

## HATE CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS\*

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**Abstract.** *Hate crimes have existed throughout human history. Although in recent decades many countries have criminalized this form of violent crime in their legislation, few countries pay special attention to prevention measures aimed at countering hate crimes. In this paper, the author will present the hate crime prevention programs launched in the countries that have advanced most in the creation and implementation of such prevention measures. The first two parts of the paper are dedicated to the analysis of special hate crime prevention programs focusing on the perpetrator, while the third part presents the programs focusing on the potential victims. The last part of the paper discusses the role of the media as the bearers of hate crime prevention programs.*

**Key words:** *hate crime, prevention, programs*

### INTRODUCTION

Human history is full of examples of violent behaviour which may be designated as hate crimes, which not only resulted in serious consequences for the victims but also shaped the history of individual states. It suffices to mention the persecution of members of the newly established Christian faith by the Romans, crimes against the indigenous population during the colonization of America, crimes against the Armenians by the Turks, racial crimes against African Americans, the apartheid regime of racial segregation in South Africa, etc. The first difference between hate crimes and other forms of violent crime is that a certain individual or a group of people is not welcome just because they represent something on the basis of which the perpetrator of this crime has prejudice against the individual or the group. The second difference is embodied in the fact that the victims of this form of crime of violence are not only individuals but also entire groups (Hate Crime Prevention Act Guide, 2010:71). Numerous criminological studies have called attention to

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a high dark figure of underreported hate crime, which is resistant to socio-economic changes. Although hate crimes represent only one percent of the total number of crimes committed in the United States, the final conclusion about the social danger of hate crimes should be made on the basis of the fact that four out of five hate crimes involve violence. Thus, despite the low rate of hate crimes in the total number of committed crimes, it can be concluded that the social danger of this form of violent crime is considerable and that it is necessary to work on its prevention. Therefore, the author will present the most important measures for the prevention of hate crimes that are applied in countries around the world.

### 1. SPECIAL PROGRAMS

The fight against hate crimes requires the implementation of special programs intended for groups of people who are highly likely to commit this form of violent crime, as well as programs intended for areas where there is a high degree of victimization. As certain individuals run a high risk of becoming perpetrators of hate crimes, state authorities have devised preventive measures that focus only on such offenders. For example, a REACH-Milwaukee project for young people aged 14 to 21 was launched in Milwaukee, with the aim of providing family services, additional classes for college enrollment, and opportunities for trial work and job training (Shaw, Barchecheat, 2002: 23).

In addition to the programs aimed at individuals at risk of becoming perpetrators of hate crimes, there are special programs focusing not on individuals but on certain areas where the highest rate of these violent crimes has been observed. As the prevention of hate crimes in a certain area requires cooperation with representatives of the local communities, such programs involve a great responsibility of the law enforcement authorities. In criminology, the importance of these programs is best evidenced by Gaskew, who noted that state law enforcement agencies should do everything they can (morally, ethically and tactically) to create an environment conducive to gaining the trust of local community representatives. Criminologist Dawoud emphasized that a dialogue between law enforcement and local community representatives is crucial to establishing a proactive approach (Hakeem, Haberfeld, Verma, 2012: 33).

The application of the basic premise of such an approach to resolving the problem of hate crimes in a certain area is evident in a pioneering endeavor of creating neighbourhood prevention teams called "Neighborhood Fathers", launched in Amsterdam. Namely, in the aftermath of a huge hatred-based conflict between the members of the Moroccan population and the law enforcement authorities, the worried fathers of minors from Moroccan families devised a community project of patrolling in the areas inhabited by the Moroccan population in order to prevent possible new conflicts (Hakeem, et al., 2012: 33). The project yielded excellent results, for which it received domestic and international awards, and was subsequently applied in many other cities (Gemert, Peterson, Lien. 2008: 87).

Southwark is one of the oldest parts of London, and one of the most culturally and ethnically diverse areas, whose population includes a large percentage of young people. The unemployment rate in Southwark (8.9%) is higher than in the rest of London, where the average unemployment rate is 6.7%. Violence crime rates are much higher in this part of London, including a significant number of hate crime incidents. During 2009, there were 50 recorded homophobic incidents, classified as low level violence, accounting for 54% of the total number of homophobic attacks. There were about 300 racial attacks of low level violence by members of different ethnic communities, which represents 73% of the total

number of racial incidents Crimes are also committed against mentally impaired people. For example, in 2009, over 260 crimes were committed against persons with some mental disorders. Although hatred is not a motive in many crimes committed against mentally impaired persons, it should be noted that the motive of hatred is often present in some crimes committed against this category of population, which makes almost 50% of the total criminal cases (Southwark Council, 2010:6-7, 16). Although many hate crime crimes were classified as low level violence incidents, there was a need for a systematic reaction of the local authorities. Thus, a multi-agency programme was launched with the aim of reducing the total number of violent crimes, including hate crimes, in this part of London. Cooperation was established with partner agencies: the law enforcement authorities (the Metropolitan Police), the UK Government Ministry in charge of immigration (the Home Office), and the Greater London Authority (GLA), an administrative body consisting of the Mayor of London and 25 elected members of the City of London (Southwark Council, 2010:14). Successful fight against crime required a more visible presence of uniformed law enforcement officers on the streets of Southwark, as well as cooperation with the local communities and business leaders. At the same time, risk assessment was conducted to identify young individuals at risk of becoming perpetrators of hate-motivated crimes. These persons were given a chance to move out of the areas with high crime rates (re-housing program for individuals or families at risk) in order to avoid victimization or reoffending under the influence of the neighborhood and delinquent groups. One of the measures for preventing further commission of hate crimes was to organize focus groups with the offenders, victims, young people and other interested parties (Southwark Council, 2010: 37, 13). In order to reduce the risk of violence and enhance community involvement in addressing the emerging issues, the programme also envisaged the community forums. Thus, another measure for preventing hate crimes was embodied in the Southwark Homophobic Violence and Abuse Forum. Namely, the Forum includes sexual minorities, members of the law enforcement bodies, representatives of local authorities, and non-governmental organizations. The Forum has carried out a number of activities aimed at reducing the hate crime rates; for example, a campaign called "Speak Out" was aimed at raising general public awareness about this form of violent crime. The Forum has also compiled a collection of good practices regarding the police response in hate crime cases. The Forum has also established SOS telephone lines (specialist services delivered by volunteers) providing immediate support to hate crime victims. Successful fight against hate crimes also calls for keeping meticulous records on all forms of hate crime. Thus, in order to collect accurate data on the number of committed hate crimes and monitor the current trends, the Southwark authorities established a registry of hate crimes. The Forum also organizes annual meetings to review and update the existing hate crime prevention measures (Shaw, Barchechar, 2002: 23).

## 2. PROGRAMS FOCUSED ON PREVENTING THE RECRUITMENT OF NEW PEOPLE INTO EXTREMIST GROUPS OR PROGRAMS FOCUSED ON GETTING YOUNG RECRUITS OUT OF SUCH GROUPS

Radicalization of young people is not a phenomenon peculiar only to the modern age, nor is it a phenomenon specific only to one ethnic or religious group. One of the prominent features of all extremist groups is the constant aspiration to recruit young people who will adopt their radical views. Regardless of a person's previous background and upbringing, radicalization can lead to a change in beliefs and result in investing one's money and time

in attaining the goals of an extremist group. Radicalization can occur as a result of immediate experience, where an individual, his/her relative or friend has been a victim of a crime of violence, and one's desire for revenge. While radicalization is often a result of one's immediate experience, in many cases it also occurs due to events emerging beyond the immediate environment. For example, it includes the radicalization of young Muslims from Western Europe, the United States or Canada in the aftermath of conflicts between the army of Western countries and terrorists in Muslim countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

In Canada, there have been several attacks by radical groups on the members of minority ethnic and religious communities. Ontario, which is dominated by neo-Nazi groups, stands out in terms of the number of such attacks. In order to fight against radical groups and prevent the commission of hate crimes, the state had to devise relevant prevention programs in cooperation with non-governmental organizations. The prevention program called "Recruiting Young Minds: Youth Involvement in Canadian Neo-Nazi Hate Group" generated good results. The program focused on identifying young people at risk of being recruited for membership in a neo-Nazi group. Street activists and leaders in the local community work with such people, individually or in small groups, insisting on their education and engagement in the local community (Shaw, Barchecheat, 2002:24).

Norway launched a similar project in 1997, as a response to the rising number of extremist groups that flourished in the early 1990s; they managed to attract large numbers of young people to their ranks and indoctrinate them with radical attitudes, which ultimately resulted in increasing commission of violent crimes against refugees and migrants. Namely, a three-year program called "the Exit Program" was designed with the aim of persuading extremists to leave the radical organization. The program did not have an institutional form; it was based on the mobility of the advisory team (Hall, Corb, Giannasi, Grieve, 2015: 425). The program rested on the conception that the abandonment of radical groups by newly recruited members would come as a result of working with their parents and providing new opportunities for the recruits (Decker, Weerman, 2005: 277). The program was initiated by Tore Bjørgo and funded by the Norwegian Government through the government agency for the prevention of extremism, racism and xenophobia (the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration). The basic premise of this program was Bjørgo's position that young people are not racists by nature, but that they acquire radical views in the process of learning and membership in extremist groups. Preventing indoctrination requires a timely response from experts, whose task is to help young recruits leave the extremist group. To that end, it is necessary to offer young people the opportunity to leave the local community, ensure their contact with experts of various profiles, provide them with appropriate assistance and therapy, offer alternative activities, re-establish their contacts with parents and ensure appropriate support to prevent their victimization or recruitment; ultimately, it may reduce the influx of new members in the extremist group and their disruptive impact on the society (Shaw, Barchecheat, 2002: 38). In the period from 1997 to 1999, the program in Kristiansand focused on 38 young members of the local neo-Nazi group. The program results were satisfactory. By the end of the program, only three young people were still members of an extremist group. The program also focused on working with a total of 130 parents of 100 young members of different extremist groups. By the end of the program, only 10% of the youth were still active in committing various forms of hate crime. Besides, over 800 volunteers were provided with adequate training on the prevention of hate crime and effective work with members of extremist groups and their parents (Shaw, Barchecheat, 2002: 38).

The importance and efficiency of this program was confirmed by the fact that it was immediately implemented in Sweden, in response to the increasing activity of neo-Nazi groups. The Swedish EXIT Program was established in 1998 by a former leader of a neo-Nazi group, and yielded excellent results. After two years of implementing the program, only three out of 80 people who sought help in leaving neo-Nazi groups still remained members of these groups. Soon afterwards, several European countries (Germany, Finland and Switzerland) took an interest in implementing this program in combating the growing number of neo-Nazi groups (Shaw, Barchechar, 2002: 38). The program implemented in Germany yielded excellent results. The EXIT-Germany program was launched in 2000 by an NGO called the Center for Democratic Culture, headquartered in Berlin. The founder of the NGO and the EXIT program was a former high-ranking police officer Bernd Wagner. The program targeted the people from the highest and the middle ranks in the hierarchy of neo-Nazi organizations, deeply indoctrinated with extremist ideology over a period of over ten years (Hall, et al., 2015: 426).

Muslim countries such as Yemen, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia have also embarked on combating all forms of hate crime by implementing programs focused on preventing the recruitment of new people into extremist groups or programs focused on getting young recruits out of such groups. In an attempt to counteract the indoctrination of radical Muslim teachings, these programs featured a prominent theological aspect. The success of these programs has led other Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Jordan, Algeria, Tajikistan, Malaysia, Singapore, Iraq and Thailand, to start implementing similar programs (Lombardi, Ragab, Chin, 2015: 127).

### 3. PROGRAMS INTENDED FOR GROUPS OF PEOPLE WITH THE HIGHEST RISK OF VICTIMIZATION

In addition to the programs intended for persons at risk of becoming perpetrators of hate crimes, some countries have developed programs focusing on strengthening the position of individuals or groups running the highest risk of victimization. Canada, for example, embarked on implementing a project aimed at preventing the commission of hate crimes against members of sexual minorities. The project was implemented in the specific Atlantic Ocean areas, which were visited by a mobile team focusing on support and representation of young members of sexual minorities living in rural and suburban areas, without sufficient financial resources and adequate support from their family members. The rationale for devising such a project was that members of sexual minorities from rural and remote areas are more exposed to the risk of victimization. They are deprived of information about safe sex and have no access to available support groups. While this project was implemented in the remote Atlantic Ocean areas, the YouthQuest Canada organized visits to the British Columbia with the aim of providing relevant education and support to sexual minorities in that province, provided a free contact line and created a website to ensure access to information. A similar program was devised in rural southern Ontario by GaBaLoT, a peer-support group for LGBTQ youth (Sears, 2005:127).

The next program devised to prevent the victimization of people at risk of becoming victims of hate crimes is known as the East London multi-agency project. During the 1980s and 1990, the eastern part of London had high rates of violent crimes, including hate crimes. This period was also marked by the influx of a large number of migrants and the

problems with their accommodation (housing). Some ethnic minorities, such as Bengalis and Somalis, were subjected to constant victimization due to their ethnic origin. The seriousness of the problem is corroborated by the fact that 67% of immigrant families were victimized as a result of various hate crimes (Shaw, Barchecheat, 2002:34). The murder of a black teenager Stephen Lawrence in a racially motivated gang attack in southeast London on 22 April 1993 was the landmark case that significantly contributed to the authorities' recognition of the serious problems faced by ethnic minorities in the UK (Davies, Francis, Greer, 2007:124).

In response, the Ministry of Immigration of the UK Government (Home Office) launched a project to reduce the victimization of ethnic minorities. A multi-agency was formed, including representatives of law enforcement bodies, owners of housing units, young workers, tenants' associations, and residents' representatives. Before proposing hate crime prevention measures, the multi-agency conducted a survey to identify the factors contributing to the occurrence of this form of violent crime and to gain insight into the victims' experiences. As a preventive measure, the multi-agency proposed four recommendations: 1) improving home safety of ethnic minorities (by installing alarms, stronger locks) to increase the feeling of security; 2) appointing officers to work exclusively with victims of hate crimes and encourage them to report crimes; 3) appointing volunteers to work with potential perpetrators of hate crimes (and sending notification to persons who had previously committed hate crimes); and 4) providing support services (free English language classes, babysitting, etc.) to ethnic minority members (Shaw, Barchecheat, 2002: 35).

One of the consequences of the implemented project was an increase in the number of reported hate crimes, which clearly suggests that the project yielded adequate effects. Namely, as a result of applying the second recommendation, a large number of committed hate crimes were reported to the law enforcement authorities. Concurrently, the re-victimization rate fell by 12%. As many as 70% of ethnic minority families reported a reduced number of racially-based attacks. Before the implementation of the program, only 9% of the families did not fear hate crimes; at the end of the program, 47% of ethnic minority families reported a decrease in the feeling of fear of hate crimes (Shaw, Barchecheat, 2002:35).

Another prevention program focusing on people at risk of being victims of hate crimes was devised in San Diego. The San Diego Victim Assistance Project refers to redressing material and emotional injuries sustained by victims of violent and hate crimes. One of the basic principles of this program is a timely reaction of law enforcement authorities and assistance to the individuals who have been victimized. After the hate crime has been committed, a hate crime expert from the so-called Anti-Defamation League first consults with a police officer to gather all relevant information for an adequate interview with the victim and then works with the victim at the scene of the crime. The first step in the conversation between the expert and the victim is to acknowledge the victim's feelings of fear, anger and isolation. Thereupon, the expert records the victim's needs and determines what kind of help and support should be provided to the victim of a specific hate crime (Reno, Marcus, Lou Leary, Gist, 2000:7). The next day, the expert contacts the Program Coordinator, who is responsible for ensuring assistance and support to the victim. The Coordinator visits or phones the victim to assess the victim's needs in relation to available services. Concurrently, the police officer in charge of investigating a specific hate crime is in contact with the victim. This is crucial because it provides continuous emotional support to the victim and enables the Coordinator to assess the victim's needs once again and to refer the victim to relevant local organizations that provide adequate services for redressing

the consequences of hate crimes. The Coordinator's responsibility is to compile a list of local organizations that can provide adequate services to overcome the consequences of hate crimes, such as painting a fence or facade sprayed with hate graffiti, replacing a car windshield destroyed by racists, or replacing locks on an apartment or house. One of the final protection measures is the relocation of the victim from the existing housing unit (Reno, et al., 2000:7-8). The next step within this program is the Coordinator's supervision of the investigation proceedings and ensuring that the victim has access to the information collected by the police officer in charge of investigating the specific hate crime. At this point, the Coordinator re-evaluates the victim's emotional and practical needs and strives to address them in cooperation with the victim, which is the last stage of direct contact between the Coordinator and the victim. As pointed out by Morris Casuto, the director of the Anti-Defamation League, such coordination enables the victim to overcome all emotional problems and ensures the victim's resocialization and complete return to the local community (Reno, et al., 2000:8).

Finally, we should consider the specific features of this program in relation to similar programs focusing on assistance to victims of hate crimes. This program is essentially based on the principle of timely reaction and the endeavour to address all the needs of the victim of hate crime in a few weeks after the critical event. It enables the victim to overcome the emotional and material consequences of hate crimes, and sends a strong message to hate crime offenders that their criminal behavior will not be tolerated (Reno, et al., 2000:8).

Another program aimed at supporting victims of hate crimes was developed in British Columbia in 1999. The program called "Community Response Team Against Hate and Racism - Diversity Education program" was implemented in the cities of Abbotsford, Langley and Hope. The holder of the activity was the non-governmental organization Abbotsford Community Services, which has had many years of experience in the fight for social equality, diversity and equality for all citizens. Abbotsford is the third largest ethnically diverse city in Canada with a population of 140,000, where members of different ethnic communities lived in isolation from each other. Although the number of religious people (believers) who claim their religious affiliation seems to be on the decline in Canada as a whole, the situation in Abbotsford was quite different due to ethnic and cultural diversity, which often led to increased religious and ethnic tensions, discrimination and hate crimes. In 1999, the Abbotsford Community Services Diversity Education program received funding from the state within the national crime prevention scheme to establish a community response team to counter discrimination and hate crimes. To address the problem, the Abbotsford Community Services Diversity Education program convened a team known as the Fraser Valley Human Dignity Coalition, composed of the representatives of the local community whose task was to promote equality and support victims of discrimination (CRRF, 2015).<sup>1</sup> The governing idea of the Coalition was that every individual has the right to be treated with dignity, respect and empathy, and that all members of the local community should live without fear of psychological or physical violence and discrimination based on race, ethnicity, social status, sexual orientation, religious belief, age, gender, family status, political belief, mental disability, physical handicap or any other ground. The team worked to promote social equality and justice, human rights and dignity, as well as a safe environment for all citizens. The team activities were aimed at raising awareness in the

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<sup>1</sup> The Canadian Race Relations Foundation (2015): Award of Excellence 2014; Honourable Mention: Anti-Racism Community Development, CRRF, Toronto, Ontario, Canada; accessed 21.8. 2020.

local community about discrimination and hate crimes, as well as the available resources for victims of these socially unacceptable forms of behavior, and fostering social justice and community well-being through positive action. The Abbotsford Community Services Diversity Education program developed and coordinated the community development and educational programs focusing on the fight against discrimination and promoting diversity and mutual understanding among the members of different ethnic and religious groups. Religious and ethnic tolerance was promoted by organizing various cultural events that promoted the distinctive features of all religions. Apart from providing training on religious and ethnic tolerance, the program also provided education and training for different profiles of workers needed by the local labor market. The program activities were also aimed at facilitating immigration and integration of newcomers into the new environment, empowering the newcomers to adapt more easily to the new environment, and avoiding the risk of victimization. The fight against hate crime is also reflected in the possibility of reporting hate crimes via the Abbotsford Community Services website. The aim is to increase the victims' awareness of the importance of reporting every case in which they were victims of hate crime; it also entails providing adequate training on hate crime to members of the law enforcement bodies and how to fight it. Abbotsford Community Services also support other local activities and youth initiatives aimed at combating discrimination and hate crimes; it includes capacity building and empowerment of the local population to take a stand in the fight for equality among members of different religious and ethnic groups, as well as a peaceful resolution of all interethnic disputes and racial justice (Archway Community Services, 2020).<sup>2</sup>

Another program worth mentioning, which focused on providing assistance to victims of hate crimes, was implemented in the Norwegian city of Brumundal from 1991 to 1993. The program was launched in reaction to the growing intolerance, discrimination and violence against immigrants by the natives. Immigrants from Vietnam were most at risk of victimization. The conflict between the racists and the anti-racists peaked in 1991. As the leader of the local racist group was to give a speech in a public gathering, half of the assembled 8,000 residents of Brumundal spontaneously turned their backs on the speaker, thus demonstrating their disagreement with the advocated racist policy of hostile towards immigrants. The anti-racist protest was carefully organized by the residents in the form of a "mouth to mouth" campaign. The citizens' conduct in Brumundal inspired similar protests in other cities in Norway against the increasing racist attitudes and the commission of various hate crimes (Rieker, Glaser, Schuster, 2006: 23). As a result, the state was forced to react by initiating an organized action. The Brumundal Action Plan was aimed at establishing good relations between the Norwegians and the emigrants. The project involved the cooperation between the Norwegian Government, local self-government and non-governmental organizations. The project activities were implemented in the form of job offers, training programs, and different activities of the youth center and the social welfare center. As hate crimes had not been perceived and envisaged as criminal offences, the project also involved working with legal professionals who were expected to handle hate crime cases. While the project initially did not take into account the experiences of the victims of hate crimes, their views eventually started being given due consideration in view of achieving better results in the fight against hate crimes (Rieker et al, 2006: 33).

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<sup>2</sup> Archway Community Services (2020): Fraser Valley Human Dignity Coalition; Abbotsford community services and programs, Abbotsford, British Columbia, Canada; accessed 21.8. 2020.



In addition to catering for the needs of the victims of hate crimes, the program attempted to address the problems of ostracism encountered by the perpetrators of hate crimes. In that respect, this project was unique. The results of the implemented project were excellent. Namely, the local residents' attitude has changed, from passive indifference and tacit approval of hate crimes against immigrants to explicit repudiation of such behavior as socially unacceptable. The Vietnamese community reported a reduced number of physical assaults on their members, but verbal violence remained resistant to the applied prevention measures. Official police reports also showed a decrease in the number of committed hate crimes. By the year 1995, the situation in Norway changed for the better and there was no longer the need to implement this project, which was suspended in 1995 (Shaw, Barchechat, 2002: 33).

Another project aimed at supporting people at risk of being victims of hate crimes was launched in the town Septèmes-Les-Vallons, in southern France. A poor part of this city, called Gavotte-Peyret, was inhabited exclusively by emigrants from Africa, and the basic city services did not function. This led to the exclusion of newcomers from the society, which made them latent victims of hate crimes. In order to resolve the problem of the bad life of the fellow citizens, the mayor and the city council negotiated a five-year contract with the French government, thus ensuring funds for the development of the Gavotte-Peyret area, with the ultimate goal of including these people in the local community life. Some funds were given to the Sporting Club to expand its sports activities in this part of the city. As a result, a Thai boxing club called *Force 7* was founded. The biggest benefit of the agreement with the French Government was the initiative of the Catholic Action of the Children and Young Christian Workers to create a youth club that would promote fundamental human values by socializing people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Getting to know different ethnic and religious groups, breaking prejudices and stereotypes, promoting diversity and preventing hate crimes may also be achieved by financing various school programs and by organizing summer trips for families of different ethnic origin. Young people from the Gavotte-Peyret district had a chance to find a job with the help of the social welfare center. The results of the implemented activities were good. In addition to the improvement of the socio-economic position of emigrants in this district, the greatest benefit of the taken measures was the breaking of biases of the majority population towards the minority, which led to their more relaxed attitude and reduction of hate crimes. Notably, after the expiry of the five-year period, the local authorities signed a new contract with the French government (Shaw, Barchechat, 2002: 34).

#### 4. THE USE OF MASS MEDIA IN REDUCING HATE CRIMES

The mass media, especially the Internet and social media, considerably contribute to spreading hatred towards other people. In a 2004 study, criminologist Tunes established that the Internet is a highly useful instrument for spreading and inciting hate speech, expressing opinions about racial dominance and racial inferiority of certain ethnic groups. Thus, the study showed that the so-called White Nationalists posted about 20% of the total number of hate speech messages on the Internet, Skinheads posted 19% of messages with elements of hate speech, while members of Christian Identity posted 13% of such messages. Members of the Holocaust Denial group were represented by 13%, while neo-Nazi groups were the least represented. Some Internet sites which are run by members of extremist groups have integrated chat options that facilitate the spread of radical views and ultimately contribute to the commission of hate crimes. In his 2004 study, Tunes established a total

number of 497 Internet sites with extremist content in the United States alone. The research also reported on the use of e-mails for disseminating extremist views. For example, a convicted rapist from Australia sent an e-mail to other people with the following content: "When you don't feel well - hit a Christian or a Catholic." Extremist groups have created free online video games promoting radical attitudes and violence against other people. One of the most famous video games with such content is a video game called *Quest for Bush* created by the Global Islamic Media Front, an Al Qaeda media service. The goal of the video game is to kill American soldiers and ultimately eliminate George W. Bush, the former US President (Subrahmanyam, Smahel, 2011:182).

Based on such facts, Internet experts have realized that hate crimes must be counteracted via the Internet as well. In 1996, the Media Awareness Network (MNet)<sup>3</sup> launched a media education website containing the basic information about hate, hate crimes, how to react in hate crime cases, ways of recruiting young people for membership in extremist organizations, etc. (Harmon, Wilson, 2006:90).

In response to the growing presence of hate crime in Billings, Montana, in 1995 the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) began broadcasting a series called *Not in Our Town*, aimed at combating racism. The upsurge of hate crimes was recorded in 1993, followed by spraying racist messages on the building facades.. Although the head of the local police ordered the racist messages to be painted over, the messages reappeared in the flyers which were distributed in the streets. The local community grew increasingly worried about the rising intolerance towards members of ethnic minorities. In order to support the believers of the African-American Methodical Episcopal Church who had been subjected to an attempt of intimidation, the whites began to visit this church. Also, when a brick was thrown at the glass display case containing a Jewish menorah, local newspapers published an article about the event on the front page with a picture of the menorah; consequently, thousands of citizens, both Jews and members of other religious communities, responded to racial intolerance by hanging this picture on their own home doors and windows. On the basis of these events, the PBS made a film which was shown throughout the United States with the aim of raising public awareness and counteracting intolerance, prejudice, discrimination and hate crimes. This promotional activity of the PBS resulted in launching similar projects: *Not on Our Campus*, *Not in Our Halls*, and *Not in Our School*. Thus, a single project of the media house, generated a number of other projects aimed at preventing hate crimes through the activities of media houses (Gay, 2013:152).

Other media outlets have also had a significant role in the prevention of hate crimes. On March 21, AMARC Europe - World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters marks the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination by broadcasting a 24-hour program on hate crime in 16 different languages. This project was launched in 1998, and the participants are radio stations around the world that interrupt their regular program on that day in order to synchronize the broadcasting of a single program (Shaw, Barchechat, 2002:25). The initial event, which triggered this project was the commemoration of the so-called Sharpsville massacre of 1960, when the police brutally killed 69 unarmed Africans (including 8 women and 10 children) and injured at least 180 people during the peaceful demonstrations against the apartheid in Sharpsville, in the South-African Republic (Mwakikagile, 2008:48).

Due to the rapid development of modern technologies, every home has Internet access, which offers almost unlimited opportunities for committing various forms of hate crime.

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<sup>3</sup> See: Media Smarts: Canada's Center for Digital and Media Literacy (2019).

However, it also creates unlimited opportunities for using the Internet to prevent the commission of hate crimes. One of the pioneers in using the Internet in the prevention of hate crimes were schools in the Canadian city of Calgary, in the province of Alberta. These managing boards of these schools decided to install the web-blocker called Bess, whose application disabled access to the Internet sites with hate crime contents.<sup>4</sup>

In 2005, the Simon Wiesenthal Center for the Study of the Holocaust and the Search for Nazi Survivors after World War II estimated that there were over 5,000 Internet sites in various languages that promoted hatred of members of other ethnic groups and sexual minorities, which was an increase of 25% as compared to the previous year. In 2006, the number of such websites increased to 6,000, and in 2007 it amounted to 7,000. Due to the steady increase in the number of websites propagating hatred, there was a need for adequate action. Thus, the Simon Wiesenthal Center launched a project called Digital Hate with the aim of creating an interactive disc on discrimination, prejudice and hate crime (CoE, 2007:7).

#### CONCLUSION

In line with the contemporary trends in the criminal law theory and practice in the leading countries, the Republic of Serbia incriminated the motive of hatred as a particularly aggravating circumstance in determining the degree of criminal liability and relevant punishment. The legal provision on hate crime (criminal offences involving hate based on race or religion, national or ethnic affiliation, sex, sexual orientation or gender identity of another) is envisaged in Article 54a of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Serbia. Yet, years after this legal solution was introduced into our criminal legislation, we still encounter a frustrating fact that practicing judges have not been able to determine the specific cases that this legal provision may be applied to, although there were such cases. In order to provide adequate prevention, the holders of judicial functions should work on identifying the cases involving hatred, bigotry and intolerance.

The hate crime prevention programs presented in this article should serve as examples of good practice for the authorities in the Republic of Serbia, on the basis of which they may develop their own prevention programs adapted to the specific circumstances in the Serbian social, political and legal system. Moreover, the presented programs may inspire experts in the field of crime prevention policy to reconsider the current practices and provide more effective solutions for handling the offenders and potential victims of hate crimes, which may ultimately lead to reducing the scope of this form of violent crime in the forthcoming period.

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## PROGRAMI PREVENCIJE ZLOČINA MRŽNJE

*Zločin mržnje egzistira kroz celokupnu ljudsku istoriju. Iako su brojne zemlje u poslednjim decenijama da u svoja zakonodavstva inkriminišu ovaj oblik kriminaliteta nasilja, malo je država koje posebnu pažnju posvećuju merama prevencije zločina mržnje. Stoga će autor u radu predstaviti programe prevencije zločina koje su najviše odmakle u njihovom kreiranju i implementaciji. Prva dva dela rada posvećena su analizi programa prevencije počinjenih zločina mržnje od strane izvršioca, dok je treći deo posvećan predstavljanju programa prevencije zločina mržnje putem rada sa potencijalnim žrtvama. Poslednji deo rada posvećen je medijima kao nosiocima programa prevencije zločina mržnje.*

Ključne reči: *zločin mržnje, prevencija, programi*

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