

* Radicalization and
restoration in the community

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- * Conflict over the legitimacy of the state of the Northern Ireland arising from discrimination and nationalism.
- * Over 3500 people killed in the conflict 1968 - 1998

*The Context



103

ICELAND
Home Delivery Service

FDK 674

Longer than a cocktail.

SMOICING KIWI



TIME FOR PEACE



BETTER TO DIE
ON YOUR FEET
THAN LIVE
ON YOUR KNEES
IN AN
IRISH REPUBLIC
JOIN THE U.D.A.



- * 966 killed by loyalists
- * Two primary Loyalist paramilitary organisations
 - UVF and UDA
- * UDA has a looser structure characterised by internal power struggles and involvement in organised crime. But also looking for a new direction.
- * Unlike the UVF, the UDA had not developed restorative justice in their communities

* Loyalist Paramilitaries

ALTERNATIVE research project

- * Training ex-combatants
- * Supporting the development of community based restorative justice
- * Community education

Prison based programme

* **Ulster University's
Work**

- * Ulster University Certificate in Restorative Practices
- * Non-violent methods of addressing harm and conflict.
- * 26 associated with loyalists and 12 associated with dissident republicans.
- * 12 loyalist serving prisoners.
- * Improves career prospects.

* **Training Ex-
Combatants**

- * Starting with one project Ulster enabled four more loyalist projects to get started.
- * Training
- * Organisational development advice
- * Access to funding
- * Design of processes - mediation and restorative circles
- * Design of community education courses

*** Supporting the
development of community
based restorative justice**

- * Human rights, anti-racism and anti-sectarianism, and non-violence
- * Restoring Respect for Young People - relationships with family, own community, other communities, learning about your own history, culture and politics, service to others.
- * Volunteer training in restorative practices

* **Community
Education**

- * Prevented sectarian conflict at sensitive times
- * Reduced paramilitary punishments

* **Impact**

Addressed hate crime



**ATTENTION
LANDLORDS**

**LEASING
PROPERTY
TO FOREIGN
NATIONALS
WILL NOT BE
TOLERATED**

COLA
ITRE

£2

ostcutter

Managed a major
Political protest
effectively



- * Sentenced Loyalist prisoners in one wing;
- * Serving long sentences for serious crimes;
- * Differing release dates;
- * 14 participated;
- * Three year programme. (2010-2013)

* Prison work

*Resistance to
rehabilitation

- * Robinson and Crow (2009:2) “it is about a change in the way a person behaves. So the action of rehabilitation might involve the provision of interventions to remove the propensity, desire or necessity to offend.”

Principles and practices of rehabilitation:

- * Clear measurable outcomes specified and evaluated;
- * Assessment of risk, needs and responsivity;
- * Multimodal programmes which are skills oriented and based upon a cognitive behavioural approach;
- * By trained practitioners supervised to ensure programme integrity.

* **Rehabilitation**

- * Have a clear political ideology and strategy to support their actions and its intended harmful consequences
- * Victims are defined as the enemy
- * Share a collective rather than individual responsibility for their actions which strengthens their commitment, loyalty and solidarity
- * Tend to be intelligent and to articulate their views clearly and assertively
- * Adopt an antagonistic position in relation to authority
- * Closes down the space for a rehabilitative approach

* Politically motivated offenders

- * Does desistance theory open up space to work on offending without prisoners feeling they are being ‘rehabilitated’?
- * Does restorative justice open up space for politically motivated prisoners to think about their impact on victims and to understand non-violent responses to conflict?
- * Does a university course open up space for politically motivated prisoners to think about reintegration into their communities?

* **An alternative?**

- * Combines ideas from desistance theory and restorative justice particularly around narratives and identity and the movement from a condemnation script to a redemption script (Maruna).
- * Focuses on harm rather than the person or ideology i.e. disengagement from violence rather than deradicalisation
- * Refuses to pathologise
- * Does not moralise though engages in moral questions
- * Is based upon a learning process - lectures, dialogue, reading, the use of DVDs, role play and assignments
- * Developed into an accredited University of Ulster certificate in Restorative Practices

*The Approach

“I came into this blind. I didn’t really know what it was going to be about. The truth is, I enjoyed it. It was a real eye opener, it was. I didn’t have any negative experiences. I didn’t think I liked RJ before coming here, but thought I liked it in the end. Even the homework has helped me put things into perspective. You think ‘yeah, that’s what I believe’. It is good to get it down on paper.”

- * Build relationships
- * Download the ideology
- * Test the validity and effectiveness of the ideology
- * Offer alternative narratives
- * Test alternative behaviours through restorative justice
- * Raise questions of victims

* The Process

*The exercise of power is more explicit when working with politically motivated prisoners

- * Explained role and discussed the power implications
- * Reviewed possible roles
- * Chose learning model - student-teacher through which both parties had something to learn and to teach
- * Established our commitment to non-violence
- * Established respect - managing our own judgements and a commitment to listen and understand in the face of aggressive testing
- * Sought and gained permission to ask difficult questions
- * The emergence of rituals or etiquette

*** Build relationships**

- * Shaking hands
- * Exchanging small talk
- * Tea
- * Bringing a gift
- * You are visiting their 'homes'

* **The importance of
etiquette**

*The dialogues were conducted at micro, meso and macro levels (Schmid 2013) Inquiry commenced at the meso-level, understanding the ideology of loyalism. This was often related to the macro-level of the history, politics and culture within which loyalism was both a product and an agent. As trust and respect developed increasingly some individuals felt free to speak at the micro-level of personal experiences and motivations.

* Dialogue

**I found I had a voice in the class
...I was allowed to say what I want.
You did not take it in a bad way.**

**We became more open with each other.
Not only to you but to each other.**

- * A sense of injustice and shame
- * Characterised by deep ambivalence between the positive 'sacred values' and the negative image of loyalism
- * Tended to result in 'circular' conversations which did not progress or generate new ideas
- * Created a healthy frustration

* **Download the
ideology**

**I
believed
that it was the
best thing
I could do
In these
circumstances**

<p>Purpose and meaning To protect our community and way of life v To gain power and make money</p>
<p>Identity British, loyal and protestant v Bigoted scumbags</p>
<p>Beliefs Patriotism, the Queen and Protestantism. To sacrifice one's life v Sectarianism and racism</p>
<p>Capability Do what we do best - violence v Republicans are smarter politically</p>
<p>Behaviour Attacking republicans, defending the community v Drug dealing and gangsterism</p>
<p>Environment and history Grown up with violent conflict and sectarianism</p>

**I
don't
know how
I can
change
in these
circumstances**

The 'circle'

“I’ve been living in a circle and I’m trying to break out of the circle”

“This class - where Loyalism is at, where is it going, how can we make a better environment for everybody. We want that. We all want that for our kids. But we can’t have that when we have the f***** Historical Enquiries Team constantly pulling you back to the past again and again.”

Loyalists killed

- * 692 Catholic civilians
- * 128 Protestant civilians
- * 93 Loyalist paramilitary
- * 39 Republican paramilitary
- * 14 British security

* The Facts and the Narrative

- * Effectiveness - have your community, your family and you benefited more than lost?
- * Studying the history of loyalist politics to offer alternative narratives
- * Showing DVDs on restorative themes
- * Asking prisoners to consider questions about victims and remorse.
- * Role plays examining non-violent responses to harm

* **Critical thinking**

* “Nobody has ever
asked me these
questions”

“We know we are stereotyped. Thugs and gangsters. If you look out on that wall, you’ll see that each one of us has a blue dot by our names. That means we’re drug tested every week. Our cells are raided constantly. There’s never once been a drug found on our wing. But that is what people think. Can I ask you something: When you say to your wives that you’re coming in here to talk to Loyalists, what do they say? What do they say when you tell them we’re thinking about the future, trying to make a change? Can that be spread?”

- * Victims (Letskert and Staiger 2010, Walgrave 2015) include not only those that individuals have directly harmed, but the victims' families, the community in general that has witnessed and been affected by their violence and the families of the perpetrators.
- * Collective responsibility v personal narratives
- * The experience of being desensitised to victims
- * Acceptance of remorse

* Questions of victims

“I just want to make one point about being in a room with a Catholic [facilitator]. I never done that in my life before this. Leaving this class today, I’ve got more respect for Catholics than I ever had before. There is good in Catholics. I’m willing to learn in the future. This opened my eyes to things, the crime I was in for, and things I done in the past. I can see how there were victims. I never seen it like that before. I was just doing what I was told to do. I do have a heart, I do have feelings and they’re starting to show. If there was another course [like this] I’d take it.”

- * Foundation skills in restorative practices
- * Role play
- * Exploring non-violence in a prison and community context
- * Writing reflective journals

*** Test new behaviours**

“Personally, I found this well interesting. Eye opening to be honest. Things were brought out that we’d never have thought of on our own. I’d have never given any thought to restorative justice processes for one. It made us think a lot more. In here, you’re in a bubble and you just take each day as it comes. Me personally, I don’t look back and don’t think about what’s to come.”

- * Four prisoners successfully completed a certificate in Restorative Practices
- * Five others completed one module
- * Two dropped out
- * Two transferred to another part of the prison
- * Four have been released
- * One is working with a community restorative justice project

* Preparing for release

- * an understanding that loyalist ideology can be closed and 'go round in circles' without getting anywhere;
- * a disillusionment with violence and a recognition of the efficacy of non-violent responses to conflict or aggression yet a reluctance to disavow violence as a legitimate response in specific circumstances;
- * a realisation that loyalist violence had failed to prevent the rise of republicanism;
- * a disillusionment with loyalist and unionist leadership;
- * a wish to return to normal family life;
- * a realisation that the community does not support paramilitarism;
- * a wish to serve their community in different ways.

* Findings

- * Voluntary participation
- * Independent of authorities
- * Extensive contact over two years
- * Transparency and trust
- * Respect
- * Skilful facilitation
- * Debriefing and support from colleagues
- * Focus on challenging behaviour rather than ideology
- * Engagement with the other - people and narratives
- * Connection with wider networks of support in the community

* **Success factors**

 Thank you

Contact

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