team meeting	2
Asset and interview	2
Other*	4
Missing	0
Total	62

*One each of: Asset and public protection checklist; Asset and wishes of victim; screening interview and offence; and attitude to victim.

The assessment methods took the form of various permutations involving Asset, offence analysis, assessment of attitudes and behaviour of young person/family, and lastly, any victim input. The use of Asset and an analysis of the offence were cited most often by respondents (just over 41%), followed by the sole use of Asset (22%). Sometimes this offence analysis would involve examining court documents and assessing ‘readiness to change’ by the young person, as described by the following respondent:

Asset is completed and advanced disclosures are read to identify what the racial aggravation is. Additional info brought by CPS or defence advocates in court will also be used to identify issues for intervention. Where the young person is in the ‘change cycle’ will also be used to determine the intervention plan.

Asset was also used in conjunction with an interview, team panel meetings, and in relation to various in-house assessment tools. Analysis of the offence without reference to other factors was cited as a basis for assessment by a further five respondents.

Many respondents were aware of a process of attrition operating within racially motivated offending cases, whereby racially aggravated elements of an offence may be dropped by the CPS in favour of a Public Order offence to better ensure conviction or a guilty plea. Respondents noted:

The nature of offence would be a starting point, however there have been many young people whose offence started off being racially motivated but on [conviction] has changed, so this will be taken into account when Asset is used, [as is] previous offending, young person's views towards groups in society etc.

Factors include those convicted of RMO [racially motivated offending] and those where the original charge had that component of it dropped, which can be extracted from CPS papers. Statements provided by victims and witnesses will also be used by the case manager to determine other perspectives regarding potential motivation. Outside of the offences themselves the case manager during the assessment will determine whether there exist racist beliefs. This would occur for all cases and not just those where the current offence is racially motivated.

As can be seen from the above quotes, the process of plea bargaining to a lesser offence did not necessarily mean that the young person avoided being assessed as requiring a racially motivated offending intervention.

All respondents were asked how they monitored the programmes they ran with racially motivated offenders. Table 15 classifies the responses with their frequency of use. The different methods reported included using changes in Asset scores, recidivism scores (individual and YOT-area-wide), some form of assessing attitude change, and also using programme feedback evaluation sheets. These same methods were given a number of different permutations by respective institutions, and indeed, varied depending upon the programme being run.

Table 15: Method used to monitor racially motivated offending programmes

Monitoring method	Number
Pre and post-intervention assessment of attitude change	12
No formal monitoring	7
Review of Asset score	6
Attitude change and reconviction	5
Review of racially motivated incidents across YOT area	5
Recidivism measure	5
Feedback from staff and/or young people	4
Course evaluation sheet	4
Case management oversight	4

Asset and young person's feedback	3
Built-in monitoring tool	3
Observation and monitoring of subsequent behaviour	2
Missing	2
Total	62

The most frequently reported method of monitoring interventions was using a pre and post-intervention assessment of attitude change. This was used in 12 programmes and was also combined with a reconviction indicator in a further five interventions. Exactly how attitude change was measured was not clear from the responses, but it is likely to have involved a comparison of scores for the relevant sections in *Asset* (e.g. attitudes to offending). Indeed, this specific answer was given by six respondents, and a further three also combined this with user feedback. The feedback took a number of different forms and its thoroughness varied from intervention to intervention. For example, the 'Who Lives Here?' programme gathers feedback at the end of every session, as one YOT respondent outlined:

At the end of each session the young people are asked to say at least one thing that they have learnt or found interesting from the course that day. In addition, they have to indicate on a scale of one to 10 how much they have enjoyed the session. We complete an end-of-course evaluation and review of the course with the young people through discussion of what they have learnt and, what they enjoyed, what they did not enjoy and which bits they felt did not teach them anything.

It should also be remembered that the monitoring which took place in assorted programmes and interventions was not necessarily focused on the racist element of offending:

There is no monitoring of the programmes themselves in respect of RMO [racially motivated offending] because the delivery of the programmes is not dedicated in their entirety to this area.

Seven programmes were reported as having no formal monitoring. Five other programmes were reliant upon individual recidivism, while another five used racially motivated offending recidivism across their institutional geography. Only three programmes were said to have built monitoring and evaluation into the programme.

The range of methods used to monitor the assorted programmes reflects the variety of interventions used in addressing racially motivated offending across YOTs and the secure estate. However, some of the measures are of doubtful validity. For example, monitoring the level of racially motivated offending across a YOT area does not indicate whether an intervention has worked with an individual. Similarly, informal feedback from staff or the young person is also not a robust method of assessing attitude change. Some form of monitoring of attitude change is clearly preferable, and the question remains whether this

should take the form of a generalised tool such as *Asset*, or one designed specifically for racially motivated offenders. While *Asset* has the advantage of being universally available and familiar to staff, it may not be sufficient to pick up changes in racist attitudes. There is a need, therefore, for a more specific tool than *Asset* or ad hoc surveys to measure changes in racist attitudes. This is something that the National Probation Directorate called for (Perry, 2002).

All institutions that reported having racially motivated offending service provision were asked about the selection criteria that they employed for entrance to the programme or intervention. There is a distinction between assessment and selection, in that a young person may be assessed as requiring an intervention, yet deemed unsuitable for it (e.g. due to their attitude or learning ability). Table 16 summarises these responses thematically.

Table 16: Selection criteria

Selection criteria	Number
Index offence	22
Case by case basis (no formal criteria)	9
Admission of guilt and <i>Asset</i>	5
YOT/secure estate officer referral	4
<i>Asset</i> and learning ability	4
Delivered to all young people	3
Other*	3
Missing	12
Total	62

*One each of initial planning meeting; displaying discriminatory attitudes; age; and order type.

The most common method for selection onto a programme was simply assessing the index offence of the young person, described by 42.3% of respondents. Assessment via *Asset* was employed by a further eight respondents, either in combination with an admission of guilt to the offence or with due consideration of age and learning ability. Nine respondents said that they had no formal selection criteria; rather, appropriateness was decided on a case-by-case basis. Other selection criteria included age and ability, or these combined with the type of supervisory order that the young person was subject to. Four respondents stated that the programme they operated required a referral by the caseworker. A further three programmes were said to be delivered to all young people.

Throughput and attrition

Many respondents were unable to provide figures relating to the number of young people assessed as suitable for, starting and completing an intervention. Of those that did provide such figures, a total of 470 offenders were said to have been assessed as suitable for a racially motivated offending intervention,

of whom 450 (96%) started the intervention and 397 completed it (88% of starters).

Respondents were also asked to provide details about the ethnicity of offenders starting the programme. Again, not all respondents were able to provide figures, but, where known, the breakdown by ethnicity was 80% White, 5% Asian, 9% Black, 6% Mixed and less than 1% Chinese or Other. These figures broadly reflect the ethnicity of offenders referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending.

All respondents with some racially motivated offending service provision were asked why young people might drop out of a programme. While this question had a very high non-response rate (with only 26 responses), these tended to concentrate on compliance issues or other factors in a young person's life. The most common reasons offered for dropping out were that another offence had been committed and the young person was sent back to court, or that they had breached their existing order. For those in custody, early release would also result in non-completion.

Other reasons for dropping out of a programme centred around young people finding the material either boring or irrelevant. The dislike of having their views challenged, or failing to see their views as problematic was mentioned by several other respondents. Other respondents referred to instability and chaotic lifestyles – at times expressed in poor punctuality – as reasons for dropping out. However, this was not necessarily a rejection of the course per se.

Several respondents stressed that there were very low numbers of young people dropping out of interventions, in part because some programmes were generally attached to court orders.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings from the survey of YOTs and secure establishments. Of the 194 organisations approached, a total of 152 responded, generating a very high response rate for a survey of this kind (78.4%).

The survey produced a valuable overview of the level and nature of provision for racially motivated offenders. The main findings are set out below.

- Just under a fifth of respondents felt that racially motivated offending was a significant problem in their area.
- Two-thirds of respondents thought there was a need for an intervention or programme to deal with racially motivated offending.
- Just under half of YOTs and less than a third of secure establishments had specific provision for racially motivated offenders.
- The low number of racially motivated offenders was the reason most commonly given for not having provision.

Although many YOTs and secure establishments had no specific provision for racially motivated offenders, they did work with such offenders to try to address their offending behaviour, usually on an ad hoc, one-to-one basis.

In the remainder of YOTs and secure establishments, specific provision for racially motivated offenders took a number of forms:

- three generic programmes, used by a total of 28 organisations. These programmes were 'From Murmur to Murder' (a National Probation Service resource), 'Teen Talk!', and 'Show Racism the Red Card' (a football-based resource)
- a variety of one-off interventions focusing largely on education and issues of diversity and culture. Also some cognitive behavioural and victim empathy work.

Overall, many of the resources used with racially motivated offenders did not seem to take account of the micro, meso and macro causes of such offending identified in the literature, nor of the different types of racially motivated offender.

Most interventions were funded through core funds and delivered by YOT or secure estate staff respectively.

Interventions typically comprised between four and eight sessions and lasted around one hour per session. Most were delivered on a one-to-one basis rather than in a group.

The effectiveness of interventions was largely taken on trust – there was very little evidence of a research base and none of the interventions appeared to have been formally evaluated.

Where interventions were monitored, the methods that tended to be used were attitude change measured via *Asset*, recidivism or feedback from staff or young people. There was a lack of a tool to measure attitude change specifically for racially motivated offenders.

The results from the survey indicate that practice in YOTs and the secure estate in relation to racially motivated offenders is varied, often regarded as a low priority, inconsistent, and largely un-evidenced. It also does not always take account of what is known about the causes of such offending. However, it should be recognised that responses to the survey were sometimes superficial or incomplete, and thus may not adequately reflect the work with racially motivated offenders that YOTs and secure establishments undertake. For this reason, it was decided to complement the survey with a more in-depth examination of a sample of different types of practice, by means of visits to YOTs and secure establishments, and interviews with practitioners and young people. This is the topic of the following chapter.

4: Case studies of service provision

Introduction

Following collation of the replies from the national survey, site visits were made to 21 organisations on the basis that they had indicated in the survey return that they had specific provision for racially motivated offenders. The aim was not to visit a random, or representative, sample of YOTs and secure establishments, as this would have resulted in visits to organisations that did little specific work with racially motivated offenders. Rather, the case studies were designed to explore, in a more in-depth manner than was possible from the survey, a variety of types of programme in use through YOTs and secure establishments. There was a wide geographical distribution in the sites visited, with all regions in England and Wales represented with the exception of the East Midlands and the South East. In total, visits were made to 16 YOTs, one YOI, three secure children's homes and one STC.

Fieldwork visits generally involved interviewing one or more practitioners who were involved in the design and/or delivery of racially motivated offending interventions. These interviews explored the origin and development of interventions, the profile of participants, referral practice, the programme form and content, the approach taken by the intervention (including any theoretical grounding), staffing and training of facilitators, and availability of evidence of effectiveness or any evaluation of the programmes (see Appendix 4).

Notes were also made from written materials relating to the intervention (where such materials were available, for example worksheets), and watched any audio-visual materials used, for example DVDs. While it had been planned to observe the delivery of some interventions, in practice this was unfeasible at almost all establishments. This was because most YOTs had a low throughput of racially motivated offenders and thus there were no young people undertaking interventions during the short period available for the fieldwork. In the event, it was only possible to observe interventions provided by one YOT. Two of the 10 or so sessions were observed.

However, these observations were revealing, not so much because they added depth to the description of the intervention, but because they demonstrated that:

- there can be a difference between how a programme looks on paper and how it is delivered in practice
- observation of one session of a multi-session intervention may give a misleading impression.

In relation to the second point, the earliest observation of the intervention (a multi-modal diversity awareness group work programme involving education and experiential learning)¹⁰ was of a session midway through the programme. Despite having a well-structured programme, there was a lack of engagement with the young people, as the following field notes indicate:

The sixth session of this pilot programme was observed. Although the session was due to start at five, a few of the young people seemed reluctant to finish their cigarettes, despite the pleas of the YOT worker. In the room, chairs were arranged mainly around the edge of the room, with a couple of low, small tables. The young people sat either alone or in pairs. Just before the session started the workers put A2 sheets up on the walls of the room from the previous weeks' discussions about the young people's ideas about stereotypes and criminals. The session was facilitated by four workers – two from the YOT and two volunteers. The group took some time to 'get going' and it appeared that most of the young people did not want to be there, and there was a distinct lack of interest shown by the group in the work ... The workers tried to involve all the young people in the discussion and while all of them contributed to some extent, for three of them this was minimal ... At the end of the session, the young people were asked to complete an evaluation sheet, but the young people were clearly eager to get off, and did this only cursorily, writing one word answers, or 'don't know' in most of the boxes.

On the basis of this one observation, therefore, it would be easy to conclude that the intervention was not successfully implemented and was unlikely to be effective. This impression changed as a result of the second observation of this intervention. The final session was well attended – the young people, the parents/carers, and senior staff from the YOT were all present. The developer of the programme read out a poem she had written about the positive experiences she had working with the young people and the session concluded with an inspiring speech from the YOT manager, praising the young people for taking part, and noting the positive steps some of the young people had made while on the programme, e.g. obtaining employment. The interviews conducted with the young people at the end of the session revealed that they had found the intervention overall to be interesting and they claimed that it had had a positive impact on their views about other ethnic groups. The two observations of the same programme at different points in its delivery led to significantly different conclusions about the intervention. What this shows is that the original plan to observe one session at each site may not have added much to the understanding of interventions gained from interviews and the review of materials, and may, in fact, have served to misrepresent the intervention. Given unlimited time and resources, it would have been ideal to have observed every

¹⁰ As observation was only conducted at one site, it was decided to anonymise the site.

session of each intervention at each site, but such an intensive approach was outside the scope and remit of this research. The following descriptions of the projects are therefore based on interviews with those who delivered them and notes from any resources available, and this limitation should be borne in mind.

The number of interventions or resources available at the sites visited ranged from one to five, although most had two or more. Given the large number of programmes encountered in the visits, the bulk of the material has been placed in Appendix 3. In that appendix a description is provided of the approaches taken by the 21 YOTs and secure establishments visited. It is important to note that this was not intended as an outcome study, but rather as an exploratory study of current practice. That said, each description is generally concluded with a short comment as to what the authors of the report considered to be the merits or otherwise of the intervention/s used. In the following section, a summary is provided of the key themes arising from the site visits.

Summary of interventions

The predominant approach of racially motivated offending interventions in the 21 sites was broadly educational in nature, although some interventions used cognitive behavioural principles and others focused on victim empathy. Quite often, the approach at a particular site would be multi-faceted and flexible, incorporating a variety of resources aiming to address issues of individual bias and wider cultural and societal influences that help generate and sustain racist views. Such approaches are in keeping with the earlier discussion of findings from the academic literature which suggest that there are a range of interrelated factors in society that may generate racism. It is necessary for interventions to address such influences in society as well as cultures of violence and marginalisation across the micro, meso and macro levels. Given the potential range of factors for change and approaches to prevention, assessment and screening need to be matched to the diverse range of negative influencing factors.

The various interventions offered can be categorised into those that have been developed in-house and those that have been purchased either from a commercial source or have been borrowed and adapted from the National Probation Service. It is interesting to note that none of the programmes that had been bought or borrowed were specifically designed for young racially motivated offenders. From 'Murmur to Murder' and the 'Diversity Awareness Programme' were two programmes developed by the National Probation Service.

From 'Murmur to Murder' represented the most comprehensive approach to racially motivated offending and was designed to provide a template based on cognitive behavioural principles for probation officers dealing with racially motivated offenders. The programme charts the move from subtle language (the murmur) to a verbal offence and abuse, to physical and psychological attack, bullying, harassment, injury and indeed murder, because of prejudice based on

the difference in skin colour and/or ethnicity between the victim and the offender. The cognitive approach of the programme views racism as a learned behaviour which is therefore open to change. This process of change is tackled on individual, institutional and structural levels within the course. However, as this is an adult model, the programme plan needs to be heavily adapted to meet the needs of a younger audience in terms of attention spans, sophistication of terminology, and appropriateness of examples.

The 'Diversity Awareness Programme' is similar to the 'From Murrur to Murder' programme in that it follows a structured, in-depth, cognitive behavioural approach in attempting to challenge racist attitudes and it is for use by probation officers. The programme aims to look at the offender's childhood and family experiences, thinking skills and victim empathy. As with 'From Murrur to Murder', the 'Diversity Awareness Programme' is based on an adult model and also needs adaptation before it can be implemented successfully with young people.

The *Show Racism the Red Card* DVD principally presents stimulus material to promote discussion, featuring footballers discussing their own experiences of racism, although it now includes additional resources.¹¹ This acted as a means of prompting further discussion of racism among offenders. The programme is reliant upon using sporting role models to signal the degrading experience of racism, prompting offenders to extrapolate this lesson to a wider population. However, the repetitive and dated¹² nature of the programme was criticised by practitioners and young people alike.

Another commercially produced package aimed specifically at younger people (12 to 17-year-olds) is 'Teen Talk!', which was used by five of the sites. This package is best described as a structured method for initiating and progressing focused dialogue between offenders and staff. 'Teen Talk!' only offers a small number of relevant issues applicable to addressing racially motivated offending and some of the sections (e.g. Victims, and Sticks and Stones) tended to be used as discussion prompts in conjunction with other materials and not as stand-alone interventions.

The 'Chalkface Project' is a commercially produced teaching resource, although only one element ('Challenging Racism') is suitable for addressing racially motivated offending. This incorporates a series of lesson plans designed to inform young people about stereotyping, prejudice, racism and discrimination while challenging these attitudes.

'Pathways' is another commercially produced package, but uses cognitive behavioural principles based within a modular programme. The course is designed by LMT Training and Consultancy for young people who commit

¹¹ See: http://www.srtrc.org/docs/reviews/project_summary07.pdf

¹² This programme was recently updated in 2008.

offences, but it is not specific to racially motivated offending. The course examines how a young person's attitudes have developed and been influenced, while encouraging change from pro-criminal to pro-social attitudes.

The majority of the interventions used by those sites visited in the fieldwork had been developed in-house from materials collected from internet searches, library resources, or borrowed from other YOTs or social services. These typically comprised a number of components (for example, worksheets, fact sheets and quizzes) that were broadly educational in nature. Some of them spanned a range of the factors influencing beliefs and attitudes, including individual experiences, family, peers and community. Many of the programmes attempted to instil greater understanding and recognition of cultural differences. Within this overall educational approach, there were differences in the degrees of emphasis and the formats and approaches employed in instilling cultural awareness and anti-racism messages.

The programmes developed in-house defy any neat description or easy categorisation. They are characterised by participants receiving information about different cultures and racial groups, either through self-directed learning (a small research project or discovery exercise) or a media presentation (film or CD-Rom) to prompt reflection and discussion. One often used technique is to focus on easily appreciated aspects of minority cultures, such as popular music or food, in order to engender greater respect for that culture and to change social status valuations. Programmes used a number of methods to encourage offenders to become emotionally invested in the lives of others. These included bringing in invited speakers (e.g. asylum seekers) to recount their harrowing experiences in order to foster a sense of victim empathy and emotional connection, or using 'perspective taking' exercises, which help the offender to map the unfamiliar features of another's point of view onto the familiar features of their own.

Some sites used stories or presented information and statistics in an effort to refute negative views and media stories of minorities and to openly challenge racist views. This included challenging stereotypes and egocentrism by offenders, in part through making offenders aware of how stereotypical views and attitudes are formed and shaped by family, neighbourhood and societal influences. More in-depth treatments explored self identity ('identity awareness'), at times through critically examining nationalism and deeply held nationalistic beliefs. Other approaches included using role play exercises to explore scenarios, attitudes and emotions involved in racism and discriminatory behaviours, and to openly challenge these. As part of this process, where positive peer group influences existed, these were sometimes harnessed during discussion exercises to positively influence the group. Recreational and leisure pursuits were used as a means of bringing together White and BME groups in a couple of sites. This operated as a means of breaking down any cultural barriers while aiding mutual understanding, recognition and respect.

Restorative principles were also used occasionally and tended to be incorporated into the sentence plan or order rather than forming an integral part

of the racially motivated offending programme, for instance, writing a letter of apology to the victim.

The 21 sites visited also differed in the extent to which they adopted broader ranging strategies (primary and secondary prevention aimed at wider social and cultural change or targeting 'at-risk' individuals with preventative interventions) in addition to interventions aimed at offenders (tertiary prevention). Not surprisingly, the majority employed programmes targeted at offenders, or those committing infractions while under supervision. Secondary and primary prevention was less frequent and took the form of educational interventions raising awareness of multicultural and diversity issues or the negative consequences of racism and bullying. This would often take place in outreach work in local schools.

A range of materials and methods were used across the settings, including videos, interactive games (both multimedia and group participation games), discussions, role plays, and written work. Structured worksheets were the material used the most often, usually in a one-to-one setting. These learning aids were used to engage participants and to help to maintain their motivation throughout the intervention.

The dosage of programmes varied across settings, and was determined by a number of factors, principally the initial assessment made of the offender and the length of any order undertaken by the offender, as well as the programme length. More serious and older offenders participated in longer programmes. Most sessions ranged between forty-five and sixty minutes in length, with this being determined by the attention spans of attendees. This was irrespective of whether the session was a one-to-one or group work session, the only real exception being more recreational or outward-bound interventions. Where an organisation had a number of programmes, it was not unusual to see some degree of mixing and matching in order to tailor interventions to the individual needs of the young person. This was often a necessity when considering the wide variety of age groups, abilities, backgrounds and learning styles. It was more unusual to find programmes operating as discrete stand-alone entities.

Critical review of interventions

The current Correctional Services Accreditation Panel's (CSAP) accreditation criteria for programmes consist of 10 criteria (see below). These criteria are informed by the research evidence relating to 'what works' with offenders and are used to judge programmes. While it should be acknowledged that the YJB has made a conscious decision not to pursue the route of accreditation, it is a useful exercise nonetheless to measure the current programmes offered by the visited institutions according to the CSAP criteria. According to the CSAP, programmes should:

- incorporate a clear model of change, underpinned by theory and empirical evidence

- have clear criteria for the selection of offenders
- target a range of dynamic risk factors
- use effective methods
- be skills-orientated
- match the dosage of programmes to the offender in terms of the number and frequency of sessions, and be appropriately sequenced with respect to offender's needs
- engage and motivate offenders
- be provided within a coherent sentence planning process, with continuity of programmes and services offered
- have procedures in place to ensure that programme integrity is maintained
- have ongoing monitoring and evaluation with respect to targets for change and re-offending.

Across all the programmes reviewed, with the arguable exception of 'From Murrmur to Murder', which appeared to meet all the criteria except the final criterion, none met the stringent criteria for an accredited programme, as set out by the CSAP. The lack of a clear model of change underpinning interventions with theory and evidence was notable across the many sites that were not using interventions employing cognitive behavioural principles. Similarly, there did not seem to be much evidence of interventions targeting the range of dynamic risk factors potentially implicated in racist offending; as seen, the focus tended to be on addressing gaps in knowledge.

There was also a general lack of monitoring and evaluation of interventions. Where interventions did include some form of monitoring, these generally consisted of feedback sheets completed by programme attendees, which simply asked attendees to comment on the programme, e.g. did they enjoy it, what did they find useful. There was little evidence of any systematic attempt to measure change in racist attitudes or behaviour. One exception was the 'Stop Racism Programme' (Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 12). This included a 10-item questionnaire containing statements relating to racism which was designed to be used before and after the intervention. While a number of sites reported looking at changes in *Asset* scores, as noted elsewhere, the generality of *Asset* means that it is not an adequate measure of racist attitudes.

On the positive side, the majority of interventions appeared to make efforts to engage and motivate participants, as evidenced by the range of multimedia resources employed. There were also examples of effective partnership working between YOTs and voluntary organisations, such as racial equality councils. There was also evidence of flexibility in approach, as practitioners were able to sequence the frequency and number of sessions in keeping with an offender's needs, although this was necessarily constrained by the length of the order the offender was on.

The CSAP also requires that programmes seeking accredited status have a detailed manual. Those organisations whose interventions had been established for a longer period of time, or who used National Probation Service packages (such as 'From Murmur to Murder') or some commercial packages (such as 'Pathways'), tended to have more documentation, although all the in-house programmes fell far short of the documentation required by the CSAP. In many cases, the written materials were very brief and provided only an outline of the areas to be covered. As a result, there was considerable scope for practitioners to vary the content and style of the intervention. While this may have benefits from the point of view of providing flexibility, it also means that each incarnation of an intervention is likely to be different, and therefore the descriptions of programmes given above should be seen only as guides.

This chapter has provided a better understanding of the nature of provision for racially motivated offenders in YOTs and secure establishments, and, as seen, there are examples of promising local initiatives as well as some general aspects of practice that could be improved upon. In the following chapter some of these issues are explored through the interviews that were conducted with practitioners during the site visits.

5: Delivering interventions – the practitioners’ perspective

Introduction

21 YOTs and secure establishments were visited and one or more practitioners were interviewed at each organisation – a total of 32 interviews. The majority of interviews (26 out of 32) were with just one practitioner, but in six cases two or more individuals were interviewed at the same time, in order to minimise the burden of the research on the organisation involved. Thus, the 32 interviews involved a total of 38 practitioners. Not every individual answered every question, thus the number of responses (‘n’) for each question will vary somewhat. Most of the analyses of these interviews are qualitative, however where responses are quantified, the number of responses for that particular question is specified.

Causes of racially motivated offending and alignment of interventions with those causes

As discussed earlier in the study, possible causes of racially motivated offending can be divided into three categories. These categories comprise the micro level, the meso level and the macro level. When practitioners were interviewed, they were asked what they felt were the main causes of racially motivated offending. The results from the interviews showed that practitioners identified suspected causes of racially motivated offending in all three categories, although there was more of an emphasis on the micro and meso levels.

The table below summarises the responses from the interviews undertaken with practitioners at each of the YOTs and secure establishments visited and identifies what the interviewees perceived to be the main causes of racially motivated offending. From the 29 interviewees who responded to the question “what do you think are the main causes of racially motivated offending”, eight main causes were described. The suspected causes of racially motivated offending have been ranked in the table overleaf by the frequency with which they were mentioned.

Table 17: Causes of racially motivated offending identified by interviewees

Suspected causes of racially motivated offending	No. of interviewees referring to cause	Rank
Ignorance of young people about other cultures	16	1
Influence of parents' values and beliefs	15	2
Influence of the media	10	3
Influence of peers' values and beliefs	4	4=
Fear/distrust of other groups/cultures	4	4=
Lack of interaction with other groups	4	4=
Other**	4	4=
Territorial – not primarily racial	3	5

*N = 29 interviewees

** Other suggested causes of racially motivated offending included: using another group as a scapegoat; living in a racist society; the impact of Government policy; and intoxication.

As can be seen, the most commonly identified cause of racially motivated offending was a general ignorance among young people. 16 interviewees felt that the young people they had been working with displayed a lack of knowledge and understanding about other races and religions. One respondent commented, for example:

I think it's a lot to do with ignorance really. Not having facts and knowledge and understanding about lots of issues.

However, one interviewee strongly felt that ignorance could no longer be used as an 'excuse' for a young person behaving in a racially motivated manner:

I'm not prepared to accept ignorance any more because most people know the word 'Paki' is racist, that's why they use it. Not many people use that word without knowing it's offensive.

Some of the interviewees believed that this ignorance had its roots in the educational system, which did not do enough to inform young people about other cultures and religions:

They're not educated in each other's cultures.

Lack of education, a lot of young people here think that all asylum seekers get houses or you know, even they don't understand that we've all different heritage sort of thing, actually how many people would actually come from England if you trace back through ancestry.

I think there is an issue about education and having an understanding about different cultures and I am not sure that that is addressed in mainstream education.

It is interesting that lack of education was the cause most commonly identified by interviewees, as this did not emerge as a major factor in the review of the literature. However, the fact that many practitioners believe this to be the case perhaps explains why many of the interventions used by YOTs and secure establishments focus on the provision of education/information. As noted earlier in the study, Ray et al. (2002) argue that purely educational interventions are unlikely to be successful.

The second most common cause of racially motivated offending, identified by 15 out of 29 interviewees, was the influence of parents' or carers' values and beliefs upon a young person. These interviewees believed that the young person's racist views and beliefs were largely due to the fact that their parents held similar views, and passed these on to their children, either deliberately or unwittingly:

...one of the most important [causes] for racism is parental attitude, absolutely.

...the upbringing, the values that the families put to them and that is where a lot of young people don't actually understand what is so wrong with shouting certain words...

Parents. I think one lad, his dad was a member of the BNP and spent much of his time indoctrinating this child into his beliefs system and from what some of the young people were saying, their parents had similar views, I don't think as strong views as to join the BNP, but they had strong racist views. We asked them what would happen if you were to bring home an Asian partner – 'oh, my dad would beat the crap out of me'. So I think they were quite clear as to where their parents' views were, and I don't think they were prepared to shift from that.

Interviewees commented that where parents held strong racist beliefs, this made their work with young people more difficult. This was because when parents were approached with regard to their child's racist behaviour, some were unwilling to accept that there was anything wrong with their children's behaviour, thus reinforcing the child's racist attitudes:

[Her] parents are quite happy to be racist, we spoke to her dad, her dad said we all sort of say that [Paki] round here.

In the last case I dealt with, the parents supported [the young person] and were surprised that it was an offence.

The media was believed by 10 interviewees to be one of the causes of racially motivated offending among young people. These interviewees commented that the media (in particular the tabloid press) reported on issues such as immigration in a negative and largely inaccurate manner. This was felt to

contribute to and to fuel some of the racist views and beliefs that young people held:

...a lot of it comes from the media, the outrageous headlines, sometimes the views that they repeat, when you question them about it, they don't understand.

...the media always portray the negatives don't they, they never give any positives and the media is a massive, massive problem. All kids watch the telly, usually for about 10 hours a day, don't they? And I don't think we can underestimate the power of the media...

I think some of it is around the media as well in terms of the some of the kind of political contexts that some things happen in, you have only got to look at the tabloid press, which kind of increase and fuel people's ignorance I think and prejudice.

When discussing the media as a cause of racially motivated offending, interviewees commented how the portrayal of news stories by the media resulted in young people stereotyping and using specific terminology obtained from media reports. Some interviewees commented that young people are easily influenced by such media reporting, as they are unable to critically analyse the information presented to them:

One of the things since, I suppose the September 11th and the attacks in the UK, there has been an increase in terms of the language used directed around Bin Laden and what that brings as well. And you have to put that in the context that these are young people, children that are growing up and developing, so how it is portrayed in the media they will pick up on as well.

...young people don't hear the news as perhaps we hear the news, they just hear terrorism and for them it just goes across the board that you know, things like that. I don't think they are particularly good at taking bits of information out of something and processing that...

Some of the things that the young people say are taken from The Sun almost verbatim, and it's very difficult to battle with them because they're not believing [you], because it's in a newspaper, [they say] I've read this, you told me I should read more, well I've read this and I know it's the truth.

Another factor, identified by four interviewees, was fear or distrust of people from other cultures and races. This fear or distrust may be linked in with other causes, such as lack of education, or the influence of the media. For example, beliefs that people from certain countries carried knives, or were more likely to commit sex offences, were often based on rumour or misleading media reporting, and result from lack of knowledge of other cultures. The impact of this

would be to generate a fear of difference, which might then lead to offending against this group.

In the cases that I have worked with, I would say that the majority of it is a fear of people that are different and that fear manifests itself [...]

There's certainly a perception that those groups... the Eastern European people, that they carry knives, and I think those sort of misunderstandings about people have caused a lot more conflict and incidents between them.

There is a perceived threat from immigrants.

Four interviewees believed that one of the causes of racially motivated offending was the lack of contact and integration between young people of different races. Again, this is a factor that interacts with some of the other causes mentioned above. A lack of interaction can lead to fear or distrust, and can be one of the reasons for young people's ignorance of other cultures:

...they [White young people] haven't interacted with BME people, so I think that's the reason why [there is a hostility towards them].

...people are generally not being used to having lots of Asian people, Black people in a group really, so I think it would more be about a lack of contact and integration really.

This young person went to a school that was predominantly White; her integration into other cultures was very limited.

The quotes above might suggest that the problem is solely one of the White population failing to mix with other cultures, but, as the following quote illustrates, integration requires two willing parties, and other ethnic groups sometimes deliberately seek separation:

...that separateness is, I don't know if it's religious or what, because you perhaps tend to find, there isn't the same kind of separateness with Afro-Caribbeans, they integrate, they have a better understanding of each other, and it's seen as cool to adopt some of the Afro-Caribbean traits, whereas, because of the separateness issue of the Asian community, then it's perhaps a fear of the unknown. I think the separateness issue is one reason why these young people were able to hold on to their views.

There is support in the literature for the hypothesis that lack of interaction can lead to racially motivated offending. A Home Office sponsored report into the race riots in Oldham in 2001 lay some of the blame on the fact that Asian and White communities were living 'separate but parallel' lives.

One interviewee, herself Asian, described the reaction she sometimes receives when entering a community that has had no experience of interacting with people from the BME community.

Sometimes I get the odd look – ‘oh my god, it’s an Asian person, what’s she doing here?’ – and people start getting very suspicious and the reason for that is because a lot of people who live [here], they never come across an Asian person, or they have never come across a Black person, so it’s like for them coming across an alien or something.

Four interviewees felt the influence of peers was one cause of racially motivated offending. There was a suggestion that in some estates (White and Asian), there was a shared attitude among young people towards people of other races, which would make it easier for young people to justify their actions. More direct peer pressure, occurring when offending takes place in a group, was also cited as a potential disinhibiting factor:

...they had the reinforcement from the peers on the estate, who would frequently attack [Asian] taxi drivers.

Peer encouragement – getting some kudos from humiliating some member of the public.

As noted in Chapter 2, the majority of racially motivated crimes are in fact committed in groups (Jansson, 2006), supporting the peer influence hypothesis. Territoriality, or defending a defined geographical area against ‘outsiders’, was mentioned as a cause by three interviewees. While one interviewee linked territoriality directly to race, the other two saw it simply in terms of young people from one community viewing another community and its members as a different entity:

But I would say a lot of racially motivated stuff is about social areas, it’s about control, it’s about feeling empowered or disempowered. I think those are at the root at it.

... I suppose what makes that group [large Asian community] different is they’re visibly different, but underlying it all is that they’re from a different area to start with, so there’s automatically conflict.

I mean, I think when it comes down it, it’s not just about colour, or from a different country, they could be from the town, they could be from the wrong estate in the town, you know anything that shows someone up to be different from someone else, then they become a target for certain people coming from a certain perspective.

A number of interviewees commented on a series of other reasons they felt were possible causes of racially motivated offending, including the desire to scapegoat people from other cultures in reaction to a perception of grievance, or the disinhibiting effect of alcohol.

From the analysis above, the causes identified by the interviewees can be seen to relate to the three categories identified in the literature review:

- micro – for example, young people’s ignorance of other cultures; mistrust/fear
- meso – for example, the influence of parents and peers on beliefs and values; territoriality; separateness
- macro – for example, the impact of the media.

Between them, therefore, the practitioners who were interviewed identified some of the main causes of racially motivated offending at the micro, meso and macro levels, although mostly at the micro and meso levels. Having established what interviewees thought about the causes of racially motivated offending, the authors of the report thought it important to ask them whether they felt that the intervention/s in operation at their YOT/secure establishment addressed these causes. Surprisingly, fewer than half (eight) of the 18 interviewees who responded to this question felt that the intervention they used addressed the causes of racially motivated offending. For example:

Yeah, I think it starts to do. I think it gets them thinking, but its like [name of young person interviewed] said, at the time it was really useful but she’s forgotten it all now, so maybe we need to do like a refresher once every three months.

Definitely. You find they ask quite a lot of questions about it, they go away and think about it, we encourage them to look up their family tree a little, they go home and ask their parents and then their parents start to think. So it’s useful to get them to talk about it.

Some of the other interviewees were somewhat sceptical as to whether racially motivated offending was something that could be addressed solely by the use of an intervention, as the following quotes indicate:

I think it will open people’s eyes ... I mean I’d like to say yeah, everything’s going to be wonderful when they walk out the door, but a lot of young people who you know who do offend, any type of offending, it comes from learned behaviour from their family, their family’s attitudes, peer group pressure as well, when they’re in a group setting, I think it needs to be started not when they get to this level of offending, it needs to be started way back from being little kids, it’s educating right throughout their life, not just this particular offence. I think an hour a week over 12 weeks, might chip away but isn’t going to

change those perceptions what they might have had since they were three or four.

'Tackles' [is] a great word, isn't it. I think it introduces the notion that people can be different...

The remaining interviewees (six out of 18) were even less positive about the efficacy of the interventions they were using, as they felt that they did not address the causes of racially motivated offending. For these interviewees, racially motivated offending was seen as such a vast and sometimes complex area, that it was difficult, if not impossible, to tackle all the causes of a young person's offending:

No, they don't [tackle the causes]. They're going straight back home. I mean [name] who didn't have any RMO [racially motivated offending] prior to coming here, but has displayed racist attitude while she's been here, um, when I spoke to her dad and said, you know, she's racist, he says everyone is in [town], that's the way it is, we're surrounded by Pakis. And you think, whatever work we do, she's just going to go back into that environment, how can you change a whole area, and if those values are at home, it's going to be difficult for anyone to promote change isn't it.

No, realistically, no [the programme is not sufficient]. It's about making a start, with that particular young man, I thought there's a good chance we're going to be seeing him again, so at least if someone has made a start with it, it's something we can build on when he comes back. But in terms of eight weeks, shifting someone's attitudes, especially when they've just come out of prison, and they've got nowhere to live, they've got no job, no!

No, I think they start [to tackle the causes of racially motivated offending]. They try and really make, I suppose an inroad in something that is quite difficult, in that some people have quite embedded attitudes, so no, I think it's kind of, it starts people asking questions, but doesn't deliver all the information that people need ... but I don't think it really gets to the bottom of the problem about where the longstanding attitudes come from that need to be addressed, I think there could be a heck of a lot more done.

Some of the interviewees felt that they were unable to effectively deliver any intervention to young people as they felt that they did not have sufficient resources (an issue that is returned to later), and in some cases, the staff themselves recognised that they lacked an understanding of the subject matter:

That's something I think we're just starting to get our heads around as a YOT, that if we could have perhaps someone who has a lot of knowledge to perhaps come in and run a group with people. We can organise the young people, that's fine, can you come in and ensure

the information is delivered to young people to make sure they change their attitudes.

I don't feel well equipped to deal with it, and I think you have to be very well equipped to be able to change some of the attitudes that exist.

In addition to being asked whether the intervention addresses the causes of racially motivated offending, practitioners were asked whether or not they felt that the programme was in itself sufficient to deal with racially motivated offending. From the 15 practitioners that responded to this question, only one respondent (from a secure establishment) felt that the programme they had in place was sufficient to deal with racially motivated offending. Nine interviewees believed that the programme that they used was not sufficient to deal with racially motivated offending.

A number of interviewees also felt that work needed to be undertaken not only with the young person, but also with their family members and peers. As previously mentioned, the influence of parents' values and beliefs and the influence of peers' values and beliefs were seen as two causes for young people committing a racially motivated offence. Since all the interventions studied were focused solely on the young person, it is not surprising that some practitioners felt that a wider approach was needed:

Sometimes you might put a parent on a parenting order for condoning. It's coming from somewhere. Family and peers ... We're just starting – the group managers – to look at outreach work, to have mentors and volunteers out on the road engaging with young people with their peer groups. We're not reaching that peer group. We're just dealing with the individual.

...we need to be considering family and parents and peers. So it isn't just one person, it isn't just about the young person and addressing their views, it's all the other factors and influences within their life as well. A holistic approach really. I don't know if that is even achievable really.

It's difficult, because sometimes the views are reinforced by their peer group, and we can't work with everyone.

Some practitioners commented that whether the programme is sufficient or not ultimately depends upon the young person as an individual:

I think perhaps yes and no, I think it depends on the young person, because, as I say, some of the young people sort of go, well I hadn't thought of it like that and for that young person that one piece of work might have been enough, but for other young people ... you're not going to have four sessions and change that person's opinion...

As mentioned in the literature review, a number of writers have suggested that racially motivated offenders can be categorised according to the bases of their motivations, and McDevitt et al. (2002) proposed the following four typologies: thrill-seekers, defenders, retaliatory offenders and mission offenders. During the interviews conducted with practitioners, they were asked whether they felt there were different types of racially motivated offenders (the four types of racially motivated offenders were then briefly described). Of the 24 respondents to this question, 21 felt that there were different types of racially motivated offenders (the remainder were unsure as to whether there were different types). Of the 21 interviewees that felt there were different types of racially motivated offenders, six had encountered young people who had committed a racially motivated offence for the thrill of it (a thrill-seeker):

The thrill-seeking element is definitely part of it. A 12-month harassment campaign ... where he would be ringing them in the night ... part of that was about just being naughty.

Nine of the interviewees believed that some of the racially motivated offenders they had dealt with committed the offences because they felt they had to defend their country or their area (defenders). For example, when asked whether they believed there were different types of racially motivated offenders, one interviewee responded:

Yes, I do. With the defender they legitimate it by that, 'they are coming over, they're taking our girls, they're taking our jobs,' and this links back to what they have heard from their parents and what is a local culture thing.

Another interviewee commented:

I think in their minds, they probably see themselves as defending their area, their country, they don't want people coming over trying to get stuff, but I think ignorance makes them think it is theirs.

One interviewee commented that young people do not necessarily fall into only one category, and argued that some go through a transition between the various types of racially motivated offending:

I would say that they go through a transition of those types through various stages really ... so it may be, and I have certainly found in some cases all of those [different types of racially motivated offending] have come out really.

Four interviewees believed that the category of retaliatory offenders described some of the young people they had come across:

I would probably say the retaliation one really ... there seemed to be quite a few coming up where they would have an argument with somebody and then in the midst of the assault or the argument, then

they would use their nationality or their race against them and that is what they come to us for.

Finally, just one of the interviewees mentioned coming across mission offenders. It was clear from the responses given to the question about types of offender that most practitioners had not previously given much consideration to the possibility that there might be different types of racially motivated offenders. It was also evident from the descriptions of the interventions that none of the interventions seemed to acknowledge that different approaches might be needed with the different types of offenders. It is hard to see how the educational focus of many interventions would address the motivations of mission offenders or thrill-seekers for example.

Assessment and evaluation

One of the questions on the YOT survey (Chapter 3) related to how practitioners assessed whether a young person was in need of a racially motivated offending intervention. As noted then, their answers indicated that assessment was typically based on the offence the young person was convicted of, in addition to any concerns arising from the *Asset* assessment, or the attitudes and behaviours of the young person. When the same question was asked during interviews, a similar picture emerged. Practitioners said that all those convicted of a racially motivated offence would almost invariably be referred for intervention. This was not the only route to referral, however. As discussed elsewhere in this study, not all charges for racially motivated offending result in a conviction for racially motivated offending. Consideration of the background to the offence would therefore normally form part of the assessment:

Yes, we use the CPS papers as a starting point, and if there is some suggestion of racial motivation we would always go back to that and include it in our intervention plan.

Aside from the young person's offending history, the other main ways in which practitioners might decide whether the young person was in need of an intervention were through the initial *Asset* assessment conducted with the young person and through the normal process of supervision. Although *Asset* is designed as a generic risk assessment tool, it does contain two items that prompt the practitioner to consider issues of racial motivation. Firstly, under the Neighbourhood section (section 4 of part 2), practitioners are asked whether racial or ethnic tensions are a problem in the young person's neighbourhood. Secondly, in the Perception of Self and Others section (section 9 of part 2) practitioners are asked whether the young person displays discriminatory attitudes towards others, e.g. on the grounds of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, class, disability, or sexuality. It could be argued that these prompts are of limited utility in assessing racial motivation, as the first seems to imply that anyone from an area in which racial tension is present is at risk of racially motivated offending, while the second merely asks the practitioner whether the young person has overtly displayed discriminatory attitudes. Those who keep

their attitudes to themselves or live in areas that are not subject to racial tension are unlikely to be picked up, as one interviewee commented:

It's only getting marked down if they happen to pick up on that issue in their discussions with the young person. There is no direct enquiry. I think that that is a mistake.

It was interesting that none of the interviewees referred to any kind of specific assessment for racial motivation. They were very much reliant either on the existence of racially motivated offending in the young person's offending history, or on racial motivation being demonstrated while the young person is under supervision, through the young person 'slipping up':

Sometimes they just, for example, talking about a job, quite often they will say, 'oh, they're taking our jobs', or refer to somebody using a racist term. Then we would address those things, and I would think, it's not always appropriate to address them at that time, but I would come back to it, as another piece of work that you need to do. It's not something I would directly ask, it's just something that comes as you build a relationship, the language they use, their perceptions about people.

In other words, there is no objective test of whether a young person has a problem with racist attitudes. Rather, referral to an intervention is based either on the nature of the offence, or a subjective assessment of whether such attitudes or behaviours emerge during the supervision process. During the course of writing up the research, the authors of the report were contacted by a psychologist who had developed an online assessment tool ('Implicitly') designed to identify racist attitudes. Although the original application of this tool was in relation to job selection, its designers were seeking to apply it to racially motivated offenders. The tool is described on the Implicitly website (www.implicitly.co.uk) as follows:

Implicitly is a unique online test of a person's people preferences based on Age, Disability, Ethnic Origin, Gender or Sexual Orientation. It uses our response patterns to simple sorting tasks to measure the strength of our group preferences, which when very strong can lead to prejudice. Implicitly is a starting point for gaining deeper insight into our unconscious reactions to people who differ from us in various ways.

Implicitly test scores are underpinned by research and linked to our real world behaviour. Higher scores are indicative of our tendency to prejudge people and for those prejudgements to impact on our daily behaviour.

The Links with real world behaviours makes Implicitly a unique test. Implicitly is unrelated to other research programmes or tests, and content is protected by copyright and trademarks. Implicitly has the

*potential to examine attitudes towards a wide range of people and ideas.*¹³

Given the fact that racially motivated offenders account for such a low proportion of young people referred to YOTs, even were such a tool to be adapted to young people who offend, it would probably not be practical or cost effective to assess each young person for potential racist views. However, a closely related issue to assessment of suitability for an intervention is that of how to assess whether that intervention has been effective. This is the subject of the next section, and the role of attitude assessment is discussed again there.

It will be recalled that one of the questions on the YOT survey was whether the intervention had ever been evaluated. Just three of the respondents thought that it had (5%), although none could provide a concrete reference. A very similar response was given when the same question was posed to interviewees. None of the 26 respondents could definitely indicate whether or not any of the generic interventions – such as ‘From Murmur to Murder’ or ‘Teen Talk!’, which are used across a variety of YOTs and secure establishments – had been formally evaluated, although one thought that “it has been but that was quite a while ago”. Similarly, none of the bespoke interventions that were in place had been formally evaluated. None of the interviewees could point to any independent supporting evidence for the efficacy of the interventions they used.

The lack of formal evaluation might not be such a concern if practitioners were able to evidence change at an individual level with the young people they worked with. Therefore interviewees were asked how they assessed the impact of the intervention on the young person. The responses to this question revealed a considerable variation in practice across the YOTs and secure establishments in how they evaluate the effectiveness of the interventions that they deliver to racially motivated offenders. Five interviewees referred to Asset as the main evaluation tool:

We use the ‘What Do YOU Think?’ which is the Asset tool which is the young person’s self assessment.

Through Asset, and you do a score, you’ll see whether it’s gone up or gone down, ideally you’d want it to go down, but sometimes you’ve more information about the attitudes of the young person so the score goes up when you finish, and that’s not unusual, because you might not have known this YP [young person] three months ago, you now know a lot more about them so the score goes up.

Well, obviously the whole Asset process would be a review of any attitudes, change in thinking.

¹³ <http://www.implicitly.co.uk/> – accessed 6.10.2009.

One interviewee who used *Asset* to evaluate the effectiveness of the intervention suggested that *Asset* could be altered to try to get a better understanding of a young person's racially motivated offending:

I think the part that needs altering on the Asset is the thinking and cognition part of the Asset. I think if that could be altered a little bit to incorporate you know, what their views are, specifically around racial tension.

However, some of the interviewees (four out of 26) felt that *Asset* was not an appropriate tool to use to measure the impact of the intervention, as it is not detailed enough to capture information specific to racist attitudes or the causes of racist offending:

No, Asset wouldn't necessarily tell you that.

... it's not specific enough... I don't think [Asset] picks up any change on that specific issue.

The limitations of *Asset* in regard to racially motivated offending were pointed to in the previous section – *Asset* is too generic to be able to pick up on changes in racist attitudes or behaviours.

Two interviewees (two out of 26) referred to using *Viewpoint* as a method of determining whether the intervention had impacted on the young person:

Viewpoint is basically looking at the offence that the young person has committed and the intervention that they have had, looking at what work they have had, what impact that had had on them, whether it has changed their view on things, how they would react in the future. Basically, the information is collated which is really good because it lets us know what things are good and what things aren't so good.

Viewpoint is an interactive, multimedia software package, which can be used with children and young people to explore their ideas on a range of topics that might concern them.¹⁴ While this type of software might have its uses in terms of assessing what young people thought about the intervention and what they liked or did not like about it, it is not designed to measure whether the intervention actually worked, and would certainly not pick up changes in attitude relating to race.

Eleven interviewees indicated that they use a number of informal evaluation methods to attempt to measure the effectiveness of an intervention used with racially motivated offenders. An example of an informal method is where practitioners ask the young person whether they feel they learned anything from

¹⁴ Produced by the Viewpoint Organisation, see: <http://www.vptorg.co.uk/index.asp>.

the intervention and whether they are retaining any information that they have learned:

We ask them what have they done the week before. .. If they say we can't remember we know we got problems. Luckily they did remember – we knew they were retaining something.

We do it sort of through verbal feedback, other than that I don't know.

As one practitioner admitted, such methods are subjective, and he bemoaned the lack of an adequate tool to assess change:

It's very subjective [whether the intervention has had a positive impact upon the young person]; we don't have a tool for gauging that. We could do an exit interview or questionnaire, with you know the right questions. You'd have to have the right questionnaire, to be able to gauge it, but we don't have that.

In other YOTs practitioners used a more formal evaluation sheet to try to determine what the young person thought of the content of the programme, whether the young person felt there were enough activities to complete and whether they enjoyed undertaking the work:

It's just about getting feedback from them to see whether they enjoyed the sessions, because I try to make the sessions as informal as possible and I try to make them fun as well. So it's just getting feedback from the young person about how and when they enjoyed the sessions and whether there are other things that I can improve on.

We do a formal evaluation at the end of each of them, just to check out what the young person has learned, what they got out of it; it's been useful in improving the course, we're almost happy with what the sessions look like. The evaluation is good for us, to see how it could be improved, you just learn each time.

Again, such approaches might be valuable in providing feedback on the programme, but they are not going to be able to determine whether the programme has had a positive impact on the young person's attitudes and behaviour. Indeed, as one practitioner acknowledged, young people may simply say what they think their supervising officer wants to hear:

I think that's a really difficult thing, because its got to be done in such a way ... because they could be saying those comments to my ears or other practitioners' ears, but they're still feeling it and thinking it and I think that's the real danger, like I could say that to my friends and family but not to my practitioner.

Other examples of how practitioners described assessing the effectiveness of the intervention included observing the young person and speaking with other practitioners within the team in an attempt to identify whether there had been a

change in behaviour, and noting whether the young person returns to the YOT/secure establishment with a subsequent racially motivated offending conviction. There was only one case where a method of assessment included a specific attempt to measure a change in attitudes towards other ethnic groups. In Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 12, a practitioner had devised a questionnaire containing 10 statements (for example, “the house next door to yours has just been sold to a family of a different race”),¹⁵ and the young person was asked (at both the beginning and end of the intervention) to indicate using a Likert-type scale¹⁶ whether they minded or not, as the interviewee explains:

Interviewee: There is something in here, an evaluation sheet, it's a normal simple tick box thing, you can sit with the young person and have a snap shot [reads a few of the questions out] it's transferable, to sexual orientation, sitting next to a gay person, a Kosovan, a Muslim, you know what I mean.

Interviewer: You ask these at the beginning and the end?

Interviewee: The beginning, do whatever you want to do, one session, two, three, and do it at the end. Not many young people will be smart enough to remember after three weeks what they said three weeks ago. It's just a snapshot to identify any change. It's not too long, too complex. You should be able to get a good indication without them drifting off.

Although brief and admittedly simplistic, of the various approaches to assessing change adopted by the YOTs and secure establishments that were visited, this came the closest to measuring change in racist attitudes, and would form a useful starting point for other YOTs wishing to measure change.

As noted in the previous section, a tool called Implicitly has been developed to assess prejudicial (including racist) attitudes, and while it might not be practical to use this for assessing the views of each young person referred to the YOT, it could prove useful in assessing the change of attitudes of the small numbers of young people taking part in racially motivated offending interventions. Furthermore, its format (completed via the internet) may appeal more to young people than a paper-based exercise. As a number of interviewees made clear, such a tool would be clearly welcomed.

¹⁵ The 10 items in the questionnaire were derived from an example contained in Fischer and Corcoran's (1994) *Measures for Clinical Practice*.

¹⁶ Likert scaling is commonly used in questionnaires and allows respondents to specify their level of agreement with a statement.

Practice and implementation issues

Although YOTs are responsible for supervising young people sanctioned by the courts for racially motivated offending, there is no reason why some of this work could not be undertaken by agencies independent of YOTs, for example charitable or voluntary organisations. Therefore, interviewees were asked whether they had any links with other organisations in terms of delivering interventions for racially motivated offenders. The vast majority of interviewees (24 out of 29) said that all work with racially motivated offenders was carried out solely by YOT or secure estate staff respectively. This tallies with the earlier finding from the YOT survey, which revealed that 86% of those organisations that had provision for racially motivated offenders delivered the interventions themselves.

Although most interviewees said that they did not currently involve other organisations, the question prompted a number of them to state that they thought that there would be benefits in working with, for example, voluntary organisations. As noted in an earlier section, training on racially motivated offending was largely non-existent and many staff felt that they lacked the knowledge (e.g. about cultural differences) to challenge young people's views. This is one area that voluntary organisations could help with, as one interviewee suggested:

There's a Portuguese community group which we could perhaps, could give us, not even so much the young people, but the staff, could give us a talk and explain a little more about, because generally I don't know much about Portuguese culture, I sort of rely on what I've seen and what I pick up, so I think if we could utilise those groups, to work with the staff then I think we'd be in a better place to talk to the young people about breaking down some of those stereotypes.

The nature of the interventions offered by the YOTs/secure establishments that were visited have already been described in some detail, and it will be recalled that, in a handful of cases, the work with young people involved voluntary agencies. It might be useful to summarise here some of these arrangements, as they illustrate the different ways in which voluntary groups can contribute to YOTs' work with young people.

The arrangements at Wales YOT 16 were unique in terms of the YOTs that were visited in that one individual from outside the YOT conducted the bulk of the work with racially motivated offenders. The individual (a salaried diversity initiatives officer from the local racial equality council) was seconded to the YOT two days a week to work with any young people convicted of racially motivated offending or displaying discriminatory attitudes. Such an approach has obvious advantages for the YOT, as the YOT can devolve responsibility for dealing with racially motivated offending to one person, ensuring that young people are dealt with in a consistent manner. Also, there did not appear to be any direct salary costs for the YOT. A potential disadvantage of relying entirely on one person is that YOT staff might not feel the need to learn about racially motivated offending

and should the seconded officer leave for any reason, they might struggle to deal with such offenders on their own. Furthermore, one would have to question how sustainable such an approach would be in a YOT with a higher throughput of racially motivated offenders.

In Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 8, a 'mixed economy' approach was adopted. There, a 12-session group work programme had been devised, which was delivered jointly by YOT staff, a volunteer from the racial equality council, and a volunteer local poet/rap artist. A typical session would involve around eight young people, two YOT staff and two volunteers. This approach allowed the YOT to deliver group work programmes with a high staff/young person ratio, but at a lower cost in terms of YOT staff time. The two volunteers also brought to the group skills and knowledge that complemented those of the YOT workers and it was clear from the interviews with the young people that they had enjoyed both working with the volunteers and the rap lyrics.

Finally, in West Midlands YOT 11, a volunteer from a local housing cooperative (Peace House) was involved in a more consultative role, and less in terms of delivery. The YOT workers had devised the six-session programme in collaboration with the volunteer from the cooperative and had gained some materials (e.g. the myth buster pack) which they used in their intervention. The only direct involvement of the volunteer was in one of the sessions, in which she introduced an asylum seeker to talk about his experiences to the group. Again, the YOT benefited from the knowledge and skills offered by an outside organisation, but maintained more control over the delivery of the programme than in the two previous examples.

These three case studies illustrate some of the benefits and potential drawbacks of involving voluntary organisations. It is not being suggested that any one model is better than another; the local circumstances of the YOT or secure establishment will determine whether, and how, voluntary organisations might be involved. As noted in the concluding chapter, this is an area that more YOTs might wish to explore.

In response to the question concerning links with other organisations, a number of interviewees took the opportunity to comment on the issue of working with offenders who had been sentenced to custody. One concern was that in poorly resourced institutions (particularly YOIs) nothing was done during the custodial part of the sentence to address offending behaviour, as the following quotes indicate:

I just had a lad come out after six months and he had some racial undertones to his offending, it wasn't a RMO [racially motivated offence] but it could easily have been, he's been inside for six months, there's only one day's offence-focused work they offered him, and he hasn't even had that.

You think actually I need about a year with this man, but he's been in custody, done his time, out on licence, and it ends and we've got no

contact with him. He went to [YOI]; I don't think they talked to him about why he did it, or if they did, there was little. I never got any evidence about what they'd sort of done to start talking to him about it in custody, because if they had of done, at least he would have had 16 weeks, double the time, it would have been a start, so yeah, that was my sort of experience. That particular custodial institution, they're not, it's not that they're not willing to do it, I don't think they've got the resources to actually start doing that work with people.

For those on short sentences, the likelihood of custodial institutions doing any constructive work regarding their offending was felt to be even lower:

And the length of sentence as well, they're in there for two months, you're not even going to get the basics done, you're lucky if you get any [offending behaviour work] done, let alone racially motivated offending.

One interviewee commented that the lack of racially motivated offending provision in custody represented a lost opportunity to take advantage of the fact that offenders are temporarily removed from the estates and peers that may have acted as precipitating factors. Furthermore, it made the task of addressing their offending and attitudes once they were out on licence that much more difficult, as the offence was no longer fresh in their minds, and the young people wondered why they were being made to address it only now:

And that's the sad thing, you attend these panel meetings and you put down these targets, and in terms of [offending behaviour] that's not going to happen, they know it's not going to happen nine times out of ten, and you know it's not going to happen, and you know it's something that's going to have to be picked up when they're released, by which time the young person's thinking, 'Well I've done my sentence, I've done my time, I don't even remember what I did anyway, why am I having to do this, why are you punishing me again?'

And there's a thing about striking while the iron's hot, isn't there, and it, they've lost it, and I think that's why, if they hadn't gone to custody, even if, and I agree with [colleague] that for some there may be limited impact or no impact, but at least we would have had a better shot at it, because I felt we were up against it from the start.

For all the cases that I have supervised, it is left for release when they come out and again then you're working against a deadline to times and all those types of things, so it does have a massive knock-on effect.

As seen from the YOT survey and case studies, a minority of secure establishments did have provision for racially motivated offenders. However, the issue of continuity of supervision between custody and community is an important one, and is not confined to racially motivated offenders.

As discussed in the literature review, the causes of racially motivated offending are complex, diverse and vary between individuals. It follows that the best method of dealing with a particular offender will depend on being able to assess the causal factors, so that an appropriate intervention can be delivered. One way of developing the knowledge and skills needed to make such an assessment is through training. Therefore practitioners were asked whether they had ever received any training specifically on the issue of racially motivated offenders. It was surprising to learn that none of the interviewees had received such training. This did not appear to be due to reluctance on behalf of the practitioners to undertake such training, or their managers' reluctance to fund it. Rather, it appeared, from their responses and from research into the area carried out for this report, that no such training currently exists:

There isn't any is there?

No, there is nothing specific [to racially motivated offending].

I'm not aware of any training of that nature.

However, there was clearly an appetite for training that would help practitioners to assess and intervene with racially motivated offenders. The question prompted a number of interviewees to say that they wished such training were available, while others said that training in this area was something that their organisations were considering:

It's something that we are looking at – equipping the staff with more skills to recognise these [racist] incidents.

It's on our agenda, it's going to happen.

One interviewee commented that training on how to assess racially motivated offenders would be useful:

The assessment skills, because some of the people who commit the hate crimes are very, very intelligent at covering things up, so it is about styles of interviewing and things so that you can make sure that the assessments are accurate.

Although the practitioners that were interviewed had received no specific training on racially motivated offending, the majority had attended training sessions on areas such as diversity, racial equality, and victims. The contents of some of these training sessions may well have had some relevance to the issue of racially motivated offending. For example, diversity courses may impart information to practitioners that will enable them better to challenge young people's views, such as 'asylum seekers take all our jobs'. This was the aim of the diversity training delivered in one of the secure establishments visited:

I deliver diversity training to all the staff. The main thing I explain to them is to have as much information, you've got to go out there and

gain your own knowledge about different individuals; I do encourage the staff to go out and learn about different people's cultures, etc. In diversity training we do give people information, and where to find out information, like the census.

The information provided in diversity or racial equality training can be equally useful in challenging the views of staff before they start to intervene with young people, as one interviewee commented:

We had a day where we went to the mosque and met the [Imam] and he explained quite a lot of things and cleared up some misconceptions and gave a fairly good explanation about a lot of things people don't understand or take for granted. And that were helpful ... it's only when you're having these discussions that you're faced with your own racist views as well, and sometimes you may find yourself agreeing with some of the things that the young person is saying and I think you need to be able to challenge your own potential racist views as well before challenging others.

Similarly, courses that deal with issues regarding victims and victimisation may help staff to come up with strategies to encourage empathy for victims of racist offences:

It's about working with victims. With victim work we do tend to look at the stone in the pool effect; ok if you did this how many people does that affect? So it is not only the victims but their families, and friends of the victims.

Summary

In summary, it is clear that while there is an abundance of generic training about diversity and equality, there is a genuine gap in the provision of training for practitioners about the assessment of racially motivated offending and the design and delivery of appropriate interventions. From the evidence collected through discussion in interviews, were such a training package to be developed, it should aim to cover the following issues:

- an introduction to the legislation around racially motivated offending
- what is known about the causes of racially motivated offending
- how to assess whether young people hold racist views and/or are at risk of committing a racially motivated offence
- provision of factual information to help practitioners address common myths (e.g. about asylum seekers)
- the types of interventions that might suit different types of racially motivated offenders
- measuring change in offenders' racist attitudes.

However, in the short term, it is unlikely that such a comprehensive package of training could be developed. This is because at present not enough is known about how best to assess racially motivated offenders, the effectiveness of interventions, or how attitude change can be measured. That is not to say that a less ambitious type of training could not be developed, covering legislation, causes of racially motivated offending and 'myth busting'.

Lack of training is not the only potential obstacle to working effectively with racially motivated offenders – as with any area of work, the provision of adequate resources or support is obviously essential. Resources can encompass the necessary financial support to buy materials, sufficient staff to deliver programmes and managerial or organisational support. Interviewees were asked whether they thought that they had sufficient resources to deliver interventions with racially motivated offenders. One-third (10 out of 30) of those asked felt that they did. The majority, however, thought that resources were not sufficient.

By far the most common issue arising was in relation to the lack of materials to use with young people. In some cases, practitioners were aware that there were materials available, but they did not have the funds to purchase them:

I know that there is various publishers that do books, learning material, resources specifically aimed at racism, stereotypes; I haven't got the funds for that so I think if I had more resources, I think that would improve my work.

For others, however, the issue was more to do with a lack of knowledge of what was available, or a belief that there was nothing that had been shown to work, as the following quotes illustrate:

If you could tell me of a programme that was out there and that was going to cost us money, then the budget would be found to provide that resource. So in terms of that I am quite confident. What I am not so confident about are the actual resources that are out there.

We have the staff, we meet national standards, so that is not an issue. I think the issue, I think what we actually do – when we are confronted and sat opposite a young person – that's going to be most effective, that would be the issue. It would be the resources, or the lack of them ... If there was something that we could buy, we would have bought it.

I would like something, I suppose it is asking the impossible, I would like something that has been proved to work. Something that had been evaluated properly.

Five interviewees stated that they had insufficient numbers of staff to deal adequately with racially motivated offending. Two noted that the poor quality of the YOT's accommodation had an adverse impact on delivering interventions

(although this was not specific to racially motivated offenders of course), while one reiterated the need for training:

More staff training – I know that is something I feel I could really benefit from, it's an area I feel very passionate about that needs to be tackled; but I need to feel that I have the knowledge and all of the personal skills that I need to be able to challenge, as I say very animated and very embedded attitudes. So more staff training around this definitely would be fantastic, please!

None of the interviewees cited lack of managerial or organisational support.

In summary, some of the issues raised by interviewees regarding resources were local (e.g. staffing and premises) and not necessarily specific to the delivery of interventions with racially motivated offenders. As such, they are not issues which can be commented on here or about which recommendations can be made. However, the availability and dissemination of existing resources is something that could be addressed, and some suggestions are made in the concluding chapter on how this could be done.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the views of practitioners around racially motivated offending, as well as providing information about the delivery and implementation of interventions. The practitioners that were interviewed identified a range of factors that they believed contributed to racially motivated offending, and these tended to concentrate on the micro (beliefs/ignorance of young people) and meso (peer and family influence) factors. Surprisingly, fewer than half of practitioners thought that the interventions they used addressed the causes of racially motivated offending that they had identified; nor did they tend to think that the intervention on its own was sufficient to tackle racially motivated offending. This was explained by interviewees in terms of the complexity or intractability of racist views, or in terms of the influence of factors such as parents, peers and the media, over which they had little control.

Young people were placed in interventions largely on the basis of the index offence (or evidence from charge papers in cases where the racially motivated element of an offence had been dropped), or due to racist attitudes or behaviour being demonstrated during supervision. None of the interviewees could provide concrete evidence that the interventions they used had been independently evaluated – their efficacy was largely taken on trust. When asked how they assessed whether the intervention had worked with the young person, practitioners tended to refer to changes in *Asset* scores or feedback from the young people themselves. In only one YOT was any specific attempt made to measure change in racist attitudes.

A number of sites worked collaboratively with voluntary organisations and these arrangements offered a number of potential advantages (cost, enthusiasm and

complementary skills of voluntary workers), as well as disadvantages (de-skilling YOT workers, lack of sustainability). In terms of training, most staff had received generic diversity training, but there was a clear gap in terms of training to help practitioners in the assessment of racially motivated offenders and the design and delivery of appropriate interventions. A number of interviewees also commented that they lacked sufficient resources. In some cases this meant a lack of money to buy existing resources, while others bemoaned the lack of proven effective resources on the market. In the penultimate chapter the experiences of young people at the receiving end of the interventions are considered.

6: Young people's experiences of racially motivated offending intervention provision

Introduction

Thus far the provision of interventions for racially motivated offenders has been explored from the point of view of those delivering them. In this chapter, the findings are presented from the interviews that were conducted with 17 young people who had taken part in some of these interventions. The interviews aimed to explore the circumstances of the offence, what young people thought about the intervention, and whether their attitudes had changed (see Appendix 4).

The authors of the report had intended to interview one or two young people at each of the YOTs or secure establishments visited. In the event, they had to lower their expectations somewhat, as, in many of the YOTs there were no current racially motivated offenders 'on the books' that could be interviewed. Furthermore, young people were obviously under no obligation to talk to the researchers, and some declined to take part in interviews, or failed to turn up to interviews that had been arranged. However, the 17 young people who were interviewed represented a range of different types of racially motivated offender and their views add value to the discussion of the service provision available. Of the 17 young people interviewed, 12 were male and 14 were White – there were also two Asian and one Black interviewees. The young people were aged 15 to 18, the 18-year-old was interviewed at a YOI. Given the relatively small number of young people interviewed, the findings should be seen as exploratory rather than definitive.

Nature of the offending and motivation

The researchers began by asking the young people to talk about the offence they were charged with that led to them being referred to the programme. As most interventions were open to both those with racially motivated offending convictions and those without but who were displaying racist attitudes, not all of the young people who were interviewed had been convicted of a racially motivated offence. In fact, three of the 17 had not been convicted of racially motivated offending, and neither had the original charges in these cases been racially aggravated. All three were placed on the interventions because the YOT workers believed the young people would benefit from a racially motivated offending intervention due to attitudes or behaviours that had emerged during the course of their supervision.

The answers to the question about their offence revealed that many young people refused to accept that they had committed a racially motivated offence, despite having been convicted of one. This raises the question of whether these young people were simply in denial or whether they were victims of wrongful

convictions. Without access to the evidence, it is impossible to determine whether the convictions were unsound. It is therefore only possible to record what the young people said about the motivations for the offences for which they were convicted.

What struck the researchers most about the interviews they conducted with convicted racially motivated offenders was the almost universal rejection of the label of racism in regard to their offending. Almost all the offenders accepted that they had committed an offence (e.g. assault or criminal damage), but only three agreed that the offence should have been prosecuted as racially motivated. The rest explained that their offences had other motivations, see below. As noted in Chapter 1, Ray et al. (2002) suggest that denial is a response to the offender's recognition that racism is wrong and something that needs to be justified to themselves.

There is an interesting parallel here with people convicted of sex offences, a significant proportion of whom also deny the sexual aspect of the offence – around one-third of sex offenders in a sample of long-term prisoners were 'deniers' according to Hood et al., 2002. Both sex offences and racially motivated offences carry more stigma than 'normal' offences and this may partly explain the reluctance of offenders to accept the label. There is also an important difference between the two groups in terms of their involvement in offending behaviour work. For sex offenders, it is usually the case that the offender has to accept responsibility before they can engage in a sex offender treatment programme. This is because it is believed that cognitive change is unlikely to occur when the individual is in denial. It is interesting that when practitioners were asked about selection criteria for their racially motivated offending interventions, none stated that denial of the offence would be a bar to an offender taking part in the intervention. Instead, it was common practice for deniers to be placed on racially motivated offending interventions. This does raise the question of whether the impact of interventions for such offenders is diminished. On the other hand, were practitioners only to work with offenders who admitted their racism, the numbers would be very small. While denial undoubtedly complicates intervention, it does not mean that productive work cannot or should not be attempted, for example through instruction, challenge and confrontation.

If racism was not the motivation for their offences, what did the young people attribute their offences to? Each young person was asked to describe the background to their offence, and what had led them to commit the offence. The table below summarises the offences for those 14 young people who had been convicted of a racially motivated offence, and the main motivation for the offence according to the young people.

Table 18: Offences and the motivations for them, according to young people who offend

Racially motivated offence/s	Motivation for offence/s
Harassment	Claims not responsible for offence
Harassment	Retaliation
Assault	Intoxication (x 2)
Assault	Intoxication/retaliation
Assault	Self-defence
Assault	A result of an altercation
Assault	Retaliation
Assault and criminal damage (building, non-dwelling)	Retaliation
Criminal damage (to a vehicle) and harassment	Extremist views
Criminal damage (vehicle)	Retaliation
Criminal damage (vehicle)	Intoxication/racism
Criminal damage (building, non-dwelling)	Accidental
Public order	Retaliation/racism

As Table 18 shows, the three types of racially motivated offence most often committed by the young people who were interviewed were racially aggravated assaults (accounting for over half the offences), criminal damage and harassment. As noted above, most of the young people interviewed claimed that the offence was not motivated by racism. Six of the interviewees commented that they committed the offence (at least in part) in retaliation to what they perceived to be a provocation, as the following quotes illustrate:

Well, my mate's brothers was having some trouble with some Asians, so we went to sort it out and it just got out of control really ... They were being racist to my mate's brothers, so we went over to see why and stuff and ... then his sons come out, the Asian's sons come out, pushing my mates ... so I had to push him, his dad come out and smacked me ... Then I went to get my mates and went back up. And then they come up our way and then we all started arguing and I just smashed his car with a brick.

17-year-old White male

They just looked at me and thought I was an Asian and didn't like me drinking in that pub, so whenever I used to go there it all used to kick off and I used to kick off back to them. At first it was alright, basically there was a White lad going there, I knew him from school, but while he was in a group he was picking on my friend, he jumped us, the next day we got him back, he phoned the police that's how I got done for it.

17-year-old Asian male

I didn't target them because they were from a different race or anything ... they were just like screaming at us for walking past their house ... and we used to scream stuff back and she kept screaming at us and we thought, you know and one day if she screams at us we, we'll throw a stone at her window...

17-year-old White male

This notion of young people committing a racially motivated offence as an act of retaliation (the 'retaliatory offender' – see typology in Chapter 1) links with comments made by some practitioners during interview, discussed in the previous chapter. For two other young people, the offence arose out of a dispute or physical altercation, and they justified their response in terms of self-defence:

I don't think I'm racial [sic] so, I wouldn't take the piss out of someone 'cause they're a different colour, that's wrong. I wouldn't hit people, unless it was self-defence, you know what I mean.

16-year-old White male

I didn't think that was fair when I was arrested for it, because I'm not racial [sic]. I wouldn't have hit him if he hadn't grabbed me and accused me of something.

16-year-old White, male

The other main motivation for committing a racially motivated offence described by four interviewees, was intoxication:

Why I done it? 'Cause I was drunk.

15-year-old, White, female

It was drink really, I used to drink and that, I used to drink in pubs, and the pub I used to drink in all used to be White, and obviously they didn't like me going there, so I used to get into fights with them, and they used to ring the police on me and that, they arrested me and from there I got convicted.

17-year-old, Asian, male

Interviewee: *We were all getting drunk and we were in a fairground, and loads of Asians come, and we all ended up fighting, then I got arrested.*

Interviewer: *What made you get into the fight?*

Interviewee: *I dunno, can't remember, I was too drunk.*

14-year-old White female

Some of the young people took this question as an opportunity to comment on what they perceived to be the unfairness of the criminal justice system's response to racially motivated offending. These young people believed that the system was more likely to label an offence as racially motivated if the offender was White, than if the offender was from an ethnic minority:

But in a way I think us Whites are, say a coloured person hit one of us, racial, would it be treated the same? I don't think so.

16-year-old White male

I had that done to me, been battered off Asians. No racial bit in it, the charge. But when I batter them it's racial.

16-year-old White male

I think us White people do get treated differently in a way though, because if, say, he hit me and I hit him back [my offence] would be treated as [racially aggravated] assault or something; that's just the way it is.

16-year-old White male

Interestingly, one of the Asian offenders believed the police simply classed an offence as racially motivated where it involved a victim and offender from different ethnic groups, regardless of the true motivation:

If you think about it, if an Asian hits a White person, they'll always class it as racist; if a White hits an Asian, they'll always class it as racial assault these days. Even when it's a normal fight when it's got nothing to do with racism, they class it as a racial assault, which it wasn't.

16-year-old Asian male

There is some corroboration for this view from Burney and Rose's (2002) investigation into how the law is working in terms of racial offending. The authors found that some solicitors thought that the police brought charges for racially aggravated offending too readily, at times assuming that ethnic differences between offender and victim alone were sufficient proof that the offence was racially aggravated (ibid: p.77).

However, three of the young people that were interviewed did admit that their motivation for committing the offence was primarily due to the views they held about people from other races or religions. One young person described holding hostile views towards Muslims:

Well, when I heard about the London bombs and 9/11 I just felt like I didn't like them doing that and I just felt like it mattered so I got in contact with some right-wing people [via a social networking site]... I'm not saying that all Muslims are bad, but Muslims that protest and say that we treat them badly.

17-year-old White male

Another interviewee, who had vandalised a car with Polish registration plates, admitted that he found the influx of Poles into his community problematic:

I'd seen a [Polish] car right and I thought, 'Fuck it,' and took the wing mirror and thought 'Oh great.' I have got a problem with them [Poles] – there is loads around here. There's loads and we're just, getting overtook by Polish. No one is really liking it that much.

16-year-old, White, male

The third interviewee described living in a town with a history of racial tension, where attacks by Asians on Whites and Whites on Asians were part of everyday life; he freely admitted that he disliked Asians:

Interviewee: *I don't get on with them [Asians].*

Interviewer: *Why is that?*

Interviewee: *Because I just don't. In [name] where I live, you've got [names two White estates] and next to it is [name of Asian estate]. That's where all the Asians live. For us to get to town ... you have to walk through [Asian estate] and some of us have ... been jumped – battered by about 10 Asians ... now when one of them walks through [our estate] we're going to do something, because they do it to us. We didn't start anything, they started it before.*

16-year-old White male

With the exception of the three interviewees described above, the other young people were keen to stress that they were not racist:

I'm not racist ... I have got Asian mates and stuff like that.

17-year-old White female

I didn't target them because they were from a different race or anything.

17-year-old White male

I'm not racial [sic].

16-year-old White male

My Mum is White, so I can't be racist if my Mum is White.

17-year-old Asian male

This leads back to the issue of denial. The disparity between the convictions for racially motivated offending and the young people's own perceptions of their motivations for the offences may be explained in terms of some of the young people holding racist views but denying them. Alternatively, this disparity might reflect some young people's ignorance of what constitutes racism. That some young people are 'deniers' is something that one of the practitioners interviewed commented on:

One sort of uniting factor is with all the young people that I have worked with on this type of offence: no one will actually admit that their behaviour is actually racist and they won't admit that they are racist. So, this girl [name] will draw on that being a spur-of-the-moment thing, something that happened at the time – so the fact that this man was being racially abused all the way through this offence, it was witnessed by many people the type of language that was used – in 10 sessions she never, never admitted to me that those words came out of her mouth.

On the other hand, there may well be some young people who have been convicted of a racially motivated offence yet who do not hold racist views. The Government's guidance defines a racist incident as, "...any incident which is viewed as racist by the victim or any other person". The subsequent obligation on the police to record it as such, could, in some circumstances, lend itself to the misidentification of offences and subsequent inappropriate conviction of suspects. This was the belief of one young person who was interviewed, who had been convicted of racially aggravated criminal damage:

I smashed a window of a Chinese restaurant, and they just classed it as racial.

15-year-old White male

Therefore, one could argue that there are three possible types of convicted racially motivated offender:

- those who are racist and admit to being racist
- those who are racist but deny that they are racist
- those who are not racist, yet have been convicted of a racially motivated offence.

With no means of assessing racist attitudes or of verifying the true circumstances of the offences, it is not possible to determine which of the young people who were interviewed fall into which category, or even if any really do fall into the third category.

Views about the intervention

Fifteen young people were able to comment on the intervention they had been involved with as a result of being charged with a racially motivated offence – the other two young people mentioned earlier were yet to start. The majority of the interventions described by the young people involved worksheets and DVDs. There were mixed views from the young people as to how they found the interventions.

Two young people were interviewed at West Midlands YOT 11. Both of them recalled working on the intervention entitled 'Who Lives Here?'. One young person described how, previously, she had had a lack of knowledge about other religions and races, and the intervention had helped her to understand, for example, why some people flee their country and seek asylum. This links with a main cause of racially motivated offending identified through the interviews with practitioners – young people's ignorance about other cultures. The other interviewee said that he found the intervention "good, most of it", but when asked, couldn't remember what work he had done. The only part of the intervention that the young person could recall was a guest speaker that attended to talk to the young people about their experience of seeking asylum. The young person also commented that he had forgotten all the information that he had learned during the intervention. This prompted the practitioners involved in this intervention to consider implementing a refresher session, to take place a couple of months after the end of the intervention, to reinforce the key messages.

The young person interviewed at STC 4 had been working on 'Teen Talk!' and described how the intervention consisted of numerous worksheets along with verbal feedback – in some cases directly to the practitioner. The young person described this intervention as 'alright'.

The interviewee at East YOT 5 described how he had to watch the *Show Racism the Red Card* programme as part of his intervention. The young person commented that he did not find the programme useful:

Stupid really, because they aren't really saying a lot about the racism part of it, most of it is just repeating themselves, 'Show red card', 'Stop racism'.

16-year-old White male

However, the young person found the other DVD that he watched during the intervention (*Just Listen*) more interesting:

I watched that, that was pretty good, that was.

The young person interviewed at South West YOT 5 described how he had met with his YOT worker prior to commencing the programme and planned a

schedule of the work that was to be undertaken. The young person also spoke positively about the work that he had completed:

We have a meeting and then we plan a programme; there's one called 'Changes', that was really good that was, and that makes you think different sorts of situations, like if I was in a fight with a White person, and if it changed with a Black person or someone with a knife or something, how it changes and that. Or like if it was Polish or something like that...

16-year-old White male

At Wales YOT 16, the young person described the intervention as consisting of a series of worksheets and discussions to try to change his views and to educate him about other races and religions:

I have been seeing her for a few weeks and she's been trying to see my views on religion, try and see what people can think is racist and trying to change my views of other people.

17-year-old White male

The young person said that he enjoyed the work that he did as part of the programme and that he liked the way that the work was done in his own home, rather than him having to attend the YOT.

At North West YOT 21, the young person enjoyed the programme's combination of worksheets, quizzes and questions, and creative elements. This young person said that she found the programme useful, as she felt that the programme had informed in more detail than the work she had previously done at school about diversity.

The young people interviewed at Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 8 enjoyed the programme that they had completed. The exercises that particularly interested them were the group work sessions and the compilation of their own CD that covered issues about diversity. The young people had to work with other young people from different races and religions when writing the lyrics to be included on the CD. A couple of the young people found this a good way of integrating with young people from other races, as this was something that they had not done before:

Like I live in an Asian community, so I don't really talk to White people. Since I come here I've met White people and got to talk to them properly. I didn't know no White people 'cause there weren't no White people [where I live]. Like group sessions its sort of mixed isn't it, I've got to know a lot of people. I think group sessions are the best really.

17-year-old Asian male

It wasn't just White people talking about being racist towards Asians, it was Asians [talking about] being racist towards Whites, which was better, because I thought it was going to be full of White people who were racist, and make us all talk to each other. But there was the Asian lads, which was better because we're all mixing then, 'cause you've got to join in.

17-year-old White male

This supports one of the findings of the Home Office report (2001) that linked residential segregation to inter-racial suspicion and hostility.

However, the positive responses expressed above were not echoed by all the young people who were interviewed. One of the young people who admitted to holding racist views found the presence of an Asian young person in the group sessions to be distracting and intimidating. He described an incident when the YOT office was besieged by the older friends of one Asian person with whom he had had a dispute.

One young person commented that the racially motivated offence that led to the young person being referred to the programme was never discussed during group sessions. He said that he thought that if each person's offences had been discussed, this could have created an animosity among the group:

Interviewee: They never asked us about what crime we committed and that.

Interviewer: Do you think they should have done, or it's not necessary?

Interviewee: No, it's not necessary, because basically, if they'd asked what crimes we'd done, if I said I got done for assault, who did you assault, I assaulted a White person, the rest of the group, the White people, are going to think that I'm racist, so obviously there were no point in asking about the crime. If you think about it, if they asked us about the crime, we would not have got along with each other, they would not have talked to me, I would not have talked to them, so I think it's been good that they haven't asked what crime we committed.

17-year-old Asian male

One of the practitioners who was interviewed commented on this issue by saying that he was concerned that designing and implementing an intervention specifically for young people who commit a racially motivated offence might be detrimental to the young person due to the negative consequences of being labelled racist:

I get worried that we might just label them so they are tagged as being racist Like [name of young person] is labelled 'ASBO kid'. If he was also labelled as 'racially motivated offender kid', how does he ever

shake that one off, how do you ever get rid of that? Whereas [if] he's just labelled a kid who's committed an assault, I think within that you can address, tackle racist attitudes and beliefs and deal with it in a way that doesn't make it extraordinary or so hugely different that you have to be continuously worried about it, it is just a part of all the rest.

South West YOT 5

McGhee (2007) made much the same point in relation to probation practice, when he cautioned that confronting offenders directly with their racist offence can be counter-productive and can make any attempt to change their views more difficult. On the other hand, not to discuss the offence at all might enable the offender to continue with his or her techniques of neutralisation. The practitioner therefore faces a difficult choice – whether to confront and challenge offending directly but risk alienating the young person, or to approach the task in a roundabout way, which may engage the offender but miss the specific causes of his or her offending.

The majority of the young people interviewed spoke positively about the intervention they experienced and said that taking part in the intervention had been of benefit to them. For example:

Yeah, I suppose it makes me think about things a bit more, before I watched the videos I never really paid attention to how people were treated and that.

16-year-old White male

Helpful, because she told me if I still did have those views I could talk to her about it.

17-year-old White male

Yeah, how to stay calm in daft situations.

17-year-old White female

Alright. It just made me like not get so angry really.

15-year-old White female

One respondent said that she found the intervention helpful at the time she completed it, but that she has now forgotten the work that was undertaken:

It did, but it ain't now.

15-year-old White female

Most of the young people who responded to the question “What was the best thing about the programme?” were able to identify an element of the

programme that they found good or enjoyable. Examples included the informality of the session, the rapport between the young person and the practitioner and the creativity of sessions:

Um, the informality of it, it was just like a laugh really.

15-year-old White male

I can talk about stuff and about my views...and other things.

17-year-old White male

He's quite funny.

16-year-old White male

...when it got to the [recording] studios it got quite fun.

14-year-old White female

The young people found the work that they undertook enjoyable and interesting, and described how the work had changed how they think about others and the ways in which they can handle different situations:

'Cause I never knew about that, like learnt loads of stuff.

15-year-old White female

It's like really interesting as well, like when you do the work and that makes you think.

16-year-old White male

Learning how to express what I feel so I can handle it.

15-year-old White female

The young people were also asked what they thought was the worst thing about the programme. The majority of the young people were unable to identify any negative aspects. One young person was unsure as to whether there were any poor aspects to the programme and two interviewees felt that there were aspects of the programme (mainly the length) that they did not like. One interviewee reiterated his dissatisfaction with the 'Show Racism the Red Card' resource:

The red card one I thought was ridiculous, just repeating themselves.

16-year-old White male

The young people were then asked whether they felt any parts of the programme could have been improved. Some of the young people felt happy

with the content of the programme and did not suggest any ways that the programme could be improved. 50% of the respondents were unsure whether the programme required any improvements. One young person felt that the programme could be improved by undertaking visits to complement the work delivered by the practitioner:

Go out to mosques, that might help because you could speak to whoever runs it and stuff.

17-year-old White female

Another young person suggested including more guest speakers into the programme to provide the young people with more 'first-hand' knowledge, as this would make the programme more dynamic and enjoyable for the young people. One young person, who felt that he had forgotten much of the information he had learned from the programme, suggested that a follow-up refresher session would be useful.

Young people were asked whether they had problems with particular groups of people. From the 11 responses, the main groups of people that interviewees found to be problematic were Poles, Asians, Kosovans and Muslims. The remaining four respondents said that they did not have any problems with groups of people from other races/religions. Two respondents said that they had a problem with Poles owing to their perceived sudden arrival and influx into the community:

Polish people mostly. Because all of a sudden loads of them were coming in.

15-year-old White male

Interviewee: *They have been getting here like the last few years, but the last six months there's been loads of them coming here.*

Interviewer: *So what do they do?*

Interviewee: *Sit around being dobs ... I thought they come over here for the work if you know what I mean, but obviously not.*

16-year-old White male

Three of the interviewees identified hostility to Asians and commented that they felt that Asians do not belong in England and that the majority of them are involved in criminal activity:

Why do they get rich? Half of them are drug dealers, have you seen them around here, Lamborghinis...half of them are drug dealers.

16-year-old White male

Why should they move over here anyway it's English, they're not English, you seen how many of them there are over here. So if they don't want to get called what they are, go back to where they were, go back to where they come from, instead of staying here, if they don't want to get called whatever, and how can Asians come over here and call us White bastards, obviously we're White this is what we are, this is where we come from, why do they come over here, they think they can park anywhere and that.

16-year-old White male

They shouldn't be here really, should they? It's our country, England for English people, Pakistanis, Pakistan.

16-year-old White male

In my opinion no Asian person should be able to be in England, they shouldn't have rights. They have their own country and they should stick to their own country.

16-year-old White male

One interviewee admitted to disliking Muslims and felt that this was predominantly as a consequence of national media reporting and terrorist attacks. He also felt that there was a sense of greed among Muslims and thought that they were not appreciative of what they had:

I don't want to be like really racist but in our country they should like ... be happy with what is given to them instead of thinking more, more do you know what I mean ... they're getting what they want. I know this sounds a bit selfish but we give them houses and stuff like that, yeah, we give them places to pray, but they want more.

17-year-old White male

The remaining young person admitted to having a problem with Kosovans due to hearing negative rumours about them in the local community:

Kosovans, I didn't really use to like them because I heard things about them.

15-year-old White female

The young people were asked whether they felt their views had changed about people from other religions/races since they started the programme. Nine interviewees responded to this question. Seven of the respondents felt that their views had changed as a result of undertaking the programme:

Mostly because of the programme. Because I understand why they're here, I just thought they was coming for no reason, but obviously if they're coming here to help this country out why hate them?

15-year-old White male

There's Asians here, and Black people, and you see everyone as the same. And I've been like told that everyone's the same.

14-year-old White female

Yeah. I have learnt what sorts of things you might say that other people might find offensive that you didn't think they would.

17-year-old White male

One young person laughed when answering the questions and admitted that his views had not changed. Another young person did not perceive himself to have had biased views in the first instance.

The interviewees were asked what they thought about racially motivated offending, and whether it could sometimes be justified or never justified. 10 young people responded to the question. Most of the young people (seven out of 10) felt that racially motivated offending was wrong and that it could never be justified, although one young person was unsure:

Dunno. I am not sure. Basically, it's like not pride if you know what I mean, but like sticking up for their own. Sometimes, like people do get quite intimidated if they go down town and its full of Polish, its like going to Poland, it's a bit weird. I am not sure.

16-year-old White male

Some respondents, however, thought that offending against other races was sometimes a justifiable, indeed inevitable, response to their personal experiences of being attacked by members from those groups.

Finally, the young people were asked whether they thought that this type of programme would stop them and other young people from committing a racially motivated offence. Seven interviewees responded to this question, with three of the young people suggesting that they felt the programme would benefit other young people, while two of the interviewees felt that the programme could be beneficial to some, but not all:

I think it would help some of them, but some of them just wouldn't listen.

15-year-old White male

Yeah ... I reckon for some sort of people it might, for others it might not. Depends how strongly they feel. If they really feel strong about it they probably won't even listen.

17-year-old White male

The remaining two interviewees felt that the programme would not help others desist from committing a racially motivated crime.

Conclusion

This chapter presents the findings from interviews conducted with 17 young people, all but one of whom had participated in some form of racially motivated offending intervention. The young people interviewed represented a range of different types of racially motivated offender, from mission offenders to thrill-seekers and defenders.

14 of the 17 young people had been convicted of a racially motivated offence and the remainder had displayed discriminatory or racist attitudes or behaviour. The offences of the 14 young people convicted of racially motivated offending included racially aggravated harassment, assault and criminal damage. However, when the young people were asked about the motivations behind their offences, most refused to accept that they had committed a racially motivated offence and almost all of the interviewees said that they were not racist and had not committed the offence out of racism. The main reasons provided by the young people as to why they had committed the offence included retaliation, intoxication and self-defence. Some of the young people clearly felt that there was unfairness within the criminal justice system and that the race of the perceived 'victim' would ultimately determine whether the offender would be prosecuted for a racially motivated offence. From undertaking interviews with the young people, three possible types of convicted racially motivated offender were identified:

- those whose motivation was racist and admitted as much (a small minority)
- those whose motivation was racist but denied that it was
- those whose motivation was not racist, yet who were (possibly wrongly) convicted of a racially motivated offence.

Most of the young people found the intervention they had been involved with enjoyable. However, a couple of the young people felt that the programme lasted too long and some found that they had not retained any of the information they had learned and thought that a refresher course would be useful. Some of the young people also felt that the intervention could be improved by incorporating more guest speakers and undertaking more outbound work.

The young people were also asked what groups of people they had had problems with before they commenced the programme. While some insisted

that they had never had problems with other groups, others specifically identified having had a problem with Poles, Asians, Kosovans and Muslims. However, as a consequence of completing the programme, most of the young people no longer viewed these groups as problematic. Overall, the young people were positive about the interventions that they had taken part in, and most thought that the interventions may help to prevent other young people from committing a racially motivated offence.

7: Conclusion and recommendations

This final chapter summarises the main findings from the preceding analysis, and attempts to draw out the main implications for policy and practice. Given that this was an exploratory study, the conclusions and recommendations are indicative, rather than definitive. This chapter is structured by themes, e.g. research and evidence base, which correspond to the main issues arising in the various chapters in this study. Within each theme the main implications arising from the evidence are identified and recommendations are put forward, together with suggestions for who might be best placed to implement them. It is recognised that most of the recommendations will have cost implications and the availability of financial resources is obviously an important consideration in relation to changes in policy. Quantification of the cost of individual recommendations has not been attempted, but, where possible, alternative uses of existing resources have been suggested. It is, of course, for policymakers to decide whether additional resources should be given to the area of racially motivated offending, or whether using these resources to tackle volume crimes would offer a greater cost-benefit.

Research and evidence base

The review of the literature around racially motivated offending revealed that the evidence base for effective interventions is very limited with regard to adult (National Probation Service) programmes, and almost non-existent for young people who offend. This meant that there was no reliable basis for making assessments about whether particular types of programme are effective. It also meant that there was little to guide those developing programmes for racially motivated offenders, which perhaps explains the plurality of approaches, and the sometimes superficial way in which establishments try to tackle racist offending. The literature is stronger in relation to the proposed causes of racist offending and the typologies of offenders, although it should be noted that this research focuses on adult probationers. The literature describes the multi-layered causes of offending, from the micro (personal beliefs) through to meso (influence of family and peers) and macro (e.g. influence of media and the political zeitgeist). While practitioners identified many of these causes, the majority of interventions tended to address only one or two factors, usually at the micro level. There was a noticeable focus, for example, on the provision of information to tackle young people's ignorance of other cultures. There is clearly a need to develop the underlying research base, particularly with regard to young people who offend, but also to disseminate this to those designing programmes, so that they have a chance of tackling the broadest possible range of potential causal factors.

Recommendation: Further research is needed into the causes of racially motivated offending, with a focus on the practical implications of research for designing interventions with young people who offend.

Recommendation: The YJB could use its existing dissemination strategy to distribute the main findings from research into racially motivated offending to relevant practitioners.

Of course not all the factors contributing to racially motivated offending can be influenced by YOTs or secure establishments – national media and the prevailing political climate are two obvious examples. However, interventions could be designed to equip young people with the knowledge and skills to enable them to be more critical about what they read/view, and examples of such projects are described in this study.

Extent and nature of racially motivated offending

It is very difficult to say whether racially motivated offending is a ‘significant’ or ‘growing’ problem, as the available statistics – like those relating to crime more generally – are subject to well-known omissions and biases. In terms of reported victimisation, the number of racially motivated incidents increased by 32% from 2005/06 to 2006/07, although numbers were almost 11% down over the five-year period (2002–2007) as a whole (British Crime Survey figures). Over the same period, the number of young people referred to YOTs for racially motivated offending almost doubled from 1,392 to 2,701. Racially motivated offending is by no means a volume crime – an average of around 1% of the offences that YOTs dealt with were racially motivated offences. According to a variety of calculations, YOT areas in the North of England (the North West particularly) tended to have higher overall levels of racially motivated offending, although given the partial nature of the statistics, we should not place too much emphasis on these findings. No useful purpose would be served by, for example, allocating extra resources to YOTs in the ‘top ten’, as YOTs move in and out of this category with some regularity.

Investigation of the data sources relating to racially motivated offending revealed that there was a discrepancy between British Crime Survey and Themis data in terms of the ethnicity of offenders: BME groups accounted for the majority of racially motivated offences according to the British Crime Survey, yet BME racially motivated offenders accounted for only a small minority of referrals to YOTs. One possibility is that White victims of racially motivated offending are less likely than BME victims to report it, with follow-on consequences for the detection of offenders. Another possibility is that the police may more readily charge an alleged offender with a racially motivated offence where s/he is White than where s/he is from a BME group. Given that some of the White racially motivated offenders that were interviewed felt that they had been unfairly labelled, the truth or otherwise of these hypotheses is of considerable importance.

Recommendation: Those departments responsible for the policing and sentencing of offenders should consider commissioning research into the reporting, recording, detection and prosecution of racially motivated offenders.

Training and availability of resources

Although most staff had received in-service training on general diversity issues, none of those interviewed had received training specifically for supervising and delivering interventions to those convicted of racially motivated offences, and this was perceived by many interviewees to be an unsatisfactory state of affairs. In youth justice, as in the National Probation Service, a lack of training can impact adversely on practitioners' ability and confidence to conduct racially motivated offending interventions (Sibbitt, 1997; HMI Probation, 2005). There is a genuine gap in the provision of training for practitioners concerning the assessment of racially motivated offenders, and the design and delivery of appropriate interventions.

Recommendation: The YJB should consider funding the development of a training package, either stand-alone or part of the workforce development strategy, for staff in YOTs and secure establishments, to be undertaken prior to delivering interventions with racially motivated offenders. The training should aim to cover the following issues:

- an introduction to the legislation around racially motivated offending
- what is known about the causes of racially motivated offending
- how to assess whether young people hold racist views and/or are at risk of committing a racially motivated offence
- provision of factual information to help practitioners address common myths, e.g. about asylum seekers
- the types of interventions that might suit different types of racially motivated offenders
- measuring change in offenders' racist attitudes.

This report has shown that there is a wide range of resources available, yet most interviewees were only aware of a very limited number of resources, usually those available in their YOT or secure establishment. Furthermore, many of those who developed resources said that they would be happy for others to make use of them. However, the cost implications of this should not fall on those developing programmes. Some consideration might usefully be given to the provision of more centrally organised assistance to those in the field running interventions, in order to reduce the duplication of effort among organisations. Although the YJB website already has a Directory of Emerging Practice section, at the time of writing this did not contain any material relating to racially motivated offending interventions, nor did it appear to be much used

by practitioners. A list of selected racially motivated offending resources is provided in Appendix 6.

Recommendation: The YJB could organise a central forum, such as a one-day seminar, to enable practitioners to meet to exchange ideas and knowledge about their work with racially motivated offenders, including emerging/promising approaches.

Recommendation: The YJB should add to, and make better use of, its existing Directory of Emerging Practice, to enable the pooling of and dissemination of resources and materials. This web-based directory could be used to provide access to a range of manuals, templates, worksheets, stimulus materials (including multimedia resources such as DVDs), and guidance notes on how to run sessions and utilise the resources that are currently available.

Most respondents felt that there was a need for racially motivated offending provision, yet only a minority of YOTs and secure establishments had specific provision for racially motivated offenders – this mirrors the situation that Smith (2005a) found in the National Probation Service. In some cases this was due to the low numbers of such offenders; for others, however, it was an issue of resources. Financial resources in the youth justice system are clearly finite, and not every offence can be treated as a priority. However, the findings from this study highlight the range of (usually inexpensive) resources available, and if, as suggested, these were made centrally available, this would enable individual YOTs and secure establishments to make informed decisions about the merits of investing in racially motivated offending interventions.

Recommendation: YOTs/secure establishments without racially motivated offending provision should consider whether investment in an existing racially motivated offending resource would be worthwhile, taking into account the scale of the problem in their area and the availability and cost of racially motivated offending resources.

Recommendation: Through its Directory of Emerging Practice, the YJB could make YOTs and secure establishments aware of the existing commercially available materials.

Inter-agency working

The vast majority of interventions for racially motivated offenders in YOTs and secure establishments were delivered solely by YOT or secure estate staff respectively. However, there were a few instances of partnership working with outside agencies, generally local voluntary groups. The advantages of such arrangements include savings in terms of staff time and resources, as well as the ability to harness the enthusiasm and complementary skills and knowledge that volunteers may possess. This is not to suggest that the involvement of outside agencies will always be the best solution – it will of course depend on local circumstances. However, it appears that voluntary organisations could

help in a number of ways, from the direct provision of interventions through to the delivery of formal staff training, e.g. on cultural differences or 'myth busting', or simply by providing advice.

Recommendation: YOTs and secure establishments should make contact with local agencies, e.g. racial equality councils, refugee groups, or organisations representing particular nationalities such as Poles, and discuss opportunities for collaboration.

Recommendation: The YJB could consider encouraging national voluntary organisations to become involved in the design or delivery of local racially motivated offending interventions, perhaps through an invitation on its website or the hosting of a seminar.

Work in secure establishments

The results of the survey and site visits revealed that not only were secure establishments less likely to have provision for racially motivated offenders than YOTs, but the provision they did have tended to focus more on risk management than on tackling offenders' racist attitudes and behaviour – there were, of course, exceptions to this. The lack of racially motivated offending interventions in secure establishments is likely to be an issue of resources, particularly in YOIs, which have fewer resources per head than STCs or secure children's homes. The 'risk management' approach of existing interventions appears to be a cultural issue relating to custodial institutions. Whatever the cause, it is clearly a wasted opportunity if young people sentenced to custody for racially motivated offending are not engaged in interventions designed to challenge their thinking and behaviour, particularly at a time when they are isolated from family and peers who may reinforce racist beliefs. Most young people sentenced to custody will subsequently end up being supervised by YOT staff while on licence. If no work has been done while in custody, the task of the YOT officer will inevitably be more difficult.

Recommendation: The YJB should encourage secure establishments, for example through financial or contractual means, to deliver targeted racially motivated offending interventions, perhaps through the direct involvement of a seconded YOT officer.

Recommendation: Secure establishments' sanctioning systems can be used as an additional resource to address racially motivated offending – loss of privileges or early release were considered a greater deterrent than interventions alone – see Appendix 3, NE STC 4.

Assessment and evaluation

Most young people participating in racially motivated offending interventions were assessed as suitable on the basis of their index offence. However, a minority were referred to the intervention on the basis that their supervising

officer believed that they required the intervention, for example on the basis of language or behaviour used during supervision. The latter criterion is evidently somewhat subjective and open to misinterpretation. Indeed, some of the young people who were interviewed were clearly perplexed as to why they had been placed on racially motivated offending interventions. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, some young people who had actually been charged with a racially motivated offence believed that the racial element of the offence had been wrongly attributed. There is a danger that if young people are wrongly allocated to an intervention for racially motivated offenders, i.e. they do not hold racist views, it will be counterproductive.

Recommendation: The YJB should consider whether standard criteria should be applied before young people are referred to racially motivated offending interventions.

It is important to know whether programmes for racially motivated offending have the desired effect in terms of tackling young people's racist motivations. One way to evaluate this would be to measure young people's attitudes in terms of racism before and after an intervention. Only one of the sites that was visited attempted to do this though a simple tool they had developed. Many of the others pointed out that no such tool was available.

Recommendation: There is a need to develop a new tool to measure young offender's racist attitudes or to adapt an existing one, such as the tool developed by www.implicitly.co.uk.

One factor that is likely to impact on the success or otherwise of any intervention is whether the young person accepts that they have committed the offence. Among the sample of young people, there was a high level of minimisation, if not outright denial. Many interventions based on cognitive behavioural therapy (e.g. for sex offenders) exclude offenders who deny their offences. However, denial was not mentioned by the practitioners interviewed during this study as being a bar to participation in racially motivated offending interventions.

Recommendation: Thought should be given to the selection criteria for any racially motivated offending programme that is based upon cognitive behavioural principles. Assessment criteria for programmes based on cognitive behavioural therapy may need to introduce acceptance of guilt regarding the racial component of the index offence if the impact of interventions for offenders is not to be diminished.

Implementing interventions

A number of practitioners commented that they thought that group work with racially motivated offenders would not be appropriate, due to fears that some members of the group might 'contaminate' others. At the few sites where group sessions were used, there did not seem to be any evidence to support this fear.

In fact, the young people who were interviewed found group work to be more interesting and engaging than one-to-one supervision. In these groups, it should be noted that direct discussion of the offences was forbidden, which helped the young people to feel freer to discuss general issues around racially motivated offending. (As noted in Chapter 6, there are pros and cons to confronting offenders directly with their offences, and the decision on this is best taken locally by practitioners with knowledge of the particular circumstances involved.) Young people were also positive about the opportunities that group work offered for mixing with people from other cultures, in particular during experiential activities, such as working together on a music project or participating in leisure/sporting activities. This is supported by Lemos' (2005) study which concluded that well-structured projects involving a range of activities and bringing young people from different groups together to build trust and empathy were more likely to succeed.

Recommendation: Where numbers allow, there appears to be no reason why YOTs should not consider running group sessions. These should include young people from different ethnic groups where possible.

Recommendation: Activities that encourage mixing in a setting outside the YOT can encourage the breakdown of barriers between different groups of young people.

Content of interventions

Given that research into the causes of racially motivated offending is in its early stages and evidence of the effectiveness of interventions is lacking, it would be foolish to attempt to say specifically how programmes to tackle racially motivated offending should be structured. That said, some general suggestions can be provided as to how work in this area might be taken forward.

The multiplicity of causes of racially motivated offending needs to be reflected in the interventions designed to tackle it. The question is whether any one intervention could ever hope to do so, or whether a 'menu' of interventions is required – in other words there is a choice between the following two options:

- **comprehensive interventions** – interventions designed at the outset to address the wide range of factors that contribute to racially motivated offending, but flexible enough to enable practitioners to focus on the more significant factors that are presented by the individual offender.
- **specific interventions** – interventions designed to address a single factor or cluster of common factors that contribute to racially motivated offending. Designing interventions in this way suggests that a range of specific interventions may therefore be required to address the full range of factors presented by individual offenders.

Whichever option is chosen, and it is not a question that the authors of the report feel can be answered on the basis of the existing evidence, it is clear that

a number of different approaches could be used depending on the motivations for the offending. These different approaches to racially motivated offending need to acknowledge the evidence of different typologies of offender, and young people should be assessed and allocated to an appropriate intervention accordingly.

Recommendation: Thought should be given by the YJB to developing a wider intervention for YOTs that addresses the influence of discriminatory family values and beliefs. Such an intervention could take a more holistic approach, perhaps including parenting classes or family conferencing formats in addition to working with the young person.

Recommendation: Where offending is due in part to a lack of respect or empathy for others, it might be useful to include in the intervention specific components focusing on changing young people's negative assessments of the social status of certain ethnic groups. These could include guest speakers and cultural visits, for example.

Recommendation: For offenders committing offences for the 'thrill', fruitful approaches might include a focus on anger management and victim empathy, and the development of strategies to resist peer pressure.

Recommendation: Educational measures are likely to be appropriate as both proactive and reactive approaches to low-level racism and racially motivated offending. In addition, those delivering programmes for racially motivated offenders should consider incorporating 'myth busting' education as part of their work with such offenders.

Several examples of such educational practice were encountered during the site visits and these could be used as a template for interventions. It is vitally important to keep educational resources as up-to-date as possible, given the ever-changing scale and nature of legal and illegal migration, for example. The YJB might wish to act as a centre of dissemination for relevant information, in order to reduce the duplication of effort for practitioners. Of course the facts may sometimes support some of the discriminatory/racist views held. For example, a number of practitioners stated that young people held the belief that 'foreigners are taking all our jobs'. A review of the evidence on job creation by the Statistics Commission¹⁷ in 2007 revealed that 80% of new jobs since 1997 have indeed been taken up by people not born in the UK. For this reason, careful thought should be given to how such information is presented and discussed with the young people.

There is a distinct lack of a national provision for more serious racially motivated offenders, particularly violent racially motivated offenders and those with resistant attitudes, e.g. mission offenders.

¹⁷See:<http://www.statscom.org.uk/uploads/files/other/foreign%20workers%20briefing%20note%20Dec%202007.pdf>

Recommendation: There is a need to develop more intensive interventions (perhaps along cognitive behavioural lines) for serious, young racially motivated offenders, along with tools for accurate identification and assessment of these offenders.

The development of any new programme also needs to consider issues relating to effective implementation, delivery and monitoring, as these are key factors in maximising programme effectiveness. Although the YJB has made a deliberate decision not to pursue the route of accredited programmes, that is not to say that the evidence (such as it is) regarding effective practice should be ignored. Furthermore, although the cost-effectiveness of racially motivated offending provision is outside the remit of this study, any future resource decisions regarding the expansion of racially motivated offending interventions should ideally be informed by their relative cost-effectiveness.

Recommendation: The development of any new programme should be informed, as far as possible, by the principles of effective practice and ideally should be monitored and evaluated with respect to process, cost and outcome.

Recommendation: Thought should be given to offering a refresher session to young people to further consolidate and reinforce the central messages of the programme some weeks/months after completion.

Conclusion

Provision for racially motivated offenders is still developing and varies from the ad hoc to structured programmes. This is not surprising given that it is only in recent years that racially motivated crime has been taken seriously in terms of legislative and policy responses.

Research into this area carried out for this report has revealed a number of interesting findings and approaches, as well as some areas where practice and policy might be improved. It is more than 10 years since racially motivated crimes were introduced into the Crime and Disorder Act (1998), and it is surely time to devote more attention to this important area of work in the youth justice system, both in terms of research and the development of policy and practice. It is hoped that the findings presented in this study will contribute to that endeavour.

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Appendix 1: YOT survey

Note: The text below reproduces the YOT survey as it was sent to practitioners. For this reason there are a number of stylistic differences between this survey and the main body of this document.

This survey is being sent to all YOTs and secure establishments and we hope that you will be able to take a few minutes to complete it, as it is very important that we have 100 per cent returns, so as to be able to describe the level of provision of services for racially motivated offenders (RMOs) across England and Wales. Even if your establishment/YOT does not have any specific services for RMOs, we would be grateful if you could indicate this on the form and return to us.

The survey can be completed electronically, via our website [address], or via email [address]. Alternatively, you may complete a paper copy, and return to [address].

Thank you in anticipation of your help in this research.

What is the name of your YOT/secure establishment?

.....

1. Is racially motivated offending a significant issue in your YOT/secure establishment?
Yes No

2. How many racially motivated offenders did your YOT/secure establishment deal with in the last 12 months?.....

3. Do you think there is a need for an intervention/programme to deal with racially motivated offenders in your YOT/secure establishment?
Yes No

- 4a. Is there any service provision in your YOT/secure establishment for racially motivated offenders? (This might be a standardised one-to-one or group programme, or a more informal supervisory session. Include any programmes which are delivered for you by other agencies)
Yes No

If YES (go to q.5)

If NO, please answer questions 4b) and 4c) below:

- 4b. Could you briefly say why the YOT/establishment does not have a service provision for racially motivated offenders?

Reasons (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

- 4c. What does the YOT/secure establishment currently do with racially motivated offenders?

Current practice (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

If your YOT/secure establishment has no service provision for racially motivated offenders, you need not complete any further questions. However, we would be grateful if you could return the questionnaire to us as soon as possible.

5. What is the name of the intervention? (If there is more than one intervention, please complete a separate form for each)

Name.....

6. Please describe in the box below, what the intervention consists of and its aims?

Description of intervention (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

Aims of the intervention

7. How long has it been running?

.....

8. Where does funding for the intervention come from? (e.g. from general central funds, from an outside source).....

9. Is the intervention based on an existing intervention or developed in house? (Please provide details)

Existing intervention Developed in-house

Details (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

10. Who normally delivers the intervention?

YOT staff YOI/LASCH/STC staff Other agency Volunteers Other*
*please specify

11. Why do you think that this intervention will work? (e.g. is there a theoretical or research basis for the programme?)

Reasons (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

12. Could you describe what the intervention typically involves? (e.g. number of sessions, whether it is one-to-one, or group based etc)

Details of intervention (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

Typical number of sessions.....

Typical length of sessions.....

Typical duration of the intervention (e.g. one week, one month etc).....

One-to-one or group work?.....

Is the intervention provided YOT-wide?.....

Any other details.

13. Could you describe how you assess whether young people are in need of an intervention for racially motivated offending? (e.g. do you use Assef?)

Assessment process (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

14. Has the intervention ever been evaluated? (If so, please provide details)

Yes No

Details (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

15. How do you monitor the programme? (For example, how do you know if it has worked? Are any outcome measures used, such as change in attitudes to racially motivated offending, follow up of convictions for such offences etc)

Monitoring of programme (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

16. What are the selection criteria for the programme? (e.g. gender, age of offender, specific type of RMO, admission of guilt etc)

Selection criteria (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

17. Over the last 12 months, could you provide figures for the number of offenders:

Assessed as suitable for the programme.....

Who started the programme.....

Who finished the programme.....

18. Of those offenders starting the programme, could you provide details of their ethnicity:

White.....

Asian/Asian British.....

Black/Black British

Mixed race.....

Chinese and other.....

Not known.....

19. If some people drop out of the programme why do you think that is?

Reasons for drop-out (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

20. If there are any other things you think we should know about service provision for RMOs in your YOT/establishment, please provide details below.

Any other information (expand box as necessary, or continue on separate sheet)

Appendix 2: Description of interventions from YOT survey

Descriptions of programmes for racially motivated offenders each used by one organisation only

Name	Description
Changes	A cognitive behavioural programme looking at aggression and violence. The aim is to reduce violent offending through one-to-one work with the young person. Sessions: five sessions of forty-five to sixty minutes' duration, over five/six weeks. Delivery: one-to-one.
Citizenship	Aims to promote broader understanding of what it is to be a 'world citizen' and has a high focus on challenging stereotypical images while improving general levels of understanding about a range of cultural issues. Sessions: four one-hour sessions, over four weeks. Delivery: one-to-one and groups.
Consequences and Change	The programme is designed to enable the young person to define, in practical terms, what is meant by the words 'Consequences and Change'. In addition to this, it encourages young people to identify how their behaviour, be it negative or positive, impacts on their own lives and the wider community. With the help of the responsible officer, the young person develops skills in order to better equip them with realistic strategies to modify/adjust their offending behaviour. Sessions: four sessions, variable. Delivery: one-to-one.
Crime and Consequences	This initiative was developed as part of a wider package of offending behaviour programmes. Provides an opportunity for young people to discuss their offending and identify the impact that their behaviours have on themselves, victims and the community. The aim is to promote responsibility and to prevent further offending. Sessions: ninety-minute session/s, either as a one-off session or as part of a broader package of offending behaviour interventions. Delivery: one-to-one or group.
Cultural Awareness	An informal intervention looking at perceptions of cultures and challenging preconceived assumptions. The aim is for young people to change their views on specific groups of people. Sessions: six one-hour to two-hour sessions, over six weeks. Delivery: one-to-one.
Cultural Diversity Awareness Programme	To assist young people both in recognising the positives of diversity in the areas of clothing, food, complexion, culture, religion, lifestyle and tradition, and in developing a better understanding of people who are 'different' to themselves. (The programme is in the process of being updated to include a wider range of issues.) Sessions: four to six sessions. Delivery: One-to-one.
Culture and Diversity	A programme delivered one-to-one to young people who have been identified as having issues with race or prejudice. Provides an opportunity for young people to explore living in a diverse society and to develop empathy with and understanding of other cultures in Britain. The aim is to raise awareness and to assist young people in identifying issues of difference (such as stereotyping and discrimination) and in recognising the implications this has for others. Sessions: nine fifty-minute sessions, over a six-week period. Delivery: one-to-one and group.
Dealing with Difference	The aim is to develop young people's understanding of diversity, to raise awareness of their offence and the negative impact of this on themselves and others. The

	programme has been delivered in community and custody settings. Sessions: up to eight ninety-minute sessions, over eight weeks. Delivery: one-to-one.
Diversity Awareness	A programme that challenges stereotypes and prejudices based upon race and culture. The programme is developed and adapted to suit the individual young person. Sessions and delivery: unknown.
Diversity Awareness Programme	The programme is developed and adapted to suit the individual young person's needs. The aim is to challenge stereotypes and prejudices based upon different racial and cultural groups. Sessions: 14 one-hour sessions, over 14 weeks. Delivery: one-to-one.
Diversity Intervention Programme	The programme addresses cultural awareness and delivers anti-racist training and development. The aim is to raise awareness in order to reduce the risk of recidivism, and to change behaviour. The programme takes the form of providing appropriate educational information combined with challenges to discriminatory practice. Sessions: six one-hour sessions – ongoing depending upon impact. Delivery: one-to-one and group.
Face up to It	The programme is a worksheet-based programme (published in 1991). The aim is to encourage young people to examine their beliefs and values about issues relating to prejudice and discrimination, and to challenge any discriminatory views. Sessions: unknown. Delivery: one-to-one.
Individual Differences	A course that challenges stereotypes and generates greater awareness of different cultures. The process is to explore and challenge cognitively the words linked to racially motivated offending/behaviour. The aim is to educate young people about different cultures and thereby encourage greater awareness while minimising racially motivated offending. Sessions: unknown. Delivery: one-to-one.
Look Ahead Programme	The programme has a module on perspective-taking and cultural sensitivity that explores the concepts of stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination. Sessions: one forty-minute session. Delivery: one-to-one.
My Community	The aim of this programme is to explore a young person's understanding of the term 'community', while helping them to recognise their individual responsibilities within such a setting. Sessions: five sessions, variable. Delivery: one-to-one.
Offence Confrontation	A series of cognitive, behaviourally-based sessions within a Supervisory Order structure (dependent on assessment). The central aim is to reduce reoffending and to increase the young person's understanding of diversity issues. Sessions: as per individual assessment.
Personal, Social and Health Education	The intervention includes examining Black history and human rights, along with equality and diversity issues. It also covers emotional well-being and emotional literacy issues. The aim is to challenge entrenched attitudes about race, religion, and cultural identity and stereotyping. Sessions: three sessions of one hour forty-five minutes per week, over six weeks. Delivery: group work.
Race Initiatives Programme	The programme involves training agencies and organisations on equality, diversity and race awareness issues, using music workshops and other activities. The programme aims to challenge racist attitudes, raise awareness of race issues, and provide related advice and guidance to YOT staff. This is achieved through providing learning opportunities for young people where they feel safe both to explore their own values and beliefs, and to improve their interpersonal skills. The course encourages young people to raise their self-esteem and to respect their own ethnic group, while fostering intercultural understanding and co-operation, in part through providing

	<p>increased opportunities for integrating into ethnically diverse groups.</p> <p>Sessions: six two-hour sessions, over a two-month period. Delivery: unknown.</p>
Respect	<p>Respect is an element of <i>Incentive plus</i>, an online shop which lists over 2000 resources covering a variety of topics. The intervention comprises a media-based approach, with vignettes for each session.</p> <p>Sessions: eight one-hour sessions over two/three weeks. Delivery: group.</p>
Rights and Responsibilities	<p>A programme delivered one-to-one to young people who have been identified as having issues with race or prejudice.</p> <p>Sessions: four twenty-minute sessions over four weeks. Delivery: one-to-one and group.</p>
Self Image	<p>This programme is designed to enable young people to explore what helps them to form their views about others. In turn, the focus is on assisting young people to recognise that their own behaviour can contribute to the assumptions that people make about them also.</p> <p>Sessions: three one-hour sessions. Delivery: one-to-one.</p>
Sticks and Stones	<p>This intervention explores perceptions and understanding of bullying behaviour. The aim is for the young person to reflect on similarities and differences between themselves and others in order to prevent unacceptable behaviour.</p> <p>Sessions: five one-hour sessions, over one to five weeks. Delivery: one-to-one and group.</p>
Tackling Racism	<p>A peer education model (using young people to produce resources for other young people) incorporating a DVD and worksheets. The aim is to encourage a broader understanding of multi-ethnic communities, to increase tolerance and to prevent repeat offending.</p> <p>Sessions: one forty-minute session. Delivery: one-to-one.</p>
Throwing Stones	<p>An intensive teaching guide on how to handle and stop racism. The programme incorporates a video for teaching Key Stages 2 and 3. A series of film extracts are shown in order to generate a group discussion. The aim is to break down barriers between young people (especially members of gangs, etc) by making them more aware of the role of prejudice, and to explore issues of identity and peer association.</p> <p>Sessions: unknown. Delivery: group.</p>
Valuing Diversity	<p>A series of group work sessions using materials from various sources which look at diversity issues, discrimination, stereotyping, challenging attitudes and contemporary issues facing a multicultural society.</p> <p>Sessions: five one-hour sessions. Delivery: one-to-one and group.</p>
Who Lives Here?	<p>This is a multifaceted programme targeting racially motivated offenders or young people who display prejudice.</p> <p><i>[City's] identity</i>: The intervention explores young people's ideas and beliefs, and their opinion of people immigrating to Britain.</p> <p><i>Drumming activity</i>: A freelance music teacher with African drums helps young people to compose a piece of music that they play back to the group.</p> <p><i>Experiences</i>: Young people experience a taster of the process of applying for and gaining asylum through role play.</p> <p><i>Acceptance</i>: Guest speakers (from Chad and the local 'Peace House') talk about their experiences in the UK and their native countries.</p> <p><i>Cultural visit</i>: Visit to a local mosque to speak to an Imam and other people from the community who have converted to Islam from different religious/cultural backgrounds.</p> <p><i>Evaluation and food</i>: Food from various countries is displayed in a relaxed setting where open discussion is facilitated on how and why the young people's opinions may have changed, and, if so, what had motivated the change?</p> <p>The aims of the programme are to dispel myths and challenge young people's misconceptions about asylum seekers and refugees; and the prevention of youth race</p>

	<p>hate crime.</p> <p>Sessions: five sessions of two-and-a-half hours, once-a-week for five weeks. Delivery: group work.</p>
Willpower	<p>A young person-friendly workbook that focuses on racism and bullying, and is completed by the young person in one-to-one sessions. Part of a national publication produced for the youth offending service with relevance to YOT local issues.</p> <p>Sessions: four forty-minute sessions, over one month. Delivery: one-to-one.</p>

Appendix 3: Description of interventions from site visits

1. South West secure children's home 14

There is a comprehensive process of assessment, monitoring and supervisory work undertaken at the unit to promote and reinforce anti-racism messages. This includes pro-social modelling and operating a token economy (rewarding good behaviour/progress with more a generous prison regime), along with more targeted interventions which include using elements of 'Teen Talk!'. Each young person undergoes an initial assessment of need, which identifies young people in need of racial awareness work, based on whether they exhibit discriminatory attitudes or behaviour. The practitioner then identifies an appropriate intervention to try to work with the young person.

'Teen Talk!'

'Teen Talk!' is a commercially produced collection of hands-on resources for use with young people for focused individual support across a range of specific issues.¹⁸ 'Teen Talk!' aims to provide a clear process of interaction and progression to promote productive communication between and participation by young people and professionals in a one-to-one setting. Nevertheless, 'Teen Talk!' is neither specific to issues of offending generally, nor to racially motivated offending specifically. Rather, the course is far broader ranging, comprising 120 packs which collectively cover a total of 164 specific issues, spread across 14 different categories including: thoughts and feelings, relationships, school, personal safety, drugs and alcohol, sexual behaviour, citizenship, and offending.

The focus throughout 'Teen Talk!' is on offering a degree of involvement and interactivity to provide a more imaginative and structured method for initiating and progressing focused dialogue between the young people and staff. Each pack contains a laminated graphic depicting a scene or scenario specific to the issue to be addressed, together with a set of text cards and a recording sheet for the young person to complete with staff guidance. The methodology combines these components, allowing each face-to-face session to be consolidated with a process of 'co-recording' as well as assessment, target setting and evaluation, which informs the focus and direction of the intervention. The 'Teen Talk!' format of specific issue resources allows for an individualised programme which is capable of addressing some of the issues specific to the needs of a racially motivated offender.

¹⁸ Produced by Pam Anderson and Bob Skeldon, Talking Heads Resources & Training Ltd, 2003. See <http://www.talkingheads-ltd.co.uk/teentalk1.html>

South West secure children's home 14 employs those elements of the 'Teen Talk!' materials that have some relevance to racially motivated offending, largely around self identity, bullying and victim issues. Typically these include the following packages:

- **Just Like Me**

This reflects on personal citizenship in relation to interacting with other people. The young person is presented with numerous scenarios and asked whether each scenario shows behaviour that is 'just like me' or 'not like me'. For example, scenarios include calling someone names or intimidating other people.
- **Under Pressure**

This examines peer group influences. The young person is presented with a series of statements such as, "I decide/my friends decide: if I get into trouble or not/how I behave when I am with my friends", etc. The young person is asked to respond to each statement, indicating whether they decide for themselves or whether their friends decide. Examples of statements include: I decide/My friends decide: if I get into trouble or not/how I behave when I am with my friends, etc.
- **It Could be Me**

This examines involvement in offending. The young person is asked to indicate how likely it is for them to be in different situations – for example, how likely it is for the young person to become involved with the police or become involved in crime, etc.
- **Sticks and Stones**

This attempts to make the young person think about various situations and to consider whether they perceive the behaviour described to be bullying or not. Examples include: calling someone names – is this bullying/not bullying? Threatening someone's family – is this bullying/not bullying?
- **Victims**

This explores perceptions and understanding regarding victims of prejudice and discrimination. The young person is asked whether or not they perceive particular people as victims. Examples include: travellers, Black people, people who come to live in this country, and asylum seekers.
- **Spot the Difference**

This reflects on similarities and differences between people. The young person is provided with a list of different types of people and asked to identify whether or not they perceive them to be any different from themselves. Examples include: people who have a different skin colour, people who speak differently.

'Teen Talk!' sessions are used by the unit as an initial ice-breaker to encourage engagement and discussion in targeted one-to-one key worker sessions, and if necessary, as a basis for more in-depth work following on from this.

Practitioners praised the quality of the materials and endorsed the methodology of the 'Teen Talk!' approach. Nevertheless, 'Teen Talk!' only offers a very limited

number of relevant issues and resources that are directly applicable to racially motivated offending. This makes it rather limited as a specific tool for addressing racially motivated offending. 'Teen Talk!' is further hampered by its orientation to a younger audience. Despite the publishers' guide age range of 12–17 years, this would appear unrealistic in the light of practitioner's reports that 'Teen Talk!' is only suitable for younger children. This is something that was evident when examining the tone and orientation of the materials.

'Teen Talk!' would appear to have limited value as a stand-alone racially motivated offending intervention. Indeed, it is not used as such by the unit. Rather, it functions as a starting point from which to explore attitudes and viewpoints – something well suited to the 'Teen Talk!' format, which features co-recording, assessment, target setting and evaluation elements.

2. London YOT 32

At London YOT 32, an intervention entitled 'Individual Differences' is used. This is a generic educational intervention that focuses on teaching multicultural awareness. The programme was developed in response to a perceived rise in racially motivated offences. The programme employs a series of case studies in order to promote greater cultural awareness, and the course runs over an eight-week period. The case studies act as a structure to the ensuing small group discussions (between five and 10 young people, facilitated by up to three staff). However, the programme can also be used with individuals if they are deemed unsuitable for group work.

This is a predominantly educational approach which challenges individual and wider community prejudices instilled in young people. However, it is unclear whether the course addresses issues around the normalisation of violence and aggression, which can be central to some racially motivated offenders. In principle, the case studies could also be adapted for one-to-one work where an individual may be unsuitable for group inclusion.

3. North West secure children's home 12

At North West secure children's home 12 there is no specific racially motivated offending programme for young people who have been involved in a racially motivated offence, due to the low numbers of racially motivated offenders they receive. Nevertheless, two courses – 'Culture and Diversity' and 'Rights and Responsibilities' – have been developed in-house, loosely derived from the personal, social and health education National Curriculum.

Culture and Diversity programme

The Culture and Diversity programme is delivered to all young people at North West secure children's home 12 and it uses a multifaceted approach in addressing issues of racism, religion, culture and discrimination. Discussion-based exercises are used to examine differences between groups of people,

along with issues of violence and discrimination. The focus is to encourage young people to become more accepting of diverse communities and diverse cultures by instilling greater understanding and recognition of cultural differences, while challenging offenders' egocentric views. This can include changing social status valuations by introducing 'foods from around the world' or invited outside speakers from other racial groups. There are also exercises available using multimedia resources to examine different cultural backgrounds. Each session is cumulative, building around the idea of living in a multicultural society. This programme is delivered in a group work setting and the course runs for nine one-hour weekly sessions.

Rights and Responsibilities programme

The Rights and Responsibilities programme is selectively delivered to an individual young person if, owing to the young person's behaviour or information provided on the *Asset* form, the programme manager feels that the young person could benefit from utilising sections of the Rights and Responsibilities pack. The workbook contains a series of sessions and exercises covering three main areas:

- **rights and responsibilities**
Awareness-raising and helping young people to identify issues of difference, such as stereotyping and discrimination, and to recognise the implications of this for others.
- **handling conflict**
This section teaches the young person about anger and techniques for self-control through relaxation, distraction and self-monitoring.
- **problem solving**
Covers problem-solving techniques and life skills.

Both of these programmes were developed in-house by the unit's programme teams from numerous assorted materials. Taken together, the two courses offer a dual approach to tackling offending behaviour. The Culture and Diversity programme instils greater understanding and recognition of cultural differences, while the Rights and Responsibilities programme provides social competence training which addresses social-cognitive deficits. Addressing factors such as poor problem-solving abilities, reduced empathy, the belief that aggressive behaviour is acceptable, or the misreading of social cues increases the young person's ability to understand and discuss emotions and to develop strategies to change emotional responses such as aggression. One would expect this to have some bearing on impulsivity and self-control, and consequently to impact on some forms of racially motivated offending.

The unit is also currently working with the local council's diversity officer to try to develop a good practice guide and is looking at the support mechanisms in place for staff who are victims of racially motivated offences – for example, allowing an employee to take 'time out' if they have been subject to a racist comment by a young person. This is designed to show members of staff that

being racially abused is not just 'part of the job' and therefore each time a young person makes a racist comment to a member of staff, this is logged as an incident.

4. North West YOT 21

The survey return indicated that North West YOT 21 does not have one overall generic intervention for racially motivated offenders, but rather that they have a selection of materials that they use depending on the young person they are working with. The approach taken is a rather multi-layered approach, in common with some of the other sites that were visited.

'Colour Blind: What it Means to be British in the 21st Century'

One available resource is 'Colour Blind: What it Means to be British in the 21st Century'. This resource was compiled after the racial disturbances in the North of England during 2001. It was produced by the Children and Young People's Unit (Department for Education and Skills) in 2003 and contains activity sheets, worksheets and quizzes. This resource focuses on three main themes: identity and being British, citizenship, and racism. A 12-minute video featuring young people accompanies the booklet. The practitioners have also purchased a Union Jack flag to display as a visual tool to use alongside the programme. Each of the sessions within this programme is well structured. They provide the practitioner with the aim, purpose, timing, resources and intended outcome of the session.

Folens Photopacks

The YOT has recently purchased 'Folens Photopacks',¹⁹ which are available for many different faiths and religions. These comprise numerous large laminated photographs, posters and activity sheets that can be photocopied. The packs also include background information on each religion. The practitioner interviewed at North West YOT 21 spoke positively of these new resources and felt that they would be welcomed by the young people owing to the attractiveness of the photographs and the fact that they could be used in conjunction with festivals. The YOT has purchased the photopacks for the Christian, Buddhist, Jewish and Islamic faiths.

'Teen Talk!'

'Teen Talk!' is another resource at the YOT's disposal, and sections of this are implemented if required. For full description of 'Teen Talk!' see South West secure children's home 14.

¹⁹ See: <http://www.folens.com>

Operation Christmas Child

This is an initiative by the Samaritans where shoe boxes are filled with gifts and these are then sent to young people around the world. As part of 'Operation Christmas Child', the Samaritans have produced a short DVD showing how many young people in other countries live in deprivation. The YOT staff use this DVD to inform young people about life in other countries and use the creation of the shoe box as part of a creative element to the programme.

Diversity Awareness Programme

The Diversity Awareness Programme is a further resource available to the YOT, but it is not implemented systematically because it is a National Probation Service tool and is designed for adult offenders (see West Midlands YOT 2 for a full description of the Diversity Awareness Programme).

There is no single approach to racially motivated offending at this YOT; instead a range of resources are drawn upon as practitioners feel necessary. However, with the exception of the Diversity Awareness Programme, which is not much used in the event, the emphasis tends to be on education – and, as with other interventions of this type, this might not suit all types of racially motivated offenders, e.g. mission offenders or thrill-seekers.

5. Wales YOT 16

The survey return from this YOT indicated that they run an unnamed one-to-one intervention tailored to the needs of the individual young person. The intervention aims to educate the young person about different cultures and the effects of the young person's language on people from various cultures.

From the interview conducted during the fieldwork, it became clear that the programme of work undertaken with racially motivated offenders at this YOT consists of an extensive collection of worksheets, fact sheets and activity sheets. In addition to this, there is a sporadic residential course called 'Our Group' and schools outreach work is also undertaken. Unusually, the majority of the work with racially motivated offenders in this YOT is undertaken by a diversity officer on secondment to the YOT from the local racial equality council.

In practice, any young person convicted or suspected of racially motivated offending is referred to the racial equality council diversity officer (seconded to the YOT) who completes a two-page 'Race Initiatives Programme Assessment' with each young person. The assessment asks a number of general questions (for example, "Who are you currently living with?"), as well as more specific questions concerning racism (for example, "How do you feel about 'asylum seekers' coming to live in Wales?"; "Do you think it is acceptable to use the term 'Paki'?"; "Do you think a lot of Black people in Britain are taking jobs and council flats/housing association properties off White people?"). Following the initial assessment, all work with the young person is then conducted at the young person's home.

The programme typically covers topics such as prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination through various exercises with the young person and also includes advice on the legal consequences of using hate language and terminology. There are numerous worksheets and exercises that form part of the intervention. These include the following:

- **a sheet depicting a Union Jack**
The young person discusses what this means to them.
- **a sheet entitled ‘Britain – A Multiracial Society?’**
This worksheet asks the young person to identify factors that demonstrate that Britain is a multicultural society and factors that prevent it from being so.
- **a sheet entitled ‘Ethnic Minorities in Britain – What Do You Know?’**
This sheet provides statements that require a ‘true’ or ‘false’ answer.
- **a cartoon entitled ‘Three Kicks Four Times a Day’**
This pictures a young White male bullying a young Asian male. At the end of the cartoon, there are a series of questions relating to the cartoon which address the racism element of the story.
- **an activity sheet entitled ‘Hospital Murder’**
This features a newspaper article that describes a murder outside the Royal Gwent Hospital that was a racial attack. There are then a series of questions that are related to the article (aimed at older offenders).
- **a series of worksheets with information about the achievements of famous people from an ethnic minority background**
These include a number of questions for the young person to answer, all designed to challenge BME social status valuations.
- **a document entitled ‘Sid Says’**
This portrays a number of different people commenting on racism and their views on White people and Black people. Some of these comments are racist and others are not. The young person is then asked to provide their comment.
- **a poster exercise**
The young person has to create a poster based on the phrase ‘sticks and stones will break my bones but names can never hurt me’. The aim of this exercise is for the young person to provide six examples of racism that they have heard of and to discuss how ‘wrong’ the above saying is.
- **a terminology sheet**
This provides a series of definitions for the following terms: African Caribbean, Asian, Black, British, coloured, Ethnic Minorities/Minority Ethnic, half-caste, immigrants, Mixed race, Negro, non-White, visible minority.

On completion each young person is asked to sign ‘The Equality Pledge’ and is awarded a certificate at the end of the programme as a positive reinforcement. Overall this programme provides a highly flexible and multi-faceted approach to racially motivated offending. The racial equality council diversity officer has built

up an extensive collection of material to use and chooses the type of work depending upon the offence committed, how entrenched the racist views are and the educational level of the young person. Nevertheless, some of the material is rather dated, although this could be easily rectified.

There is an emphasis on engaging the moral imagination and questioning beliefs through a number of different exercises. Elements of this programme recognise that deeply held beliefs cannot be simply switched off and it is a strength of this programme that it approaches racism and discrimination from a number of different and mutually reinforcing angles. The only form of evaluation within this programme is a feedback form that the young person completes, which requests examples of what they have learned and how they found the course.

‘Our Group’ is a residential course developed to facilitate greater interracial socialisation, bonding and peer learning. BME and White young people undertake a range of outdoor activities together including rock climbing and walking, followed by a reunion a week later, for example, a curry night.

Outreach work on equality and diversity education, and stereotype awareness, is also conducted in local schools as a preventative measure. Both these activities are also conducted by the racial equality council diversity officer.

There appears to be a good inter-agency relationship between the racial equality council and the YOT. The secondment of a dedicated, enthusiastic worker (two days per week) ensures that a more consistent approach is achieved with all young people that the YOT is working with. The successful delivery of the work may be due to the charismatic nature of the practitioner interviewed. As noted elsewhere, the use of voluntary agencies to conduct racially motivated offending work has its advantages and disadvantages. In this YOT, the almost total reliance on one voluntary worker does leave the YOT exposed should the current arrangements change for any reason (for example, the worker moving to a different job).

6. Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 12

The Stop Racism project operated by this YOT aims to raise cultural awareness within groups or individuals. The course aims to achieve this by:

- assisting young people to identify the things that make people different
- exploring concepts of race, ethnicity and culture
- examining what is meant by the terms prejudice, discrimination and racism
- enabling the young person to develop a deeper understanding of racism in relation to their own behaviour
- promoting an acceptance of difference in others and an understanding of the belief that no group of people is superior to another.

There are six sessions based on worksheets, each of which consists of aims and objectives to be achieved during the session and guidance for the practitioner regarding the format of the session and tasks that should be undertaken in the session.

- **Difference**

This session explores concepts of race, ethnicity and culture, and, by using photographs of people from different races and age-appropriate definitions, seeks to make connections between the young person's offence and attitudes.

- **Identity/personal analysis**

The aim of this session is to explore the young person's own identity and how others see them, and to increase their sense of self worth and belonging. The guidance suggests creating two 'spider charts' with the young person: one to demonstrate how they believe other people see them and the other to depict the young person's beliefs, personality, thoughts and feelings.

- **Victims**

In this session the young person is asked to comment upon the impact of the racially motivated offence upon the victim. In this session work is also to be completed on stereotyping and victim empathy. The young person completes a stereotype questionnaire, watches a video entitled *Face to Face* and then completes the accompanying workbook to look at victims' experiences.

- **Heroes**

The young person is asked to identify role models who are from other races and to examine what qualities the young person recognises in the people that they admire. In this session, the DVD *Show Racism the Red Card* is used to depict 'heroes' being racially abused. The concept of institutional racism is also to be explored by the practitioner.

- **Acting out**

In this session, the young person is asked to perform in a role play where they enact a victim experiencing discrimination. This session aims to make the young person take responsibility for the consequences of their behaviour and to develop a greater sense of victim empathy. The practitioner is advised to use a CD called *Just Words...Innit?* to provide ideas on how to facilitate the role play exercise.

- **Reflections**

The objectives of this final session are to reflect on the information that has been provided in the programme and to reinforce the messages of equality and anti-discrimination. Magazines and newspaper cuttings are suggested as methods to use to try to create a collage of positive attitudes to people from different races. The images are also to be used to explain the concept of living in a multicultural society.

Changes in attitude and awareness are measured by evaluation sheets completed by young people before and after the intervention. These include a series of 10 statements about which the young person is asked to tick one of five boxes from 'don't mind' to 'mind a lot'.

Also available to practitioners is a resource box that includes materials that can be used as part of the intervention, such as the *Show Racism the Red Card* DVD, various information sheets and the *HomeBeats* multimedia CD-Rom (www.homebeats.co.uk). This combines music, graphics, video, text and animation to takes young people on a journey through time, from Africa, the Caribbean and Asia, to the making of modern Britain. There is a series of fully interlinked sections (Memories, Places, People, Visions, and Images) which connect past and present. These cover the history of racial prejudice and the struggle for racial justice, tracing the connections between slavery, the colonial experience and modern-day racism. *HomeBeats* depicts the history of how Black communities were built in the UK, told through the stories of eight locations in Britain: Birmingham, Bradford, Brixton, the East End of London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Notting Hill and Southall.

The Stop Racism project offers a good example of a multifaceted approach to racially motivated offending that aims to convince the offender why racism is both morally wrong and socially unacceptable. The programme appears to be easy to use, and encourages the practitioner to make creative use of a range of resources. Because it is flexible it is likely to appeal to a range of ages. Its focus is largely educative, however, and it may therefore have less success with racially motivated offenders with entrenched views, or offenders who have committed violent offences due to issues of anger, for example.

7. North West YOT 17

North West YOT 17 offers a number of interventions.

'From Murmur to Murder'

This intervention is used by the YOT for work with racially motivated offenders (see East YOT 5 for a full description of this intervention). However, due to the fact that it is based on an adult model, it had to be heavily adapted to meet the more restricted learning abilities and needs of young people.

'Joe Blagg'

'Joe Blagg' is a group work programme which consists of a series of role plays by participants in order to examine aspects of offending. 'Joe Blagg' is not specific to racially motivated offending, but the format of the intervention lends itself to examining any offence type. North West YOT 17 uses 'Joe Blagg' to examine racist attitudes and racist offending through interactive role playing by the young people and discussion. Nevertheless, practitioners felt that this approach had rather limited uses. In part this was because it was reliant on peer education, which was susceptible to reinforcing racism through a cross-

contamination of racist views, which ran the risk of fuelling racism rather than effectively challenging it. Staff members also reported the increased difficulties involved in challenging racist views in a group setting compared to a one-to-one. However, the reliance on role playing meant the approach was best suited to a group setting with all the problems that this entailed. Other difficulties involved reluctance on behalf of some young people to engage in the role plays. This makes the programme only suitable for a carefully selected group of young people facilitated by confident and highly skilled practitioners.

'Pathways'

This is a cognitive behavioural based modular programme designed for young people who commit offences. The course was designed by LMT Training and Consultancy (by Marion Jones and Lin Thomas). While 'Pathways' can be used for any offence type, North West YOT 17 employs the programme for racially motivated offenders. The course examines how a young person's attitudes have developed and been influenced, while encouraging change from pro-criminal to pro-social attitudes. 'Pathways' involves working through a series of modules and accompanying exercises. Modules include Considering Others (developing empathy skills) and Working It Out (developing effective social problem-solving skills and enhancing communication skills).

This programme can help young people to develop social competence skills and social cognitive processes in order to promote better understanding of emotional states, self-control and perspective taking. However, practitioners reported that many of the young people found the exercises designed to deliver these components to be quite patronising, and believed that few young people reached the end of the course successfully. The programme was thought best for younger offenders, with older offenders being better suited to 'Targets for Change' (below).

'Targets for Change'

'Targets for Change' is another cognitive behavioural programme stemming from the National Probation Service which examines the index offence and the broader consequences of offending, for the offender and others. This is not specific to racially motivated offending but can be adapted to it. Because it is based on an adult probation model it is only used occasionally, and then with older offenders (17 or 18-year-olds).

8. West Midlands YOT 11

'Who Lives Here?' is a six-week programme devised by two YOT workers in this YOT in collaboration with a voluntary worker from the Peace House, a cooperative housing charity. The programme has been run about five times since its inception in 2005/06, and had undergone some amendments to the content and structure as it has evolved. It was developed from a previous citizenship/diversity programme, but differs substantially from it.

The programme involves a creative mixture of information provision and experiential learning. It includes a number of imaginative games such as the 'Asylum Game', 'Migration Experience' and asylum case studies, as well as a talk given by a local asylum seeker. These aim to develop empathy for and greater awareness of the plight of refugees and asylum seekers. The intervention is currently structured as follows.

■ **Session 1: Identity**

The aims of this session are to dispel myths surrounding the reasons that people come to Britain from other countries and to challenge young people's views and ideas of asylum seekers. Some of the objectives of this session are to: ascertain young people's views about asylum seekers and refugees; allow young people to familiarise themselves with artefacts from various countries; and, to inform young people about asylum seekers and refugees, and the sorts of problems that they face in their own countries. Information boards about different countries are used, as well as maps of their city, the UK and the world, to show young people the diverse origins of the city's residents.

■ **Session 2: Drumming**

This session consists of a visit from a freelance music teacher with African drums. This is a creative session, as the young people compose a piece of music with the drums and play this back to the group. The young people also learn about the history of African music.

■ **Session 3: Experiences**

The aims of this session are to again dispel myths surrounding the reasons that people come to live in Britain from other countries; to challenge young people's views and perceptions of asylum seekers and refugees; and, to enable young people to speak to a person from a different culture and to empathise with the challenges immigrants face. The intention is to provide the young people with information that may change their views and beliefs about people seeking asylum in their area and for the young people to experience the process of applying for and gaining asylum. The young people take part in an 'empathy game', which puts them in the shoes of someone trying to escape from a country illegally (see below for details of the games used). The session also includes a migration quiz about people coming to Britain, and the questions and answers are discussed in the group.

■ **Session 4: Acceptance**

This session again aims to dispel myths surrounding the reasons that people come to live in Britain and to introduce young people to the experiences and motivations of asylum seekers. The Peace House co-hosts this session, and introduces a local asylum seeker who talks about his experiences in his country and in the UK.

■ **Session 5: Cultural Visit**

The young people visit a local mosque and speak to the Imam and other people from the community who have converted to Islam from other faiths.

- **Session 6: Evaluation and Food**

This session is an informal session where the practitioner allows the young person to give feedback on the intervention and whether they feel it has changed the way they think. Food from different countries is available for the young person to try.

A couple of games were available to be used as part of the intervention, one of which was designed by the YOT, and the other by the Peace House. These are described below.

- **‘Migration Experience’**

A spoof government announcement is made stating that anyone who is under 18 who has a criminal record (irrespective if spent) will be deported to Guantánamo Bay in Cuba and held there indefinitely. Participants sit in a large group and are required to devise a way of leaving the UK using illegal methods, and without other people knowing about it, thereby mimicking the conditions that asylum seekers might undergo. The second part of the game represents arrival at the destination country. Participants sit in four groups, with staff members behind four desks which represent the areas of Customs, benefits, courts and accommodation. Participants have to try to ‘claim asylum’, which includes filling in forms presented in different languages and navigating a difficult bureaucracy. Government officials of the destination country (played by staff) are deliberately unhelpful, and the barriers to achieving asylum are demonstrated.

- **‘Asylum Game’**

This is similar to the ‘Experiences’ game, but was devised by Peace House. Its aim is to educate the young people on the processes involved in claiming asylum. Before the game commences, the facilitator has to set the room up and designate ‘stations’. Examples of stations include ‘Immigration’, ‘Solicitor’ and ‘Homelessness’. There are also ‘friendly’ stations such as ‘NASS Accommodation’ (National Asylum Support Service), ‘Home’ and ‘Friends’. Each young person is given a ‘Reason to flee’ card. Examples include: “You had to flee Somalia because your family had been killed and you had been raped and left for dead”; and “You had to flee from Iran because you had converted to Christianity from being a Muslim”. Using these ‘Reason to flee’ cards, the young person has to attempt to claim asylum. At each of the stations there are a number of cards that relate to the number of the dice that they roll. The young person starts the game by throwing a dice and must continue doing so until they roll a six. Rolling a six allows the young person to move to the ‘Immigration’ station. At each station there are a number of other cards, directing the young person to the next station. To determine the next station the young person must move to, the young person must roll a dice and follow the

direction of the card. The various cards that are available at the 'Immigration 1' station are described below:

- rolling a one or a two: "You are fast-tracked and put in detention. Go to 'Detention 1'"
- rolling a three: "You arrive too late and are told to come back the next day. Go to 'Homeless 1'"
- rolling a four: "You are told that you are not eligible to claim asylum as there are no problems in your country. Start again"
- rolling a five or a six: "You claim for asylum and are given emergency accommodation. Go to 'NASS' and have some refreshments and then go to 'Solicitor 1'".

This game attempts to highlight the frustrations and lengthy delays that asylum seekers meet when arriving in Britain.

'Who Lives Here?' represents one of the most comprehensive and multi-layered approaches to instilling greater multicultural awareness by challenging racist attitudes. This is reinforced through attempting to change young people's social status valuations of 'out-groups'. There is a focus on engaging the moral imagination of young people while fostering an emotional connection with the experiences of others. The variety of methods (games, information boards, talks) is very broad and appeared to appeal to the young people interviewed at this YOT. There are multiple signals used throughout the course to emphasise that those affected by racially motivated offending (such as asylum seekers) are not only worthy of attention but also respect, and the programme aims to underscore this through a process of discovery and experiential learning. This is a useful approach, as it can help to foster an emotional connection with the experiences of those facing racism.

Perhaps where the programme can be faulted is that it does not specifically tackle violent racially motivated offending where either there is a culture of normalising violence or where unacknowledged shame motivates racist violence. As Ray et al. (2002) note, approaches that are mainly educational and that seek to show the moral wrongness of racism may miss the point.

9. Yorkshire and the Humber secure children's home 10

The review of the materials indicated that there is no provision specific to racially motivated offending at this establishment. Rather, the approach involves a mixture of the system of sanctioning and the use of generic offending behaviour programmes. The use of racially motivated language/behaviour within the unit is not tolerated and forms part of 'Respect: The Rewards and Sanctions System', which is a very thorough and detailed system.

Respect: The Rewards and Sanctions System

Racial abuse within the unit is identified as an offence and consequently results in the young person being relegated back to the basic level of prison regime. Racial abuse is defined by the 'Respect' system as:

... unwelcome language and behaviour that deliberately targets an individual or group of people as a result of their colour, culture, religion or nationality. The context and persistence of comments and behaviours must be taken into account in determining whether this does constitute abuse or is an inappropriate response requiring staff guidance and further monitoring.

Suggested sanctions for a young person using racist language in the unit include verbal reprimands, early bed, completion of 'My Thinking' report (below), warning and/or requiring the young person to write a letter of apology, and exclusion from activities.

My Thinking

This is a report that the young person is asked to complete following an incident, the aim of which is to get the young person to think about why they behaved in that way. The questions that are asked are: "What happened? (Outline what you did, who else was involved, when and where it happened)"; "What was I thinking? (Before the incident, during the incident and after the incident)"; and "What were the consequences of what I did?"

In Other People's Shoes

This is a group work programme to develop victim awareness which features five sessions.

- **Victim/victimise! Who?**
This session focuses on what a victim is and types of victims. It highlights that people do not choose to become a victim.
- **Introducing empathy – to stand in someone else's shoes**
The group is taken through the experience of being a victim and the young people have to write their own story of being a victim.
- **If victims had their say...**
This session explores what victims feel about sentencing and cultural differences in dealing with offenders from around the world. The young people are asked to examine a list of offences and to argue what they, as victims, would feel are appropriate sentences.
- **Face to face**
This session focuses on the young people's experiences of creating victims. The young people are asked to record their own offending history and the young people have to think about the sorts of questions their victims would ask if they were to meet face to face.

- **Saying sorry**

In this session the young person writes a letter of apology to their victim (this is written, but not sent). This task encourages the young person to take responsibility for what they did and to give an apology.

An evaluation sheet is completed by the young person at the end of the session to assess how much the young person learned.

Offending Behaviour Programme (12-week edition/15-exercise workbook)

In this programme, the exercises aim to raise the young person's awareness of their offending, and are for all offenders sentenced by the courts. There is no specific work related to racially motivated offending and none of the scenarios have a racial element to them. Sections include: Offending: What Do I Think?; What Led You Here?; Why I Offend: Reasons and Excuses; Moral Choices; Effects and Consequences of my Offending; From a Victim's Point of View; and Do I Need to Change?

Chillin' Out: Break the Anger Habit (group work edition)

This is a four-session group-based programme dealing with anger management and self-control. The sessions are entitled: Defining and Assessing; Connecting Triggers – Feelings – Responses; Control is Possible – See the Ways to Chill Out; and, Putting Skills into Practice. Again, there is no specific mention of racially motivated offending in this intervention.

The unit combines sanctions and generic programmes. As one young person commented at STC 4, the sanction system can be an effective method of changing inappropriate behaviour such as racially motivated offending, although one has to question whether the effect will persist once the young person is released. The use of generic offending behaviour programmes might address some of the causes of racially motivated offending, such as lack of victim empathy or anger control, but a more targeted resource would also be useful.

10. North East STC 4

This was the only STC visited, and the establishment has three main interventions – 'Teen Talk!', 'Throwing Stones', and 'Victim Empathy'. In addition, as part of the induction process, all young people receive a one-hour session on what constitutes acceptable non-discriminatory behaviour – this includes an explanation of the consequences of engaging in unacceptable behaviour.

'Teen Talk!'

Some elements of this programme (see South West secure children's home 14 for full description) such as Victims and Spot the Difference are used by the YOT for younger racially motivated offenders, and practitioners have reported that this work is undertaken to good effect. Spot the Difference and Sticks and

Stones are two similar exercises which explore how the young person perceives other people, and whether they have stereotypical views and attitudes. This is achieved through showing the young person a series of cards. Each card gives a statement about a negative behaviour, and the young person indicates whether they agree or not with the statement – for example, whether they believe x constitutes bullying. All responses are clarified and then supported or challenged. Every racially motivated offender is automatically put on ‘Teen Talk!’, and these sessions are used together in the same week. However, as previously discussed, the ‘Teen Talk!’ approach remains limited as a racially motivated offending intervention.

‘Throwing Stones’ – video and workbook

This is a resource designed for use in schools with 9 to 13-year-olds. It aims to encourage young people to explore and understand the issues around racial harassment, by developing empathy for others. The video (10 minutes) begins with a narration by a female, talking about growing up in a town. The viewer is then introduced to ‘Raj’, a young Asian boy, and his White friend. The narrator of this section is male, and his tone of voice conveys a sense of impending doom. The two boys witness a gang bullying a Black boy, but do not intervene. The following day, a police officer comes to the school to tell the children about the attack, and how it left the boy so frightened he didn’t return home that night, and was only found the morning after, leaving his parents worried sick. The two friends debate whether to tell the boy’s parents who did it, but decide not to.

The next scene involves a gang of White boys, who drag Raj’s White friend into their group. They then come across Raj’s mother, who is on her way home from the Chinese takeaway with some food. The gang takes her food and throws it away, saying that they didn’t think Pakistanis ate Chinese food. Raj’s friend feels guilty and the next night he attends a party at Raj’s house, but runs away soon after seeing Raj’s mother, out of shame. The video can be discussed scene by scene, or after watching it in its entirety. It is accompanied by teaching notes.

Practitioners thought the film was a useful visual aid, but lacked sufficient impact. One of the practitioners interviewed described the video as ‘wishy-washy’ and felt that it was not hard-hitting enough, although she found some of the exercises useful. These involved different characters and role play situations which are acted out to generate discussion. For instance, the practitioner plays the part of one of the characters being bullied by standing in the centre of a circle, while the young people walk around her shouting. This is followed by a discussion on how they felt in that situation and the implications for the victim, with the practitioner asking if any of the young people want to take her place (predictably no-one does).

The perceived lack of impact of the video might be explained by the fact that it was not designed with racially motivated offenders in mind, but rather as part of personal, social and health education in schools. The programme is further limited by the unwillingness of participants to engage in role playing. The video

and exercises were generally used alongside some of the sections of 'Teen Talk!'.

'Victim Empathy Programme'

This is a programme developed and delivered by the psychology unit at the STC. The rationale for the programme is that there is an association between a lack of victim empathy and offending. The intervention uses cognitive behavioural techniques and aims to encourage the young people to discuss the effects of their offending on others and to increase their victim empathy. The programme consists of five modules, as described below.

■ **Module 1**

Aims: to increase young people's awareness regarding victims of different crimes and to ensure young people realise that all crimes have victims.

Handout: 'Crimes and Victims' – the young people are asked to list crimes that they think have victims, and those that they think do not. Ask young people to place offence cards (for example, murder, robbery, shoplifting, etc.) into one of those two categories. Try to get the group to agree.

■ **Module 2**

Aims: to improve young people's understanding of the concept of victim empathy and to raise young people's awareness of the feelings of people to whom they are not emotionally close. Handout: the word 'me' at the centre of rings of concentric circles. Ask the young people to think about all the people in their lives and to place them in the relevant circles. Ask the young people to colour the circles of people they have offended against (or would offend against) and to explain why – and those they haven't or wouldn't offend against and why. Second handout: word 'offence' at the centre of concentric circles; young people asked to consider impact of their offence on themselves and others.

■ **Module 3**

Aims: to increase young people's awareness of the anxieties felt by the victim post-offence, and to increase young people's knowledge of the effects of offending behaviour on others. Handout: a list of 10 questions that victims might like to ask the offender (for example, "Why me?"; "Are you going to do it again?"; and "Are you sorry?"). The young people are asked to provide answers to these questions, and, if they can, to justify their answers.

■ **Module 4**

Aims: to increase young people's ability to express remorse for victims. Handout: a blank sheet. The young people are asked to write a letter to a victim (NOT sent). They are asked to think about a particular offence, how the victim might have felt and to write a letter. Volunteers read out their letters.

■ **Module 5**

Aims: to recap the main learning points from modules 1–4 and to give young people the opportunity to ask questions.

The programme also includes a victim empathy word search, anagrams, a quiz, and a pre- and post-programme assessment. This assessment determines how much victim empathy each young person has on a grade of one to five, and how much they want to change. During the final assessment, the young person is asked what they liked about the programme, what was helpful, what they would change, and how it could be improved.

The 'Victim Empathy Programme' is something to which any young person can be referred, and is not specifically aimed at racially motivated offenders. As it is conducted in a group, it is not felt appropriate to discuss individuals' offences. As with other interventions where staff do not deal with the specific offence, the specific causes of the offending might not be tackled, and the focus on victim empathy might therefore be ineffective.

Finally, although not an intervention per se, the establishment has an equal opportunities policy, which young people are given on reception and asked to sign as a contract. Young people are encouraged to report any discrimination against themselves or others via a complaints form or bullying form. Discrimination is explained in terms of different treatment on the grounds of race, religion, disability, gender or sexual orientation. The consequences of racist behaviour/language are explained to the young person, and a graduated penalty approach is adopted (i.e. progressive loss of privileges).

This policy is noted because one of the findings from the interview conducted with the young person at this STC (who had attended the 'Throwing Stones' programme and was starting the 'Victim Empathy Programme') was that sanctions were equally, if not more, important than programmes in changing her behaviour. This young person cited the possible loss of early release, or losing privileges such as a television in her room, as key factors in changing her behaviour.

While the STC employed a range of programmes within a comprehensive induction, monitoring and assessment process, staff were struggling to develop what they saw as effective interventions with racially motivated offenders. What was emphasised was the need for more materials and approaches to really tackle and challenge attitudes in a hard-hitting manner.

11. Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 8

The YOT survey return for this YOT indicated that two practitioners had devised a one-off 'Anti-discrimination Programme' to run with a group of racially motivated offenders. During the interview process, these practitioners mentioned that a separate 'Diversity and Victim Awareness Programme' was being piloted by one of their colleagues. That colleague was subsequently interviewed, and both programmes are described below.

Anti-discrimination Programme

This programme was devised in response to a specific set of racially motivated offences, which resulted in a group of young people receiving custodial sentences and being referred to the YOT while on licence. The programme has not run since being used with that group.

The intervention comprised four sessions run once a week. The first session was around 'age and expectations' and contained one of the worksheets from the YOT's 'Young Men and Offending Programme'. This worksheet focused on expectations about and of men and boys. The worksheet is described as providing "an opportunity for young men to reflect on their life experience and openly discuss their future wants" and aims to "identify conflicts between expectations and to explore what qualities it takes to meet expectations". However, there was nothing in this worksheet relating to racially motivated offending. The following pages of the worksheet contained an age exercise. The sheet began with the statement: "Throughout all age ranges consider that society is geared towards White middle class males and the effects of this". The notes for the practitioner stated that, for those aged 0–12, family members are the main sources of knowledge and influence, while for those over 12, peer influence becomes more important. The age exercise was split into four age groups:

- 0–5 years: the influence of toys, books/comics, TV programmes, family, and friends. The young people are asked to think about who is different in their family group
- 5–12 years: as above, but also the influence of magazines, school and media
- 12–17 years: as above, but also the influence of concepts of masculinity, and newspapers
- 17+ years: the influence of the world of work and reduced territorial boundaries. The young people are encouraged to think about the consequences of not having developed skills to adapt by this stage.

Prompts were used to get the young people to reflect on where their views came from. The final sheet entitled 'Anti-discriminatory Programme' presented notes for practitioners and briefly described the aim of the four sessions.

- Using the age and expectation sessions (above), encourage the young person to consider where attitudes come from and how they are maintained. Particular focus on attitudes and beliefs around difference of any kind.
- Recap session 1. Define the terms 'discrimination' and 'prejudice'. Have cards with easy-to-understand definitions on. Look at which groups in society are likely to suffer from discrimination. Use pre-prepared scenarios on cards to ask young people to place the scenarios under the heading of 'prejudice', 'discrimination' or both. Discuss their choices.

- Press cuttings discussion to encourage group to apply their learning from sessions 1 and 2.
- The law around discrimination.

The young people that this programme was delivered to held quite entrenched views, and the practitioners were realistic as to the prospects of a short programme of this nature effecting lasting change. It may be that a more cognitive behavioural approach would be needed with such offenders. The practitioners also felt that they lacked multimedia resources, which meant that the work was largely based around discussion and paper exercises, which may not have matched the young people's learning styles.

Diversity and Victim Awareness Programme

This was a 12-session programme run once a week, usually for one hour per session. The sessions were structured as follows:

- Session 1: Introduction, expectations, prejudice and racism
- Sessions 2–4: Exploring identity
- Sessions 5–6: Working with a poet to put thoughts into a 'rap'
- Session 7: Crime and safety awareness session delivered by police employee
- Session 8: Group activity (for example, rock climbing or bowling)
- Session 9: Second crime and safety awareness session
- Sessions 10–11: Visits to a recording studio to produce a CD from the lyrics the young people produced in sessions 5 and 6. Both sessions last three hours
- Session 12: Project evaluation, looking at what the staff and young people got out of it.

Although this programme is called a diversity and victim awareness programme, and all those on it were racially motivated offenders, the programme does not aim to address the young person's specific offending – in fact, discussion of their offences is forbidden. There is a danger that when it is not made explicitly clear to the young people why they are taking part in a programme – and when those delivering the intervention do not know what the young people have done or why – the chances of successfully tackling the individual causes is reduced. However, interviews with the young people completing this programme suggested that this is not necessarily the case.

On the positive side, the programme is broad-ranging and includes recreational activities which aim to consolidate and reinforce the central messages of the course. The emphasis is on having an engaging format as a hook for generating motivation and interest in the young people while discussing the salient anti-

racist messages; because of this, the programme may have additional mileage compared with more conventional approaches.

12. North West YOT 14

There is no specific racially motivated offending programme run at North West YOT 14; rather, when addressing racially motivated offending, staff use elements of 'From Murmur to Murder' and 'Teen Talk!', along with 'Chalkface Project' worksheets and a number of other general worksheets. All work with racially motivated offenders is also conducted on a one-to-one basis.

'From Murmur to Murder'

North West YOT 14's use of 'From Murmur to Murder' (see East YOT 5 for full description) is restricted to adapting some of the worksheets rather than using the complete programme. Elements of the course such as 'Where does racism come from?' are mixed with other types of worksheets, newspaper clippings and internet searches, etc. Other elements used include part of an interview on murder and aggravated racial murder to increase young people's understanding of racism. These elements were deemed to be excellent recourses. There was felt to be a lack of worksheets with the course though, and what there was needed to be heavily adapted to a younger audience, depending on their level of understanding. This work would typically be intermixed with other general offending work and anger management exercises.

'Teen Talk!'

'Teen Talk!' (see South West secure children's home 14) is also employed by the YOT, but this is restricted to a small number of the exercises, including Sticks and Stones, which explores definitions of bullying behaviour, and Spot the Difference, which encourages young people to reflect on the similarities and differences between themselves and others.

The Chalkface Project: Challenging Racism resource

The Chalkface Project provides a number of work packages aimed at teachers, one of which includes the resource 'Challenging Racism'. The 'Challenging Racism' pack contains a number worksheets organised around a series of lesson plans. These are designed to educate young people about stereotyping, prejudice, racism and discrimination – and how to challenge these attitudes. Each worksheet contains a cartoon depicting a scenario and asks the young person to comment on the picture; the worksheets also give a couple of questions and thinking exercises in an attempt to make the young person think about a particular topic. There are a total of 28 worksheets to choose from. Examples include: 'Media Views', 'Brits Abroad' and 'No Blacks, No Problem'. In the 'Brits Abroad' worksheet, for example, there is a picture of a drunk British person on the streets of Spain. The worksheet asks the young person: "How do you think the person in the illustration would behave when on holiday in Spain?" and "If you were Spanish, how would you react to this behaviour? What would

you think about other British people?” In the ‘No Blacks, No Problem’ worksheet, the young person is asked to think about what may influence a young person to have racist beliefs when they may have never met a Black person.

This is an educational resource which seeks to convince offenders that racism is morally wrong and socially unacceptable, and useful teachers’ notes accompany the pack. These explain in more detail what the outcomes of the session are about, and, for some worksheets, suggest further exercises that could be undertaken with young people. Some practitioners may find this very helpful in running the course. However, it is a teaching resource and is not designed specifically for racially motivated offenders, for whom a more hard-hitting approach might be needed.

‘Anti-racism in Schools’ programme

The YOT also makes use of the ‘Anti-racism in Schools’ programme which encompasses a lesson plan on how to deliver a session on racially motivated crimes to young people in the school setting. The course aims to share understanding of racism, to challenge racist attitudes, and to provide a basic understanding of the legal and historical aspects to racism, while also considering ways of reducing racially motivated offending. The first part of the lesson involves an anti-racism quiz, which aims to challenge myths surrounding racism by providing factual information. Some of the questions are derived from the Anti-racism Quiz for Young People contained in ‘From Murmur to Murder’. An answer sheet is provided, along with further information.

The second part of the lesson is called ‘Where Do I Stand?’. In this exercise, the room is divided into two halves – ‘agree’ and ‘disagree’. Statements are read out and the young people must move to the side of the room which corresponds to their view. The young people are then expected to explain and justify their views while in the group. This programme provides a useful approach as a general method of exploring attitudes, beliefs and possible solutions to racially motivated offending to a large audience. It is activity based and therefore capable of engaging and motivating participants to absorb anti-racist messages.

There is no single racially motivated offending intervention at North West YOT 14; instead there is a range of resources which practitioners can dip into, which provides flexibility for dealing with different types of racially motivated offender. However, it should be noted that most of the resources (with the exception of ‘From Murmur to Murder’) are aimed more generally at school pupils rather than young people who offend.

13. East YOT 5

According to the YOT survey, this YOT had a wide variety of resources available to use with racially motivated offenders, although it was clear from the

interviews that were conducted that not all staff were aware of the existence of each of the resources.

Different DVD

This 20-minute DVD aims to educate viewers about hate crime and to encourage people to report hate crime. It is presented by two young people (one Asian and one Black), who come from one of the most deprived wards in their city. They begin with a description of what hate crime is (part of which is delivered by a police officer), and they note that victims typically experience 32 incidents before they report it. They then introduce three stories of discrimination. One of these stories is about two young Black men who verbally abuse a White shop assistant because they think he is gay, and then physically attack him outside the shop. There is also a story about discrimination against travellers. The legal implications of discrimination are discussed, along with ways of reporting it. The presenters repeat the message that hate crime can be based on race, religion, sex, disability, and other factors.

The DVD has been produced by young people from the area in which it is based, with the support of the police, the racial equality council, victim support and other agencies. It is professionally produced, has a modern soundtrack, and is designed to appeal to young people. Both the researcher who viewed the DVD and one of the young people interviewed thought that this was an engaging, informative DVD. The practitioner thought that it was useful that the DVD did not concentrate solely on racism, but also on other types of discrimination, as a focus solely on racism could be counter-productive. The DVD was also seen as a useful starting point for discussion:

They're quite, sort of emotionally led, which we wouldn't normally do in our work, they're quite led by emotion, they're up-to-date, they're to the point, they're not trying to appeal to young people, which I think can sometimes have the opposite effect. They do what they say on the tin really, they are about listening to somebody's story, and it opens up a long line of discussion, which leads on then to asking them about family trees, talking to their parents – 'oh I had a relative who emigrated' – to understand there is no such thing as this 100% pure English person.

'Show Racism the Red Card'

This 20-minute DVD and educational pack conveys an anti-racist message, using dozens of professional footballers to put the message across. It uses clips of players on the field, interspersed with shots of them repeating the phrase 'show racism the red card'. Some of the players talk about their experiences of racism (in their personal and professional lives) and how it has affected them, and note how the police used not to take it seriously. There is a section on racism in everyday life with testimonies from footballers and others; a section that talks about Stephen Lawrence and the report into his murder; a section on 'heroes' (Mandela, Luther King, Malcolm X); and a section on what viewers can

do about racism (report it). A contact point is given for the organisation Youth Against Racism in Europe. The programme is sponsored by the European Union, the Professional Footballers' Association and Unison. The version of the programme held by the YOT appeared to date from the mid-1990s, and, given the short careers of professional footballers, many of those featured no longer play; some of the clips look very dated, although it should be noted that the resource was updated in 2008. The programme is also somewhat tedious: the phrase 'show racism the red card' is repeated dozens of times – a point made by one of the young people who was interviewed, who was not impressed by it. The programme is accompanied by study notes and a CD-Rom with additional material, including a quiz and background information. The study notes (28 pages) and 10 accompanying one-page A4 fact sheets cover the following areas:

- racism and football
- football: a man's game?
- racism and fascism
- racism in Britain: a brief history
- racism today
- refugees and asylum seekers
- the law
- a lesson in history
- American Civil Rights Movement
- racism and what you can do.

The programme aims to give young people the skills to challenge racism, to increase young people's understanding of issues of diversity, and to promote young people's involvement as active citizens in a multiracial society. 'Show Racism the Red Card' is a resource that attempts to use young people's interest in football to promote an anti-racist message – and this is both its main strength and main weakness. While it may engage young people who are football supporters, it is likely to be of little interest to those who are not. As noted above, in the fast-changing world of football, it is important that YOTs keep their resources up-to-date, otherwise, as one practitioner commented, the young people are more likely to be laughing at the haircuts than listening to the message. Finally, it is a resource that is primarily educative, and does not, for example, challenge ways of thinking through a cognitive behavioural approach; nor is it aimed specifically at racially motivated offenders.

Discrimination video

Originally produced in 1993 and updated in 1999, this 26-minute video addresses sexual, racial and other types of discrimination. It is designed primarily for use in personal, social and health education lessons in schools. It

is largely informative, providing statistics and guidance for teachers and others, and giving advice on equal opportunities policies. Addressing each type of discrimination in turn, the video asks 'how much', 'why' and 'what can be done'. The section on race discrimination is dated (it compares trends from 1993–99) and is unlikely to appeal to young people. There are also some scenarios acted out, for example bullying at school, with questions appearing on screen such as "What should the teacher do next?" and "Would you have the courage to argue in favour of an ethnic minority person in front of your mates?" Out-of-date figures on the number of racist attacks and unemployment are presented. It concludes by advising schools to agree an anti-discrimination policy, and never to tolerate or ignore racism. The video is clearly targeted at teachers and pupils, and not at racially motivated offenders. It is not a resource which is likely to be of much use to those working with racially motivated offenders.

'From Murmur to Murder'

This is a 182-page, ring-bound file, covering the following sections:

- Introduction; why racially motivated offending is important; definitions
- Underpinning knowledge and values – principles and models
- Incidence of racial violence in the UK
- Crime and Disorder Act 1998
- Management of risk
- Court work
- Pre-sentence reports
- Supervision – programme development, content, specimen programmes, strategies
- Issues for managers
- Bibliography.

The resource includes an anti-racism quiz, although this is dated and many of the answers are no longer correct. The section on supervision (section 8) is what practitioners use with racially motivated offenders. This section describes a specimen programme – although in practice, it is treated by those using it as a finished product. The resource is well researched, and based on established cognitive behavioural principles, which are widely used in other National Probation Service programmes.

The resource describes racism as a learned behaviour, which can be changed. Practitioners are advised to work with the concept of three levels of racism – individual/personal, cultural/institutional, and structural, which mirrors the micro, meso and macro levels discussed earlier in this study. The authors argue that any programme for racially motivated offenders needs to focus on attitudes and

belief systems, affect (feelings and emotions) and actions (observable behaviour). The focus is on the present and future, and on criminogenic factors.

The specimen programme is structured as follows:

- Introduction
- Values enhancement (use dilemmas to raise ethical questions and ask offenders to take a viewpoint)
- Offence account – use the ‘ABC’ method (antecedents, behaviour, consequences)
- Racism – examine the offence, life experiences and experiences with people from other races and religions
- Analysis of offence – revisit offence account and identify the cognitions, affect and actions
- Victim perspective – role play or videos
- Management of self – skills development and practice
- Decision-making – exercises to help develop decision-making skills
- Offence account revisited – compare to first account
- Relapse and prevention – how to stop it happening again.

Some sample exercises are then provided.

This is the most structured and theoretically grounded resource that was encountered, and it applies long-established cognitive behavioural approaches specifically to racially motivated offenders. The main drawback of the resource is that it was not designed for young people, but for adults on probation. Some of the examples may therefore need adapting for young people. Furthermore, the cognitive behavioural approach is one with which many YOT practitioners may be unfamiliar, and to use this successfully might require training in this technique. However, it seems that it is a promising programme, and it could be adapted for use with young people, for example by using some of the worksheets in resources described elsewhere in this chapter (for example, Stop Racism in Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 12). Finally, given the in-depth nature of the work, it would really only be feasible to carry this out with young people on a reasonably long order.

Just Listen DVD

Produced by Alpha films, this 12-minute DVD contains three sections: one addressing race and religion, one focusing on disability, and one addressing gender and sexuality. The section on the subject of race and religion tells the stories of ‘Ibrahim’ and ‘Clair’, and there are two six-minute interviews. The first is with Ibrahim, who is from Afghanistan and grew up in a war-torn country. He fled the country and in the interview he describes his journey towards the UK

and the reasons he left (seeing his father killed and fearing for his own life). His journey took 40 days, being transferred from lorry to lorry, walking for days, fearful of the traffickers who were dangerous. Finally he ended up in England, although he did not know this at the time. He says that he feels safer here, that he is learning English, and that he wants to stay and get married. Clair is a White female teacher, and she discusses stereotypes of Muslims, male and female. She then reveals that she converted to Islam, "I'm a Muslim, I'm just a person".

The DVD comes with a 17-page booklet with ideas for group discussion and exercises – three pages deal with the section on race and religion. These suggestions encourage participants to look at where racist attitudes and stereotypes come from (media, politics, friends, etc.). Trainers are directed to websites such as the 'Myth Busting' section of the Refugee Council's website for additional information. This DVD was described in a positive light by the young person interviewed and it is the sort of programme that would again provide a useful starting point for discussion. The programme may help to generate a sense of empathy, while the accompanying notes and websites enable the practitioner to provide information to challenge the young persons' views. The practitioner who was interviewed found the programme and notes useful, and described how she would use this resource over a couple of sessions with a young person:

It would probably pan out over a couple or three sessions, maybe watch the video on one session, do some specific questions on the video from the booklet in that one session ... the young lad I was working with last year, we watched the asylum seeker video, worked through the booklet question, he came up with some really interesting questions, I knew he was really getting it when he said to me what is the difference then between an asylum seeker and a refugee, and I thought breakthrough, understanding there are differences. And then we used the internet in the next session to go onto the BBC website, and looked up the different terminology and what it means, so can link probably two or three sessions based on how much is coming out of the young person and bringing to the session.

The variety of materials available to this YOT was unusually broad, but these materials were not components of an overall larger 'intervention'. In this YOT area there were low levels of racially motivated offending and, as a result, most practitioners had only dealt with one or at most two cases. Different practitioners used different resources, and it was clear that not all practitioners were aware of all the resources available, as this YOT and its resources were spread over three sites in the county. Thus some practitioners would tend to use 'Show Racism the Red Card', while others would use the *Just Listen* DVD or 'From Murmur to Murder'.

14. North West YOT 7

The programme in place at North West YOT 7 – ‘Social Education: Racism Programme’ – was developed in-house by a practitioner and is based upon a cognitive behavioural approach. The programme is designed to engage young people and can be tailored to their attention span. The programme consists of the following six sessions described below. Each session lasts up to one hour and is designed for one-to-one work, but is sometimes used in a group setting.

- **What young people think about young people/racism**
In this session the young people look at how the media describes young people and what young people say about Black people and Asians.
- **First impressions**
Images of striking faces are used to represent people from different cultures. This session also includes an exercise in which the young people have to identify which country people come from.
- **Images and stereotypes**
Drawing is the main focus of this session. The young people are asked to draw what they think racism is and to then discuss their drawings.
- **Raising curiosity about other cultures and peoples**
This session is a creative session where the young people listen to music from different countries and are encouraged to cook and sample dishes from other countries.
- **Looking at unconscious thoughts and feelings regarding stereotyping**
A number of statements are presented to the young people such as “Black people are dirty”. Using ‘agree’ and ‘disagree’ cards, the young people are asked to respond to each statement.
- **The effects of jokes on us and on those against whom the jokes are told.**

A number of activities are included in the programme, including identifying flags of different countries, learning about the holocaust, exploring Black role models and role plays. A number of other creative resources were used to accompany the programme, including:

- *Trading Races* – a video of a BBC programme, which is used to explore issues
- Diversity – The Game Diversity© has been devised and developed in consultation with members and friends of Suffolk Inter-Faith Resource, see <http://www.eefa.net/diversity.htm>
- *A Safe Place* – a video by the charity ‘Show Racism the Red Card’
- Rainbow books
- *Roots of the Future* – a Commission for Racial Equality publication

- *HomeBeats* multimedia CD-Rom (see Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 12)
- *Cyberace: Can You Beat Racism?* – a ground-breaking educational game in anti-racism on CD-Rom, by the Rural Media Company.

The focus of the programme is on encouraging young people to understand themselves and on helping them to change their attitudes and behaviour – a process that one practitioner admitted might be difficult with more committed racially motivated offenders:

The difficulty is trying to challenge views that have been embedded for years and years. Getting the young person to understand themselves, to think freely and to think about changing. Challenging them to challenge themselves. It's going to take a long, long time... We're starting from a standpoint that racism is wrong. This issue is a big issue – it's our job to educate the young people.

North West YOT 7

15. South West YOT 5

The intervention in operation at South West YOT 5 is called 'Changes'. It is a five-session programme developed in 2007 aimed at violent offenders. The five sessions are structured as follows.

- **Session 1**
The first session contains a number of worksheets comprising a series of statements/questions – for example, “If you decided to change, how confident are you that you could succeed?” to which the young person is asked to respond. These are followed by a series of open-ended questions – for example, “What can you do to stop fighting?” designed to encourage discussion about issues. The final section looks at definitions of bullying and the impact it can have on victims.
- **Session 2**
In the second session there is a worksheet entitled ‘It’s Alright’ and again the young person is asked to indicate whether they agree or disagree with statements such as “It’s alright to beat up people because they are from a different ethnic background than me”. There are also a couple of case studies describing assaults (not racially motivated) and the young person is asked to imagine how the victim felt at the time of the offence.
- **Session 3**
The third session involves another case study and there are a couple of accompanying questions. The session is linked to a DVD and, after watching the DVD, the young person is then asked to answer a number of questions relating to the DVD. The questions are based around the racial element of the offence in the video and examples of questions asked include: “Do you think that the fact that the victim was from a different ethnic origin than the

offender makes any difference?"; and "Have you ever assaulted or abused anyone due to his or her ethnicity?"

■ **Session 4**

In this session there is a scenario and the young person is asked what they would do in that situation, what would they think, how they would feel. etc. One of the questions in the scenario is: "Imagine that the boy is from a different ethnic background from you. Does this change things?"

■ **Session 5**

In session five the young person is presented with a list that defines certain offences of violence. There then follows a description of offences and the young person is asked to decide what offence was committed.

Each of the sessions ends with a feedback sheet and there is also an end-of-programme evaluation sheet for the young person to complete.

As can be seen from the description of the programme, the focus is mainly on violent offences, and only tangential reference is made to racially motivated offences. The programme aims to generate victim empathy and to encourage young people to consider alternatives to violence. While this programme might be of use in tackling racially motivated violence, any impact it has is likely to be through its focus on violence, rather than on racism. There is little in the programme that specifically addresses the causes of racially motivated offending, nor is the programme aimed specifically at racially motivated offenders.

16. North East YOT 1

This YOT uses 'Teen Talk!' and 'Show Racism the Red Card', both of which have been described elsewhere in this chapter (South West secure children's home 14 and East YOT 5) so are not described in detail here. 'Teen Talk!' is used on a one-on-one basis, generally over a three-week period. It is used as a discussion prompt, and does not involve the young person in any written work. Unlike 'Teen Talk!', the DVD *Show Racism the Red Card* is generally used in group work. It is used as a one-off session and is shown at the beginning of a supervision session, which then leads into a discussion with the young people about the issues raised. It was felt, however, to be rather superficial: "just scratching the surface really, it's not really addressing the key issues". This reinforces comments from other YOT practitioners and young people who felt that this DVD lacked 'bite'.

17. North West YOT 5

The survey returned by North West YOT 5 listed a range of resources that were used. These included a selection of videos, CD-Roms and resource packs. Upon visiting the YOT, it was clear that the resources most predominantly used are 'Teen Talk!' (specifically the Citizenship section), 'Show Racism the Red

Card' (both described elsewhere) and a CD called *Can You Beat Racism* produced by Rural Media Company.

'Teen Talk!' is not only used with racially motivated offenders but with young people that the YOT is working with who express inappropriate language and attitudes. The use of the programme is determined by the offence the young person committed and their learning style. The length of the programme is determined by the offender manager who assesses what is suitable for the young person. Therefore, a programme could last as long as three to four months or as little as one hour, with different modules being used at any time. The resources used by the YOT were mainly educational, and as commented elsewhere, this type of approach may only work with certain types of racially motivated offenders.

One resource available to the YOT is a racism awareness pack called 'Rafiki'. This resource was developed in Wigan to address the needs of young Black people, and it includes three photo-stories, guidance notes, checklists and an action plan. However, it is no longer used as the practitioners felt that it was outdated.

18. West Midlands YOT 5

The survey return for this YOT indicated that they ran a cultural awareness programme, which comprised informal one-to-one sessions looking at perceptions of culture, and challenging preconceived assumptions.

The visit to the YOT revealed that the cultural awareness programme is not a fixed, structured programme, but rather takes the form of a 'toolkit' of different resources which the practitioner may dip into. In the toolkit there are a number of videos, a CD-Rom and worksheets. There is also a racial awareness workbook, which is described below. In this YOT, one practitioner had decided to specialise in racially motivated offending provision, and she takes referrals from colleagues with racially motivated offending cases.

Racial awareness workbook

This resource was developed in-house by the practitioner specialising in racially motivated offending. The workbook consists of the following four sections:

- **Labelling and stereotyping**

One worksheet in this section asks the young person what judgements they think strangers might make about them and then asks the young person to provide a description of what they are really like. Another worksheet asks the young person to provide photographs of a young Asian man and a young White man and then asks the young person to label the photographs using a selection of words that are provided. These words include, for example, 'lazy', 'large family', 'poor', 'intelligent', and 'foreign'.

- **Defining racism**

One of the worksheets in this section provides a number of statements and asks the young person whether they have behaved in that way and whether they agree with the statement. For example, one such statement and question reads: “Racial prejudice is deciding what you think about a person based on their skin colour, or what culture they come from. Have you ever made a judgement about someone just because of their skin colour or culture? YES/NO.”

- **Where racism comes from**

In this section there is an example of a person who has racist beliefs, but has never met a Black or Asian person. This exercise asks how she has formed judgements about people – for example, through newspapers and hearing jokes, etc. Also in this section, the young person is asked where their own racist views have come from.

- **Effects of racism**

This section of the workbook asks the young person to respond to various scenarios, for example, to describe how they would feel if “they couldn’t get a job because they were White” and if “newspapers described White people as immigrants who should be deported”. There is a page entitled ‘The Effect of Racism’. The young person watches *The Eye of the Storm* video and is then asked to identify the consequences of racism for the people involved. There is also an otherwise blank page entitled the ‘Stephen Lawrence Story’ which is for comments about the video about that murder.

It appears that the workbook is used to structure the interventions with young people and that some or all of the resources from the toolkit are used as required.

Videos

The two videos in the toolkit are *The Eye of the Storm*²⁰ and the *Stephen Lawrence Story*. *The Eye of the Storm* video describes an experiment in America in the 1950s, in which a teacher splits a class into ‘brown eyes’ and ‘blue eyes’ and tells the children with blue eyes that they are better than the children with brown eyes; the film looks at the impact this has on the behaviour of the two groups. It is used to introduce the concept of discrimination and the impact that this has on both those who discriminate and those who are discriminated against. The second video, produced by Granada TV, is a two-hour dramatisation, which starts on the night Stephen Lawrence was murdered and continues the story until the start the public inquiry into the police investigation of the murder. The video aims to show the impact of the murder on Stephen Lawrence’s parents and those around them.

²⁰ For a more detailed description of this film see:
<http://www.uniview.co.uk/pdf/1190eyeofstormofficial.pdf>

Other resources

Other resources used by this YOT include books on different cultures and a multimedia CD-Rom called *HomeBeats* (see Yorkshire and the Humber YOT 12).²¹ *HomeBeats* combines music, graphics, video, text and animation to take young people on a journey through time in the Caribbean. It uses a series of interlinked sections (memories, places, people, visions and images) to make the links between the past and present, and covers the history of racial prejudice. Finally, young people are also encouraged to fill 'culture boxes'. Here, young people are asked to research a particular group or religion by going to the library, using the internet or other means. The young people collect information, articles and other items such as photographs or food relating to that group or religion and place them in a box. They then present the results of their research at the victim awareness session.

Overall, there seemed to be a good combination of structured worksheets with multimedia resources in the toolkit. The latter in particular were believed to have more of an impact on the young people because they were up-to-date and young person friendly. There was also a recognition at this YOT that the causes of racially motivated offending can extend beyond the individual, and the interviewee said that on occasion the YOT tries to involve the young person's parents if they are identified as a trigger factor. The various resources available target a number of possible causes of racially motivated offending, including lack of knowledge, lack of victim empathy, thinking patterns and parental views. One of the concerns of the interviewee was that not all suitable cases are always referred on, and that some chasing up of colleagues is required.

19. Wales YOT 4

The questionnaire returned from Wales YOT 4 identified that a DVD entitled *Black and White* is the main resource used with racially motivated offenders. Reference was also made to the use of role plays to try to make the young person understand what it feels like to be on the receiving end of racism.

When visiting the YOT it was evident that the *Black and White* anti-racism DVD forms only one element within a larger supervisory process addressing racially motivated offending. The main focus of the YOT's work in this area is on prevention, especially using peer-led and participatory approaches within schools and at-risk groups. This includes strong links to national policy for youth issues more generally. The focus is on greater youth inclusion, entitlement and participation across a wide infrastructure – something seen as integral in the broader strategy of delivering more harmonious relations between racial groups.

There is also a strong restorative justice focus at the YOT, especially through restorative conferencing methods and inter-agency approaches both locally and

²¹ For further information see also: <http://www.homebeats.co.uk>

nationally. Projects funded by the Arts Council and the YJB are delivered to the young people; these focus on consulting the young people about issues in their community and cultural conflict, including conflict between Bangladeshi and Pakistani families on a street level. A technique called the 'forum theatre' was also described by this YOT. This involves asking the young people to present their positive and negative experiences and then inviting the audience to take part in the performance.

20. East YOI 3

The YOT survey return from East YOI 3 indicated that their intervention comprises a Black history and human rights month, and equality and diversity work as part of personal, social and health education at the YOI. However, when the researcher visited East YOI 3, it emerged that there was no specific programme to deal with racially motivated offending running at that time, although the Education and Psychology teams were in the process of developing interventions to tackle prejudice based on stereotypes and differences.

21. West Midlands YOT 2

The YOT survey return from West Midlands YOT 2 indicated that the Diversity Awareness Programme is the main intervention used with racially motivated offenders. However, interviews with practitioners revealed that this is just one source of material, and racially motivated offenders are typically dealt with in an individualised manner, which sometimes incorporates a victim awareness approach. A brief description of the Diversity Awareness Programme is provided below (some of the material comes from Lemos' 2005 report).

The Diversity Awareness Programme

The Diversity Awareness Programme was developed by National Probation Service London for use with adult probationers. It is an in-depth one-to-one programme which aims to challenge racist attitudes and reduce reoffending by confronting the offender with the effect of their behaviour on victims and the wider community. The programme explores how beliefs are formed and how these contribute to offending, and helps offenders to change their attitudes.

The Diversity Awareness Programme draws on other probation offender programmes including anger management and thinking skills programmes and uses a cognitive behavioural approach. The programme consists of up to 20 one-hour sessions, delivered over at least 10 weeks. There are seven modules, as described below:

■ Module 1

In this module, the offender's childhood and family experiences, and history of offending are examined. This is to encourage the offender to reflect on the influences on their views that have contributed to their offending behaviour.

- **Module 2**
This module includes examination of the offender’s sense of identity and definitions of Britishness.
- **Module 3**
This module covers thinking skills and how different ways of thinking impact on racist attitudes.
- **Module 4**
This module addresses victim empathy, looking at the offender’s denial and minimisation. It also seeks to develop in the offender a critical attitude towards information received from the media and family and friends.
- **Module 5**
In this module the offender is encouraged to think about their own experiences of being a victim.
- **Module 6**
This module looks at unconscious racist stereotypes and attempts to challenge negative myths associated with minority communities.
- **Module 7**
In this module, the offender is encouraged to consider the advantages of non-offending and the consequences of further offending, and strategies to resist peer pressure.

The Diversity Awareness Programme has the advantages of being intensive, in-depth, and designed to address entrenched racist behaviour and attitudes – as one interviewee said, “to really dig down into those attitudes”. However, the Diversity Awareness Programme is not used as a stand-alone programme with the young people that the YOT is working with, as it is clearly an adult-oriented programme and it is not felt to be young person friendly. Practitioners tend to use it more as a framework, and dip in and out of various sessions. These sessions have to be heavily adapted to be used with young people.

Other resources

As a result of the limitations of the Diversity Awareness Programme, practitioners adopt a flexible approach to dealing with racially motivated offenders, in which the Diversity Awareness Programme is just one resource they might use. The internet is also used to provide information for particular sessions (for example, the Bradshaw foundation website).²² The supervision plan is tailored to each individual’s level and to specific areas that the practitioner thinks are the most important. For example, one young person’s supervision plan included offence-focused work on racism (roots of racism, language, definitions, perceptions of minorities, destroying the myths, impact on

²² See: www.bradshawfoundation.org. The website provides information about migration, primarily in the distant past, covering issues such as where modern civilisations arose, early rock art and so on.

victims), work on anger management, and work on personal development (self-esteem) and reparation. In addition to the work carried out by individual YOT workers, the victim awareness officer also offers input into certain cases, delivering a structured victim awareness programme. Overall, the approach to racially motivated offending in this YOT is creative, combining a range of resources, and attempts are made to target the specific areas of concern that each young person presents.

Appendix 4: Practitioner interview schedule

Opinions about racially motivated offenders in general

1. The YJB Themis data that we have analysed for the purposes of this research shows that racially motivated offenders have increased year on year as a whole in England and Wales, with a 94% increase from 2002/03 to 2006/07. Do you feel that this is a true reflection of the issue?

(Prompt: Could it be due to changes in recording practices? The impact of legislation?)

2. Do you feel that racially motivated offending is a problem in your YOT area?
 - Has it increased, decreased, or stayed the same over the past two years?
 - Which racial groups are predominantly responsible for racially motivated offences?
 - Who do they offend against?

Overview of the interventions offered by the YOT and how these address the causes of racially motivated offending

3. Can you describe in detail the intervention/interventions that you use for racially motivated offenders within your YOT?
 - What does the programme look like?
 - How many sessions would a young person attend?
 - How long do the sessions last?
 - How long have they been used?
 - Why use this particular intervention/s?
 - Was it developed solely for racially motivated offenders, or developed from a generic intervention?
4. Where does your intervention originate from and is there a theoretical basis for its use and effectiveness?
5. What do you see as the main cause of racially motivated offending?
 - Does this intervention address these factors?

6. Thinking about racially motivated offenders you have dealt with, do you think there are different types/motivations? (E.g. thrill-seekers/defenders/retaliatory offenders/mission offenders.)

7. How is a young person assessed as suitable for inclusion on an intervention?

(Prompt: Asset? Nature of offence? Age? Learning ability?)

8. Do you think that the programme on its own is sufficient to deal with the problem of racially motivated offending?

- Are you aware of any other programmes for racially motivated offenders?

(Prompt: If so which?)

Practicalities of delivering the intervention

9. Do you feel that you have sufficient resources to be able to deliver the intervention effectively?

- Are there sufficient staff?
- Are there adequate financial resources and managerial support from the YOT?
- Is the intervention ever delivered to a group? (What challenges does this pose?)

10. Have you received any additional training for working with racially motivated offenders?

(Prompt: If so, what did this involve?)

11. Do you have links with any other agencies for the provision of the intervention/s?

12. Do all YOT staff deal with racially motivated offenders or only some? (Why?)

13. Are there any agencies that you feel could become more involved in the provision of interventions?

Evaluation and monitoring

14. Has the intervention/s ever been formally evaluated?

(Prompt: Not necessarily by your YOT.)

15. How do you assess the impact of the intervention on the young person?

- Do you use *Asset* to assess this? (Which sections? How useful do you find *Asset* for identifying racist attitudes?)
- Do you use a YOT-based evaluation to assess this?

16. In your experience of delivering the intervention/s, what have been the expected and unexpected outcomes?

17. Does the YOT have any plans for a formal evaluation of the intervention/s?

(Prompt: With a view to updating the intervention, incorporating additional interventions.)

If you feel we have missed anything please feel free to add comment

Appendix 5: Young person interview schedule

Young person's offending history and motivation for offending

1. Could you tell me about the offence you were charged with that led to you being referred to the programme?
2. What made you commit the offence?

Young person's experiences of the programme

3. You took part in the [name] programme. Could you tell me about this?
4. Why do you think you were put on the [name] programme?
5. Do you think the programme helped you in any way? (How, and if not, why not?)
6. What was the best thing about the programme?
7. What was the worst thing about the programme?
8. How do you think the programme could be made better?
9. How many sessions did you go to?
[If did not complete] Why?

Impact of the programme on the young person

10. Which groups of people/religions did you have problems with before you did the programme? Why was this?
11. Have your views about people from other religions/races changed since you started the programme? (In what way?)
12. What do you think about racially motivated offending? (E.g. sometimes justified/never justified.)
13. Do you think this type of programme would stop young people/you from committing racially motivated offences?

Appendix 6: List of selected racially motivated offending resources

Bradshaw Foundation

Website: www.bradshawfoundation.org

An online learning resource for archaeology and anthropology, which will be of interest in sessions looking at migration over history. The website offers a range of information sources including newsletters, downloadable films and academic papers, etc. It provides information about migration, primarily in the distant past, covering issues such as where modern civilisations arose, early rock art and so on. It appears to be an interesting and educative resource although it may be too in-depth for some young people.

Peace House/West Midlands Strategic Migration Partnership

Websites: <http://covpeacehouse.org.uk> and
http://www.wmlga.gov.uk/Policy_Areas/Migration/Migration_Partnership.aspx

The West Midlands Strategic Migration Partnership has produced a series of publications, including a new regional resource for raising awareness of issues surrounding refugees, asylum and migration entitled 'Where our Journeys Meet'. This resource has been developed in association with the Peace House, a cooperative housing association. The aim of the resource is to increase understanding about the asylum process and the experiences of people from refugee and migrant backgrounds. It also includes material designed to raise awareness, develop practice and challenge negative attitudes towards those new to our country and communities.

HomeBeats

Website: www.homebeats.co.uk

HomeBeats is a CD-Rom featuring a youth-orientated multimedia journey through time, from Africa, the Caribbean and Asia, to the making of modern Britain. There is a series of interlinked sections (Memories, Places, People, Visions, and Images) which connect past and present. These cover the history of the struggle for racial justice, tracing the connections between slavery, the colonial experience and modern-day racism.

Just Listen DVD

This 12-minute DVD is produced by Alpha films. The first section of the DVD explores issues surrounding race and religion through the stories of 'Ibrahim' and 'Clair'. The other two sections cover disability and gender and sexuality. The DVD comes with a 17-page booklet with ideas for group discussion and exercises (three pages deal with the race and religion section of the DVD).

From Murmur to Murder: Working with Racially motivated and Racist Offenders: A Resource for Probation Officers and Others

By John Kay, Association of Chief Officers of Probation, Staff of Midlands Probation Service, and Linda Gast, Assistant Director Midlands Probation Training Consortium. Specimen cognitive behavioural programme designed for adult probationers convicted of racially motivated offending.

Show Racism the Red Card

Website: www.srtrc.org

'Show Racism the Red Card' is an anti-racist charity established in 1996 with the aim of using professional footballers as anti-racist role models. Resources include posters, magazines, DVDs, videos and educational packs.

Stop Hate UK

Website: www.stophateuk.org

A Leeds-based charity, which seeks to raise awareness of hate crime and support individuals and communities affected by it. The charity offers a hate crime reporting facility, a 24-hour helpline, resources and training.