USAID
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CRIME AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION FIELD GUIDE

FINAL REPORT

JULY 2016

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ACRONYMS AND TRANSLATIONS

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
Banderos	Organized crime groups
CDC	U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CDCS	Country Development Cooperation Strategy
CPTED	Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
DARE	Drug Abuse Resistance Education
DO	Development Objective
ECD	Early Childhood Development
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IR	Intermediate Result
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LAPOP	Latin American Public Opinion Project
LogFrame	Logical Framework
M-18	18th Street gang
Mano dura	an 'Iron-fisted" law enforcement approach
MS-13	Mara Salvatrucha gang
ni-ni	neither working nor attending school [*ni trabaja, ni estudia*]
OAS	Organization of American States
Pandilleros	Youth gang members
POP	Problem-Oriented Policing
RIC	Regional system of standardized Indicators in peaceful coexistence and Citizen security
SARA	Scan, Analyze, Respond, Assess
SES	Regional System of Standardized Indicators for Citizen Security and Violence Prevention
Transeros	Narcotics traffickers
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
USAID/OTI	USAID/Office of Transition Initiatives
WHO	World Health Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During the past decade, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) has become one of the most violent regions in the world. According to the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) global study on homicides, six Latin American and Caribbean countries (Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, El Salvador, and Venezuela) are among the 10 most violent countries in the world. While the LAC region represents 8.5 percent of the global population, it accounts for an estimated 30 percent of the world's homicides.[1] In several countries, homicide rates have reached epidemic proportions. Citizen insecurity has become a key development issue and a matter of serious concern for citizens in the region.

The latest AmericasBarometer survey, a comparative survey funded through the Latin America Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and covering 28 countries of North, South, and Central America and the Caribbean, shows that perceptions of insecurity and fear of crime among Latin American and Caribbean citizens have increased significantly during the past decade. In 2014, 61.2 percent of survey respondents said they either felt very or somewhat unsafe.[2] Not surprisingly, for many Latin American and Caribbean citizens, crime and insecurity have become their number one problem, surpassing unemployment and the economy as the top concerns.[3]

This Field Guide is an effort to support USAID officers and other practitioners in the LAC region who are working on citizen security. The Guide provides a conceptual framework for understanding crime, violence, and prevention as part of broader citizen-security systems; evidence-based information about effective interventions to prevent crime and violence; and practical advice and tools on how to design, implement, measure, and evaluate crime and violence prevention and citizen security projects. The guide incorporates the research findings of academic and development practitioners in an analysis of crime and violence in the region.

Democracy and governance specialists often lead citizen security related programming, but cross-sectoral approaches are needed to address the multi-causal drivers of and risk factors for crime and violence. While citizen insecurity negatively affects development, deeply rooted development problems—such as poor workforce development, limited employment opportunities, underperforming schools, poor family planning, and inadequate access to and quality of public health services—also drive crime and violence.

After years of heavy-handed responses to crime and violence (known to many as the *mano dura* approach), many governments in Latin America and the Caribbean have come to recognize that a punitive and reactive law enforcement response to crime and violence is insufficient in reducing violent crime. Countries are beginning to incorporate a more comprehensive approach to citizen security that

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[1] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2014, *Global Study on Homicide 2013: Trends, Contexts, Data*, https://www.unodc.org/documents/gsh/pdfs/2014_GLOBAL_HOMICIDE_BOOK_web.pdf, p. 22. See also: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011, *Global Study on Homicide 2011: Trends, Contexts, Data*. https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/statistics/Homicide/Globa_study_on_homicide_2011_web.pdf

[2] Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, 2014. "The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2014: Democratic Governance Across 10 years of the AmericasBarometer," Nashville: Vanderbilt University. December. Chapter 2. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ab2014/AB2014_Comparative_Report_English_V3_revised_011315_W.pdf

[3] The Latinobarómetro survey is conducted annually in 18 countries across the LAC region. See Latinobarómetro, 2015. Survey data available at: http://www.latinobarometro.org/latOnline.jsp

addresses the root factors of crime and violence. Prevention is part of a much more effective and sustainable approach that, incidentally, is less expensive than reacting to criminal activity and violence, particularly when factoring in the costs of incarceration.

USAID's Latin America and the Caribbean Bureau produced this Field Guide by drawing extensively from examples from the LAC region. The guide is applicable to a wide range of contexts, however, and intended for use by stakeholders working on crime, violence, and citizen security issues around the world.

This Field Guide is organized into five sections:

- Section 1 provides background information on crime and violence prevention, including an overview of the key crime, violence, and citizen-security issues in the region as well as why citizen security is of concern to USAID.
- Section 2 describes the conceptual framework for crime and violence prevention and citizen security, including key concepts, definitions, and explanations of various conceptual approaches.
- Section 3 presents an analysis of predominant risk and protective factors, particularly those related to crime and violence in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- Section 4 provides an overview of the conceptual framework for mapping crime and violence prevention interventions.
- Section 5 introduces key aspects of each of the four phases of violence prevention and intervention: design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation.

The annexes at the back of this guide provide a longer discussion regarding the state of crime and violence in several Latin American and Caribbean countries. The annexes include a matrix of crime and violence prevention interventions, additional information on sources of data on crime and violence, examples of municipal crime and violence prevention programs, and a list of standardized indicators from the Inter-American Development Bank for citizen security and crime prevention. The annexes also include a bibliography and a list of useful resources for crime and violence prevention.

INTRODUCTION

USAID's Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) has long been at the forefront of addressing citizen security issues. In the 1980s, the LAC Bureau and its field missions developed some of USAID's first judicial-reform programs. Today, citizen security related issues have become central to USAID's work in many countries. Programs address a range of issues, from gang and drug trafficking related crime in LAC to violent extremism, community stabilization, and rule of law in post-conflict countries in the Middle East, South Asia, Eastern Europe, and Africa.

Citizen insecurity negatively affects development and at the same time is driven by underdevelopment. Poor workforce development, limited employment opportunities, underperforming schools, poor family planning, and a lack of adequate access to and quality of public health services all can contribute to crime and insecurity. Although democracy and governance specialists often lead citizen security related programming, cross-sectoral approaches are needed to address multi-causal drivers and risk factors for crime and violence.

After years of heavy-handed responses to crime and violence—known as the *mano dura* approach meaning iron fist in Spanish—many governments in Latin America and the Caribbean have recognized that a merely punitive and reactive law enforcement response to crime and violence is insufficient in reducing violent crime. A more comprehensive approach to citizen security must include prevention efforts that address the factors that lead to crime and violence in the first place. Crime and violence prevention is part of a much more effective and sustainable approach that is less expensive than reactive law enforcement and incarceration.

This Field Guide is intended to support USAID officers and other practitioners working on citizen security by providing a conceptual framework for understanding crime, violence, and prevention as part of broader citizen security systems; evidence based information about effective interventions to prevent crime and violence; and practical advice and tools on how to design, implement, measure, and evaluate projects that address crime and violence or citizen security.

USAID's LAC Bureau produced this Field Guide, and the examples come primarily from the Latin America and the Caribbean region. However, the strategies and suggestions are applicable to a wide range of contexts and can be used by stakeholders working on crime, violence, and citizen-security issues across the world.

This Field Guide is organized into five sections:

- **Section 1** provides background information on crime and violence prevention, including an overview of the key crime and violence and citizen-security issues in the region and why USAID is interested in addressing citizen security.
- **Section 2** describes the conceptual framework for crime and violence prevention and citizen security, including key concepts, definitions, and explanations of various conceptual approaches.
- **Section 3** presents an analysis of predominant risk and protective factors, particularly those related to crime and violence in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- **Section 4** provides an overview of the conceptual framework for mapping crime and violence prevention interventions.
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- **Annex A** provides a longer discussion on the state of crime and violence in a handful of LAC countries.
- **Annex B** presents a matrix of crime and violence prevention interventions disaggregated by level of intervention and risk. The matrix also highlights those interventions for which there is evidence of effectiveness through rigorous evaluations.
- **Annex C** provides additional information on sources of crime and violence data.
- **Annex D** elaborates in greater detail the criteria that can be used to select a potential target area in program design.
- **Annex E** provides a list of examples of crime and violence prevention for municipalities.
- **Annex F** lists the standardized indicators for citizen security and crime prevention that have been elaborated by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).
- **Annex G** provides a list of references.
- **Annex H** provides a list of useful resources on crime and violence prevention.
- **Annex I** provides lessons learned from USAID/Office of Transition Initiatives Honduras Program.

PART 1: BACKGROUND

1.1 OVERVIEW OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is one of the most violent regions in the world. The LAC region represents 8.5 percent of the global population but accounts for an estimated 30 percent of the world's homicides.[4] Latin American and Caribbean citizens rank crime and violence as one of the most important problems, surpassing in some countries, unemployment and the economy as the top concerns.[5] Similarly, across the region, fear of crime, and perceptions of insecurity, have significantly increased during the past decade. The latest AmericasBarometer survey shows that perceptions of insecurity and fear of crime among Latin American and Caribbean citizens have increased significantly during the past decade. In 2014, 61.2 percent of survey respondents said they either felt very or somewhat unsafe.[6]

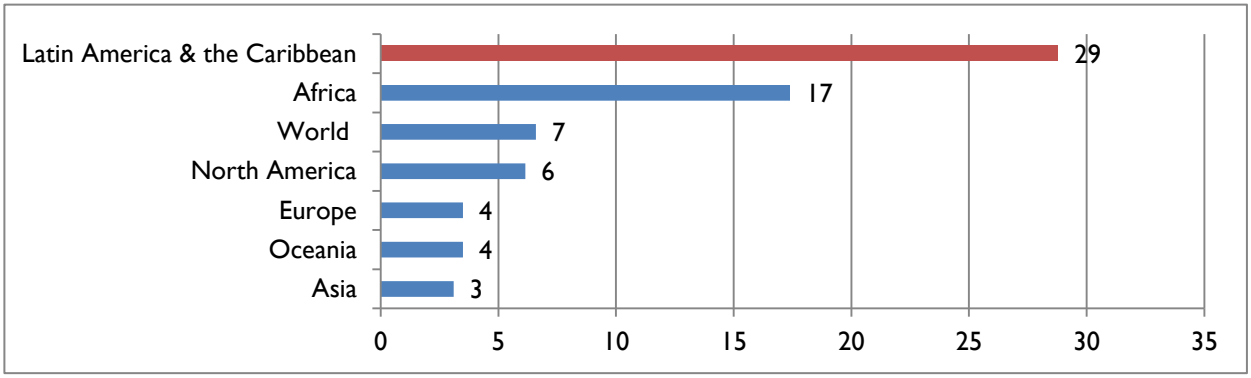
Although crime and violence take many forms—domestic violence, extortion, theft, kidnapping, drug trafficking, and homicides—it is the homicide rate that is attracting growing attention and concern among public officials, journalist, scholars, and development practitioners as homicide rates have reached epidemic proportions in several countries.

According to the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) global study on homicides, in 2011, LAC's homicide rate was 29 per 100,000 inhabitants, compared to 17 per 100,000 in Africa and 7 per 100,000 worldwide (see Figure 1). Putting these numbers in context, the World Health Organization (WHO) considers a homicide rate over 10 per 100,000 inhabitants a violence epidemic. Furthermore, seven of the region's 10 countries and 42 of the 50 cities with the world's highest homicide rates are in LAC. It also is the only region in the world that witnessed an increase in lethal violence between 2000 and 2010. Homicide rates in most regions of the world have fallen by as much as 50 percent, but in LAC they increased by 12 percent.[7]

These aggregated figures hide significant differences both within the region and within individual countries. Although violence has increased in Central America, for instance, South America has experienced a decrease in violence over the past 15 years. In 2012, the homicide rates in Central America ranged from 90 per 100,000 in Honduras to 8.5 per 100,000 in Costa Rica.[8] In 2015, the homicide rate in El Salvador reached 97 per 100,000, making it the deadliest country in the world. (For a more detailed discussion, see Annex A.)

[4] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide, 2014," p. 24
[5] Corporación Latinobarómetro, 2013, *Informe Latinobarómetro 2013.* Santiago de Chile: Corporación Latinobarómetro, http://www.latinobarometro.org/latContents.jsp, p. 60.
[6] Zechmeister, 2014. "The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2014," Chapter 2.
[7] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide, 2011," p. 12.
[8] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide, 2014," p. 24.

Figure 1: Homicide Rates by Region
(2011 or latest available year)



Source: UNODC, *Global Study on Homicide 2013*.

Victimization rates are very high and contribute to the perception of insecurity. According to the AmericasBarometer most recent regional survey, in 2014 the victimization rate, or percentage of people who have been a victim of a crime in the last 12 months, was 16.8 in LAC and 28.8 in Central America. High victimization rates contribute to the high percentage of people who perceive their environment to be unsafe. In this survey, 62.1 percent of respondents said they felt either very or somewhat unsafe.[9] Perceptions of insecurity and fear of crime in Central America are an important determinant of Central Americans' migration intentions.[10]

The rise of drug trafficking and transnational criminal organizations has changed the equation for crime and violence prevention. The rise in crime and violence in LAC is in part the result of an increase in the international drug trade and changes in the control of trade routes. While the relationship between criminal gangs and drug trafficking organizations is complex, in Mexico and Central America, drug trafficking is the single most influential contributing factor to violence. Much of this violence stems from issues related to the transport of cocaine from producer nations in LAC to the consumer market in the United States. The drug trade contributes to the widespread availability of firearms, generates violence within and between drug cartels, and spurs further lawlessness by undermining criminal justice institutions. Controlling for other factors, areas with intense levels of drug trafficking have homicide rates 65 percent higher than other areas in the same Central American country.[11]

Gangs have become a major source of violence in many countries. Estimates of the number of gang members in Central America range widely, from 10,000 to 300,000. Perhaps the most widely accepted number is the estimate provided by the UNODC, which estimated that there were roughly 54,000 gang members in 2012.[12] Gangs are particularly prevalent in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, where

[9] Zechmeister, 2014. "The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2014," p. 15-31.
[10] Jonathan Hiskey, Mary Malone, and Diana Orcés, 2014. "Violence and Migration in Central America." AmericasBarometer Insights:2014. Number 101. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/insights/IO901en.pdf
[11] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America: A Development Challenge," Washington D.C.: World Bank, p. 21. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/882501468242386224/Main-report
[12] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012, "Transnational Organized Crime in Central America and the Caribbean: A Threat Assessment," Vienna, p. 29. https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-

rival gangs Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and the 18th Street gang (M-18) operate. The majority of active gang members are young and male.[13] Estimates of the total proportion of contemporary regional violence attributable to gangs vary widely. Some experts estimate that gangs are responsible for roughly 10 percent of crime, but others blame gangs for as much as 60 percent, including mugging, theft, intimidation, rape, assault, murder, and drug dealing.

Although gangs are widely perceived as primary drivers of crime and violence in the region, ascertaining the role of gangs is extremely difficult. Although gangs are widely perceived to be drivers of homicides, a study in El Salvador from 2003 to 2006, for example, found that gangs were responsible for only 13.5 percent of the total number of homicides. Similarly, 2006 police records in Guatemala attributed just 14 percent of homicides to gangs.[14]

Reliable data related to the role of gangs in the narcotics trade are virtually nonexistent, but gangs are assumed to have become increasingly involved over the past decade in trafficking and dealing illegal drugs. Gangs are believed to be involved in small-scale street drugs sales, but not in the large-scale movement of drugs, although some experts suggest that the leaders of local drug organizations are often former gang members.[15] Findings in a few studies also suggest that drug trafficking has made gangs more violent. As a result of concerns about the growing involvement of the MS-13 in illicit activities in the United States, the U.S. Treasury Department designated the MS-13 as a major transnational criminal organization in October 2012.[16]

Criminal data, and homicide data in particular, are incomplete in most of the region. While most people suspect that either drug trafficking organizations or gangs are responsible for the majority of homicides, incomplete police records make it impossible to draw such conclusions. In Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador—the three most violent countries in Central America—police records list "unknown" as the motivation behind the majority of homicides. A preliminary study of 2012–2014 police records in Guatemala reports that police officers listed the motivation behind 60-70 percent of homicide cases to be either unknown or personal revenge.[17] It is estimated that around 30 percent of homicides in the Americas are related to organized crime or the activities of criminal gangs, compared to less than 1 percent in Asia, Oceania, and Europe.[18]

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analysis/Studies/TOC_Central_America_and_the_Caribbean_english.pdf. A top State Department official recently estimated that there may be as many as 85,000 MS-13 and M-18 gang members. See Clare Ribando Seelke, February 20, 2014, *Gangs in Central America,* Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, p. 3. https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34112.pdf.

[13] For more information on recruitment of children into gangs see United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide, 2014," p. 100. In Central America, children as young as 6 or 8 years old may be recruited into gangs. Many do not finish middle school, putting them in the "ni-ni" category of those who neither work nor attend school and are thus at risk of perpetuating and being victims of crime and violence. According to the World Bank, in 2014, 12 percent of young males and 28 percent of young females (ages 15-24) did not work or study in the Latin America and Caribbean Region. See Mercados de Trabajo, Estado de la Juventud (Ninis). http://www.bancomundial.org/es/topic/poverty/lac-equity-lab1/labor-markets/youth-outcomes

[14] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America," p.15–17.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Clare Ribando Seelke, 2014. *Gangs in Central America.* Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, February 20. P. 1. https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34112.pdf.

[17] Steven Dudley, 2016. "Homicides in Guatemala: The Challenge and Lessons of Disaggregating Gang-Related and Drug-Trafficking Related Murders." Draft Report. USAID. Democracy International.

[18] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide, 2014," p. 15.

Available data show that the LAC region has high incidences of other forms of violence (beyond homicides). Homicide is often used as a proxy for violent crime because the data for homicides tend to be more complete and more reliable than for other types of crimes. It is important to note, however, that many LAC countries also have high rates of robbery, rape, extortion, and kidnapping. Data from El Salvador, one of the few Central American countries with reliable extortion data, show that extortion accounted for 9.8 percent of all crimes in 2012, while homicides accounted for another 8.6 percent.[19] In a cross-country comparison of domestic violence undertaken by the WHO, LAC countries reported the highest percentages of women who had been a victim of physical or sexual violence.[20]

Lethal violence disproportionately affects young males in Latin America and the Caribbean. The homicide rate among young people is more than double the rate of the general population, approximately 70 per 100,000 youth.[21] From 1996 to 2009, 35 percent of all victims of homicide in LAC were between 10 and 25 years of age.[22] In Honduras in 2014, 91 percent of homicide victims were male and 29 percent were between 15 and 24 years of age.[23] However, even though the great majority of victims and perpetrators of homicides are males, approximately one in 10 homicide victims is a female. In addition, the rate of femicide—defined as the killing of a woman by a man because she is female—has increased in several LAC countries.[24]

Firearms play a pivotal role in the lethality of violence in Latin America and the Caribbean. According to the Organization of American States (OAS) Report on Citizen Security in the Americas 2012, 78 percent of homicides in Central America and 83 percent in South America are committed with firearms. South America, the Caribbean, and Central America also rank highest globally among sub-regions in terms of percentage of homicides committed by firearms (see Figure 2).

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[19] Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina, October 2013, "Public Security Index Central America: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama." http://www.resdal.org/libro-seg-2013/resdal-index-2013.pdf, p. 46.

[20] Claudia García-Moreno, et al., 2005, *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women: Initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses*, Geneva: World Health Organization, http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/violence/24159358X/en/, p. 28.

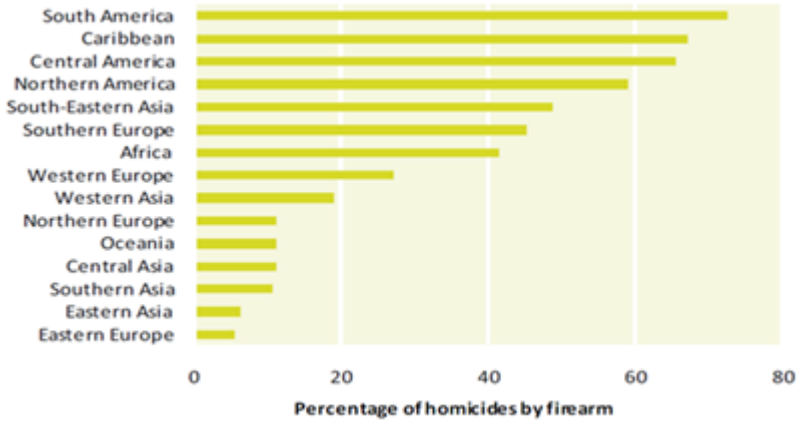
[21] Definitions of youth vary across international institutions and countries; the United Nations defines youth as persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years old.

[22] United Nations Development Programme, 2013, "Regional Human Development Report (2013-2014): Citizen Security with a Human Face: Evidence and Proposals for Latin America," New York, p. 3. http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hdr/human-development-report-for-latin-america-2013-2014.html

[23] Instituto Universitario en Democracia, Paz y Seguridad, February 2015, *Boletín del Observatorio de la Violencia en Honduras*, No. 36, Tegucigalpa: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras, p. 3. http://www.iudpas.org/pdf/Boletines/Nacional/NEd36EneDic2014.pdf

[24] Academic Council on the United Nations System, 2013, *Femicide: A Global Issue that Demands Action*. Vienna: Academic Council on the United Nations System, p. 68. http://www.genevadeclaration.org/fileadmin/docs/Co-publications/Femicide_A%20Gobal%20Issue%20that%20demands%20Action.pdf

Figure 2: Percentage of Homicides by Firearms in Sub-regions
(2010 or latest available year)



Source: UNODC, *Global Study on Homicide 2011*.

Violence against women is both "organized," as in cases of human trafficking and/or sexual exploitation, and "disorganized," as in domestic violence. Although many Latin American and Caribbean countries have passed laws against domestic violence, most cases go unreported due to victims' fear of retribution by the perpetrator and/or distrust of the police. In some LAC countries, domestic violence is generally accepted; opinion surveys demonstrate that people feel the use of physical violence against women and children is often justified. In a 2014 Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) study on the political culture of democracy in Guatemala and in the Americas, 24.5 percent of women reported physical violence by male partners, 54 percent of men expressed favorable attitudes about the use of physical violence toward their wives for not keeping the house well, and 58 percent of men have a positive view of physical violence toward their wives for disloyalty—the highest number anywhere in Latin America and the Caribbean. Similar percentages of women in the region also believe that men have the right to use physical violence against them for disloyalty.[25]

Crime and violence are concentrated in a small number of high-risk places, at high-risk times, and are generated by a small number of high-risk individuals.[26] Even in the most violent countries (Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador), crime is not distributed evenly. Crime tends to be concentrated in particular neighborhoods, often referred to as "hotspots." In addition, a very small number of individuals commit the majority of homicides.[27] There is growing consensus among citizen security and crime

[25] Dinorah Azpuru and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, 2015. "The Political Culture of Democracy in Guatemala and in the Americas, 2014: Democratic Governance across 10 Years of the AmericasBarometer," Nashville: Vanderbilt University, March. 2015,p. 187. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/guatemala/AB2014_Guatemala_Country_Report_English_V2_W_102015.pdf.
[26] Anthony Braga, Andrew Papachristos, David Hureau, 2012. "Hot spots policing effects on crime." The Campbell Collaboration, June 2012.
[27] There is still insufficient research about the concentration of crime levels in the LAC region. Although it is likely that criminal dynamics follow similar paths, the evidence thus far is still anecdotal.

prevention analysts that understanding the criminal dynamics at the neighborhood level is essential for combatting and preventing crime.[28]

The weakness of justice institutions leads to a high rate of impunity. One of the most serious problems in many Latin American and Caribbean countries is the fact that most crimes are uninvestigated and most criminals remain unprosecuted. In Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, for example, impunity for violent crime is estimated at 95 percent.[29]

Citizens often do not report crime because they have little confidence in the justice system. Public opinion surveys show that trust in the courts and justice system has dropped to its lowest level over the past decade. In the 2014 LAPOP AmericasBarometer survey, for instance, the majority of citizens reported that they did not trust the judicial system to punish those guilty of crimes. Moreover, citizens in many Latin American and Caribbean countries regard the police as highly corrupt and involved in criminal activity.[30] A 2010 AmericasBarometer survey found that more than 60 percent of survey respondents in Argentina, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Venezuela believed local police forces were involved in crime.[31]

Police and judicial reform is urgently needed both to reduce impunity and to address deeper issues involving justice, corruption, and human rights abuses. Addressing impunity may be particularly valuable in reducing economically motivated crime.

1.2 WHY IS USAID CONCERNED ABOUT CITIZEN SECURITY, CRIME, AND VIOLENCE?

The right to life, liberty, and security of person is a basic human right recognized by the United Nations 1948 Declaration of Human Rights. The spread of crime and violence in the LAC region undermines these rights and challenges one of the state's most essential responsibilities: namely, to protect its citizens. A lack of basic citizen security undermines economic development and erodes the legitimacy of weakly rooted democratic institutions.

U.S. foreign policy and USAID have a mission to protect human rights and promote democratic governance. The U.S. development strategy seeks to strengthen democratic political systems and broad-based economic growth in the Americas. Serious insecurity undermines actors at many levels of government and contributes to doubts about the validity of the democratic model.

In an environment of insecurity, it can be tempting to support a return to authoritarian rule—even military rule—with little regard for protecting civil rights. A rigorous study of survey research in several LAC countries demonstrated that victimization and high perception of violence have a negative impact on democratic support.[32] In a public opinion poll of citizens in the six countries in Central America,

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[28] Lawrence W. Sherman, et al, Research-in-Brief, 1998. "Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising." Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, p.13. http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/171676.pdf

[29] Organization of American States, 2014, "Preliminary Observations Concerning the Human Rights Situation in Honduras," Press Release (December 5), http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/media_center/PReleases/2014/146A.asp

[30] Zechmeister, "The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2014," p. 74.

[31] José Miguel Cruz, 2010, "Police Misconduct and Democracy in Latin America," *AmericasBarometer Insights, No.* 33, Nashville: Vanderbilt University, p. 2. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/insights/I0833en.pdf

[32] Miguel Carreras, 2013, "The Impact of Criminal Violence on Regime Legitimacy in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 48, No. 3.

more than half of adults (53 percent) said that a military coup would be justified if crime levels are high. These percentages have increased in recent years in Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.[33]

The lack of proper security puts the past decade's achievements in health, education, economic development, and environmental protection at risk. Moreover, larger investments in law enforcement and crime and violence prevention are needed when insecurity is high, draining resources from other development priorities.

In societies with high levels of insecurity, citizens tend to support harsh, potentially repressive measures to address criminal violence. An opinion poll shows that a large number of Latin Americans support tough laws and hardline enforcement approaches (*mano dura*) to combat crime and violence.[34] In areas where the police force is weak and not professionalized, the military has been engaged to fight crime. This punitive hardline approach has led to human rights violations in several countries. It also has been shown to be ineffective in reducing crime rates. On the contrary, between 2000 and 2005 in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, the use of *mano dura* approaches against criminal gangs actually intensified the levels of violence.[35]

In addition to promoting regional stability and security, reducing transnational organized crime is firmly in the national interest of the United States. The rapid rise in lawlessness and violence in recent years is resulting from illegal drug trafficking and related transnational crimes, including arms trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering, and migrant smuggling as the destination for many of the drugs and other criminal activity is the United States. Furthermore, border crossings by undocumented individuals—with or without the help of smugglers—puts migrants at extreme risk and exacerbates the problems the United States faces in trying to enforce its immigration laws.

Furthermore, countries that are unable to address crime and violence become poor candidates for domestic and foreign investment, which hurts their potential for economic growth and job creation and may in fact undermine economic stability.

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[33] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America," p. 3. See also Orlando J. Pérez, "Democratic Legitimacy and Public Insecurity: Crime and Democracy in El Salvador and Guatemala," *Political Science Quarterly* (Winter 2003/2004): 118, 4; ProQuest: 627.

[34] José Miguel Cruz, 2008, "The impact of violent crime on the political culture of Latin America: The special case of Central America," in Mitchell A. Seligson, ed., *Challenges to Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean: Evidence from the AmericasBarometer 2006-07*, Nashville: Vanderbilt University, p. 222.

[35] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide, 2013," p. 13. In the United States too, there is evidence that simply putting more uniformed officers on the street does not reduce crime. Officers must be properly assigned to detect and prevent crime, which requires sophisticated approaches to detecting crime patterns and allocating police resources accordingly. Marcus Felson. 1994. *Crime and Everyday Life: Insight and Implications for Society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

PART 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING CRIME AND VIOLENCE

2.1 DEFINITIONS

CITIZEN SECURITY

Citizen security is defined as "the right of citizens to live free from all forms of violence and crime in times of peace."[36] In Latin America and the Caribbean, the concept of citizen security first gained prominence during the 1990s, when LAC countries were transitioning to and consolidating democracy.

The term exists within the broader frameworks of human development and human security, but *citizen security* has a more narrow definition. Whereas human security focuses on a broad range of threats—including public health threats, natural disasters, food insecurity, political violence, and others—citizen security focuses primarily on freedom from crime and violence.

Citizen security is embedded within a democratic framework. It is thus different from *public security,* which usually refers exclusively to law and order and can function outside of a democratic environment. Authoritarian states often emphasize order and law enforcement, but they refuse to accept limits on the state's actions.

The operating principle underlying citizen security is the rule of law—the norms and customs that regulate both private and state behaviors to achieve what might be called "social harmony," which is more than just the absence of violence. In that sense, citizen security is a positive condition in both the public and private realms. It incorporates social justice. It also contributes to development by establishing and protecting peace and stability.

Citizen security is based on rights and should proceed from the notion that the rights of citizens to life and property are protected by a state and institutions that legitimately exercise governance authority, not by unchecked or arbitrary power. This approach is endorsed by the OAS and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and is commonly used throughout the region.[37]

Citizen security entails a broad range of goals beyond reducing rates of crime and violence. It encompasses accessible, responsive, and effective justice services that includes effective prosecution, incarceration, and rehabilitation of offenders; the rule of law; tolerance; and social cohesion.

The definition of citizen security used in this document follows the definition provided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its landmark report on citizen security in the Americas in 2013[38] and is similar to those of the other major donors working in the region. In its 2011 World Development Report, for example, the World Bank defined citizen security as "freedom from physical

[36] Inter-American Development Bank, 2013, "Citizen Security in Latin America and the Caribbean: The IDB's Comparative Advantage," New York, p. 1. https://publications.iadb.org/handle/11319/5967
[37] Inter-American Development Bank, 2013. "Citizen Security in Latin America and the Caribbean," p. 8.
[38] United Nations Development Programme, 2013. "Regional Human Development Report (2013-2014)."

violence and freedom from the fear of violence. Applied to the lives of *all* members of a society (whether nationals of the country or otherwise), it encompasses security at home, in the workplace, and in political, social, and economic interactions with the state and other members of society."[39]

CRIME AND VIOLENCE

The terms *crime* and *violence* are sometimes used interchangeably, but they describe different concepts. *Crime* refers to any action that violates criminal law and may or may not involve violence. White-collar crime, for instance, is typically not violent. Other crimes, such as extortion, may not be violent but may include the threat of violence. The definition of *violence* is intensely debated. This Field Guide uses the definition developed by the WHO, which defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation."[40]

Not all violence is considered a crime. For instance, many Latin American and Caribbean countries do not have laws against domestic violence. Further, violence can take place at different societal levels and in different contexts: family, school, neighborhood, community, or society at large. Violence also takes many forms. It can be spontaneous, such as a street fight, or planned, as an assassination. Violence can involve just one individual, consist of a conflict between two people, or involve a large group of people, such as a conflict among gangs. Violence sometimes is related to the pursuit of another illegal activity, such as drug trafficking, but it may also be the result of the politicization of a social grievance, as in a violent social conflict.[41] Violence may be repeated frequently (as in domestic violence) or a unique event. It may occur over a long period of time or be over in an instant. Finally, violence may occur between family members, friends, neighbors, or other individuals who know each other, or it may be highly impersonal, between strangers who are completely unknown to one another.[42]

VICTIMIZATION AND FEAR OF CRIME

Studies on drivers of crime and violence tend to focus more on would-be perpetrators and less on victims. Yet, attention to victims of crime and violence should be an integral part of the discussion on citizen security and on approaches to prevent crime and violence. In countries with high rates of violence, a higher number of residents are victims of interpersonal or collective violence. Violence not only leaves deep physical and psychological scars, there is also increased risk that victims will become perpetrators of violence in the future. Studies have demonstrated that trauma from being exposed to violence is a risk factor for criminal and violent behavior. Many violent offenders have been victims of violence, often of violence that occurred at home. Victims of domestic violence at home are more likely

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[39] World Bank, 2011, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, p. xvi. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf

[40] World Health Organization, 2002. *World Report on Violence and Health*, http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/42495/1/9241545615_eng.pdf

[41] For a conceptual framework to analyze violent social conflict, please see USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation "Conflict Assessment Framework," Version 2.0, http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnady739.pdf

[42] For an interesting discussion see Thomas Abt and Christopher Winship, 2016. "What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle," Bethesda, MD: Democracy International, February 2016. https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/USAID-2016-What-Works-in-Reducing-Community-Violence-Final-Report.pdf

to perpetrate violence and become criminal offenders in the future.[43] Chronic violence tends to desensitize individuals to the effects and consequences of violence, creating a "gray zone" where the distinction between victim and perpetrator is blurred.[44]

Youth and women are disproportionately affected by crime and violence.[45] In Latin America and the Caribbean, youth violence is reaching epidemic proportions; youth are not only the main perpetrators but are also the victims of violence. A study by the Pan American Health Organization concluded that violence against women and children is a public health issue. Domestic violence is of particular concern. In that study, 52.3 percent of women in Bolivia, 38.6 percent in Colombia, 24.5 percent in Guatemala, and 24.2 in El Salvador reported having been victims of domestic violence.[46]

In countries with high levels of crime and violence, the fear of crime often outweighs the risk of victimization. Perceptions of high levels of crime and violence may be fueled by sensationalized media coverage of highly violent incidents. Perceptions of insecurity change a person's behaviors and choices. For instance, citizens may avoid walking on the street at night or taking public transportation. Perceptions of insecurity may also affect what jobs a person is willing to accept or which school a parent will send his or her children to. Perceptions of insecurity also negatively affect citizens' confidence in and satisfaction with the government and make a person less likely to trust neighbors or engage in civic participation.[47]

In Central America, the most violent region of LAC, a survey conducted by the LAPOP shows that 14.4 percent of respondents in El Salvador reported having been victimized by crime, but 42.5 percent felt unsafe. In Honduras, these percentages were 18.9 and 23.2 percent respectively, and in Guatemala 20.8 and 31.5 percent.[48]

CRIME AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION

There is little consensus regarding how to define violence and crime prevention or on the most appropriate indicators to measure and evaluate the progress of prevention efforts. Crime and violence prevention is often confused with crime reduction or suppression, with evaluation focused, for example,

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[43] Wendy Cunningham, et al, 2008, "Youth at Risk in Latin America and the Caribbean: Understanding the Causes, Realizing the Potential," Washington, D.C.: World Bank, p. 144. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLACREGTOPLABSOCPRO/Resources/YouthatriskinLAC.pdf

[44] Tani Adams, 2012, "Chronic Violence and its Reproduction: Perverse Trends in Social Relations, Citizenship, and Democracy in the Americas," Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, March, 2012, p. 28. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Chronic%20Violence%20and%20its%20Reproduction_1.pdf. See also Adams' more recent work on the effects of traumatization resulting from experiencing violence in the home, "Chronic violence and non-conventional armed actors: a systemic approach," Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center, September 2014, https://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/Adams_NOREF_Chronic%20Violence_SEPT_NY%20FINAL.pdf

[45] World Bank, 2014, *"Invisible Wounds": A Practitioner's Dialogue on Improving Development Outcomes through Psychosocial Support: Summary Report of May 6, 2014 Workshop*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1239390842422/6012763-1239905793229/Invisible-Wounds-Practitioner-Dialogue-Summary-Report-May6.pdf

[46] Sarah Bott, et al., 2012, *Violence against Women in Latin American and the Caribbean: A Comparative Analysis of Population-Based Data from 12 Countries*, Washington, D.C.: Pan American Health Organization and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, p. 20.

[47] Carreras, Miguel. 2013. "The Impact of Criminal Violence on Regime Legitimacy in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 48, No. 3.

[48] Zechmeister, 2014. "The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2014," p. 31.

on the reduction in the number of homicides in a particular community. At the other extreme, crime and violence prevention is also confused with general development goals such as poverty reduction, provision of public services, food security, and job creation. As such, crime and violence prevention can become a ubiquitous term that can become difficult to measure, much less to evaluate. A more appropriate framework is to place crime and violence prevention between the narrower conception of law enforcement and criminal justice perspectives and the wider definition of a general governance problem.

There is general consensus among scholars, psychologists, criminologists, and development practitioners that criminal and violent behavior is caused by a multiplicity of factors, ranging from individual psychological characteristics to broader social and environmental conditions. Crime and violence prevention efforts therefore require a multidisciplinary approach that actively engages a wide variety of actors and agencies beyond law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

Crime and violence prevention consists of actions and interventions that seek to decrease or eliminate underlying risk factors that lead to violent and/or criminal behavior. Prevention also entails reinforcing the protective factors, such as community or religious networks and family structures that increase a community's resilience as it relates to crime and violence. In conclusion, crime and violence prevention programming can only be effective if it engages both formal structures, law enforcement and the criminal justice system, and informal structures, family and the community.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES FOR ADDRESSING CRIME AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION

As mentioned, crime and violence can take many forms. Therefore, analysis can use many different perspectives, depending on the type of crime or violence and the causal factors. As a result, the approach used to understand crime and violence has critical implications for the articulation of the public policy that is implemented to address and resolve the problem.

PREVENTION THROUGH LAW ENFORCEMENT

If crime and violence are understood primarily as a law enforcement problem, the public policy approach will tend to focus on the use of repressive measures to control and contain the problem. The implementation will rely predominantly on the criminal justice system. The principle behind this approach is that, regardless of its causes, criminal and violent behavior need to be punished and that repression works as an effective deterrent of future criminal or violent behavior. Therefore, law enforcement serves an important preventive role.

Policies that use law enforcement as a prevention strategy generally aim to increase the rate of arrests and convictions and to impose longer and harsher sentences on convicts in order to make crime or violence appear riskier to a potential perpetrator. This hardline approach—known in LAC as *mano dura* ("iron-fist" in English)—is one of the best-known and most widely endorsed by government officials attempting to demonstrate swift and rapid responses to escalating rates of crime and violence. The *mano dura* approach was first articulated by President Francisco Flores of El Salvador in 2003. Other countries followed suit with different variants of the same approach.[49] Although popular in LAC, on its own, a hardline law enforcement approach is insufficient in solving a violence epidemic. Troublingly,

[49] Clare Ribando Seelke, 2007, *Anti-Gang Efforts in Central America: Moving Beyond Mano Dura?* Miami: University of Miami, p. 2.

mano dura has led to allegations of human rights violations and in many cases has further eroded confidence and trust in the justice system.

That said, not all policies that utilize law enforcement are solely repressive or work in isolation. In the United States, an innovative prevention intervention that successfully combines law enforcement and social programs addressing the root causes of crime and violence is the so-called "Focus Deterrence" or "Pulling Levers" designed by David Kennedy, professor of criminal justice at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York City, which will be discussed in Part 4.

Problem-Oriented Policing

Problem-oriented policing (POP) deals with clusters of similar incidents, such as crime or disorder, a solution based on the idea that effective crime prevention is linked to the ability of the police to identify patterns so they can deal with the underlying causes. The interventions that fall into this category can be divided into two groups: (1) focus on place and (2) focus on type of crime (Goldstein, H. 1990) .

POP methodology comprises four stages, known by the acronym SARA: (1) *scan*, in which users gather information about the incidents; (2) *analyze* the information to hypothesize about causes; (3) *respond*, or do police work to tackle the causes that have been identified; and (4) *assess*, monitor and evaluate intervention results. According to an evaluation of crime prevention interventions, POP methodologies are most effective in places dealing with concrete issues such as alcohol, firearms, or prostitution (Sherman, L., D.P. Farrington, B.C. Welsh, and D.L. MacKenzie, eds. 2002).

In the LAC region, one of the most serious limitations of the law enforcement approach is the weakness of the justice system, particularly the criminal justice system. Police officers and prosecutors are perceived to be corrupt; judges are perceived to be inefficient, ill-trained, and underpaid. In many cases, judges have links to corrupt officials and drug traffickers.[50] That said, law enforcement measures and an effective judicial system are necessary for combatting crime and violence. Criminals need to be caught, prosecuted, and sentenced. The high rate of impunity that currently exists in Central American countries needs to be reduced. The challenge is finding the right balance between law enforcement measures that focus on punishing criminal and violent behavior and preventive measures that focus on addressing the root causes of crime and violence.

USAID and the rest of the international donor community have responded by supporting law enforcement and justice system reforms, especially those which provide training and technical assistance to police officers, prosecutors, public defenders, and judges, and support transitions from inquisitorial to adversarial criminal justice systems.[51]

[50] For analysis of corruption in the Justice System in Latin America, see: Jessica Walsh, 2016. "A Double-Edged Sword: Judicial Independence and Accountability in Latin America," International Bar Association's Human Rights Institute, Thematic Paper, N. 5, April, 2016. See also Due Process of Law Foundation, 2007. "Controles y Descontroles de la Corrupción Judicial. Evaluación de la corrupción judicial y de los mecanismos para combatirla en Centroamérica y Panamá." 2007. http://www.dplf.org/sites/default/files/1196091551.pdf

[51] For an interesting and critical assessment of international donor support for judicial reform in Latin America, see Luis Pásara, 2012. "International Support for Justice Reform in Latin America: Worthwhile or Worthless? Woodrow Wilson, September 2012. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Jutice%20Reform%20in%20LATAM.pdf

SOCIAL, COMMUNITY, AND INDIVIDUAL PREVENTION APPROACH

If crime and violence are understood to be an expression of deep-rooted social and economic problems such as social inequality, unemployment, lack of opportunities, family dysfunction, the erosion of social controls, drug and alcohol abuse, and other societal factors, then the policy approach will focus on prevention by addressing the specific problem faced. The related interventions depend on the nature of the crime and violence affecting the particular community or society, the understanding of the drivers of violence and crime, and the population considered to be most at risk. The interventions can take the form of all-encompassing social programs, such as improving access to and quality of public services; programs that target a specific causal factor, such as promoting alternative dispute resolution mechanisms to solve social conflicts before they escalate to violence; or targeted interventions, such as providing remedial education classes for individuals who dropped out of school or offering drug rehabilitation services to individuals considered most at risk for criminal or violent behavior. These prevention approaches also require functioning law enforcement and justice systems that can adequately investigate, prosecute and sanction criminal and violent behavior, which, as mentioned before, is a serious limitation in the LAC region.

Public Health Methodology

The public health methodology to violence prevention, also called an epidemiological approach, focuses on the health of the entire population and uses a systematic, scientific method that is based on evidence for understanding, preventing, and treating violence and crime. This approach considers violence and crime as a contagious disease that, if left untreated, spreads like any other disease. Analysis using this methodology begins by answering questions such as: *Where does the violence problem begin? How could the initial violence have been prevented? Who is at risk of "contracting" the violence? How can it be kept from spreading further?* To answer such questions, practitioners collect data that are then used to further define the problem and identify the main risk and protective factors. Then, they develop and implement strategies based on their data analysis. Evaluation is used to test the effectiveness of the strategies used. Finally, if strategies are found to be effective, they are disseminated and implemented more broadly (Mercy, 1993; World Health Organization, 2004).

SITUATIONAL PREVENTION APPROACH

Finally, crime and violence can be understood as a product of opportunistic conditions rather than a result of entrenched social or economic problems. This situational approach considers the physical and/or environmental characteristics of a particular place where crime or violence occurs.

In this perspective, crime and violence result from calculated, rational decisions in which the benefits outweigh the risks. One expert explains, "The commission of a crime requires not merely the existence of a motivated offender, but, as every detective story reader knows, it also requires the opportunity for crime."[52] The programmatic approaches that derive from this perspective entail the management and/or manipulation of the immediate environment to make crime more difficult and unattractive and to increase the risks of being caught. Examples include installing surveillance cameras in public places, cleaning and restoring public parks, improving street lighting, and controlling alcohol at festivals and events.

[52] Ronald V. Clarke, 1997, *Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies*, 2nd edition, Guilderland, NY: Harrow and Heston, p. 2.

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED)

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) is based on the principle that the environment plays a key role in crime. CPTED recommends modifying the physical environment and incorporating preventive features in urban design and housing to decrease opportunities for crime and increase the likelihood of catching offenders. CPTED methodology is still evolving and today's second-generation methodology has five fundamental tenets:

1. **Natural control of access points:** The opportunity for crime is reduced by limiting the number of access points to a public space.
2. **Natural surveillance**: The design of windows in residential buildings and the lighting and design of public spaces should enhance residents' ability to observe what is happening around them.
3. **Maintenance**: Well-maintained public spaces are shown to attract fewer criminals.
4. **Territorial reinforcement**: The feelings of attachment that residents have for their neighborhood can be harnessed to inspire them to look after it.
5. **Community involvement:** Environmental interventions need to be grounded in the community to activate social control mechanisms.

(Inter-American Development Bank, 2012; Alvarado and Abizanda, 2010)

Law enforcement and situational and social prevention approaches are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, they should be used in tandem to address crime and violence. While law enforcement focuses on short-term repressive measures, social prevention is a long-term approach that addresses the root causes, not just the symptoms, of crime and violence. Situational prevention reduces opportunities for crime by improving the physical and environmental conditions of public places.

2.3 PREVENTION APPROACHES UTILIZED IN LAC

In Latin America and the Caribbean, USAID has been a strong supporter of investing in situational and social prevention to contain and control crime and violence. In Guatemala and El Salvador, for example, USAID has taken an active role in drafting national prevention policies and strategic plans and has encouraged governments to invest resources in prevention programs at both the local and national levels. In part, the focus on prevention counters the natural proclivity of some governments in the region to resort to costly repressive measures that are not sustainable in the long term. But the emphasis on prevention also is consistent with a longer-term commitment to promoting development and democracy. Therefore, addressing the main drivers of crime and violence is not only necessary to contain the violence epidemic, but also to establish the conditions for sustainable development and improved governance.

PART 3: RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS FOR CRIME AND VIOLENCE

Designing effective crime and violence prevention strategies requires first and foremost an understanding of the drivers that lead individuals to engage in criminal or violent behavior. These factors range from broad historical and cultural factors to individual psychosocial conditions. It is also important to note that most people are not violent; violence usually is concentrated in a few so-called "hot spots" and is perpetrated by a small percentage of individuals, which reinforces the importance of targeted interventions.

There is extensive literature regarding the main drivers of crime and violence in the Latin American and Caribbean region. The most comprehensive and widely used methodology for summarizing the discussion is to use the social-ecological classification of the public health methodology to classify the key risk factors. This helps to identify who is most at risk of being a victim or perpetrator of crime, as well as to highlight the multiple factors associated with crime and violence.

3.1 RISK FACTORS

The public health methodology utilizes the social-ecological model, which analyzes a variety of interrelated risk factors at the individual, relationship, community, and societal levels (see Figure 3). The more risk factors present and the more levels involved, the greater one's propensity is for engaging in crime and violence. An analysis of existing risk factors can help program managers to target and prioritize those individuals and communities that are most at risk of crime and violence.

Within this framework, there is no causal relationship between these risk factors and outcomes: risk factors neither cause violence nor make it inevitable. Rather, the risk factors influence the likelihood that individuals and communities will be involved with crime and/or violence. It is also important to note that specific risk factors are not predictive of an individual's involvement in crime or violence. Instead, it is the presence of *multiple* risk factors, especially when those risk factors fall across multiple levels, that is most associated with crime and violence.

The relative weight or importance of individual risk factors—or specific combinations of risk factors—varies depending on the context. The lack of parental supervision because parents have emigrated, for example, may be a more relevant risk factor in Central America than in countries in other regions, while multigenerational involvement in armed conflict may be more common elsewhere.

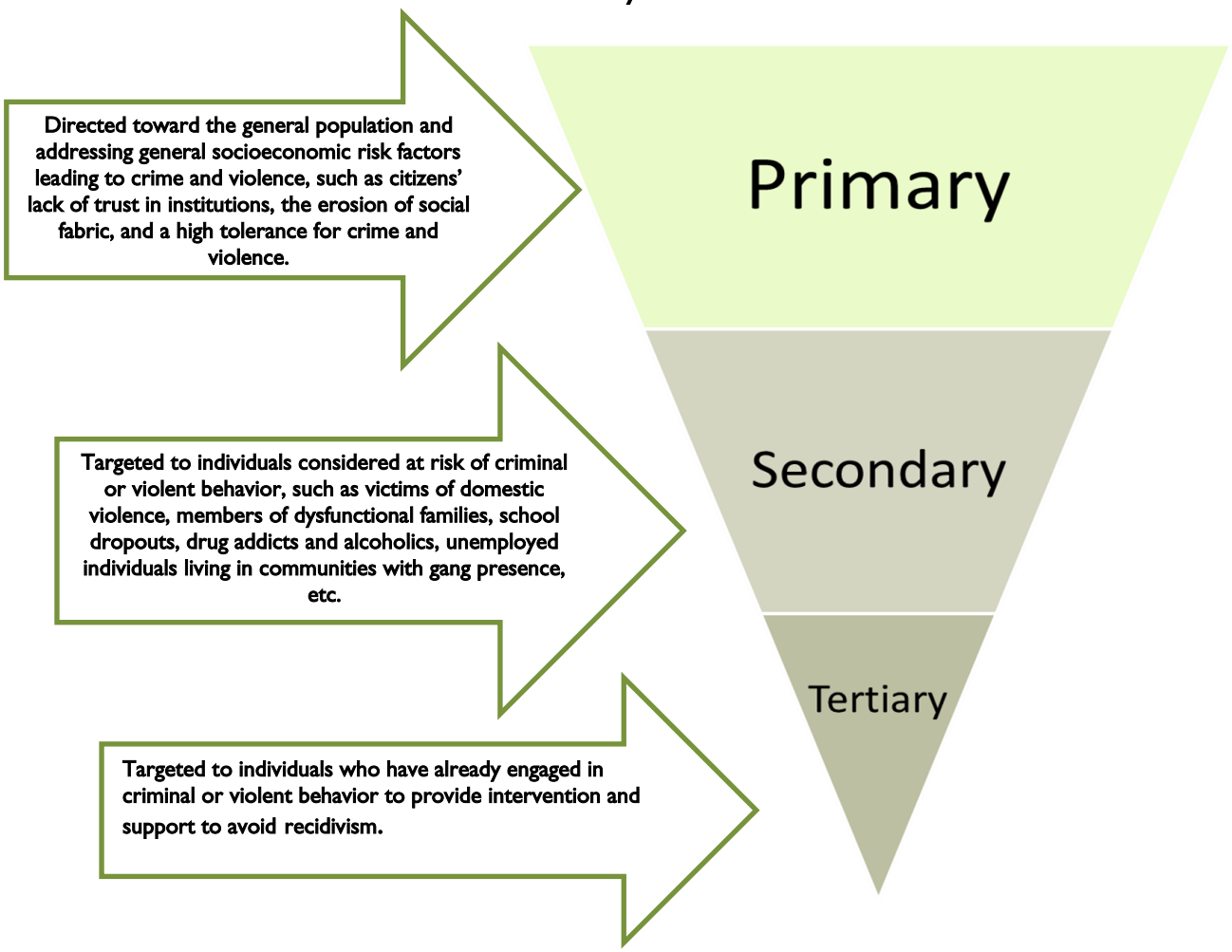
Figure 3: Social-Ecological Model

Source: World Health Organization, 2002

LEVELS OF INTERVENTION

The public health methodology to crime and violence prevention suggests different levels of interventions based on the number of individuals targeted for intervention and those individuals' risk factors. Violence prevention may be understood using the health impact pyramid developed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Director, Thomas R. Frieden, to analyze public health actions. This model, shown in Figure 4, analyzes the spread of disease by looking at broader social and economic factors beyond the health infrastructure. Moving down in the pyramid, interventions are designed to affect increasingly smaller numbers of individuals and the effects of the interventions are more narrowly defined, as they are designed for a select subset of individuals through counseling, training, rehabilitation, and education.

Figure 4: Applying Public Health Methodology to Violence Prevention: Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Prevention



Source: Democracy International; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

- **Primary prevention** targets the entire population and seeks to prevent violence before it occurs. It may include, for example, public education campaigns aimed at changing societal norms that tolerate violence.
- **Secondary prevention** focuses on individuals or groups with several risk factors for becoming victims of perpetrators of crime and violence. These prevention efforts may focus on unemployed youth who have dropped out of school, for instance. Secondary interventions reach fewer individuals in a more targeted manner than primary prevention does. Secondary prevention requires identifying the population(s) at risk and targeting interventions to those segments of the population. One tool that has been used to this end in LAC is the Youth Service Eligibility Tool, adopted from the experience of addressing gang violence in Los Angeles, which uses survey information to identify at-risk youth and target interventions more strategically to these individuals. Other mechanisms include identifying students who are failing or are frequently absent from school to receive specialized attention within the educational environment. Individuals who abuse drugs or alcohol are another common target audience.

Examples of secondary prevention interventions include programs for youth leadership, remedial education, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, skills training, anger management, and behavioral change media.

- **Tertiary prevention** is targeted to those individuals who have already engaged in criminal or violent behavior and may also include victims of violence. The purpose of tertiary prevention interventions is to prevent individuals from reoffending or being re-victimized and to reduce recidivism by rehabilitating those who have been prosecuted and incarcerated. Tertiary prevention reaches fewer people than either primary or secondary prevention and requires the most specialized rehabilitation and therapeutic services. Possible approaches include individual cognitive behavioral therapy, life skills training, and independent income generation strategies.

Although some of the approaches of secondary and tertiary prevention strategies are the same, individuals who qualify for secondary prevention should not be treated alongside those who are eligible to tertiary prevention. Just as in the public health sector, citizens can be "inoculated" against the spread of an epidemic, but once an epidemic breaks out, vulnerable and at-risk populations need to be identified and targeted for treatment. Ill patients, on the other hand, need to be cured so they do not contaminate others and can return safely to society.

RISK FACTORS AT THE SOCIETAL LEVEL

At the outermost level of the social-ecological model, societal risk factors that influence violence and crime include those that create an acceptable climate for violence, reduce inhibitions against violence, and create or sustain gaps between different segments of society or tensions between different groups or countries. These factors include a culture of violence, income inequality, urbanization, drug trafficking and organized crime, and a weak or ineffective criminal justice system.

Culture of violence. Many Latin American and Caribbean countries have a *culture of violence,* which can be defined as a system of social norms, values, and attitudes that legitimizes the use of violence to solve interpersonal conflicts.[53] Examples include cultural norms that support the physical discipline of children, violence against women, and a husband's right to control his wife through any means. A culture of violence may also include economic and social policies that create or sustain gaps and tensions among groups of people, weak laws and policies related to violence, war and militarism, and institutional violence.

These norms exist in various societal institutions, including schools and the home, which are the primary sources of socialization. As discussed above, in many LAC countries, a large percentage of citizens justify the use of physical violence to manage children and wives. For instance, a recent LAPOP survey across 16 LAC countries found that roughly one of four individuals approves of or understands a man hitting his wife if she neglects household chores.[54]

Income inequality. Although no causal relationship has been identified between poverty and violence, income inequality has been shown to lead to higher rates of crime and violence,[55] most likely due to the fact that it is more difficult for "have nothings" to live with vast income disparities than in an

[53] World Bank, 2011. "Crime and Violence in Central America." P.18-19.

[54] Lauren Pak, 2016, "One in Four Condone Spousal Violence, Though Attitudes Vary across Countries and Individuals in the Americas," *AmericasBarometer Insights: 2016*, No. 127, Nashville: Vanderbilt University, p. 1. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/insights/IO927en.pdf

[55] Wendy Cunningham, et al, 2008, "Youth at Risk in Latin America and the Caribbean: Understanding the Causes, Realizing the Potential," Washington, D.C.: World Bank, p. 142. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLACREGTOPLABSOCPRO/Resources/YouthatriskinLAC.pdf

environment of absolute poverty, where everyone has the same level of deprivation. In Latin America and the Caribbean, this relative deprivation is correlated with higher homicide rates. In particular, at-risk youth from poor households within unequal societies have a higher likelihood of engaging in criminal and violent behavior.[56] According to the UNODC, countries with high levels of poverty and income inequality are afflicted by homicide rates almost four times higher than more equal societies. Put more simply, poor countries with high levels of income inequality are more likely to also have high levels of violent crime.

Rapid and uncontrolled urbanization. A study of the patterns of victimization in LAC found that cities with rapid population growth had higher levels of violence than areas with more moderate growth.[57] Researchers concluded that this was a result of disorganization and poor urban planning. Research carried out in El Salvador, for example, showed that gangs grow in areas with urban crowding; a lack of public recreational facilities (particularly for young people); and inadequate basic services. Residential crowding may drive children and teens from homes into the streets, which then becomes the main source of socialization. This often results in the development of gangs.[58] Deteriorating public spaces also may be associated with gang presence and victimization.[59] Studies show that there are fewer gangs in communities with sports fields, community centers, and parks, than in others.[60]

Drug trafficking and organized crime. The smuggling, sale, and consumption of drugs have all increased in recent years. Drugs and violence are linked in three main ways: (1) the altered state generated by drug use can produce a loss of control and violent behavior; (2) drug abuse generates physical and psychological dependence, which often leads to criminal involvement as a way of supporting an addiction; and (3) gang members participate in drug networks and organized crime. "Drug hotspots," where the sale or transit of narcotics is high, have murder rates that are 111 percent higher than elsewhere.[61]

Although gangs and drugs are intricately linked in the minds of Central American law enforcement personnel, government officials, and the public, closer examination reveals a vastly more complex picture. According to the UNODC, there exist three different drug-involved groups in El Salvador: youth gang members (*pandilleros*); organized crime groups (*banderos*); and narcotics traffickers (*transeros*).[62] Some experts indicate that gangs serve as a local security apparatus for Mexican and Colombian cartels or as small-time informal street vendors, but they do not appear to be involved in

[56] Cunningham et al., 2008. "Youth at Risk," p. 142.
[57] Alejandro Gaviria and Carmen Pages, 1999, "Patterns of Crime Victimization in Latin America," Inter-American Development Bank Working Paper No. 408, p. 18 http://www.iadb.org/res/publications/pubfiles/pubwp-408.pdf
[58] M. Smut and JLE Miranda, 1998, "El fenómeno de las pandillas en El Salvador," San Salvador: UNICEF and FLACSO.
[59] José Miguel Cruz, Marlon Carranza, and María Santacruz Giralt, 2004, "El Salvador: Espacios públicos, confianza interpersonal y pandillas," in *Maras y pandillas en Centroamérica: Pandillas y capital social*, edited by ERIC, IDESO, IDIES, and IUDOP, San Salvador: UCA Editores.
[60] Ibid.
[61] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America," p. 22.
[62] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012. "Transnational Organized Crime in Central America and the Caribbean."

wholesaling or the large-scale movement of drugs. Others emphasize that many of the leaders of local drug organizations are ex-gang members.[63]

Research also suggests that involvement in drug trafficking has made gangs more violent in the last decade.[64] The UNODC estimates that more than 25 percent of homicides in the Americas are related to organized crime and gang activity, compared to just five percent of homicides in the Asian and European countries for which data are available.[65] Although the complex relationship between gangs and drugs is not fully understood, it is clear that areas where there is a high volume of illegal drug trafficking and use and little presence of law enforcement or state entities—the so-called "ungoverned spaces"—are at significantly higher risk of crime and violence.

Weak or ineffective criminal justice systems. In the LAC region, as discussed above, most crime goes unpunished, resulting in high levels of impunity and low levels of trust in the police. In Honduras, for example, according to a study conducted by the Alianza por la Paz y la Justicia (APJ), the rate of impunity between 2013-2013 reached 96 percent.[66] Similarly in Guatemala, between 96 to 98 percent of murders went unpunished in 2007, according to official statistics. [67] And in El Salvador, a recent investigation concluded that 85 percent of murders remained unpunished.[68] Yet, a large number of individuals are still being incarcerated, often for smaller crimes. Due to limited investments in the expansion and modernization of the prison infrastructure, high levels of incarceration have led to a problem of overcrowding. Experts say that roughly 60 percent of the prisons in the LAC region are overcrowded.[69] Prison overcrowding is not only a humanitarian problem, but also a roadblock to the potential rehabilitative power of effective corrections programming. Moreover, due to overcrowding, inmates responsible for smaller crimes end up sharing space and time with more serious offenders who teach them and engage them in criminal operations often organized from prisons.[70]

To a large extent, prison overcrowding is the result of an excessive use of imprisonment, which in turn results from delays in trials, the lack of alternative sentencing systems, the inadequacy or nonexistence of pretrial services to evaluate the degree of danger posed by the offender and his or her probability of flight, and the lack of protocols for determining when pretrial detention should be applied and how and

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[63] Dennis Rodgers, 2008, "Bismarckian transformations in contemporary Nicaragua: from gang member to drug dealer to legal entrepreneur," paper presented to the University of Sussex Centre for Violence and Justice interdisciplinary seminar, Feb. 13.

[64] Dennis Rodgers, 2006, "Living in the shadow of death: Gangs, violence, and social order in urban Nicaragua, 1996-2002," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38 (2), 27-92; Dennis Rodgers, 2007, "When vigilantes turn bad: Gangs, violence, and social change in urban Nicaragua," in D. Pratten and A. Sen (eds.), *Global Vigilantes*, London: Hurst.

[65] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide, 2011."

[66] Alianza por una Sociedad mas Justa (APJ). 2015. "Primer Informe APJ sobre Impunidad." P. 7. http://asjhonduras.com/webhn/tag/estudio-sobre-impunidad-en-honduras/

[67] Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), 2015. "The International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala. A WOLA report on the CICIG experience." P. 9. https://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/Citizen%20Security/2015/WOLA_CICIG_ENG_FNL_extra%20page.pdf

[68] See Jaime López, "El Salvador, un paraíso de impunidad en asesinatos." March, 21, 2016. ElSalvador.com. http://www.elsalvador.com/articulo/sucesos/salvador-paraiso-impunidad-asesinatos-105413

[69] Inter-American Development Bank, 2012, "Citizen Security: Conceptual Framework and Empirical Evidence," p. 14. https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/5684/Citizen%20Security-Conceptual%20Framework-Final.pdf?sequence=1

[70] For an interesting study on prisons in El Salvador see Marcelo Bergman, Luis Enrique Amaya, Gustavo Fondevilla, Carlos Vilalta. 2015. "Reporte de Cárceles en El Salvador. Perfiles Generales, Contexto Familiar, Circunstancias del proceso Penal y Condiciones de Vida en la Cárcel." Universidad Francisco Gavidia-Editores.

when decisions on precautionary measures should be reviewed.[71] In some countries, the police have lost their citizens' trust; for instance, nearly half of Hondurans and Salvadorans and two-thirds of Guatemalans believe that the local police are involved in crime.[72] In many LAC countries, a weak justice system encourages criminals to resort to violent means to settle disputes that could and should be settled in court.

RISK FACTORS AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

The next level of the social-ecological model examines the community contexts in which social relationships are embedded—such as schools, workplaces, and neighborhoods—and identifies the characteristics that are associated with being victims or perpetrators of violence. Many examples of community-level risk factors are based on a dearth of social cohesion. These risk factors include a lack of adequate government services, low secondary-school enrollment rates, violence in schools, and the availability of firearms.

Corruption and poor quality of public services. Most LAC countries, especially Central American countries, have pervasive and systemic problems of corruption. Government corruption contributes to poor public service provision, biased and compromised decision-making processes, and high levels of public distrust in government officials. Deficient service delivery contributes to poverty and income inequality, which further impedes the ability of citizens in poor families to improve their quality of life. Corruption particularly affects citizens in poor neighborhoods because they lack the capacity to substitute state services with private ones, like health and education. Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index in 2015 ranks Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, El Salvador, and Venezuela among the most corrupt countries in the world. It is not surprising that countries with high levels of corruption also have high levels of violence, gangs, and drug-trafficking problems. In poor areas that have limited opportunities for employment or economic advancement, illicit activities may offer an attractive and viable means of escaping poverty.

Low secondary-school enrollment rates. Juvenile delinquency is correlated with lower levels of education.[73] In addition to the loss of positive social influences from teachers and high-achieving peers, drop-outs also lose the ability to enter higher-paying jobs. Because of social and financial pressures, crime becomes a reasonable alternative.[74]

Figure 5 provides an overview of the percentage of secondary school-age children who were *not* enrolled in secondary school for select LAC countries and compared to the LAC average. Although secondary school enrollment rates have increased significantly, there remains significant room for improvement, particularly in Guatemala (where fewer than 29 percent of eligible secondary-school students are enrolled in school), Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Ecuador—all of which have rates of over 50 percent.

Low school enrollment is not a sole determinant of delinquency, as shown by the statistics for Panama and Nicaragua, but non-enrollment in school constitutes an important risk factor. In fact, completing

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[71] Ibid.

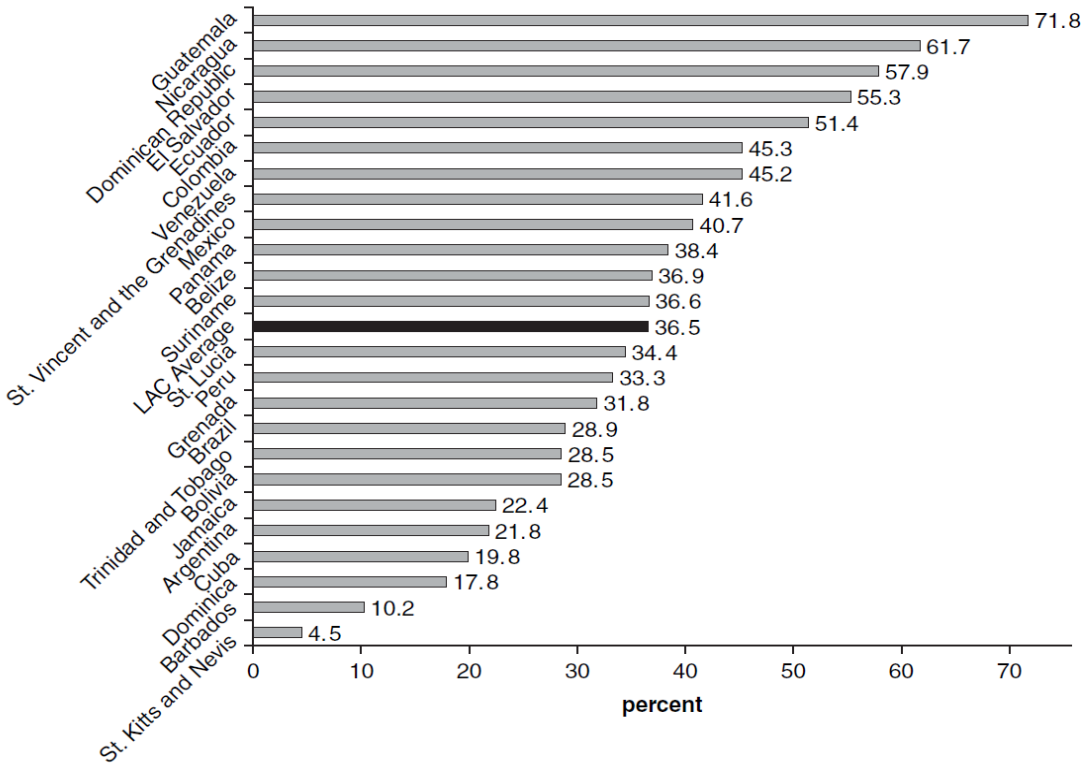
[72] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America," p. 14.

[73] Gary Barker and Miguel Fontes, 1996, "Review and Analysis of International Experience with Programs Targeted on At-risk Youth," *LASHC Paper Series* No. 5, Washington, D.C.: World Bank. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/473381468764362578/pdf/multi-page.pdf

[74] Zvi Eckstein and Kenneth I. Wolpin, 1999, "Why Youths Drop Out of High School: The Impact of Preferences, Opportunities, And Abilities," *Econometrica* 67 (6), 1295-1339.

secondary school has been proven to be one of the most important protective factors against risky youth behavior, including crime and violence.[75]

Figure 5: Percentage of Secondary School–aged Children Not Enrolled in School (average 1998–2004)



Source: Cunningham et al., 2008, "Youth at Risk," p. 77.

Violence in schools. Schools have been proven to serve as one of the most important protective factors in the lives of at-risk youth, but the use of corporal punishment by teachers and violence among students can inadvertently contribute to violence and serve as a risk factor. A poll of 1,000 middle and secondary school students in San Salvador found that approximately 15 percent are involved in at least one school fight in any given month, and almost 20 percent carry bats or sticks to school for self-defense.[76]

Availability of firearms. The widespread availability of firearms is a risk factor for crime and violence. When there are more firearms in circulation those at risk of violence are better able to obtain a weapon. In Central America, there are estimated to be more than three million small firearms in

[75] Cunningham et al., 2008. "Supporting Youth at Risk," p. 13.
[76] United Nations Development Programme, 2002, "Indicadores sobre violencia en El Salvador," San Salvador.

circulation, and more than half are owned illegally. Firearms are responsible for the majority of all reported homicides in Central America.[77]

RISK FACTORS AT THE RELATIONSHIP LEVEL

The next level of the ecological model explores how proximal social relationships may increase the risk for victimization and perpetration of crime and violence. Peers, intimate partners, and family members all have the potential to shape an individual's behavior and range of experience. Risk factors at the relationship level include poverty, a dysfunctional family environment, and having friends or acquaintances who become gang members.

Poverty. Although being raised in a well-to-do family does not guarantee that a young person will not become involved in criminal or violent behavior, it does reduce some of the risk factors. For example, poverty may cause one or both parents to migrate in the quest of better job opportunities or to be absent from the home for many hours each day to earn income, thereby reducing the influence of parents and weakening the family bonds that have been shown to be a strong protective factor. Coming from a poor household also may drive a young person to try to generate additional income via the illegal drug trade or other criminal activity. Furthermore, many poor families live in neighborhoods with drug sale points, another risk factor. It is not surprising that in 2014, the largest proportion of unaccompanied minors coming illegally to the United States came from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, some of the poorest and most violent nations in the LAC region.[78]

Dysfunctional family environment. A dysfunctional family environment includes violence, neglect, or abuse in the home, as well as abandonment by parents or other caregivers. Studies have shown exposure to violence in the home to be one of the most significant risk factors for violence; children who experience or observe violent behavior at home are more likely to engage in violent behavior themselves. The Study on Adverse Childhood Experiences in the United States, for example, has demonstrated through rigorous statistical research that children who experience multiple adverse conditions in the home are at higher risk for negative outcomes later in life. These adverse experiences include domestic violence, drug abuse, living in a household where a parent or a guardian is serving time in jail and death of a family member. [79] This is problematic in Central America, where domestic violence is widespread.[80] In LAC, studies have shown that domestic violence significantly increases the likelihood

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[77] An. Karp, 2008, "Estimated firearms distribution in 27 Latin America and Caribbean countries, 2007," unpublished background data, Geneva: Small Arms Survey; Arias Foundation, 2005, *Legislaciones Centroamericanas: Análisis Comparativo*, Costa Rica: Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano, August.

[78] In 2014, the flow of unaccompanied minors trying to enter the United States illegally escalated to unprecedented numbers. According to a study by the Congressional Research Center, in 2011, the border patrol apprehended 16,067 unaccompanied children at the southern border, compared to more than 68,500 in 2014. More than three-quarters of the minors (77 percent) were from El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. The World Bank estimates that Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador are among the poorest nations in LAC with 30 percent, 26 percent, and 17 percent of the population living on less than $2 a day, respectively.

[79] Felitti, V.J., Anda, R.F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D.F., Spitz, A.M., Edwards, V., & Koss, M. P. 1998. "Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many of the leading causes of death in adults: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study." American journal of Preventive Medicine 14(4), 245-258. http://www.ajpmonline.org/article/S0749-3797(98)00017-8/pdf. For more information on the ACE study, see the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention at: https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/acestudy/about_ace.html

[80] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America," p.3; Lauren Pak, "One in Four Condone Spousal Violence, Though Attitudes Vary across Countries and Individuals in the Americas." AmericasBarometer Insight, 2016. N. 127. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/insights/IO927en.pdf.

that a child will be the perpetrator of violent acts later in life, including domestic and other types of violence.[81]

Peers who are gang members. Studies show that young people who have relationships with peers who are gang members or who have criminal records are more likely than those without such relationships to join a gang.[82] Gangs often offer solidarity, respect, and sometimes access to money.[83]

RISK FACTORS AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

The innermost level of the social-ecological model focuses on personal characteristics that make an individual more likely to be a victim or a perpetrator of crime or violence. Individual level risk factors typically include those factors related to the cognitive, physiological, and behavioral nature of the individual, many of which are determined during the early childhood stage. The individual risk factors most highly associated with violence in the LAC region are *biological/demographic* (age and gender, marginalization, and/or living in single-parent households); *psychological/behavioral* (ability to regulate emotions, level of self-esteem, low intelligence, low educational achievement, early sexual initiation, and prior history of having engaged in or been a victim of aggression or abuse), and *environmental* (exposure to other's rage, being exposed to conflict or violence in the home, school desertion, and substance and alcohol abuse). Specific risk factors in the LAC region include youth unemployment and inactivity, alcohol abuse, lack of a positive identity, risky sexual behavior, and migration of parents and/or other caretakers.

Youth unemployment and inactivity. Studies have found a correlation between youth unemployment and risky behavior, including crime and violence, substance abuse, dropping out of school, and risky sexual activity.[84] One indicator that can be used to predict crime and violence is the "youth inactivity rate," which measures the percentage of youth who are neither in school nor working. Data on the inactivity rate for 19–24-year-olds in LAC countries show that it is much higher than the unemployment rate (see Figure 6). Youth who are inactive and are not adequately supervised by an adult have a higher probability of engaging in risky behavior, especially if they live in communities where gangs or other criminal organizations are present. These organizations often view inactive youth as an attractive pool of potential recruits.

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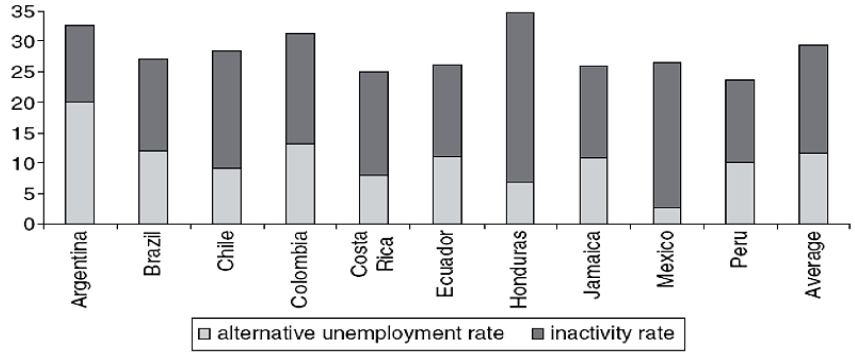
[81] Mayra Buvinic, Andrew Morrison, and Michael Shifter, 1999, "Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Framework for Action," Technical Study, Sustainable Development Department, Inter-American Development Bank, p. 11. https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/5280/Violence%20in%20Latin%20America%20and%20the%20Caribbean%3a%20A%20Framework%20for%20Action.pdf?sequence=1

[82] Smut and Miranda, 1998. "El fenómeno de las pandillas en El Salvador."

[83] Santacruz Giralt and Concha-Eastman, 2001, *Barrio adentro: La solidaridad violenta de las pandillas.* San Salvador: Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas. P.138 http://www.uca.edu.sv/publica/iudop/libros/barrioadentro.pdf

[84] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America," p.18.

Figure 6: Jobless Rates Disaggregated by Unemployment and Inactivity Rates for Youth Aged 19–24



Source: Cunningham et al., 2008, "Youth at Risk," p. 88.

Alcohol abuse. Alcohol abuse is a proven risk factor for being a victim or perpetrator of violence. Evidence shows that alcohol can increase the likelihood of violence in several ways. At the individual level, it reduces self-control and the ability to process information to assess risk. Alcohol also can increase impulsiveness, thereby increasing the likelihood that a person—especially a young person—will resort to violence. Lastly, alcohol is often involved in gang rituals, and high levels of alcohol use is one of the key risk factors for intimate partner violence.[85]

Lack of identity. The absence of positive role models at home and in the community can be a contributing factor to the decision to join a gang. In Central America—where many young people have been socially excluded from the educational system and labor market, who live in homes with no parents or whose parents have poor parenting skills, and live in communities where a culture of violence is the norm—youth may view gangs as the best and only option for socialization.[86] Gangs offer disaffected youth an opportunity to be part of a group, a sense of belonging, and a sense of purpose—all of which may not otherwise be available.

Risky sexual behavior. Risky sexual behavior, such as early sexual initiation, not practicing safe sex, or forced sexual initiation, pose costs to both the individual and society. These behaviors are associated with higher school dropout levels, adolescent pregnancy, and an increased likelihood of contracting HIV/AIDS and/or STIs. Research shows that adolescent mothers have a higher risk than older mothers of raising their children in poverty, due largely to the lower earning potential of teen parents. Evidence also demonstrates that children of adolescent mothers have more health and behavioral problems, lower cognitive development, and lower school achievement.[87] Although teen pregnancy rates in Central America have decreased substantially in the last two decades, they still remain some of the highest in the

[85] Cunningham et al., 2008. "Supporting Youth at Risk."

[86] José Miguel Cruz, 2008. "The impact of violent crime on the political culture of Latin America." The special case of Central America." In Mitchell A. Seligson, ed., C*hallenges to Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean: Evidence from the AmericasBarometer 2006–07.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University. P.219-251. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/multicountry/2006-challengestodemocracy.pdf

[87] Namkee Ahn, 1994, "Teenage Childbearing and High School Completion: Accounting for Individual Heterogeneity," *Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 26 Guttmacher Institute, p. 26.; Jeff Grogger and Stephen Bronars, 1993, "The Socioeconomic Consequences of Teenage Childbearing: Findings from a Natural Experiment," *Family Planning Perspectives* 25 (4), p. 156-61, Guttmacher Institute; Saul D. Hoffman, E. Michael Foster, and Frank F. Fustenberg, Jr., 1993, "Reevaluating the Cost of Child Bearing," *Demography* 30 (1), p. 1-13.

LAC region, with more than 100 births per 100,000 women in the 15–19 age group. A study carried out in the Caribbean showed that early initiation of intercourse was predictive of weapon-related violence and gang involvement among boys and girls, as well as alcohol use and running away among girls.[88] More recently, a study has analyzed the role of women in gangs concluding that although gangs are predominantly male organizations, some young women join gangs after entering a relationship with a gang member.[89]

Migration. Over the past decade there has been a marked trend in Central America in which one or both parents leave their children with friends or family and migrate to the United States in search of better opportunities. This is of particular concern because parental connectedness is one of the strongest protections against risky behavior amongst youth, including crime and violence. Studies have shown that youth who feel close to their families are about 10 percent less likely to engage in risk-taking behavior such as violence, smoking, alcohol and drug abuse, and risky sexual activity.[90] "Barrel children"—children with two parents who have migrated—are particularly at risk. The high number of Central American children without parental support is a fertile recruiting ground for gangs. Abandonment feelings also can transition to anger or rage, which can result in criminal and violent acts.

Gender, Crime, and Violence

Crime, violence, and their associated risk factors have different effects on males and females. Women and girls are more vulnerable to certain types of crime, such as domestic violence and sexual assault, and often bear the risks and disadvantages of teen pregnancy. Most gang members are male, but women and girls—especially in Central America—may play key roles and commit the same crimes as their male counterparts. Female gang members also may be subjected to sexual initiation rites, further compounding existing risk factors.

Donors' gender programming often focuses on increasing the rights of women and girls, their participation in education and the workforce, and their ability to plan their families. In Central America, gender programming must consider the special risk factors that boys and young men face that make them more prone to engage in crime and violence. Young men are more at risk than women of being victimized by some violent crimes, including homicide, and generally are more likely to commit crime.

[88] Sally-Ann Ohene, Marjorie Ireland, and Robert Wm. Blum, 2005, "The Clustering of Risk Behaviors among Caribbean Youth," *Maternal and Child Health Journal*.

[89] Female gang members are restricted to fulfilling traditional feminine roles imposed by a highly patriarchal and male dominated gang culture. Many gang members impregnate their girlfriends as a sign of male dominance. See Isabel Aguilar Umaña and Jeanne Rikkers, 2012. "Violent Women and Violence Against Women. Gender relations in the *maras* and other street gangs of Central America's Northern Triangle Region. Interpeace. 2012. http://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/2012_09_18_IfP_EW_Women_In_Gangs.pdf

[90] Robert Wm. Blum, 2002. "Adolescent Health in the Caribbean," unpublished paper, World Bank, Washington, D.C.

3.2 PROTECTIVE FACTORS

Central to the public health methodology to addressing crime and violence is the focus on *protective factors* that buffer individuals against the risks of becoming violent and increase their resilience when faced with the temptations of crime and violence. Like risk factors, protective factors exist at various levels. To date, protective factors have not been studied as extensively or rigorously as risk factors. In many cases, the protective factors are simply the opposite of the risk factors.

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has identified a number of protective factors[91]—grouped into individual, family-based, peer and social, and community-level—that are associated with lowering risk factors for youth violence:

Individual protective factors:

- Intolerance toward deviance
- High IQ
- High grade-point average (as an indicator of high academic achievement)
- Positive social orientation
- Highly developed social skills or competencies
- Highly developed skills for realistic planning.

Family-based protective factors:

- Connectedness to family and/or other adults
- Ability to discuss problems with parents
- High parental expectations about school performance
- Frequent shared activities with parents
- Consistent presence of parent during at least one of the following times: waking and getting up in the morning, arriving home from school, at evening mealtime, or going to bed
- Involvement in social activities
- Parental or family use of constructive strategies for coping with problems; the provision of models of constructive coping.

Peer and social protective factors:

- Strong, close, and positive relationships with teachers and classmates
- Commitment to school; an investment in school and in doing well at school
- Close relationships with nondeviant peers
- Membership in peer groups that do not condone antisocial behavior
- Involvement in prosocial activities
- Exposure to school environments characterized by supervision, clear rules for behavior, consistent negative reinforcement of aggression, and the engagement of parents and teachers.

Community-level protective factors:

- The existence of churches and other places of worship
- Community cohesion and civic participation

[91] http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/youthviolence/riskprotectivefactors.html

- Positive relationships between residents and law enforcement.

Even in high-crime environments, criminal and violent behavior is highly concentrated among few individuals. Evidence in the United States demonstrates that more than half of the children who live in high-risk areas or are surrounded by high-risk groups, develop relatively well and do not engage in criminal and/or violent behavior. This can be explained by the existence of protective factors that buffer and shield individuals against the risks they face in their families, neighborhoods and/or communities. A more balanced and comprehensive understanding of human behavior requires assessing the impact of both, risk and protective factors. Yet to-date, there is less empirical research on the factors that account for resiliency against crime and violence in the presence of risk factors.[92]

Crime and violence prevention programs should take into account both risk factors, driving individuals to criminal or violent behavior, and the protective factors that can effectively buffer these individuals in the face of risk and that can be leveraged to treat and rehabilitate those individuals who already engaged in criminal and violent behavior.

[92] Friedrich Lösel and David P. Farrington. 2012. "Direct Protective and Buffering Protective Factors in the Development of Youth Violence." American Journal of Preventive Medicine; 43(2), S8-S23. http://www.ajpmonline.org/article/S0749-3797(12)00338-8/pdf

PART 4: CRIME AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION INTERVENTIONS

4.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR MAPPING INTERVENTIONS

Much of the current knowledge of effective approaches and programs is based on country-specific evidence, most of which is from the United States and other developed countries. Because interventions that are effective in reducing criminal and violent behavior in the United States or other developed countries may not be equally effective in LAC, adaptations need to be made to respond to the particular set of risk factors in specific neighborhoods and communities, as well as the institutional and organizational infrastructure in each particular country.

Program managers can begin to design a crime and violence prevention program by mapping risk levels (at the individual, relationship, community, and societal levels) and prevention levels. The three levels of prevention are primarily defined by their target beneficiary population. Primary prevention interventions indiscriminately target the entire population no matter their specific risk of becoming a victim or perpetrator or crime or violence. Secondary interventions focus on individuals or groups with several risk factors for crime and violence. Tertiary interventions target individuals who have already engaged in or become victim to criminal or violent behavior. Many interventions can be used at various levels of prevention depending on their target beneficiaries.

The interventions presented below are not exhaustive, but are meant to emphasize the spectrum of possible solutions and with which populations they can be used. Moreover, one strategy on its own is unlikely to be sufficient to address crime and violence. On the contrary, effectively addressing the many causes and effects of crime and violence usually requires multiple and concurrent approaches.[93]

The matrix in Annex B combines risk factors with levels of interventions to map examples of crime and violence prevention interventions that have proven to be effective—and less effective—in various countries. In the following pages, we describe a few programs that have been successful at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of intervention.

Early childhood development (ECD) programs (Primary). ECD programs attempt to improve the capacity of young children to develop and learn. Approaches include basic nutrition; health care; activities designed to stimulate children's mental, verbal, physical, and psychosocial skills; and parenting skills training. ECD programming is based on research that shows that most brain development occurs within the first five years of life and that brain stimulation during these early years greatly influences cognitive, linguistic, social, and psychological development. ECD interventions can take place at home, in community centers, or at preschools or other educational settings. Common interventions include health care and nutrition; cognitive, social, and emotional stimulation; and—most important—effective parenting training. Programs targeted to children in their very early years (0 to 3 years) focus primarily on the parent and may include parental education and support while programs targeting children 3 to 5 years of age are usually preschool- or community center–based and run by trained teachers.[94]

[93] Thomas Abt and Christopher Winship. 2016. "What Works in Reducing Community Violence."P.14.
[94] World Bank Early Child Development web site: http://go.worldbank.org/AP9EZQVHD0

Parenting programs (Primary, secondary). Effective parenting typically provides children with four essentials: warmth, structure, autonomy support, and development support. *Warmth* is the degree to which a parent successfully communicates love and acceptance to his or her child. *Structure* is the degree to which parents have expectations and set rules for their child's behavior. *Autonomy support* is the degree to which parents accept and encourage their child's individuality, particularly as children begin to break away from parents during adolescence. *Development support* is the degree to which parents foster and enhance their child's capacity for emotional and logical thinking.[95] Parenting training is structured around these four realms.

Parenting skills training can be a separate intervention or part of a broader multiservice prevention program for at-risk youth. The most common types of parenting training programs include home visitation programs that target for new parents of infants and toddlers and therapy sessions for families of older children exhibiting delinquent behavior.

Home visitation programs are often included in ECD programs. In these programs, a parent educator provides training, counseling, and monitoring to families of young children. The main goal is to promote healthy child development by providing parents with knowledge and encouraging positive child-rearing techniques. Some programs seek to improve the lives of parents (and thus children) by providing job placement assistance and support to continue their education or delay pregnancy. Home visitation programs vary greatly in terms of the age of the participants and the duration and intensity of the services provided; evidence suggests that the earlier such programs are offered to families and the longer their duration, the greater the benefits.

Family therapy programs also vary in design and content. Most programs aim to empower parents by giving them the skills and resources they need to raise teenagers to be productive members of society and to empower teens to cope with family, peer, school, and neighborhood problems. These programs focus on changing maladaptive or dysfunctional patterns of family interaction and communication, including negative parenting behavior, which is one of the primary risk factors for youth violence.

Life skills training (Primary, secondary, tertiary). Life skills fall into three basic categories: (1) social and interpersonal skills, such as communication, negotiation and refusal, assertiveness, cooperation, empathy, and effective work habits; (2) cognitive skills, such as problem solving, understanding causal relationships, decision making, critical thinking, respect for difference, tolerance, healthy life style decisions, and self-evaluation; and (3) emotional coping skills, such as managing stress and conflict, dealing with bullying, and managing feelings and moods.[96] Life skills training may address all of these categories or skills or may focus on a single one.

Life skills training can be provided either as a program on its own or as a component of a program designed to achieve other youth development goals, such as job training or violence prevention. A formal life skills curriculum can be taught at school, by job training institutions, or as part of community development projects or youth leadership training programs.[97] Providers of life skills training programs ideally should be capable facilitators. Such facilitators need to exhibit respect for young people and have

[95] Pan American Health Organization, 2005, "Youth: Choices and Change. Promoting Healthy Behavior in Adolescents," Scientific and Technical Publication No. 594, Washington, D.C.
[96] Pan American Health Organization, 2001, "Life Skills Approach to Child and Adolescent Human Development," Washington, D.C.
[97] A. Hahn, T. Leavitt, and S. Lanspery, 2006, "Toward a Toolkit Brief: The Importance of Life Skills Training to Assist Vulnerable Groups of Youth in the Latin America and Caribbean Region," October.

warm, supportive, and enthusiastic personalities. The most effective life skills programs apply the skills to issues that are relevant to the young person's social circumstances and stage of development.

School-based violence prevention programs (Primary, secondary, tertiary). School-based prevention programs can serve all students within a school or target at-risk youth who are failing in school or are frequently absent. There are many successful school-based violence prevention programs, but four types are worth highlighting because of their growing success: (1) afterschool programs; (2) arts programs; (3) gender-based violence prevention programs; and (4) gang violence prevention programs.[98]

- ***Improving school quality.*** Improving school quality has been shown to improve secondary school completion rates. These efforts may include strengthening the connection between school and work, improving teacher training and professionalism, reducing teacher absenteeism, and involving the local community in monitoring the performance of both teachers and students. Peer tutoring programs, informal education, infrastructure improvement, and accessibility and safety improvement may also help to increase school attendance rates.

- ***Afterschool programs.*** Afterschool programs typically are offered by schools or nongovernmental organizations. Many afterschool programs start immediately after classes end on normal school days. The orientation and content of afterschool programs vary widely. They may be delivered by certified teachers, youth workers, or adolescent leaders. Afterschool programs also include daycare centers with programs specifically designed for the care and well-being of school-aged children before and after school, on weekends, and during vacation periods. In most places, these are subject to state and/or municipal licensing requirements with regard to physical facilities, staffing, etc. Some afterschool programs focus on youth development, promoting positive development in one or several areas, such as affective relationships, self-expression, or creative expression. Youth development programs often build on strengths and focus on their attitudes and skills.

- ***Arts programs.*** There is a growing body of evidence that arts can have a significant effect on decreasing violent behavior by at-risk children and youth. For those who have personally experienced violence, the arts may provide a means for openly expressing emotions in a safe environment. Participation in arts programs can help students to overcome the obstacles of their underprivileged backgrounds. Several studies show that at-risk youth who participate in after-school artistic activities are more likely to participate in other school activities, attend school on time, and have better academic results. Studies also suggest that arts programs may help young people learn to express their anger appropriately and communicate more effectively. Comparative studies show that young people in arts programs participated less in criminal behavior, had higher self-esteem, were more self-sufficient, and showed greater resistance to negative peer pressure.

- ***Gender-based violence prevention programs.*** Schools and communities can play important roles in preventing gender violence by developing, in both young women and young men, the skills to enter into healthy relationships, promoting positive relationships among couples and family members, encouraging communication, helping to develop of self-esteem, and building anger management and conflict resolution skills. Schools and other community groups can also help

[98] World Bank, 2011, "School-Based Violence Prevention in Urban Communities of LAC. Practical Guide." http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/LACEXT/EXTLACREGTOPURBDEV/0,,contentMDK:23154339~pagePK:34004173~piPK:34003707~theSitePK:841043,00.html.

encourage violence prevention by challenging discriminatory policies, cultural norms, and attitudes that are accepting of or conducive to violence.

- *Gang violence prevention programs.* Violence prevention programs may focus on gangs and/or the neighborhoods where gangs operate. Many gang prevention programs are school-based. They may focus on mitigating risk factors by providing training to teachers in violence prevention and personal development, with the emphasis on the formation of new (nonviolent) masculinities as a cross-cutting theme of the school curriculum. In addition, drug use prevention programs for students may be effective in reducing drug abuse, drug trafficking, and gang involvement. In addition, programs sponsored by schools, law enforcement, and/or other sectors of the community may focus on preventing the formation of gangs and/or promoting their disbanding by means of conflict mediation and processes of reconciliation. Workshops on preventing crime, promoting human safety, and providing agreed-upon strategies for youth to leave gangs without endangering their own safety may help reduce the level of gang activity.

  Finally, any initiatives that encourage the constructive use of leisure time can make gang involvement less attractive. Sports, environmental, recreational, and community and cultural activities (painting, puppet shows, arts festivals, mural painting, theater, circus, dance and environmental productions) help engage young people of all ages in positive pursuits. Community volunteer work and technical training (such as electricity, computers, carpentry, or cooking) may provide young people with marketable skills.

Many violence prevention programs focus on providing community members with knowledge about causal factors and the skills they need to address these causal factors. Such programs focus on developing life skills in parents, teachers, school principals and administrators, students, community leaders, and journalists by offering training on subjects such as self-esteem, values, strengthening the family unit, handling emotions, practices for coexistence and peaceful conflict resolution, sensitivity, respect, assertive communication, and human development (nurturing, building self-esteem, ethics, and citizenship). Training may also be provided on specific subjects such as the prevention and treatment of abuse, especially child sexual abuse, and the risk factors of owning and using firearms.

Media campaigns (Primary). Antiviolence marketing campaigns may use mass media, as well as specialized communication techniques such as behavior change communication (BCC) and interpersonal communication (IPC). BCC combines commercial marketing and advertising techniques with messages that promote knowledge and reinforce healthy behaviors. IPC is a communication approach that engages a trained facilitator to change the behavior of a target population by addressing the underlying causes of risk and to increase skills and self-efficacy among this target group. All of these techniques are designed to provide young people with the knowledge and skills to protect themselves, increase their self-efficacy, and ultimately prevent them from engaging in risky behavior. National media campaigns also have been undertaken to facilitate a change in negative social norms, such as domestic violence and corporal punishment, or gender norms that contribute to gender-based or sexual violence. Media campaigns also can help teach effective parenting skills and show parents and others how to be positive role models.[99]

Community policing (Primary, secondary). Community policing makes police more responsive and accountable to local communities, enhancing trust between citizens and law enforcement entities, increasing the probability that citizens will report crime, and reducing police corruption and abuse. The strategy responds to three basic issues that may be contributing factors in crime or violence: (1) citizens'

[99] Cunningham et al., 2008, "Supporting Youth at Risk," p. 33.

lack of satisfaction and with police services and low levels of trust in the police; (2) the ineffectiveness of traditional patrol and investigation in reducing crime; and (3) low police morale, particularly among foot patrols due to the low importance of patrols.[100] International research on the impact of community policing interventions on crime rates offers mixed results however. Successful community policing programs can revitalize police forces, increase citizens' perception of safety, and enhance the image of the police, however in Latin America and the Caribbean police forces have faced serious challenges in implementing the necessary institutional adaptations to make the community policing model fully operational.[101]

Situational prevention (Primary, secondary). Situational prevention interventions have been used in neighborhoods and places at high risk of violence. The underlying assumption of this approach is that the occurrence of crime is related to the environment and therefore can be reduced by modifying the contextual or physical environment.

- ***Limits on alcohol sales.*** Experiences in Brazil and Colombia suggest that imposing curfews on alcohol sales may reduce murders and assaults.[102] The alcohol policy of Diadema, Brazil (pop. 350,000), which prohibits alcohol sales after 11:00 pm, for instance, has resulted in a drop in the murder rate by eleven murders a month.[103]

- ***Crime Prevention through Environmental Design.*** Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) encourages incorporating preventive features in urban design and housing to decrease opportunities for crime and increase risks for potential offenders (by making it harder to commit a crime and easier to detect and apprehend criminals). CPTED theory has been evolving. Today, there is a second-generation CPTED theory with five fundamental tenets: "(i) natural control of access points: the opportunity for crime is reduced by limiting the number of access points to a public space; (ii) natural surveillance: the appropriate design of windows in houses, the lighting and design of public spaces, should all enhance residents' capacity to observe activity going on in their area; (iii) maintenance: management plans to maintain the infrastructure of public spaces; (iv) territorial reinforcement: feelings of attachment that residents form towards their immediate neighborhood and that might be harnessed to inspire them to look after it; and (v) community involvement: participation of the community to activate social control mechanisms."[104]

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[100] Hugo Fruhling, 2009. "Research on Latin American Police. Where do we go from here?" Police Practice and Research, Vol. 10, issue 5-6, p. 465-481.

[101] Hugo Fruhling. 2012. "A realistic look at Latin American community policing programmes," Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy, 22:1, 76-88; World Health Organization, "Youth Violence and Alcohol Fact Sheet," Geneva: World Health Organization, 2003; Cunningham et al., "Supporting Youth at Risk;" Ronald D. Hunter and Thomas Barker, *Police-Community Relations and the Administration of Justice*, 8th ed., New York: Prentice Hall, 2011.

[102] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America," p. 26.

[103] Inter-American Development Bank, 2012. "Citizen Security: Conceptual Framework and Empirical Evidence," p. 23.

[104] Nathalie Alvarado and Beatriz Abizanda, 2010, "An Integrated Approach to Safety, Security, and Citizens' Coexistence," in Eduardo Rojas, ed., *Building Cities: Neighborhood Upgrading and Urban Quality of Life*, Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank, Cities Alliance, and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University; Inter-American Development Bank, "Citizen Security: Conceptual Framework and Empirical Evidence," p. 21.

Mentoring programs for at-risk youth (Primary, secondary, tertiary). Mentoring programs consist of assigning an adult to provide support and guidance to a young person or people at risk of criminal or violent behavior. Mentoring programs are occasionally free-standing interventions, but also should be a formal or informal part of youth development programs. The most common type of mentoring program is one-to-one, community-based mentoring, but programs may also provide group mentoring in which one mentor is assigned to work with several young people; team mentoring in which more than one person works with the same young person; online mentoring in which at-risk youth are matched with a mentor online; and peer mentoring in which adolescents mentor younger children. On-location programs are based at public spaces including schools, hospitals, community centers, or other sites. Mentors are usually volunteers recruited from businesses, schools, and other community settings.[105]

Comprehensive job training programs for at-risk youth (Primary, secondary, tertiary). At-risk youth also benefit from job training, which usually take one of two forms: skills training or comprehensive multiservice training. Skills training may include vocational training, apprenticeships, or second-chance/education-equivalency programs that aim to build the technical knowledge and skills of young people. Comprehensive multiservice training programs go beyond technical training to include developing a young person's skills as a worker. These programs may provide general skills training, life skills, job search and placement assistance, self-employment services, and other support.

Skills training programs are more prevalent than comprehensive multiservice training programs, but the latter have had more success, particularly in developing countries. Examples of these types of programs include *Jóvenes con Rumbo* in Mexico, *Entra 21* and the *Jóvenes* programs in Argentina, Chile, and Peru.[106]

Violence interruption (Secondary, tertiary). Violence interruption uses the same three techniques used to reverse the outbreak of an epidemic disease, namely, interrupting transmission, reducing risk, and changing community norms. A description of the violence interruption model is provided below, based on the Cure Violence Program (formerly Ceasefire). This model violence interruption program began in the United States and has been replicated internationally, including in Latin America and the Caribbean.

- ***Detect and interrupt potentially violent actions.*** Trained violence interrupters and outreach workers prevent shootings by identifying and mediating potentially lethal conflicts in the community. Whenever a shooting happens, for instance, trained workers meet with victims, their friends and family, and others connected to the event in the community and at the hospital. The focus is to cool emotions and prevent retaliation. Workers also talk to key people in the community about ongoing disputes, arrests, prison releases, and other situations that may trigger violence. Mediation techniques are used to resolve conflicts peacefully. Workers also provide follow-up for as long as needed, sometimes for months, to ensure that a conflict does not heat up again and become violent.
- ***Identify and treat highest risk.*** Trained, culturally-appropriate outreach professionals work with the highest-risk individuals to address the issues that make them likely to commit violence. Workers meet these individuals where they are, talk to them about the high costs and serious consequences of violence, and help them obtain the social services they need, such as job

[105] Lisa Foster, 2001, "Effectiveness of Mentor Programs, Review of the Literature from 1995-2000," Sacramento, CA: California Research Bureau, p. 13. https://www.library.ca.gov/crb/01/04/01-004.pdf
[106] United States Agency for International Development, 2014, "Pillar IV Assessment of Crime Prevention Models in Mexico," Bethesda, MD: Democracy International; Cunningham et al., "Supporting Youth at Risk," p. 49.

training or drug treatment. Workers often work intensively with a few high-risk individuals. Workers may meet with the people on their caseload several times a week.

- ***Mobilize the community to change norms.*** Workers engage community leaders, residents, local business owners, faith leaders, service providers, and the individuals at high risk of engaging in violent behavior to convey the message that violence should not be viewed as normal but as a behavior that can be changed. When a shooting occurs, for instance, workers organize a response where community members voice their objection to the shooting and to violence in general. Workers coordinate with existing block clubs, tenant councils, and neighborhood associations and help to create these where they do not exist. Finally, the program distributes materials and hosts events to convey the message that violence is unacceptable under any circumstance.

Incentive programs to complete secondary schooling (Secondary, tertiary). Encouraging the completion of school can (1) help mitigate crime and violence in the short-term by providing youth, especially those at a high risk to become involved in violence, with a constructive activity that takes up most of their day and keeps them off the street, and (2) over the longer term by providing skills that make these students more employable. There are a number of policies that can improve secondary school completion rates, particularly when implemented together.

- ***Financial incentives.*** Financial incentives, such as conditional cash transfers, school vouchers, loans, grants, individual learning accounts, school supplies, and free public transportation to school, to increase the demand for secondary school and offset competing demands such as work and child care.

- ***Second Chance Incentives.*** *Second-chance* or education equivalency programs help drop-out or failing students. These programs include comprehensive educational and vocational programs that provide students with an opportunity to complete high school and enter tertiary education or the labor market. Education equivalency programs can help address supply-and-demand constraints that lead many young people worldwide to discontinue their education before they have acquired necessary basic skills needed to succeed outside of school. The primary goal of these programs is to expand access to education opportunities while also offering basic life and technical skills. Improved skills allow at-risk youth to complete school and enter the labor market, thereby facilitating their reintegration into society. Benefits of offering educational equivalency degrees include increasing a young person's chance of gaining employment and tertiary education opportunities by showing employers and administrators that the student has the skills, drive, stamina, and determination to complete such a degree.[107]

  Equivalency programs differ from traditional education programs in several ways. They target school dropouts as opposed to all youth, provide a flexible structure, and offer lower-cost teaching methods and specially designed teaching materials. Program implementers can adapt education equivalency programs to accommodate the local context by changing the management structure (private versus public), role and qualifications of teachers (using community volunteers rather than certified teachers), the program's content, accreditation requirements, and use of technology. For equivalency programs to be most effective, they must be available and accessible to all school dropouts and focus on educational attainment. To assure credibility among

[107] World Bank, 2007, "The Promise of Youth: Policy for Youth at Risk in Latin America and the Caribbean," Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

employers and others, an educational equivalency degree should have the same or similar qualifications as a traditional degree.

Focused Deterrence (Secondary, tertiary). These interventions involve using data and intelligence to identify specific groups of offenders within a community. Then law enforcement agencies, service providers and community representatives form a multi-sector task force to approach these offenders and their families. Law enforcement officials communicate directly and repeatedly with offending groups, informing them that they are under scrutiny, that their behavior (such as shootings) will trigger responses, and that they can avoid such responses by changing their behavior. Much of this communication occurs during "forums," "notifications," or "call-ins"—a key feature of focused deterrence. During these meetings, the multisector task force engages with offending group members face-to-face, placing them on notice that their actions will have either positive or negative consequences, both for themselves individually and for the entire group.[108] Focused deterrence has been shown (through decreased homicide rates) to effectively deter violent behavior. The effectiveness of this method results from communicating directly with offending individuals and groups, explicitly stating boundaries and consequences, and following up with enforcement.[109]

Alternative dispute resolution (ADR) (Secondary, tertiary). Alternative dispute resolution refers to a defined means of settling disputes outside of the formal courtroom. It typically includes arbitration, mediation/conciliation and early neutral evaluation.[110] ADR has gained widespread acceptance for civil matters, particularly as an alternative to litigation, especially when complex procedures undermine the effectiveness of formal court proceedings. It has thus become an important means for reducing a backlog of cases. ADR has several advantages over traditional legal proceedings. It may be an expeditious solution for illiterate and/or poor people who cannot navigate conventional legal channels. Also, because some ADR mechanisms are less formal and less expensive than traditional formal legal procedures, they may better reach a more geographically dispersed population.[111]

- ***Specialized Courts and Diversion.*** Because juvenile incarceration can lead to lower educational completion and a higher likelihood of adult recidivism,[112] diversion of offenders from the penitentiary system in the case of minor offenses has become increasingly popular. These programs – which include youth and drug courts – are designed to limit an individual's exposure to negative influences within penitentiary systems. Evaluations of these interventions have significantly improved recidivism rates for juveniles even when they become adults.[113]

- ***Restorative justice.*** Restorative justice is a community-based alternative justice that engages the offender, victim(s), and members of the community in face-to-face meetings. The offender is

[108] Braga and Weisburd. 2012. "The Effects of 'Pulling Levers' Focused Deterrence Strategies on Crime." The Campbell Collaboration, March 2012. https://nnscommunities.org/old-site-files/Braga_Pulling_Levers_Review_CAMPBELL_RECORD.pdf
[109] Abt and Winship. 2016. "What Works in Reducing Community Violence." P.20.
[110] For more information regarding ADR, please see: "The Public Wants to be Involved: A Roundtable Conversation about Community and Restorative Justice," Center for Court Innovation, 2012, http://www.courtinnovation.org/sites/default/files/documents/Community%20Justice%20Roundtable%20report_final%202.pdf
[111] World Bank, 2011, "Crime and Violence in Central America."
[112] Anna Aizer and Joseph J. Doyle, Jr. 2013. "Juvenile Incarceration, Human Capital, and Future Crime: Evidence from randomly assigned judges." Working Paper 19102. http://nber.org/papers/w19102
[113] For more information on diversion and specialized courts: http://www.crimesolutions.gov/TopicDetails.aspx?ID=49

encouraged to accept responsibility for having harmed the victim. A restorative justice conference is usually conducted in three phases: first, the offender speaks to accept responsibility; then, others explain how they were affected; and finally, the group collectively decides what they will do to prevent it from happening again."[114] By prioritizing the needs of victims and holding offenders accountable, restorative justice focuses on repairing harm and restoring relationships.

Restitution or punishment for offenders often consists of community projects (for example, park cleanup). Offenders may also receive rehabilitation services, such as drug treatment, mental health counseling, and/or job training. By promoting the rehabilitation of offenders, restorative justice contributes to building trust in the justice system, strengthening informal social controls that make neighborhoods safer, and preventing future violence or disruption.

Restorative justice has been tested both as an alternative and as a supplement to prosecution for a variety of different types of crimes, criminals, and stages of rehabilitation.[115] In addition to being cost-effective, restorative justice may help avoid overdependence on incarceration for offenders who commit minor crimes and who could serve alternative sentences.

Rehabilitation programs (Secondary, tertiary). There are a number of rehabilitation programs that can help reduce crime and violence. Among the most effective is *cognitive behavioral therapy*, which generally involves a mix of cognitive skills training, anger management, and supplementary components related to social skills, moral development, and relapse prevention for offenders. In addition, *drug treatment in prison* has been shown to significantly decrease recidivism.[116] Both of these can be used with either at-risk populations or populations who have already offended.

Drug courts (Secondary, tertiary). Drug courts are specialized courts that prosecute drug-related offenses. They often focus on treating drug addiction with rigorous monitoring. Drug courts use a system of graduated rewards and sanctions to help substance abusers attain and maintain a drug-free life. Drug courts offer an alternative to incarceration of addicts, which may not only help address prison overcrowding, but also prevent nonviolent offenders from becoming socialized in more violent ways. A systematic study of 55 tests of drug courts found that diversion or referral to special drug courts decreased repeat offenses by approximately one third more than more conventional procedures. Diversion of these cases to drug courts also showed to be more cost effective than resorting to conventional justice procedures.[117]

WHAT DOES NOT PREVENT CRIME AND VIOLENCE?

As the matrix in Annex B illustrates, evaluation of crime and violence prevention programs has shown some approaches to be ineffective or even counterproductive. One of the most ineffective approaches is the use of "scare tactics." In the Scared Straight Program, for instance, youth prison inmates were treated to harsh and unpleasant prison conditions. After an evaluation of this program in the U.S.

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[114]For an analysis of interesting experiences in restorative justice interventions see Center for Court Innovation. http://www.courtinnovation.org/topic/restorative-justice. See also Robert V. Wolf, 2012. "Widening the Circle. Can Peacemaking Work outside of Tribal Communities?" A Guide for Planning. Center for Court Innovation. http://www.courtinnovation.org/sites/default/files/documents/PeacemakingPlanning_2012.pdf

[115] Inter-American Development Bank, 2012. "Citizen Security: Conceptual Framework and Empirical Evidence," p. 31.

[116] Inter-American Development Bank, 2012. "Citizen Security: Conceptual Framework and Empirical Evidence," p. 33.

[117]Ibidem. p. 31.

showed it was ineffective, the U.S. Department of Justice discouraged the use of this program or programs that use similar scare tactics.[118] Another U.S.-based program that has been found to be ineffective is Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) in which police officers educated students about the dangers of illegal drug use. In a controlled trial, DARE was found to have no effect on marijuana use and to promote alcohol use among school-aged children.[119]

In Latin America and the Caribbean, *mano dura* and other iron-fisted approaches have been shown to be among the least effective policy options.[120] Although the goal of *mano dura* is to get offenders off the streets by incarcerating them for longer periods of time, evaluations show an increase in criminal behavior over time in places where *mano dura* has been implemented.

There are particularly serious issues to be considered with incarcerating young and first-time offenders. Evaluations carried out in the United States comparing adult correctional institutions to those designed for young people showed that young people in the adult correctional institutions are eight times more likely to commit suicide, five times more likely to be sexually assaulted, twice as likely to be beaten by staff, and 50 percent more likely to be attacked by a weapon than those in institutions for young people. In addition, recidivism rates are higher among the adult prison populations.[121] Regardless of whether young people are in juvenile or adult prisons, incarceration is highly correlated with future criminal behavior—even more so than factors such as gang affiliation, weapons possession, or family dysfunction.[122] Research also reveals that juvenile confinement increases the likelihood of troubled youth making a violent transition to adulthood. Furthermore, incarcerated youth achieve less academically and are employed more sporadically than peers who have committed the same offense and were sentenced to programs that focused on drug treatment, individual counseling, or community service.[123]

In a recent study of crime and violence prevention programs in the United States, Thomas Abt and Christopher Winship conclude that ineffective interventions share several elements:

- **Generality.** Some approaches lack appropriate targeting strategies and may end up both helping those who do not need it and punishing those who do not deserve it.

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[118] For additional information, see https://www.ncjrs.gov/html/ojjdp/news_at_glance/234084/topstory.html

[119] Zili Sloboda, et al., 2009, "The Adolescent Substance Abuse Prevention Study: A Randomized Trial of a Universal Substance Abuse Prevention Program," *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 102, p. 1-10.

[120] World Bank, 2006. "Crime, Violence and Economic Development in Brazil: Elements for Effective Public Policy," Report No. 36525, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2006; Steven Dudley, 2010. "How Mano Dura is strengthening gangs," *Insight Crime*, November 21, 2010, http://www.insightcrime.org/investigations/how-mano-dura-is-strengthening-gangs.

[121] Donna M., 2000, "Juvenile Bishop Offenders in the Adult Criminal Justice System," in Michael Tonry, ed., *Youth Violence, Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, vol. 27, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 81-168; Donna M. Bishop; Charles E. Frazier, 2000, "The Consequences of Waiver," in Jeffrey Fagan and Franklin E. Zimring, eds., *The Changing Borders of Juvenile Justice: Transfer of Adolescents to the Criminal Court*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 227-276; United States Surgeon General, 2001, *Youth Violence: A Report of the Surgeon General*, Rockville, MD: United States Office of the Surgeon General, http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK44294/; World Health Organization, 2002.

[122] Benda and Tollet, 1999. "A Study of Recidivism of Serious and Persistent Offenders among Adolescents." In Journal of Criminal Justice, 27, n. 3, p.111-126.

[123] Barry Holman and Jason Ziedenberg, 2006. "The Dangers of Detention: The Impact of Incarcerating Youth in Detention and Other Secure Facilities." A Justice Policy Issue Report. http://www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/dangers_of_detention.pdf

- **Reactivity.** Punishing violence after the fact is necessary but not sufficient. It is important to prevent crime and violence *before* it happens.
- **Illegitimacy.** If stakeholders perceive the intervention to be illegitimate, it will not be sustainable. In Latin America and the Caribbean this may be important when considering law enforcement activities that engage the police force without engaging the community.
- **Lack of capacity.** Well-designed interventions fail when they lack the capacity to implement them at the local level or there are insufficient resources to carry them to completion.
- **Lack of theory of change.** Without a theory of change that links activities to results and lower-level results to higher-level outcomes, the intervention will lack a roadmap for success, making it more difficult for implementers to effectively guide their programming and address obstacles.[124]

[124] Abt and Winship, 2016. "What Works in Reducing Community Violence," p. 19.

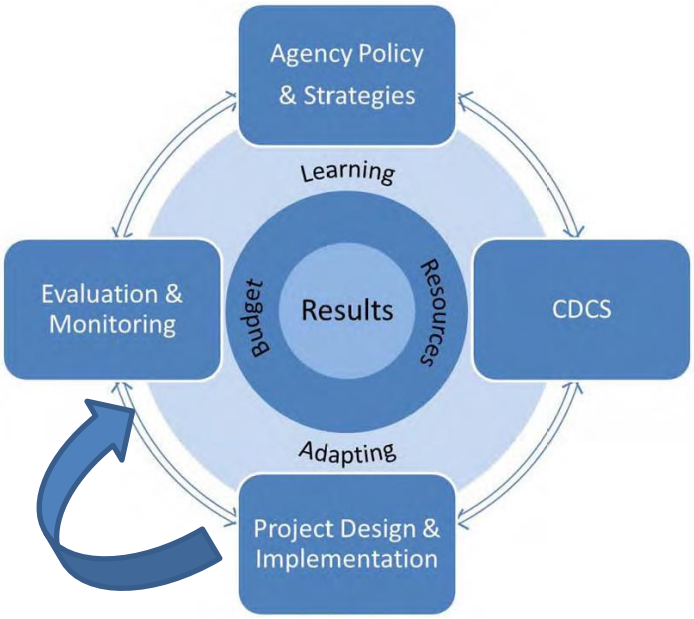
PART 5: DESIGNING AND IMPLEMENTING CRIME AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES

Research and operational experience has demonstrated that crime and violence can be substantially reduced through well-planned, cross-sectoral strategies that combine law enforcement and prevention interventions. Effective strategies coordinate with health, education, economic, and other sectors; focus on the most critical risk factors; are implemented by different levels of government (national and local); and include citizen participation. Reducing incidences of crime and violence and improving citizen security are long-term goals, but shorter-term interventions can have significant impact in lowering risk factors, reducing fears of victimization, and fostering trust in public institutions. To achieve long- and short-term goals, it is critical that planners of crime and violence prevention interventions use available data to analyze the dynamics of a particular community; identify realistic and relevant goals and objectives; establish measurable indicators; and apply a well-articulated theory of change to design and plan activities.

Designing and implementing crime and violence prevention projects and activities should be rooted in the USAID Program Cycle, an agency-wide programming process introduced to maximize results and increase development effectiveness. This is a strategic and evidence-based approach based on continuous learning and adaptation. The four components of the program cycle, shown in Figure 7, should be integrated into program planning. This will ensure that project design and implementation decisions are informed by policies and strategic priorities and that results of monitoring and evaluation of project implementation can in turn provide useful feedback for future policy and strategic decisions and further project design and implementation.

At the outset of the USAID Program Cycle, USAID defines policies and strategies in alignment with higher-level policies. These policies and strategies determine which global development challenges should be addressed. Then, the Country Development Cooperation Strategy (CDCS) for each country or regional mission defines the development results that missions should achieve, and a theory of change explains why these results will have a strategic impact. Defining the project cycle, project design and implementation will identify how best to achieve those results and what tools should be used. Evaluation and monitoring, supported by broader learning and adaptation, provide evidence and data regarding whether the intended impact was achieved and why (or why not), ultimately informing future policy direction, budgeting, and the other core components of the program cycle.

Figure 7: USAID Program Cycle



This Field Guide, as illustrated by the arrow in Figure 7, provides more detailed information on the last two components of the USAID Project Cycle: project design and implementation and monitoring and evaluation. Well-designed crime and violence prevention projects are rooted in robust analysis, the articulation of a theory of change explaining the causal linkages between activities and expected results, and the identification of appropriate and relevant performance indicators (output and outcome) to monitor and track implementation and evaluate results.

In this section, we unpack the project design and implementation component of the USAID Program Cycle by identifying three phases: (1) analysis, (2) the articulation of a theory of change, and (3) designing a monitoring and evaluation plan. Then, following USAID's evaluation policy, we elaborate on how to monitor and evaluate crime and violence prevention projects.

> *"The quality and utility of an evaluation are dependent upon a well-designed and implemented project. The results and impact achieved by projects are dependent upon a well-conceived strategy and Results Framework, which is informed by evidence obtained from evaluation and other learning. If in the midst of project implementation, performance monitoring indicates that anticipated progress is not being made, then an evaluation may be conducted to determine why.… The evaluation could require project redesign, a change in implementation approach, or possibly even a revision of the Results Framework."*—USAID, Program Cycle Overview, 2011.

5.1 PHASE 1: ANALYSIS

Crime and violence prevention programming should begin with a robust analysis of crime and violence in a country, municipality, community, or target neighborhood. Because citizen insecurity is a complex phenomenon, a diagnosis of the citizen security situation is imperative. Understanding the specific problem and identifying the main risk factors will enable planners to target interventions to the appropriate beneficiaries. Ideally the diagnosis will include a formal assessment focused not only on the challenges and risk factors, but also on protective factors and assets that help insulate individuals and communities from crime and violence.

A robust assessment will allow the Mission to target affected communities (based on crime indicators, demography, and other data) and risk groups (defined according to age, gender, relative marginalization, geographic location, and other factors). By defining the target population, program managers can focus programs and policies in ways that are appropriate, strategic, and effective.

Specifically, crime and violence assessments should:

- Define the problem of crime and violence within the target location using the best available evidence and identify information gaps.
- Assess the structural (long-term) conditions that contribute to crime and violence, including economic performance and opportunities for employment; quality and coverage of basic public services; weaknesses of government (corruption, lack of accountability, exclusion, impunity); relationships between the police and citizens; mechanisms for citizen participation; and access to public information.
- Conduct a political economy analysis focused on issues that include who benefits from the status quo in a particular community; who benefit from and who opposes change; and incentives that could be used to neutralize opposition.
- Analyze the risk factors driving crime and violence.
- Profile typical perpetrators, victims, and areas most vulnerable to crime and violence.
- Identify the stakeholders, including champions, spoilers, and others.
- Analyze protective factors and assets that make individuals and groups less vulnerable to crime and violence. Protective factors may include religious organizations, victims' services, social networks, and community organizations.
- Prioritize target areas, individuals, and/or groups.
- Propose a strategy and potential approaches.
- Identify the resources that will be needed to have an impact on the identified problem.
- Serve as a baseline for evaluation of the eventual programming implemented to measure results, using information and data gathered before implementation.

WHAT INFORMATION DOES A PROGRAM MANAGER NEED?

Program managers need a variety of information to diagnose the problem and to target, design, and implement appropriate interventions. Requisite information includes data on perpetrators of crime and violence; the nature of crime in a community or target area; the timing, location, and impact of crime and violence; and protective factors that might help mitigate crime and violence.

Perpetrators and participants. Crime and violence are highly concentrated in a few places and among a few individuals. Program managers should develop a profile of individuals responsible for committing most of the crimes in a particular location. The profile should include information about age and gender, as well as other relevant information, including the average distance traveled to commit a crime, previous criminal history, and probable motivation

Risk factors. It is important to identify the risk factors that motivate, encourage, or contribute to crime and violence in a particular situation. As discussed, in some cases, the main risks may be at the individual and relationship levels, entailing psychosocial factors, while in others the main risk factors may be above

and beyond the individual's psychological motivations. Only by understanding the specific risk factors of a target area and population can appropriate interventions be applied.

Details about how crimes are committed. Details about how a crime is committed can be useful information for prevention. If an analysis shows that most murders in a target neighborhood are committed by young men who know their victims, for instance, the intervention will be very different than if the majority of murders occur during the course of carjacking or are committed by gangs or organized crime groups.

Involvement of alcohol and drugs. Many street and violent crimes (such as assault, rape and child abuse) involve drugs or alcohol. In addition, the motivation behind some crimes may be drug-related.

Where and when crime and violence occur. Location is an important aspect of any crime data analysis. Crime and violence patterns are often linked to particular places (so-called "hotspots"), so data should be as location-specific as possible. Even within neighborhoods, crime and violence tend to be concentrated in specific locations. In addition, program managers need information about when crimes occur, broken down into season, month, day, and time of day. Data can be used to help identify patterns and the potential motivation behind crime, such as when crime or violence increases on a Saturday night, after sporting events, or during holidays.

Impact of crime. Information regarding the impact of crime is particularly helpful in areas where there are serious problems with several types of crimes and program managers must decide priorities. It is important to remember that the crimes that have the greatest impact on a community may not be those that are most common. In addition, program managers should work with local communities and government leaders to determine the types of crime that they believe should be a priority. Priorities may be based on the relative seriousness of crimes, the complexity of addressing various types of crime, risk factors, and trends. While homicide may generate the most attention, residents may be more concerned about other crimes such as extortion or street crime.

Crime rates. Although crime rates are based on the number of incidents, rates are more useful when comparing areas. Crime rates may also help provide a benchmark for various types of crimes, including benchmarks established at the outset of implementation that can provide a basis for assessing results.

Protective factors. An important part of carrying out a diagnostic assessment is determining what assets—people, groups, organizations, and community characteristics—can be strengthened to prevent and mitigate crime and violence. These protective factors serve as a crucial foundation upon which to build prevention efforts. In addition to organizations already engaged in crime and violence prevention, communities are bound to have assets that have not yet been tapped for crime prevention activities. Such organizations could play a central role in addressing risk factors and sources of conflict to enhance prevention. The existence of community organizations, communication and trust, and individuals and groups playing key leadership roles can lead to preventing and mitigating violence even in overall high-crime areas. The benefits of identifying protective factors and community assets include:

- Strengthening leaders and groups that could play an effective role in crime and violence prevention;
- Making coordination of activities easier;
- Avoiding the duplication of programs;
- Identifying the gaps in service delivery (for example, a diagnostic assessment might reveal that there are no shelters for victims of domestic violence); and

- Maximizing scarce resources, skills, and capacity.

By focusing attention on the existing assets of a particular area, program managers create community buy-in and good will toward the program. In this way, program managers can obtain the participation of people and resources that would otherwise be underutilized. In addition, this approach engages community members in controlling the problems facing their community—as problem solvers rather than passive clients or service recipients.

SOURCES OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE INFORMATION

Many different sources provide information related to crime and violence. It is imperative not to rely solely on official police crime statistics when measuring crime and violence as there are significant gaps in official crime data. Program managers need to gather multidimensional data from several sources to get a full picture of crime and violence in a given location or among a given population.

Following a brief discussion of police statistics and their limitations, this section reviews the importance of using public opinion and victimization surveys, as well as other sources of quantitative and qualitative data. (See the list of potential sources in Annex C.)

Police Records

Official police records are an important source of information about crime and violence. In general, police records are the official statistics used by the national government. The data and the methodology for collecting the data are generally available to the public. Because the data are generally collected in the same way, they may be the best source of information to assess trends, make comparisons, and evaluate the impact of prevention initiatives over one or more years.

Limitations of police records. Police records also have serious limitations as a result of the different types of security services operating within a jurisdiction and the inconsistent data collection across each. For example, there may be federal or national, municipal, and preventive police, as well as other investigative and law enforcement bodies. The military also may be charged with maintaining public security but may not have the processes in place to record reported crimes consistently.

In many countries the official data should be viewed with a healthy dose of skepticism and many crimes go unreported. This may be due to a lack of confidence in justice-sector institutions, fear of retribution, or the belief that police are involved in crimes. Indeed, in some countries, police are perpetrators of criminal activity, and victims are reluctant to report violence committed by police or other representatives of the government. Sexual violence, extortion, petty crimes (such as muggings), crimes against children, corruption, and drug-related crimes are often the least likely to be reported.

Another limitation of police records is that the information may be incomplete. Crime and violence patterns often vary from one neighborhood or one street to the next. Available crime data may be aggregated to a higher level, which makes it useless for identifying pockets of crime and violence. In addition, the records may not include important details about crimes, such as whether and which weapons are used, the types of injuries, or the relationship of the victim to the perpetrator. In some cases, the information may be incomplete because the police officers assigned to the case are not fully literate or do not speak the language of the victims or perpetrators. This is especially true in a country, like Guatemala, with numerous indigenous languages. Finally, the police may not have the authority to share data with the public or with donors.

A final limitation of police data is that it may not be accurate. It may be influenced by citizen security interventions, for instance. If police are better trained and/or trust levels between the police and the community increase, reports of crimes may increase even though the actual crime level is reduced.

Public opinion and victimization surveys

Rigorously gathered survey data can be the most systematic method of collecting information from the general public. Respondents may be more likely to discuss their experiences with and attitudes about crime and violence anonymously. Surveys may include victimization questions that ask respondents about their experience with crime and/or perception questions that ask about feelings of insecurity or fear, behavior changes, or knowledge of crime and violence occurring.

These surveys are useful in filling in gaps in information from police data. Surveys can and should cover all types of violence, including violence that may not be reported to the police or considered a crime under local laws. They can also be designed to gather information about respondents' opinions regarding a range of crime-related issues and institutions, including the police, victim support agencies, and private security organizations, as well as how law enforcement services could be improved.

Surveys also provide important information about fear of crime, which can have a powerful influence on people's behavior, freedom of movement, social fabric, and trust in the government and police. Fear of crime has broad implications, as it may influence people to arm themselves or to emigrate to what they believe to be a safer environment.

Survey limitations. Main issues related to surveys are that they can be both costly and time-consuming. Baseline surveys should be conducted before program implementation begins, which can be difficult to schedule. In addition, household surveys, in which residents are interviewed at home, can sometimes be dangerous. The people conducting surveys may be threatened, intimidated, or assaulted.

Other limitations affect the reliability of results. Women may be compelled to answer survey questions in front of their partners or family members or may not be allowed to participate. Even anonymously, respondents may be reluctant to talk about sexual and domestic violence or child abuse. In addition, most surveys collect information only from adults. The lack of minors' experiences and perceptions may be particularly problematic in areas where youth crime is a major concern. In addition, most surveys do not provide information from perpetrators of crime and violence.

Survey results also may reflect citizens' perceptions of crime and violence based on exaggerated media coverage or recent incidents. When government authorities begin a highly publicized initiative to combat crime and violence, citizens sometimes perceive the problems to be more severe than they are.

Qualitative data on crime and violence

Generating qualitative information from a variety of sources, including interviews, meetings, and group discussions, can help researchers understand the context behind crime and violence trends.

Group consultations. Meetings with residents or community organizations to discuss community problems often reveal invaluable information. Although the views presented will not represent the whole community, group discussions may be helpful for obtaining detailed information from members of a particular neighborhood or area or from specific groups within the community. Consultations may include local activists and members of different civic and governmental organizations; women's groups; church groups and leaders; non-governmental organizations working on related issues; school staff; local police; local merchants; neighborhood watch members; informal traders; youth leaders; trade union and religious and other civic leaders—individuals who are especially knowledgeable about the community.

Typical venues for community consultations include:

- Official public or private meetings hosted by one or more stakeholders who invite other relevant or influential parties;

- Public meetings, such as town hall meetings or community forums, open to the entire community; and
- Formal and informal meetings in places where various sectors of the community might congregate, such as religious venues, schools, workplaces, street corners, and youth and sports clubs.

Interviews with key informants. Key informants are individuals who are especially knowledgeable about crime and violence in the target community, have particular insights into specific forms of violence, and are willing to provide and/or data. These people could include local leaders of community groups including political parties, youth groups, women's groups, church groups, nongovernmental organizations, trade unions, victim support agencies, legal resource centers, and schools; and other key informants, including social workers, police chiefs, magistrates, judges, prosecutors, neighborhood watch members, taxi drivers, civic leaders. Informants should be asked for their views on the importance of various crime- and violence-related problems, the perceived causes of these problems, current or past efforts to address these causes, and the outcome of these efforts. Finally, key informants should be asked if they are aware of other sources of information or other individuals who might provide useful information. This question-asking technique, known as "snowballing," can result in additional information as well as help validate the information obtained from other key informants.

Focus groups. These groups are specifically selected for each target sector of the population in order to obtain a more in-depth view of their perceptions of the issues in question and methods to address them. Special care should be devoted to composing focus groups that are representative of the community. Rather than relying on a single leader to provide focus group participants, engagement with various community leaders and organizations will promote better data collection. Focus group sessions generally include a facilitator, a recorder who takes notes, and eight to 10 participants. Ideally, the facilitator is not only skilled, but is also representative of the group make-up. This helps to ensure that focus group participants will be comfortable sharing their opinions.

Other data sources

There are a number of other sources of data on crime and violence and perception of the community. While specific sources that prove to be most useful may vary from one community to the next, the following sources may provide valuable information:

- Crime and violence observatories;
- Census and demographic ministries;
- Municipal government departments, including housing, welfare, and education;
- Mapping information;
- Newspapers, magazines, and other media;
- Shops, small businesses, insurance companies, and banks;
- Private security companies;
- Hospitals, clinics, social workers, and doctors;
- Victim support agencies, including those specializing in domestic violence;
- Prisons, jails, and juvenile offender programs;
- Women's organizations, youth groups, children's organizations;
- Civic and religious organizations; and
- Trade unions.

Once all available information is obtained from different sources, merging and analyzing the data becomes a necessary next step to create a comprehensive picture of the problem. Annex D provides longer descriptions on how to assess the physical and social characteristics of a potential target area.

Annex E provides some examples of programming for municipalities. Annexes G and H provide bibliographic references on crime and violence in Latin America and the Caribbean and a list of useful resources.

5.2 PHASE 2: DEVELOPING THE LOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND ARTICULATING A THEORY OF CHANGE

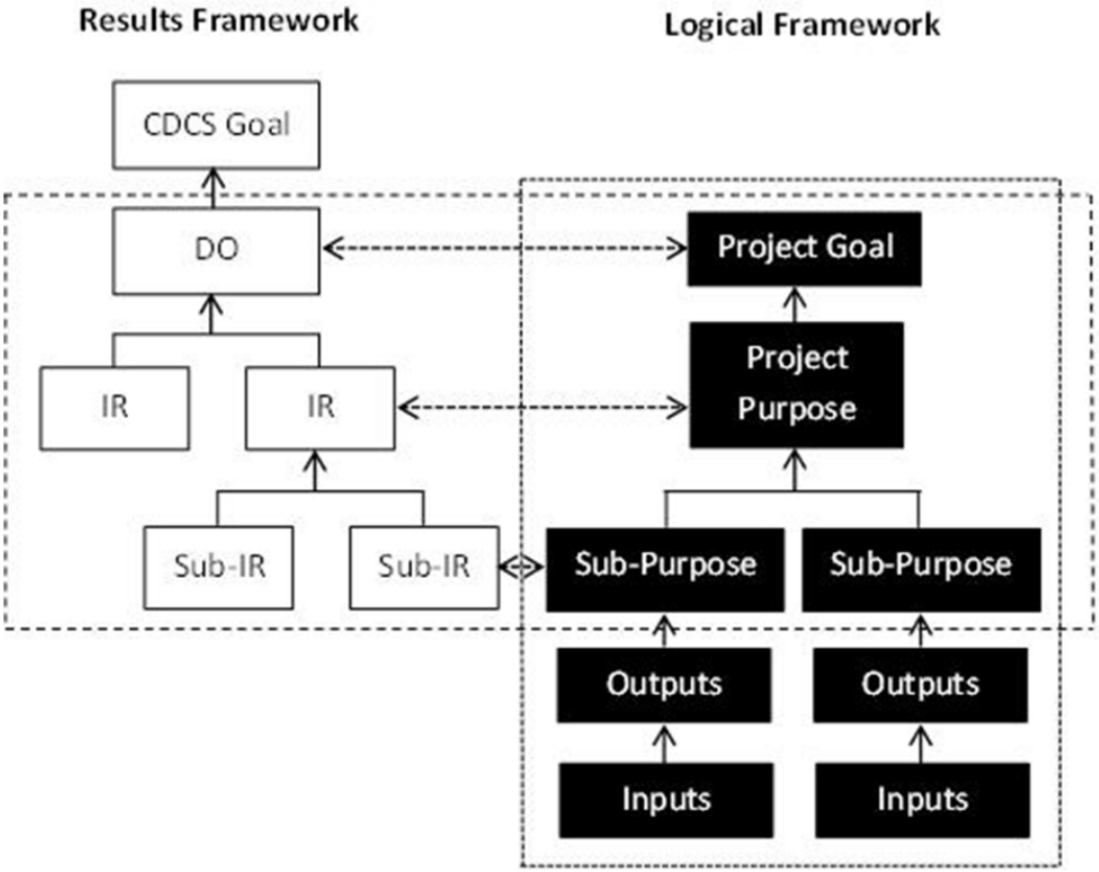
After assessing crime and violence problems in the community, the next step is to design appropriate interventions that will best address these problems. Central to the project design process is the development of a logical framework called LogFrame, which is rooted in the CDCS Results Framework. LogFrame is a graphic representation of the development hypothesis behind a particular project. It identifies and presents cause-and-effect linkages between results at different levels and critical assumptions that must hold for the development hypothesis to lead to achieving the expected results.

A result or purpose is some measure of achievement or progress towards an objective or goal. As in results frameworks, causal links flow from different levels of results. Accomplishing results at lower levels of the intervention is important for accomplishing results at higher levels.

As Figure 8 shows, the project goal[125] in the LogFrame is related to the development objective (DO) level in the CDCS. The outcome or project purpose is the aggregate result of the outputs to be achieved by the project. This outcome generally corresponds to one of the intermediate results (IR). The purpose should be stated as simply and clearly as possible, as it is the focal point for which a project team is responsible. The project then can identify sub-purposes, which may also correspond to the sub-IRs in the results framework. Once these purposes are defined, the next step in the design process is to identify the outputs and inputs that are necessary to accomplish the project's purposes.

[125] This should be the highest level result of the project and usually believed to be aspirational and beyond the manageable interests of a particular project.

Figure 8: From Results Framework to LogFrame



Source: USAID, Program Cycle Overview, 2011

IDENTIFYING THE OVERALL PROJECT GOAL AND PURPOSE

A community may experience many types of crime and violence at the same time. A crime and prevention program needs to clearly identify the specific type(s) of crime and violence that it seeks to address, as interventions will vary according to the nature of the problem. The diagnostic assessment should help program managers prioritize problems to be addressed.

Ideally, a crime and violence prevention program should be targeted to one or two priorities. Trying to do too much may contribute to a lack of focus and result in spreading resources too thinly. In addition, program implementers may have too much to manage and insufficient capacity to handle a broadly defined program. Identifying the main problem that a crime and violence prevention project seeks to address is an essential step in identifying and clearly articulating the project's goal and expected results. It is critical to define the desired change, which may include a change in attitudes, behavior, and/or institutions and organizations.

A result is some measure of achievement of or progress towards an objective. Results should be described in the past tense and articulated as statements, not activities or processes. Perhaps most important, results should be measurable. They are also based on the overall program goal. For example, if the project seeks to address increasing homicide rates affecting young people in El Salvador, then the overall goal of the project can be articulated as: "Homicide rates among youth in El Salvador reduced." As mentioned, this goal is aspirational and depends on other factors above and beyond the project's

control. In contrast, the project's purpose is the highest expected result for which managers can be held accountable; it is a result that should be feasible and attainable provided the expected outputs are achieved and the right inputs are provided. In this example, the purpose could be articulated as: "Fewer young individuals are engaged in gangs in targeted municipalities of El Salvador." In this example, the purpose of the project is to change behaviors, but it may also seek to shift attitudes before it can achieve this behavioral change.

Outputs and Inputs

Outputs *are a tangible, immediate, and intended product or consequence of a project within USAID's control. All outputs that are necessary and together sufficient to achieve the purpose should be identified.*

Inputs *are the tasks, processes, and resources that the project is expected to undertake or consume in order to produce outputs. All the inputs that are necessary and together sufficient to achieve the outputs should be identified. A complete identification of inputs is essential to preparing the budget estimate required prior to project approval.*

Source: USAID, Program Cycle Overview, 2011.

ARTICULATING THE THEORY OF CHANGE

The theory of change is a narrative accompanying the LogFrame. It is an explanation of why change is expected to occur as a result of a particular intervention. It articulates in a causal and logical manner how and why the interventions are expected to produce expected results. Results can be conceptualized at different levels over time; achievement of lower level results is often necessary before higher level results can be achieved. This has important consequences for the timing and sequence of project interventions. Theories of change should be within USAID manageable interests, meaning they should only include results that USAID can materially affect through its interventions. Theories of change should be articulated as causal processes expressed in IF-THEN statements.

The assessment of the situation and existing evidence should inform the theory of change. Of particular interest are similar interventions that have been successful elsewhere. In cases where the design entails an innovative approach and/or adaptations of existing interventions, it is important to explain why change is expected to occur and to justify this theory with available analytical research. The validity of the theory of change should be ultimately tested through an evaluation of the project's performance.

Following our previous example, if the project's purpose is to reduce the number of young individuals actively engaged in gangs in targeted municipalities in El Salvador, we would need to explain how this change is going to occur or what interventions will be used to accomplish this purpose. The latter requires successfully identifying and addressing the factors that lead young individuals to join gangs. The major assumptions underlying this theory of change is that gangs are responsible for a relatively large percentage of homicides and that individuals can choose whether or not to join or leave a gang. (In many communities throughout Central America, gangs do not give a choice to young individuals; people who refuse to join risk their life.[126]) While the project's overall goal—reducing the rate of homicides—is beyond its control, the project will contribute toward this goal. The project also can demonstrate tangible and measurable results in its overall purpose.

In our example, the theory of change for a primary prevention intervention can be articulated as follows:

> *IF youth in targeted communities become more aware of the risks of joining gangs; and*
> *IF they are offered appropriate activities after school hours, and IF new employment*

[126] Frank de Waegh, 2015. Unwilling Participants: The Coercion of Youth into Violent Criminal Groups in Central America's Northern Triangle, Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States.

opportunities are generated in the community,
THEN youth will be less attracted to joining gangs and the number of youth actively engaged in gangs will be reduced.

A secondary prevention project, on the other hand could be articulated as:

IF middle school students who are failing and frequently absent from school are offered remedial education programs; and IF these students and their families strengthen family ties through psychological support; and IF these students have greater opportunities to continue with high school education,
THEN they will be less predisposed to joining gangs and the number of youth actively engaged in gangs will be reduced.

Finally, a tertiary prevention project could be articulated as:

IF young crime offenders receive adequate psychological assistance, and
IF they improve their life and technical skills, and IF opportunities are created to employ these individuals,
THEN they will be less inclined to return to gang activity and continue to be actively engaged in criminal activity.

A well-articulated theory of change should help program managers identify the target groups, the level of intervention, the specific geographic areas where the project will focus its activities, and the timeframe required for interventions to affect expected changes in knowledge, attitudes, and/or behaviors.

TARGETING INTERVENTIONS

Geographic Location

When considering the geographic level of intervention, program managers should consider several questions:

- Where are crime and violence concentrated? Why are they concentrated there? For example, do the majority of crimes occur in a few lawless neighborhoods, in newly settled areas with few basic services, or along a drug-trafficking route?
- Are there existing relationships or potential partnerships that would contribute to the success of the program? For example, might private-sector companies agree to participate in a job training program for youth? Has the police chief or mayor championed prevention?
- Does the host government or the donor community have complementary national or foreign policy interests? For example, does the government want to target prevention programs in areas where there has been weak state presence to improve the rule of law in those areas? Or does the U.S. Embassy want to target prevention programs to communities from which migrants originate because of insecurity?

Annex E provides examples of crime and violence prevention interventions that can be introduced at the municipal level.

Target Groups

Once the focus areas are defined, it is important to identify the target groups that will benefit from the intervention. These might include victims, crime targets, or offenders. A program might also target a particular community or neighborhood. Program managers should consider the following questions.

- What kind of prevention is most appropriate for the local context: primary, secondary, and/or tertiary? (For example, if a neighborhood is at-risk of crime and violence based on demographic and communal risk factors, then program managers may choose to employ primary and secondary prevention interventions. If a neighborhood already has significant gang presence, then tertiary and secondary prevention interventions may be more appropriate.)
- What is within the manageable interest of the program?
- Are there other host country assets and/or donor focus on the area?

Target Institutions

The project may target specific institutions that need to be strengthened. Program managers should consider the following questions:

- Are there any specific policy/institutional reforms that need to be introduced at the national level to be able to implement the project?
- Are there institutions or organizations providing services that need to be strengthened?
- Is the project engaging local government officials who should be brought on board?
- Is the project collaborating with local police officers who should be engaged? If so, how can the police be engaged in a prevention program?

IDENTIFY POTENTIAL PARTNERS AND CHAMPIONS

Meeting with local groups and organizations can help to identify possible partners to involve in the crime and violence prevention project. Bringing local stakeholders together for conversations regarding these issues helps to understand what their main concerns are and what skills they can bring to the table.[127] Communicating and establishing relations with likely partners can help to:

- Create publicity around the program/project;
- Broaden the forum to include a bigger range of interest groups;
- Allow the program/project to reflect the views of the fullest range of interest groups;
- Review debate around the main crime and violence problems;

[127] In some communities discussing violence can be an extremely sensitive topic. People may be reluctant to acknowledge the existence of high risk groups in their communities for fear of being stigmatized as a violent community or worse, afraid of suffering reprisals from criminal groups who threaten anyone perceived to disrupt or impinge on their operations. Program managers should first explore whether these topics can be discussed safely and what measures should be taken to protect stakeholders and allow them to discuss difficult topics more candidly.

- Ensure support for the program/project and assess conditions to continue project activities after its completion;
- Identify who can help;
- Link local stakeholders to national level actors and processes;
- Identify gaps in the program/project; and
- Allow for a participatory approach to formalize and strengthen this process.

ESTABLISH A REALISTIC FUNDING LEVEL AND TIMELINE

After the target group, geographic location, and project activities have been defined, it is important to estimate the resources that will be needed to implement the project and develop a budget that clearly outlines expenditures. If resources are limited or are insufficient to implement the project as conceived, program managers need to narrow the focus, reduce the geographic coverage, and/or reduce the number of beneficiaries.

It is important to ensure at the outset that the implementing partner has the necessary skills and knowledge to complete the tasks, the project's period of performance is sufficient, and the level of funding is adequate. A timeline is a critical implementation tool. Program managers will need to allocate a specific length of time for each activity. Some activities will run concurrently; others cannot begin until previous tasks have been completed. Ensure that there is sufficient time for each activity and then use this information to determine the length of time for the entire project.

The timeline should include interim dates for activities and tasks to be completed. Ongoing monitoring can help ensure that the project stays on track. If there are unforeseen problems, the timeline should be revised to illustrate the impact.

The time that various activities will take has consequences for the costs of the project. Scheduling is therefore seen simultaneously as a project planning, budget, and monitoring tool.

5.3 PHASE 3: ESTABLISHING A MONITORING AND EVALUATION PLAN

A crime and violence prevention project should contain a monitoring and evaluation plan that describes the objective(s) of the project, explains the theory of change behind the intervention, and outlines the critical conditions needed for the project to succeed. The monitoring and evaluation plan also articulates the expected results to be achieved, the indicators to measure these

Objectives and Results

A project should have broad **objectives**. Examples include:

- Making the community safer
- Reducing the fear of crime
- Reducing property crime
- Reducing the incidence of violence
- Reducing the impact of crime on vulnerable groups.

The project's **expected results** should be more narrowly defined and measurable. For example, they can be articulated as:

- Domestic burglaries in a specified area reduced by 20 percent
- Trust in the police increased by 10 percent
- The number of domestic violence cases reported to the police or other authorities increased
- School dropout rates reduced.

Achieving expected results contributes to achieving the overall objective of the project.

results, and the timeline for the implementation of all the interventions.

Setting Objectives and Expected Results

Establishing clear, measurable objectives makes it possible to assess at a later stage whether the project was successful in achieving desired results. The objectives should specify *who* should do *how much* of what, *where* it should occur, and by *when*.

Objectives are expressed in statements that begin with verbs such as "Decrease...", "Increase…", "Change…" etc. The clearer and more specific they are, the easier it will be to select the appropriate activities to achieve them.

Desired results can be expressed in future tense, for example: "Life skills of at risk youth improved." or "Perceptions of fear in the community decreased."

When formulating the targets and results, program managers and implementers should work closely with beneficiaries, communities, authorities, and other stakeholders to understand what they consider success for the program. It is also important to determine what is realistic based on the community's characteristics and resources. As much as possible, program managers need to consider and accommodate the potential impact of events beyond the program's control, as well as the impact of program activities on other aspects of a community.

INDICATORS FOR CRIME AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION PROJECTS

Like any other intervention, crime and violence prevention projects should be monitored and evaluated at different result levels. Depending on what the objective of a particular intervention is, indicators should be identified to measure *outputs*, results directly related to the intervention, and *outcomes*, defined here as higher-level results that are the consequence and only indirectly related to the specific intervention. For example, a crime prevention project seeking to increase security in an area may increase the number of police patrols. The output of the project can be articulated as increased police presence in a particular area; the expected outcome is increased security. Indicators will need to be defined for these different levels of results.

Table 1offers some illustrative examples of different outputs and outcomes of crime and violence prevention projects. A list of standardized indicators developed by the IDB to measure results of crime and violence prevention projects is provided in Annex F.

Table 1: Examples of Outputs and Outcomes

Output	Outcome
Community police officers operational/visible policing increased by 50 percent by end of fiscal year	Reduction of muggings by 20 percent Reduction in fear of crime
Security locks fitted on 100 percent of houses in [defined area] by [date]	A 20 percent reduction in burglary in [defined area]
Domestic violence referral network created and leaflets distributed to all households by [date]	Victims of spouse abuse are more prepared to report incident to police services.

Output indicators measure the direct results of the intervention, a tangible accomplishment. They can be used to assess whether the planned activity was carried out. In the example in Table 2, the performance indicator to measure increased levels of security patrols in a specific area is the number of security officers deployed in the area as documented in police records. The indicator measures achievement of the planned

activity, but it does not measure a change of behavior or performance, namely, whether greater police presence increased security in the area. That is instead measured by the outcome indicator, in this example a reduction of crime rates in the neighborhood.

Table 2: Examples of Outputs and Performance Indicators

Outputs	Performance Indicators
Increase levels of security patrols in [defined area]	Average daily deployment, as shown on duty rosters
Train and equip community police officers	Number of community police officers trained who pass a test and carry equipment while on-duty
Fit security locks	Number of locks fitted
Create domestic violence shelter	Domestic violence shelter in operation
Distribute leaflets on domestic violence	Records kept by mailing contractor
Outreach workers to counsel youths about risks of substance abuse	Number of contacts made Number of information packs given
Police trained in new police surveillance skills	Percentage of police officers who pass a post-training test

Table 3: Examples of Outcomes and Performance Indicators

Outcome	Performance Indicators
Reduced burglary	Crime survey burglary rates Burglary rates recorded by the police Attempted burglary rates recorded by police Level of expenditure on repairs to local government owned property Insurance claim rates Self-reported offending rates by known burglars
Reduction in violence using knives, guns, etc.	Recorded rates for injuries/homicides caused by guns/knives Incidents of knife/gun attacks in hospital records Number of seizures of illegal weapons
Lowered fear of crime in public open space system	Rates of fear of crime measured through surveys Levels and types of street activity measured through observation
Improved quality of victim support and response to victims of crime	Rates of satisfaction as measured through victim surveys Levels of police complaints Information from local community police

There are several challenges to designing and implementing an effective crime and violence prevention program. First, gathering baseline data that are reliable and comparable for future use is not always easy or economical, particularly since crime reporting patterns and practices may change over time. In many countries, accurate, reliable, and comprehensive crime data are unavailable or varies by agency.

Replicating approaches that have worked elsewhere should be done with care because conditions in the target area may be different. Analysis of the country context; the incentives and motivations of stakeholders; and the political will for reform should be conducted as part of project design.

Finally, it is important to note that violence and crime patterns may change for reasons unrelated to the specific project. The implementation of new law enforcement initiatives, changes in drug trafficking routes, or new disputes between gangs or organized crime entities are just a few of the myriad examples of things that may impact crime and violence rates. It is extremely difficult to prove that improvements in crime or violence rates are attributable to prevention efforts. This is why it is critical to define clear and measurable indicators for the expected projects results.

5.4 PHASE 4: MONITORING AND EVALUATION[128]

Monitoring and evaluation must be planned early on in the strategy design process. The monitoring and evaluation process begins during the assessment process and the selection of the focus areas when information about crime and violence is first gathered. This information helps to establish baseline data that can later be used to assess project effectiveness. If an impact evaluation is planned for a particular activity, it should be considered during the design phase because it requires statistical criteria that will allow for a randomized control trial.

DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Monitoring and evaluation are closely related and are usually planned concurrently. Although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, they have different purposes and goals.

Monitoring is an ongoing process that focuses on ongoing project activities. Monitoring determines how closely the project work plan is conducted and how well program activities are implemented. Monitoring uses routine data to measure progress and make revisions on project implementation. It is an internal activity to track project's performance.

> *Evaluation at USAID is defined as the systematic collection and analysis of information about the characteristics and outcomes of programs and projects as a basis for judgments to improve effectiveness, and/or to inform decisions about current and future programming.*
>
> *Evaluation is distinct from assessment (which may be designed to examine country or sector context to inform project design) or as an informal review of projects.*
>
> USAID Evaluation Policy (ADS 203.3.6)

Evaluation measures the project's performance at set points of time, usually at midterm and/or completion. The purpose of evaluation is to assess the extent to which a project has achieved predetermined outcome-oriented objectives. Evaluation focuses on *outputs* and *outcomes,* including unintended effects.

A project evaluation often involves value judgments about the project's achievements of its expected results and the extent to which these results can be attributed to the implementation of project's activities. Evaluations are generally conducted to answer the "why" question behind monitoring.[129]

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[128] This section concentrates on the unique issues related to monitoring and evaluating citizen security, crime, and violence-related projects. For more detailed general information about monitoring and evaluating projects, refer to *USAID Evaluation Policy* (January 2011) and other online sources of expert advice on designing project evaluations.
[129] Linda G. Imas Morra and Ray C. Rist, 2009, *The Road to Results: Designing and Conducting Effective Development Evaluations*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

A specific type of evaluation is a **performance evaluation**. Performance evaluations focus on descriptive and normative questions: what a particular project or program has achieved (either at an intermediate point in execution or at the conclusion of an implementation period); how it is being implemented; how it is perceived and valued; whether expected results are occurring; and other questions that are pertinent to program design, management and operational decision making. Performance evaluations often incorporate before-and-after comparisons, but they generally lack a rigorously defined counterfactual.[130]

In the case of crime and violence interventions, performance evaluations can assess whether a project was well designed and based on a solid theory of change that explains the causal relationship between a specific intervention and the reduction of crime and violence; assess the relevance and adequacy of interventions for the particular context; explain whether or not the program was successful in achieving its expected results and why; explain implementation challenges and extract lessons learned and recommendations for further programming.

Performance evaluations may use qualitative and quantitative methodologies to collect data. A mixed method evaluation that combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies is often required to answer one or more evaluation questions. Using mixed methods also has the advantage of triangulating information and increasing the validity of findings. Mixed method evaluations may use different data collection methods including structured observations, key informant interviews, focus groups, pre-and post-project surveys, analysis of project monitoring and evaluation plans, and document reviews. (See USAID TIPS for conducting Mixed Method Evaluations).

Performance evaluations can be internal, external, or participatory. Internal evaluations are conducted by people within the organization, and external evaluations by people outside the organization. Participatory evaluations engage external evaluators with representatives of donor agencies and stakeholders to design carry out and interpret evaluation results. The relative advantages and disadvantages of each of these approaches are discussed in the box below.

[130] United States Agency for International Development Evaluation Policy, 2011.

Internal, External, and Participatory Evaluations

Internal evaluators usually know more about a program, project, or policy than do outsiders. They understand the history, organization, culture, people involved, and problems and successes. Although this may be an advantage, internal evaluators may be so close to the program, project, or policy that they cannot see it clearly or objectively. As a result, evaluators may be unable to recognize solutions or changes that others may see. Internal evaluators also may be subject to pressure or influence from program decision makers.

External evaluators may have more credibility and lend the perception of objectivity to an evaluation as they are independent from the administration and financial decisions about the program. An external evaluation is not a guarantee of independent and credible results, however, particularly if the consultants have prior program ties. In some cases, external consultants may be overly accommodating.

Participatory evaluation is a form of evaluation where the distinction between experts and laypersons, researchers and subjects is deemphasized or redefined. Evaluators act as facilitators helping others make the assessment. These evaluations may have similar disadvantages as internal evaluations, but they may prove useful for learning purposes.

Source: Linda G. Morra Imas and Ray C. Rist, *The Road To Results*. World Bank, 2009.

Another type of evaluation is an **impact evaluation.** Impact evaluations measure the change in a development outcome that is attributable to a defined intervention. Based on models of cause and effect, impact evaluations require a credible, rigorously defined counterfactual to control for external factors that might account for the observed change. Impact evaluations that enable comparisons between beneficiaries randomly assigned to either a treatment or a control group provide the strongest evidence of a relationship between the intervention and outcome measured.[131] These evaluations allow analysts to assess what the outcome would have been had the intervention not taken place. Ideally, impact evaluations start at the beginning of a project, when baseline data are gathered for later comparison. Data can then be gathered at project midpoints and completion.

5.5 STATE OF CITIZEN SECURITY EVALUATION IN LAC

In Latin America and the Caribbean, and particularly in the Northern Triangle, "the evidence-informed movement is still in its infancy."[132] Indeed, very few crime and violence prevention projects have been subjected to rigorous evaluation. It is indeed paradoxical that in a region where crime and violence have escalated to epidemic levels, there is a dearth of knowledge on what works and what does not.

One of the few publicly available performance evaluations from the region uses qualitative and quantitative methodologies to evaluate the effectiveness of two youth programs: A Ganar and the Caribbean Youth Empowerment Program.[133] Another example is a study that compared the results of 15 USAID-funded crime prevention interventions in three northern Mexican states in 2014.[134]

Impact evaluations of crime and violence prevention projects can assess the attribution of specific interventions in reducing violence, and as such, they can generate robust evidence on what works and what does not. Yet, as Abt and Winship show in their meta-review including more than 1,400 studies, most of the causal evidence demonstrating the effectiveness of interventions in reducing violence originates in high-income countries. Recent systematic research of literature of crime and violence prevention interventions in 33 Latin American and Caribbean countries found only 18 impact evaluations

[131] Ibid.
[132] Abt and Winship, 2016. "What works in Reducing Community Violence." P. 4.
[133] United States Agency for International Development, 2013, *Eastern and Southern Caribbean Youth Assessment*.
[134] United States Agency for International Development, 2014, "Pillar IV Assessment."

of youth violence prevention projects, nine of which were unpublished. Most of the impact evaluations were undertaken in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Jamaica, not the most violent countries.[135]

USAID recently commissioned LAPOP to conduct a rigorous impact evaluation of crime and violence prevention projects in four Central American countries. This evaluation demonstrated a positive impact of USAID-funded, community-based prevention projects in Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, and El Salvador, but it is impossible to assess which projects were more successful and why. The evaluation assessed several community based interventions implemented in control areas, which were selected using randomized criteria.[136]

THE IMPORTANCE OF EVALUATING PREVENTION PROJECTS

Crime and violence prevention in international contexts is a relatively young field. Program managers should experiment to find the best mix of interventions to address local contexts and then measure results and share evaluations with others working in the field. Like any evaluation, the evaluation of crime and violence prevention interventions should rely on the best methods possible to respond to the evaluation questions.

Well-conducted evaluations that demonstrate a program's success or provide lessons to improve future implementation help stakeholders make the case for prevention as a fundamental part of citizen security. Rigorously conducted evaluations can increase opportunities for prevention funding, and develop champions for prevention approaches within the U.S. and LAC governments. Like in other development fields, evaluation of prevention projects enhances learning and accountability. Demonstrating what works, what does not, and why some strategies work better than others is essential for accountability and also allows USAID officials to learn from implementation experiences in order to improve the design of future projects.

[135] Helen Moestue, Leif Moestue, and Robert Muggah, 2013, "Youth violence prevention in Latin America and the Caribbean: A scoping review of the evidence," Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center, August.
[136]Berk-Seligson, S., Orce´s, D., Pizzolito, G., Seligson, M. A., & Wilson, C. 2014. "Impact evaluation of USAID's community-based crime and violence prevention approach in Central America: Regional Report for El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama." Nashville: Latin American Public Opinion Project, Vanderbilt University. https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/CARSI%20IE%20Executive%20Summary.pdf

ANNEX A: CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

In the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) region, the violence that affect most countries is to interpersonal violence (including family, intimate partner, and neighborhood disputes) perpetrated by gangs, drug-trafficking organizations, and/or by unorganized groups (such as random killings resulting from street fights, causal robberies that end violently, opportunistic crimes, etc.). During the 1980s and early 1990s, on the other hand, Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador experienced cases of collective violence. In Colombia, the high rate of homicides during the 1980s was linked to the conflict among guerrillas, paramilitary organizations, and the military. Similarly, in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, high levels of violence during most of the 1980s and 1990s were caused by bloody civil wars between left-leaning organizations and authoritarian governments supported by the military. Although the region has made significant progress with transitions to democratic government, an end to civil wars, and the prospect of a peace agreement in Colombia, political violence has not completely ended. Assassinations of politicians, electoral candidates, judicial officials, and political activists continue across the region, due in part to land disputes in Peru and Brazil and to party activism in Honduras and Mexico.

Some countries in the LAC region have experienced rapid increases in crime and violence, while the crime rates in others have remained stable. In Mexico, a relatively peaceful country until 2006, a crime epidemic began after former President Felipe Calderon decided to wage a "war on drugs" and confronted drug trafficking organizations. Although for years Mexico was an important transiting distributor of illegal drugs entering the United States, the powerful cartels that dominated the transit routes did not generate high levels of violence. As drug dealers had monopolistic control over their territories and these lines were well defined, violence was controlled. The government's war on drugs upset the status quo, and criminal organizations fighting over transit corridors and territory has contributed to extremely high homicide rates in some parts of Mexico.

Belize and Panama are not significant narcotics producers but in recent years have also become the major transit countries for illegal drugs moving from South America to the United States. Despite the fact that Panama is a major transit point for the international drug trade, it has been relatively unaffected by drugs, crime, violence, or gangs, although the situation has worsened in recent years.

The Caribbean routes that had been favored shifted to Central America in the 1990s following strong sea and air interdiction efforts in the Caribbean. Evidence suggests that Caribbean drug trafficking may once again be on the rise. Honduras and Guatemala are the most heavily affected by illicit trafficking. In Honduras this is likely due to the easy sea and air access to the coast and land access between Honduras and Mexico. Guatemala's advantages for drug traffickers also include the remote regions bordering Mexico.

Violent urban youth gangs are exacerbating the citizen security problem in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, possibly increasing their involvement in the drug trade. El Salvador is not a major transit country, but it is seen as a safe haven for narco-dollars. Nicaragua and Costa Rica, on the other hand, have been less affected by crime, violence, and drug trafficking. Although there is a lack of clear evidence

as to why, some experts suggest it may be due to better-performing police forces and, in the case of Costa Rica, a better-performing justice sector.

The countries of the Caribbean region, with the possible exceptions of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, display very different characteristics from Central America and Mexico. By and large, they have stable, democratic governments and a history of respect for the rule of law. The islands have been used as major transit stops for illegal drugs coming out of northern South America by sea and air. The drug trade had abated due to strong interdiction efforts but appears to be increasing once again. Youth unemployment also has contributed to an increase in domestic drug consumption. A rise in violent crime rates also is of concern. Homicide rates are on average considerably lower than in Central America, but they are going up at a worrisome rate, and St. Kitts, Nevis, and Trinidad and Tobago have rates comparable to the Central America. Jamaica has reasonably good human development and consistently improving stable democratic governance nonetheless has an extremely high murder rate, fueled in large part by drug trafficking. A gang culture extolling violent behavior and heavy firearms use has taken root, especially in marginalized urban areas. Criminal organizations in marginalized urban areas have longstanding ties to the leading political parties, which use them to enforce electoral loyalty and protect corrupt practices. The Dominican Republic also has been used in drug trafficking for many years. The generally improved interdiction of the movement of drugs through the Caribbean had reduced interest in the Dominican Republic as a transit country, but signs point to an effort by traffickers to reestablish earlier routes. Non-drug-related youth violence and crime also represents a citizen security challenge, and homicide levels and gang presence are increasing. Corruption is thought to have infected the police at high levels, and the Dominican Republic continues to be a transit point for arms trafficking.

ANNEX B: MATRIX OF EVIDENCE-BASED CRIME AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION INTERVENTIONS, ACCORDING TO RISK LEVEL AND PREVENTION LEVEL

	Types of Prevention [Demonstrated to be effective in reducing risk factors for crime and violence; **interventions for which rigorous evaluations have not yet been conducted;** ***(less promising or shown to be ineffective in reducing crime or violence or risk for crime and violence)]***		
Risk level	**Primary prevention**	**Secondary prevention**	**Tertiary prevention**
Individual level	**Early child development and pre-school enrichment programs for at-risk children** Parenting training Job training combined with life skills and internships (comprehensive job training programs) School-based programs that help students develop social, emotional, and behavioral skills to build positive relationships *(Programs providing*	**Providing incentives for youth at high risk for violence to complete secondary schooling** **Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (like Becoming a Man program in Chicago)**[137] Academic enrichment programs for those at-risk of dropping out	**Drug courts** **Cognitive Behavioral Therapy** Rehabilitation of firearm victims *(Scare Straight programs. Probation and parole programs that include meetings with prison Inmates describing the brutality of prison life)* *(Trying youth offenders in adult courts)*

[137] Becoming a Man is a dropout and violence prevention program in Chicago for at risk youth male students in grades 7-12. http://www.youth-guidance.org/feature/b-m-becoming-man. For a study of this program, see Heller S.B. Shah, A.K. Guryan, L. Ludwig, J. Mullainathan, S. and Pollack, H.A. *Thinking Fast and Slow? Some Field Experiments to Reduce Crime and Dropout in Chicago.* National Bureau of Economic Research, 2015.

	information about drug abuse) *(Individual counseling)*		
Relationship level	**Mentoring programs that pair youth with caring adults** **Targeting incentives to mother to keep child in school** **Family therapy** Training in parenting skills Home-school partnerships programs to promote parental involvement *(Peer mediation or peer counseling)*	Court protection orders for intimate partner violence victims Alternative dispute resolution programs *(Gang membership prevention/intervention programs—providing education and employment opportunities to youth at risk of becoming involved in gangs)*	Shelters for victims of domestic violence
Community Level	Situational prevention/neighborhood upgrading/beautification programs (including CPTED) Community policing Creating safe routes for children on their way to and from school or other community activities Improving school settings, including teacher practices, school policies, and security Providing after-school programs to extend adult supervision Extra-curricular activities Positive youth development programs Life skills training Training health care workers to identify and refer youths at high risk for violence Community policing Reducing the availability and increasing price of alcohol	Providing equivalency education and diploma programs Community policing Directed patrols Violence interruption, like Cure Violence, Boston Cease Fire *(Gun buy-back programs)* *(Citizen patrols)* *(Random patrols)*	Prison-based drug rehab programs *(Reactive arrests)* *(Trying young offenders in adult courts)*

	National youth service		
Societal Level	De-concentration of poverty Reducing income inequality Reducing media violence Public information/media campaigns disseminating information about risks and consequences of violent behavior; drug abuse; information on mediation and other non-violent conflict resolution resources available in the community. Enforcing laws prohibiting illegal transfers of guns to youth	Legislation restricting concealed carrying of firearms Laws that reduce children's access to firearms Regulating sales of alcohol Raising alcohol prices	Restorative justice Setting up trauma systems for rapid response and rehabilitation Mandatory reporting laws for child abuse and abuse of the elderly Laws establishing procedures for handling cases of sexual violence Implementing disarmament and demobilization programs

ANNEX C: POTENTIAL SOURCES FOR CRIME AND VIOLENCE DATA

DATA CATEGORY	POTENTIAL DATA SOURCE	EXAMPLES OF COLLECTED INFORMATION
Mortality	Death certificates, vital statistics, death, time, place and location of medical examiners or coroners	Individual characteristics, cause of registries, reports from mortuaries
Morbidity and health-related	Hospital, clinical, and medical records	Disease, injuries, physical or mental health information, circumstances of injury, injury severity
Self-reported	Surveys, focus groups, media	Attitudes, beliefs and practices, victimization and perpetration, exposure to violence in community and the home, risk behavior
Community-based	Demographic records, local government records, community consultations	Population counts, income levels, educational levels, unemployment rates, community perceptions
Criminal	Police records, judiciary records, prison records, crime laboratories	Offense type, characteristics of offenders, circumstances of event, characteristics of victims
Economic/social	Institutional or agency records, special studies	Health expenditures, use of services, access to health care, costs of treatments, personal and household income, distribution of income
Policy or legislative	Government and legislative records	Laws, decrees, institutional policies and practices

ANNEX D: ASSESSING THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A POTENTIAL TARGET AREA

Information about the physical and social features of the target area is critical in analyzing and understanding the causes and contributors of crime and violence. It also helps in designing crime and violence prevention programs that take into account the particular characteristics of the community and its physical environment.

Physical Characteristics

Information about physical characteristics is particularly useful for designing situational crime prevention projects, including CPTED interventions. The main physical characteristics that should be assessed during the diagnostic phase include:

- **Population density.** Areas with high population density and overcrowded conditions often have higher crime rates.
- **Neighborhood layout and housing types.** Factors such as zoning for allocating land for specific uses, layout of neighborhoods, the type of housing, and the size of plots can affect crime rates. Improvised dwellings in informal settlements are often easier to break into and harder to secure with burglar bars or door locks. Large plots or small holdings reduce the number of pedestrians using the streets, meaning there are fewer "eyes" on the street.
- **Image and infrastructure.** Graffiti, garbage, broken windows, and neglected yards create an impression that an area is unsafe and may mean that residents will be less interested in improving the area where they live. It is important to take note of what parts of the community are electrified and have infrastructure and services. Poor street lighting may encourage criminality; a lack of infrastructure and services makes people more vulnerable to crime.
- **Transport routes.** The layout and nature of roads and railway lines can provide opportunities for crime and hinder crime prevention efforts. Highways bring non-resident traffic and provide easy routes for criminals to enter and escape from an area.
- **Vacant land and houses.** Large areas of vacant or underdeveloped land are often poorly maintained and provide opportunities for crime, render people walking in these areas vulnerable to attack, and make police patrol more difficult. Vacant houses are sometimes used by criminal groups for drug sales or other criminal activities.
- **Commercial and industrial facilities.** Certain types of business may attract or facilitate crime. Pawnshops, for instance, may provide an easy way to sell stolen goods shortly after committing a crime, while rental storage units provide a place to hide stolen merchandise until it is safe to unload it.

Social Characteristics

Social characteristics are important because crime and violence affect people in different ways throughout the community. Important social factors to consider include:

- **Age.** Age can be an important factor in understanding and anticipating crime levels in the area. Changes in crime levels in the United States have been linked to the number of people between the ages of 15 and 24—the largest pool of offenders.
- **Gender.** Women are more vulnerable to certain types of crime, such as domestic violence and sexual assault. Young men are most at risk of other violent crimes and are more likely to commit crime.
- **Socioeconomic status.** Poverty and unemployment are associated with crime and need to be considered in designing prevention activities.
- **Income inequality.** High levels of crime and violence are often linked to high levels of economic inequality. In many Latin American and Caribbean cities, rich and poor people live side by side. This is often where crime is highest.
- **Youth activities.** Many types of crimes and violence are committed by young unemployed adults and adolescents. It is important to find out what recreational, sports, and social facilities exist and whether there are any organizations to which young people can belong. Schools may also provide activities and may be involved in crime and violence reduction activities such as raising awareness or providing aftercare facilities.
- **Communication and participation in community activities.** It will be easier to implement crime and violence prevention programs in communities where there is good communication among residents and high levels of participation in local organizations and activities. Neighborhood watch programs and street or block committees indicate that people are willing to participate in crime and violence prevention activities.
- **Security of tenure and length of occupancy.** Crime tends to be higher in communities where there is a high degree of change of occupancy or property. Residents who rent may have less interest in securing their communities than do homeowners, as do those who live in a community temporarily rather than settling long-term. Different types of land tenure can affect the ability and inclination of residents to invest in their houses. Rapid turnover of housing also affects the social cohesion of the community.

Setting Priorities

Crime and violence prevention projects are most likely to succeed if they focus on a small number of manageable problems. That allows projects to target interventions where they are most needed and are most likely to succeed.

Setting priorities may mean choosing between several serious crime or violence problems and among geographical areas that are equally affected by crime and violence. The following criteria can be used to prioritize:

Severity of crime and violence

- **Volume:** how much crime and violence occurs
- **Rate**: which problems have the highest rates of occurrence
- **Risk:** which problems pose the greatest risk to the community

- **Rate of change**: which problems are increasing the fastest
- **Fear and concern**: which problems people are most concerned about
- **Injury:** which problems lead to the most physical harm
- **Cost**: problems associated with the highest dollar loss
- **System response**: problems that the system deals with least effectively
- **Community Assets**: problems that communities may be able to deal with most effectively
- **Reduction potential**: which problems will be easiest to prevent.

Geographic areas which are most affected

It is important to identify the places, or "hot spots," where specific crimes are most likely to occur. If an analysis shows that certain parts of the community are more prone to crime and violence, this may affect the decision to prioritize these areas for crime and violence prevention interventions.

Characteristics of victims and targets at high risk

It is important to identify factors such as the age, gender, ethnicity, and occupation of the victim; the type and location of home or business establishment; and the type and make of stolen property. There may be information about the extent of repeat victimization (whether people are victim of a crime more than once). Also consider which crimes victims tend to fear the most and why. Such characteristics can help to identify which type of interventions may be most appropriate in a particular crime and violence prevention strategy. For instance, elderly victims need to be offered different solutions than those offered to school children. Similarly, assaults on strangers require different approaches than domestic assaults.

Categories of most-likely offenders

Information about offender characteristics is particularly important for social development programs that are directed toward changing offenders or preventing potential offenders. Many programs neglect to target offenders; a mistake that can reduce the effectiveness of a crime and violence prevention strategy.

ANNEX E: EXAMPLES OF A SELECTION OF FOCUS AREAS AND PROGRAMS FOR A MUNICIPALITY

Focus area 1: Reducing youth related crime and violence

- Develop evening sports and recreational programs at local schools
- Make schools crime and violence free environments
- Enforce laws relating to under-age drinking and sale of alcohol to minors
- Develop school completion and business development program for at-risk youth
- Keeps schools open later with supervision for pupils
- Train teachers to recognize child abuse
- Develop parenting programs: single-parent support and training opportunities
- Ensure children with learning difficulties continue at school
- Support pre-school activities

Focus area 2: Reducing domestic violence

- Develop and run a shelter in a neighboring town and provide a job-placement service
- Develop a school-based sensitivity program
- Provide victim counseling services through primary healthcare workers
- Provide counseling services for abusive partners
- Design community norms and attitudes programs
- Restrict the sale of alcohol and supervise bars
- Train residents on available resources and how to support victims and witnesses, referrals for perpetrators

Focus area 3: Developing internal crime and violence prevention capacity in the community:

- Train 50 residents in crime and violence prevention
- Initiate a functional planning process to increase community violence prevention activities
- Initiate a quarterly meeting of community leaders and government representatives to discuss integrating crime and violence prevention programs
- Agree on priorities with all departments and ensure that they are included in strategic work plans and budgets.

Source: A Resource Guide for Municipalities: Community-Based Violence Prevention in Urban Latin America, World Bank, 2003.

ANNEX F: INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK'S REGIONAL SYSTEM OF STANDARDIZED INDICATORS FOR CITIZEN SECURITY AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION (SES)

In an effort to standardize indicators on crime and violence across countries in the LAC region, the IDB has created the Regional System of Standardized Indicators for Citizen Security and Violence Prevention (SES). The Regional system of standardized Indicators in peaceful coexistence and Citizen security (RIC) is a project through which 15 countries and two capital cities of Latin America and the Caribbean, have partnered to improve and compare their statistics on crime and violence. This initiative has been promoted and financed by the IDB through the Regional Public Goods program under the coordination and execution of CISALVA Institute at the Universidad del Valle in Cali, Colombia.

The citizen security indicators were designed, reviewed, and approved by the project's partner countries, along with established definitions and methodologies for the standardizing of the collecting, processing and analyzing stages of the information flow in order to support the quality of the data published. These indicators were reviewed in various regional boards, resulting in the improvement of some of them and the selection of additional citizen security indicators. The indicators are obtained via administrative records and others via surveys. In order to ensure the comparability of the indicators, a standardization process of concepts relating to the variables of time, place, person and circumstance was developed. The standardization of the following citizen security indicators will enable countries that associate with the RIC to develop, implement and evaluate public policies for security, based on comparable and verifiable information for more effective joint actions across the region.

Note: *The regional system of standardized Indicators for peaceful coexistence and citizen security is an ongoing effort that is just in its initial stages with some of the partner countries. Therefore, only the data that has undergone the project's technical analysis and meets the standards has been published on the section Indicators.*

1. Homicide rate per every 100,000 inhabitants.
2. Death rate by Traffic accidents per every 100,000 inhabitants.
3. Suicide rate per every 100,000 inhabitants older than 5 years of age.
4. Firearm death rate per every 100,000 inhabitants.
5. Complaint rate for sex crimes per every 100,000 inhabitants.
6. Rate of complaints of Intra-family/family/domestic Violence per every 100,000 inhabitants
7. Complaint rate for child and adolescent maltreatment for every 1000 individuals younger than 18 years of age.

8. Theft rate per every 100,000 inhabitants.
9. Robbery rate per every 100,000 inhabitants.
10. Rate of Automotive Theft and Robbery per every 10, 000 vehicles registered.
11. Kidnapping rate per every 100,000 inhabitants.
12. Violation rate for driving while intoxicated by alcohol in people over 15 years.
13. Prevalence of sexual violence.
14. Prevalence of family and domestic violence.
15. Rate of criminal victimization in people older than 18 years of age.
16. Percentage of victimization due to Robbery, in people older than 18 years of age.
17. Percentage of victimization due to Theft, in people older than 18 years of age.
18. Percentage of people with perception of insecurity, in people older than 18 years of age.
19. Percentage of people with perception of risk, in people older than 18 years of age.
20. Percentage of people with perception of fear, in people older than 18 years of age.
21. Percentage of people who justify the use of violence, in people older 18 years of age.
22. Percentage of people with confidence in the institutions, in people older 18 years of age.

ANNEX G: REFERENCES

Note: The literature on citizen security is vast, especially in recent years; however, most studies refer to examples of work done in developed countries. Yet, an emerging body of research and reports is focusing on Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean because of the acuteness of the crime and violence problems there.

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ANNEX H: USEFUL RESOURCES RELATED TO CRIME AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Crime Solutions
www.crimesolutions.gov

Blueprints for Violence Prevention
http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprints

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
http://www.ojjdp.gov/

The Prevention Institute
http://www.preventioninstitute.org/

International Center for the Prevention of Crime
http://www.crime-prevention-intl.org

Inter-American Development Bank – Regional Systems of Indicators
http://www.seguridadyregion.com/

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention – Division of Violence Prevention
http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/

European Forum for Urban Security
www.efus.eu

United National Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
www.unodc.org

World Bank – Citizen Security Program
www.worldbank.org/lacurbancrime

National League of Cities – Institute for Youth, Education, and Families
http://www.nlc.org/

Washington Office on Latin America
www.wola.org

Insight Crime
www.insightcrime

Woodrow Wilson Center
www.wilsoncenter.org

Chicago Crime Lab
https://crimelab.uchicago.edu/

U.S. Department of Justice – Office of Justice Programs
http://ojp.gov/programs/youthviolenceprevention.htm

International CPTED Association
http://www.cpted.net/

World Health Organization (WHO)
http://www.who.int/en/

Small Arms Survey
http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/

ANNEX I: LESSONS LEARNED FROM USAID/OFFICE OF TRANSITION INITIATIVES HONDURAS PROGRAM

The USAID/Office of Transition Initiatives (USAID/OTI) Honduras program is designed to reduce homicide and other violent crime and reduce illicit control in marginalized urban neighborhoods in the cities of Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, La Ceiba, and Tela. All program activities are focused on the creation of low-tech and low-cost models of violence disruption that can be implemented by the Government of Honduras. USAID/OTI uses an iterative programming model, based on small grants, that allows for rapid feedback of lessons learned into the design of new activities.

Below is an annotated list of lessons learned from the USAID/OTI Honduras program that may be useful for practitioners in the field of crime and violence prevention:

- **A focus on change at the community and institutional level can lead to positive results in crime and violence prevention**

A lack of state presence is one of the prime contributors to crime and violence in a community; the most violent areas of Honduran cities coincide with those areas where the state is least present and most distrusted. Efforts to build trust between state institutions and violent communities as a whole can begin to break down this distrust and reintroduce state institutions. This is best accomplished by involving communities in the process of determining what services they want, then assisting state institutions in providing those services, and subsequently aiding communities in holding the government accountable for what they have agreed to do.

- **Improvements in the built environment can lead to improvements in levels of crime and violence**

Some physical improvements have direct impacts on security, such as street lighting installation and upgrades or public space rehabilitations that allow communities to reclaim spaces for positive community activities. Additionally, these projects can serve to increase community cohesion, if implemented through an inclusive process that increases the ability of the community (through legitimate community leaders) to advocate for itself and fight for its interests, which include improving security.

- **Within any violent community, there are residents who are willing to work to reduce violence**

Those residents need skills, encouragement, and a reason to come together to take action in the face of high levels of crime and violence. Building their capacity to advocate for their communities and facilitating partnerships within communities and between communities and government institutions allows these willing residents to become active participants in reducing violence in their communities.

- **An intensive focus on data and analysis, especially geographic, is critical**

In violent urban environments, levels and dynamics of violence vary neighborhood by neighborhood, and even block by block. Constant monitoring of changing trends is critical to correctly target activities in the complex and shifting urban landscape.

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