



**Citizen Security**  
**Conceptual Framework and**  
**Empirical Evidence**

**Inter-American  
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# **Citizen Security**

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**Inter-American Development Bank**

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**CITIZEN SECURITY**

**CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE**

September 2012

This document was prepared by the Citizen Security Cluster of the Institutional Capacity of the State Division (IFD/ICS) and the Social Sector (SCL/SCL). It was written by Beatriz Abizanda, Joan Serra Hoffman, Lina Marmolejo (IFD/ICS) and Suzanne Duryea (SCL/SCL) under Nathalie Alvarado's supervision. Ana Maria Rodriguez and Carlos Santiso provided overall guidance. This document was reviewed by Ana Corbacho; Ariel Zaltsman, and Martin Ardanaz (IFD/IFD); Pablo Alonso (OVE/OVE); and Pablo Ibarra (SPD/SDV). Valuable inputs were received from Macarena Rau (Director of the International CPTED Association for Latin America and the Caribbean) and Lawrence Sherman (Wolfson Professor of Criminology of Cambridge University). Roseanna Ander (Executive Director of the University of Chicago Crime Lab), Hugo Fruhling (Director of the Center of Citizen Security Studies and Professor of Political Science at the University of Chile), and Nancy Guerra (Professor of Psychology, and Director of Institute for Global Studies, University of Delaware) provided external peer review.

## **Abstract**

Given the strong ties linking citizen security and the development of Latin America and the Caribbean, the Bank has been supporting efforts to tackle crime and violence. It has framed its work in citizen security through the establishment of specific guidelines (Operational Guidelines for Program Design and Execution in the Area of Civic Coexistence and Public Safety, GN-2535), which identify the Bank's areas of support, as well as those outside its mandate and those for which it does not have a comparative advantage as a development institution. It has also developed the present Conceptual Framework, to complement the Operational Guidelines, by reviewing a group of concepts to provide focus, rationale, and tools to integrate and interpret information relevant to the citizen security policies and under the spectrum defined by the Guidelines. The Conceptual Framework is intended as a tool to guide the analyses of the sector, drawing from a growing empirical knowledge base of "what works" in crime and violence prevention.

The framework presents "best bets," programs, and interventions from the Latin American and Caribbean region and beyond, which have been rigorously evaluated, have proven to be effective, and can be tried and applied in the region. It should be continuously reevaluated, as knowledge of what works to prevent crime and violence increases. Existing evidence on what works and what does not is just the tip of the iceberg. Experts agree that hypothesis testing with a practical, evidence-based approach is the most promising route.

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## I. OVERVIEW

Today, crime and violence (C&V) is the number one concern for Latin American citizens, surpassing unemployment or the economic situation,<sup>1</sup> and is one of the region's top priorities in the public policy agenda.<sup>2</sup> The member countries of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB, the Bank) have shown growing interest in Bank support for improved governance in citizen security, with increased formal and informal requests for the Bank to become involved in various aspects of citizen security.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, crime and violence have become increasingly recognized as development issues by multilateral and bilateral international development partners (World Bank 2011a; UNDP 2012).

Development is increasingly understood as encompassing broad areas of economic, as well as human and social development, education, protection of global public goods, governance, and institutions, along with issues such as inclusion and cohesion, participation, accountability, and equity. Citizen security is a key dimension. Crime and violence are increasingly recognized as serious obstacles to the formation of social and human capital formation and sustainable economic development (CEPAL 2011), investment, and economic growth (WEF 2011). Increased levels of crime and victimization destroy social capital by fomenting social mistrust, weakening societal unity, and contributing to generalized fear and the erosion of institutions, which are the basic requisites for the collective action needed for development.<sup>4</sup> Young people,<sup>5</sup> women,<sup>6</sup> minorities,<sup>7</sup> and residents of poor, large, urban areas are disproportionately impacted by crime and violence in the region.<sup>8</sup>

The potential development impact of C&V interventions is supported by pioneering<sup>9</sup> and ongoing research by the Inter-American Development Bank, as well as by broader research in the field.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the IDB has supported member country efforts to tackle C&V from a development perspective, pursuant to its mandate. It has framed its work in citizen security through the establishment of Operational Guidelines for Program Design and Execution in the Area of Civic Coexistence and Public Safety (IDB 2009) and the Operational Guidelines for More Effective Justice Administration Systems (IDB 2012a). The Guidelines identify the Bank's areas of support, as well as those outside its mandate, and those for which it does not have a comparative advantage as a development institution.

The IDB's areas of support span the spectrum of C&V prevention and include institutional strengthening across sectors:

- **Social interventions** to prevent youth from progressing from low-risk to high-risk behavior, which are proximate determinants of violent and criminal behavior. Social interventions also extend to preventing domestic violence, which includes preventing the intergenerational transmission of violent behavior.
- **Situational prevention** to reduce opportunities for crime and violence that arise from environmental factors.
- **The police** to prevent C&V by detecting potential opportunities and deterring the offense from occurring.
- **The judiciary system** (courts, prosecution) to prevent C&V by detecting, prosecuting, and sentencing offenders.

- **The penitentiary system** to prevent further C&V by forced cessation in criminal and violent activity, and by providing opportunities for rehabilitation.
- **Institutional capacity building** to enhance state effectiveness and efficiency to prevent C&V by increasing policymaking capacities and promoting evidence-based **policies**.

Several areas are ineligible for Bank funding, including secret, military, antiterrorism, intelligence, and armed conflicts operations; procurement of weaponry or war equipment; money laundering; and frontal attack on crime, drug trafficking, and organized crime (see table 1).

**Table 1. Range of IDB Interventions in Citizen Security**

| Cross-cutting areas of action | Institutional capabilities<br>Enhance state effectiveness and efficiency to prevent C&V by increasing policymaking capacities and promoting the use of empirical evidence |  |  |  |   | Excluded areas of action   |
|-------------------------------|---|--|--|--|---|--|
| Specific areas of prevention  | Social interventions  | Situational prevention   | Police   | Judiciary system                                 | Penitentiary system   | <del>           Military operations<br/>           Anti-terrorism<br/>           Intelligence<br/>           Armed forces<br/>           Procurement of weapons or war equipment<br/>           Drug trafficking<br/>           Money laundering<br/>           Crime         </del> |
| Key objective                 | Addressing violent and criminal behavior among young people; substance abuse; and domestic violence   | Reducing opportunities for criminal and violent behavior stemming from environmental factors | Detecting opportunities for crime and deterring its occurrence | Detecting, prosecuting, and sentencing offenders | Increasing the effectiveness of rehabilitation, in order to prevent recidivism after social integration |  |

Source: Authors.

The roles of the police, the judiciary, and the penitentiary system are not limited to crime prevention, but are integral and complementary to achieving a balanced approach in citizen security efforts. Police detect crimes, investigate their occurrence, and gather information to inform offender management practices or formal prosecution. The judiciary detects, prosecutes, and imposes sanctions on crimes. The penitentiary system forcibly puts a stop to criminal and violent activity by incarcerating and rehabilitating offenders.

This Conceptual Framework complements the Guidelines by reviewing a group of concepts to provide a focus, rationale, and tool to integrate and interpret information relevant to the citizen security policies described above. The Conceptual Framework does not analyze the risk factors and causes of C&V in the region, nor some of the new social, criminal, and penal codes adopted in the region in recent years. The Conceptual Framework is intended as a tool to guide the analyses of the sector, drawing from a growing empirical knowledge base of “what works” in C&V prevention.

Over the last few years, there has been an increasing emphasis on evidence-informed and evidence-based C&V policy making in the region. Although there are varied definitions of what constitutes “evidence,” there is a growing consensus that solid evidence is a critical input to guide decisions about policy funding and implementation. The interventions included in this Conceptual Framework are backed by experimental (well-supported) or quasi-experimental (supported) evaluations and systematic reviews. Selected promising practices in Latin America and the Caribbean have been also been included; for these practices, the level of certainty from the available scientific evidence is too low to support generalizable conclusions, but there is some empirical basis for predicting that further research could support such conclusions.

Most of the interventions that meet the threshold of evidence for this Framework work at the individual level, reflecting the early evaluation efforts and intervention frameworks of C&V, and have been developed in social policy contexts (such as the United States, western Europe, and Australia) with richer institutional infrastructures (such as social welfare, prevention, and local governance systems). Moreover, they were designed to address C&V contexts different from those found in the Latin American and Caribbean region as a whole and in specific subregions in particular.

As such, the Conceptual Framework does not capture the full range of citizen security interventions and promising practices in the region, nor do the evidence-based interventions featured represent the full range of approaches needed to address the characteristics of C&V in the region. Recent multisectoral approaches in cities in Latin America and North America suggest the promise of more integrated, comprehensive public sector responses to C&V that address characteristics at the individual and situational level and factors at the community level. These factors include (but are not limited to) the concentration of the urban poor, residential mobility and population turnover, family disruption, housing and population density, criminal opportunity structures (such as levels of leisure activities outside the household, and gang density), and dimensions of social organization (such as informal social ties, density of acquaintanceship, supervision of street groups, and organizational density and strength). These interventions hold promise for rapidly urbanizing areas where violence is concentrated—not only in the developing world, but also in high- and middle-income countries. In such areas, crime and violence are characterized by the convergence of a wide range of risk factors, including overcrowding, inequality, youth unemployment, drug crime, and/or weak or corrupted institutions. Such conditions often require focused, but coordinated action on several fronts.<sup>11</sup>

While the Framework can be used to substantiate possible courses of action and preferred approaches, it is not a plan of action. Existing evidence on what works and what does not is just the tip of the iceberg. Experts agree that hypothesis testing with a practical, evidence-based approach is the most promising route. The Conceptual Framework is knowledge-based, articulated, shared, coherent, and consistent with the Bank’s institutional vision, and offers a succinct review of the existing evidence-base as it stands. It is intended to be continuously re-evaluated, as knowledge about what works to prevent C&V increases in Latin America and the Caribbean.

**A. CONCEPTS, POLICY APPROACHES TO DATE, AND THE EMERGENCE OF CITIZEN SECURITY**

- 1.1 Violence and crime are two different concepts and dimensions of citizen security efforts.** A definition of violence, informed by public health concerns, considers violence "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" (Krug et al. 2002). While this definition is not uniformly accepted, a typology of violence derived from this definition can be a useful way to understand the contexts in which violence occurs and the interactions between types of violence. It identifies four modes in which violence may be inflicted: by physical, sexual, and/or psychological means, or through deprivation. It further divides the general definition of violence into sub-types according to the victim-perpetrator relationship. For the purposes of this Conceptual Framework, self-directed and interpersonal violence are the sub-types of interest. **Self-directed violence** refers to violence in which the perpetrator and the victim are the same individual; this category is subdivided into *self-abuse* and *suicide*. **Interpersonal violence** refers to violence between individuals, and is subdivided into *family and intimate partner violence* and *community violence*. The former category includes child maltreatment, intimate partner violence, and elder abuse, while the latter is broken down into *acquaintance* and *stranger* violence and includes youth violence, assault by strangers, violence related to property crimes, and violence in workplaces and other institutions. (Dahlberg and Krug 2002, pp. 1–56)
- 1.2 Crime is committed when criminal law is infringed.** Crime can be violent, but not all crime is violent: for example, white collar crimes are not violent. Further, not all violence is a crime. "Violence" and "violent crime" are often used interchangeably. However, the legal status of violence varies with context: some violent acts will not be treated as crimes everywhere: examples are domestic violence or psychological violence such as stalking. This report uses "violence" to refer to activities and behaviors that intentionally cause physical harm, or threaten to harm an individual or group, regardless of whether they are sanctioned as crimes under the prevailing legal framework.
- 1.3 Fear of crime has a huge impact on societies in the region; while the impact of fear cannot be compared with the actual harm caused by violence, including violent crime, it is a key "quality of life" issue.** Reducing fear (making people feel safer) is increasingly common among the explicit components of the regional citizen security efforts in the region. Fear negatively affects individuals and communities; influences behavior, politics, economics, and social life; and can lead to population shifts. The costs of fear are borne by both individuals and society. While fear of crime is related to actual crime, the connection is less clear-cut than might be assumed. In many cities in the United States, notes Cordner, "where the actual level of crime has fallen, fear of crime has not seemed to recede as quickly or as substantially" (Cordner 2010, p. ix). The most fearful individuals are not necessarily those who have suffered the most crime or at most risk of victimization. Similarly, the most fearful communities are not necessarily the ones with the most crime. "Fear of crime does not necessarily go up or down in correlation with the amount of actual crime and so on. Given that fear of crime is not highly correlated with actual crime, it cannot be assumed that policies to reduce crime will reduce fear of crime" (Cordner 2010, p.6). From this perspective, regional responses to

enhance citizen security must address these three key dimensions: violence, crime, and fear of crime (figure 1).

**Figure 1. Three Key Dimensions of Citizen Insecurity: Violence, Crime, and Fear of Crime**



Source: Authors.

- 1.4 **Policy interventions to reduce crime and violence in the region have been dominated by a particular, often narrow, approach and its associated professional discipline(s). Each tends to prioritize a specific type of C&V and focus on a particular target group, often working in silos.** Table 2, drawn from the Moser and Winton (2002) typology, outlines some of the main policy approaches as “ideal types.” Increasingly, more than one approach is used simultaneously. Well-established approaches, research, and measurement traditions—such as criminology and public health, from whence the bulk of the interventions presented in this Conceptual Framework are drawn—are often combined with more innovative ones. The various limitations of each of these most common approaches are listed below, and all share a common challenge: constraints in the capacity of human resources.
- 1.5 **Given the multiple layering of C&V, policymakers are beginning to shift away from menu-like checklists of single-sector interventions: citizen security approach is one such integrated approach (ICPC 2010)** Promoted by the IDB and surfacing from innovations in the region, citizen security approaches incorporate interventions from varied disciplines and policy perspectives that prevent and reduce violence through a menu of different initiatives.

**Table 2. Policy Approaches to Reducing Crime and Violence**

| <b>Approach</b>         | <b>Objective</b>   | <b>Intervention</b>  | <b>Limitations</b>   |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|
| Criminal justice        | Deter and control violence through higher arrest, conviction rates, and more severe punishment                               | Top-down strengthening of judicial, penal, and police systems and their associated institutions                          | Limited applicability; success dependent on enforcement; restraints in human resources capacity  |
| Public health           | Prevent violence by reducing individual risk factors   | Top-down surveillance; identifying risk factors; resultant behavior modification; scaling up of successful interventions | Almost exclusive focus on individual; often imposed top down; sensitive to quality of surveillance data; limitations in indicators; constraints in capacity of human resources |
| Conflict transformation | Resolving conflict nonviolently through negotiated terms between conflicting parties   | Top-down or bottom-up conflict reduction negotiations between different social actors                                    | Often long-term in its impact; faces challenges in bringing parties to the table and in mediating conflict; constraints in capacity of human resources                         |
| Human rights            | Legal enforcement of human rights and documentation of abuses by states and other social actors                              | Top-down legal enforcement reinforced by bottom-up participation and NGO lobbying  | Legal framework often difficult to enforce in lawlessness contexts; corruption and impunity; constraints in capacity of human resources  |
| Social capital          | Building social capital through both informal and formal social institutions, including family, community, and the judiciary | Bottom-up participatory violence appraisal; institutional mapping; reduction measures drawing on community participation | Less well articulated than other approaches; fewer indicators developed; constraints in capacity of human resources  |
| Citizen security        | Composite set of measures to prevent and/or reduce violence  | Multi-sectoral government-directed approach  | Promoted by the IDB: very popular with governments seeking to address governments concerns   |

Source: Adapted from Moser and Winton (2002).

1.6 **Citizen security policy approaches emphasize strengthening democratic governance and focusing on the individual within a democratic context, rather than the coercive functions of the state.** The concept of “citizen security” first gained prominence in the region during the 1990s as Latin American and Caribbean countries were consolidating their transition to democracy, as an alternative to the concept of “public security.” The term originally referred to the physical security of persons and goods, but increasingly has become synonymous with activities that also focus on addressing the interrelated issues of reducing C&V, improving citizen safety, and increasing a sense of citizenship.<sup>12</sup> Today, citizen security is being explicitly incorporated in the approach of many multilateral and bilateral organizations to security and development (Moser and Winton 2002) and is increasingly reflected in the policy frameworks of many Latin American and Caribbean countries. A citizen security approach requires collective and coordinated

collaborative action, drawing upon diverse fields and disciplinary and policy approaches, and can be undertaken at country, regional, and/or city level.

- 1.7 **Regional citizen security innovations underscore the relevance of civic culture (*cultura ciudadana*) and the role of the state in actively fostering citizens' participation.** Some cities in the region<sup>13</sup> have explored ways to include interventions to strengthen civic culture (*cultura ciudadana*) in policies to prevent crime and violence. According to proponents of civic culture interventions, violent and disorderly actions are due to a disassociation among three systems that regulate human behavior: law, morality, and culture. Civic culture interventions are based on the assumption that culture is malleable, and cultural changes and citizens' participation can be fostered by the state. Activities to improve "coexistence" among citizens (*convivencia ciudadana*) seek to increase voluntary compliance with the law based on cultural and moral motivations. Interventions to foster civic culture use pedagogical strategies to foster citizens' involvement through communication, sports, and art (Mockus 2008). Among those civic culture implemented in Latin American countries, the ones in Bogota and Medellin may be the ones known most widely (Mockus, Murraín, and Villa 2012).
- 1.8 **Increasingly, bottom-up approaches and concepts, such as collective efficacy, that explore the role of informal social control are being actively incorporated in citizen security efforts.** Research produced in the United States— as well as in Australia, China, and Sweden, and with less conclusive evidence, in Brazil and Colombia—has highlighted the importance of collective efficacy in explaining the characteristics that seem to contribute to exerting informal social control in communities. This concept combines trust (social capital) with shared expectations for action and is defined as "social control enacted under conditions of social trust" (Sampson 2004, p. 108). This theory helps explain why, despite weak ties among community members, the existence of shared values and expectations can enable enough trust for the community to achieve common goals. The theory was tested in Chicago and found empirical support. Additionally, in the same study, the presence of collective efficacy was associated with a 30 percent decrease in the potential for victimization. Collective efficacy was shown to "moderate the relationship between residential instability, and disadvantage" (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997). An extension of this 1997 analysis (Maxwell, Garner, and Skogan 2011) reveals a relationship between levels of collective efficacy and reductions in rates of rape and homicide from 1995 to 2004. There is some research under way to gauge how transferable the results of these studies are in different Latin American and Caribbean institutional, social, political, and economic contexts, with promising results demonstrated for Colombia. A 2008 study by Cerda, Morenoff, Duque, and Buka analyzed the relationship between collective efficacy, homicide rates, and individuals' perceptions of violent crime in neighborhoods in Medellín. Findings of this analysis support collective efficacy theory with respect to homicide rates after controlling for two important factors: disadvantage and paramilitary presence.

## B. STATE OF THE FIELD IN VIOLENCE AND CRIME PREVENTION

- 1.9 **The current state of the field reflects important advances.** In the last 35 years, the field has developed “a substantial science base ranging from knowledge generation (research) and knowledge integration to knowledge dissemination and knowledge application (delivery)” (Rosenberg 2012). Applying a scientific methodology to violence and crime involves “collecting and analyzing data to define the magnitude, scope, and characteristics of the problem, examining the factors that increase or decrease the risk for violence and crime, and identifying the factors that can be modified through interventions. Interventions are designed, tested, and evaluated. Efficacious and promising interventions are implemented, and their effects and cost-effectiveness are evaluated. Ongoing monitoring of intervention effects on risk factors and target problems builds the database to allow quantitative assessment of successes and clear identification of remaining needs” (Rosenberg et al. 2006, p. 208).
- 1.10 **Significant advances have been made in identifying risk factors at the individual, the relationship, the community, and the societal levels for each type of interpersonal violence, with important implications for prevention.**<sup>14</sup> As outlined in a recent synthesis report on preventing violence around the globe there is increased recognition of the need to move toward approaches that address multiple risk factors simultaneously “for both individuals (being male; previous experience with violence; alcohol and substance use; family environment with poor parenting; or marital conflict) and communities (high concentrations of poverty; widespread violence in society; alcohol and substance use; access to weapons; and high rates of social, justice, economic, and gender inequalities)” (NRC 2008, p. 25). Further, the strong links between different types of violence have come to light. There is a cycle of violence that may begin with child neglect at birth; lead to hyper-vigilant children and youth who are less likely to be calmed and are more likely to participate in intimate partner violence, sexual violence, and youth violence than nonvictims; and extend to elder abuse and suicide when they get older (Rosenberg 2012, pp. 6–16). Perpetrators of homicide against another family member are at substantially increased risk of later committing suicide. Underlying and “crosscutting these causal links between the different subtypes of violence are shared risk factors—such as alcohol and substance misuse, parental loss, crime, household poverty, and social and economic inequalities—that underlie most of the subtypes” (NRC 2008, p. 208). This suggests that interventions to address these risk factors may impact on several types of violence (Welsh and Farrington 2010).
- 1.11 **Such advances have been instrumental in identifying and clustering interventions at the individual, the relationship, the community, and the societal levels, and addressing the multiple dimensions of specific types of violence and crime, and promoting integrated “best bet” approaches—even if the optimal combination of multiple component interventions have yet to be identified** (Krug et al 2002). A major challenge of risk-focused prevention has been “the limited ability to establish which risk factors are causes and which are merely markers or correlated with cause,” resulting in interventions that target multiple risk factors in a scattershot manner (Welsh and Farrington 2010, p. 9). Interventions should optimally focus on causal factors, since a focus on factors simply correlated with cause will not necessarily result in decreases in offenses or victimization. Nevertheless, there is also evidence that points to greater

effectiveness of multi-modal intervention packages than interventions focused on modifying a single factor (Wasserman and Miller 1998) (see box 1).

### **Box 1. Evolution in Criminal Justice Prevention Approaches**

Scholars and practitioners today generally accept that the criminal justice sector as a whole is expected to deliver both safety and justice for all members of society in the form of enforcement as well as prevention, while producing a legally appropriate resolution of each case brought to the formal or informal system. A country's criminal justice sector is understood by scholars and practitioners to comprise all the institutions, processes, and services responsible for the prevention, investigation, adjudication, treatment, and response to illegal behaviors. The sector includes the institutions traditionally associated with it, such as police, prosecutors, public defenders, courts, and corrections, as well as a wide range of other institutions, such as private police, victim services, private lawyers and bar associations, human rights and ombudsman's offices, addiction and other treatment programs, as well as community engagement and service programs. Contemporary practitioners and others in the development community increasingly view the criminal justice sector as a means for the delivery of services to the public in the areas of safety and conflict resolution, as well as individual and community development, and as a central part of the everyday meaning of the rule of law and good governance. This service orientation has changed priorities within the sector, raising the priority of tasks that contribute to these goals, while reducing the resources devoted to individual cases unlikely to contribute to either safety or justice. It also has increased attention to sector-wide coherence, early intervention, governance, and accountability.

*Source:* Adopted from Leroy (2012).

- 1.12 **In the past, prevention and control (or sanctions) were usually envisioned as mutually exclusive concepts.** This dichotomy fed a debate over which citizen security policy works best: one that insists on "softer" approaches based on social prevention versus a "punishment or control" focus, which relies more on "tougher," more punitive criminal justice-based responses. As stated by Cook and Ludwig (2012, p. 56), "the line between those false extremes is being blurred by new approaches that recognize that we can deter crime by improving people's life chances, and that coercion can in some cases be a key element of such efforts, as with compulsory schooling laws." A crime prevention program can be broadly defined as a set of activities that causes a lower "number of committed crimes than would have happened without that policy" (Sherman et al. 1997, chapter 2, p. 2).
- 1.13 **Increased understanding of socially effective sanctions offer unique opportunities for preventive criminal justice.** Sanctions or punishments are some of the tools available for avoiding or deterring crime; yet not all sanctions work for all offenders and for all offenses. Some sanctions can be crime-preventive, while others may be crime-causing ("criminogenic"), and still others may have little or no effect (Sherman et al. 1997). The justification for use of sanctions or punishment includes: the deterring power of sanctions; the retribution that sanctions provide for the crimes they tackle; their incapacitation effects; and the rehabilitative power of sanctions, or their social effectiveness, when they contribute to minimize the harms to society caused by criminal or violent behavior and facilitate the offender's change of behavior (Banks 2009).

- 1.14 **Significant advances have resulted in a body of applied integrative knowledge that decision makers can draw upon to design and implement evidence-based C&V prevention policies, but key challenges remain.** Most of the practices evaluated have been implemented in developed countries, mainly Australia, some European countries, and the United States. Reviews of evidence-based approaches on crime prevention (Akpokdje, Bowles, and Tigere 2002) and violence prevention in developing countries, including those of Latin America and the Caribbean (NRC 2004), find that research tends to be largely descriptive or qualitative, and that it produces few quantitative results of sufficient quality to contribute to the creation of a regional evidence-based approach.
- 1.15 **The factors involved in successful implementation of evidence-based policies are not as well understood.** Choosing evidence-based C&V prevention policies will not necessarily ensure good implementation (Fixsen et al. 2005). As Petersilia (1990, p. 129) notes, “the ideas embodied in innovative social programs are not self-executing”. Instead, what is needed is an “implementation perspective on innovation—an approach that views post-adoption events as crucial and focuses on the actions of those who convert it into practice as the key to success or failure.” Far more research is needed on how to implement policies while staying true to the original design, as well as how to secure good outcomes over time and across practitioners in different contexts and cultures, in complex settings. Implementers of evidence-based practice stress the importance of building bridges between practice and research, and establishing a strong “operating system” that can ensure that policymakers and practitioners follow a logical path when identifying community, municipal, or national concerns and implementing programs and policies to reduce or prevent crime and violence, and more broadly encourage social development (Fixsen et al. 2005).
- 1.16 **Knowledge and institutional obstacles to advance violence prevention around the world have also been described in state-of-the-field reviews.** As summed up by Rosenberg et al (2012, pp. 6, 18–19), there is limited knowledge on how to reach out to high risk groups; develop integration mechanisms to link surveillance, timely policy responses, and evaluation efforts; and move beyond demonstration projects to scaling up programs that work. At an institutional level, progress is hampered by the scarcity of political will to enact solutions and try ideas; the intense rivalry between organizations that compete for the same limited pool of resources; the lack of resources to build the foundations for violence prevention required to ensure that prevention activities are sustained over time; the skepticism about the feasibility of delivering complex social interventions in resource-poor settings; and the time-lag between prevention program delivery and reduced rates of violence for social interventions such as parent training and life skills training.
- 1.17 **Increasing emphasis has been placed on the importance of evidence-informed prevention strategies and evidence-based decision making for policymakers charged with the task of making decisions around the funding and implementation of violence prevention strategies.** Conceptual tools such as *Best Available Research Evidence* are widely accepted and used to qualify evidence in fields ranging from medicine to psychology (Puddy and Wilkins 2011).<sup>15</sup> Such conceptual tools enable researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to determine whether or not a prevention program, practice, or policy is actually achieving the outcomes it aims to and in the way it intends. The more rigorous a study’s research design (through such means as randomized

control trials and quasi-experimental designs), the more compelling the research evidence—although other research designs and types of research, including qualitative research, are needed to fully understand both the problem and its solution (box 2).

**Box 2. Two Underlying Facets of the Best Available Research Evidence**

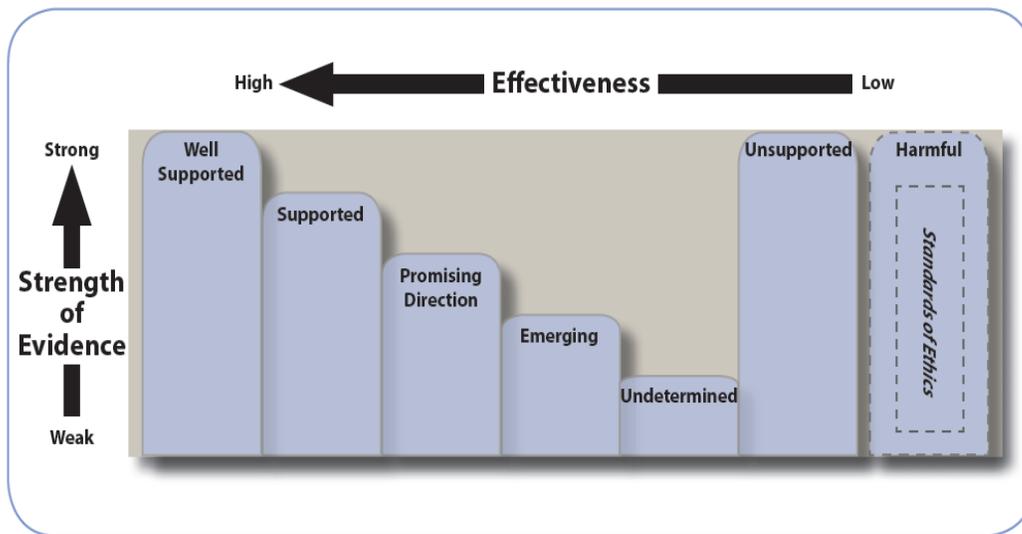
**1. Strength of Evidence**

- How rigorously has a program, practice, or policy been evaluated?
- How strong is the evidence in determining that the program or policy is producing the desired outcomes?
- How much evidence exists to determine that something *other* than this program or policy is responsible for producing the desired outcomes?

**2. Effectiveness**

- Is this program, practice, or policy producing desired outcomes?
- Is it producing non-desirable outcomes?

As shown below, the areas of the *continuum* are differentiated from one another based on the extent to which they meet the requirements of these two facets. These areas range from highly rigorous and effective (“well-supported”) to highly rigorous, yet ineffective (“unsupported”).



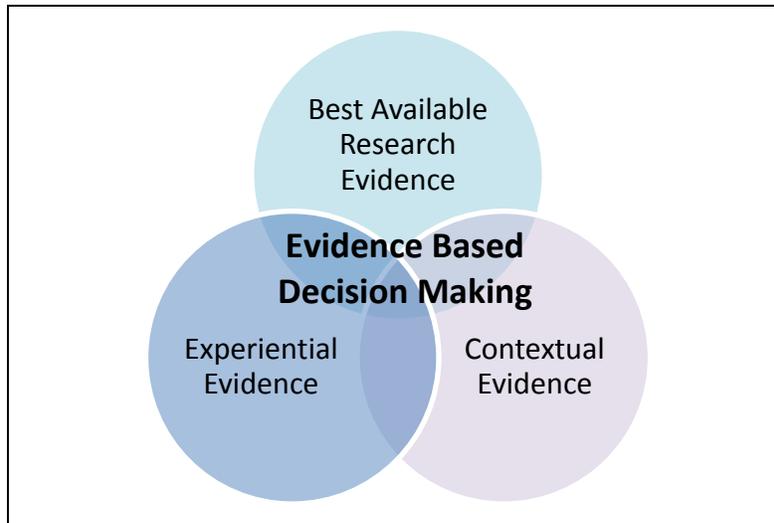
Source: Puddy and Wilkins (2011, pp. 7–8). For a fuller discussion, see: [http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/pdf/Understanding\\_Evidence-a.pdf](http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/pdf/Understanding_Evidence-a.pdf)

1.18

Increasingly, two other forms of evidence related to clinical/practitioner experience/expertise and setting/contextual factors have been recognized as being crucial to the success of prevention efforts for many behavioral health problems, including violence (figure 2). As defined by Puddy and Wilkins (2011, p. 4), they are: “**Experiential Evidence:** This type of evidence is based on the professional insight, understanding, skill, and expertise that is accumulated over time and is often referred to as intuitive or tacit knowledge; **Contextual Evidence:** This type of evidence is based on

factors that address whether a strategy is useful, feasible to implement, and accepted by a particular community. These three facets of evidence, while distinct, also overlap and are important and necessary aspects of making evidence-based decisions.”

**Figure 2. A Framework for Thinking about Evidence**



Source: Puddy and Wilkins (2011).

- 1.19 **Despite considerable progress, prevention policies are still marginalized within the broader scope of public safety policies.** A 2010 review of the evolution and outcomes of public policies, strategies, and practice of prevention and community safety around the world conclude that while crime prevention is frequently seen as an objective or program requiring coordination by various public policies, it is rarely viewed as a public policy in itself (ICPC 2010).

### C. INSTITUTIONAL FRAGILITY AND WEAKNESS OF THE STATE IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

- 1.20 **The challenges of advancing C&V prevention are increased by the weak governance contexts, which are very acute in more vulnerable states.** This weakness of democratic governance constitutes fertile ground for a surge in C&V.<sup>16</sup>
- a. *A vulnerable state creates voids that become fertile ground for violence.* Residents in socially excluded communities cannot depend on weak or nonexistent public institutions to provide them with safety and justice. “When (legal) methods of obtaining increased social status, higher income, and wider influence are limited,” as they often are in excluded areas, violence becomes an instrument to achieve “security, and economic gain.” The anti-social actions of a minority finally affect the majority of residents in excluded areas with a practical absence of the state (Berkman 2007).
  - b. *Low trust levels in the police and the judiciary affect the perception of insecurity and social cohesion.* Furthermore, low institutional capacity to deliver further

reduces trust (see box 3). Yet the capacity to deliver change is weak in most societies that score low on governance indicators (World Bank 2011a).

- c. *Corruption and organized crime erode the legitimacy of the state and its ability to exercise its functions.* The literature highlights that criminal organizations turn to violence as a way to establish control over territory and (illicit) markets. Corruption also helps gain impunity. Impunity and corruption in turn erode the state's legitimacy to fight violence and keep the rule of law (Solis and Francisco 2009; UNODC 2010).

### **Box 3. Victimization and Trust in Public Institutions in Latin America**

The scarce literature on the relationship between crime and trust in institutions has been augmented by an econometric study conducted by the IDB in a sample of 19 Latin American countries. It explores the relationship between individual experiences of victimization and personal trust in public institutions and in other people (Corbacho, Ruiz, and Phillip 2012). Study findings suggest that victims of crime are less likely to trust the local police. The probability of trust is 10 percent lower among victims, a significant reduction from already low levels of trust in the region. In addition, crime victims are less likely to stay in the city where they live or recommend that city to friends and associates, weakening existing as well as future social networks. The study also finds that the erosion of trust is as important as individual victimization in determining feelings of insecurity.

The implications are that in environments of low trust, governments must work twice as hard to address the consequences of crime. Public programs to fight crime will not be as effective in citizens' view and collaboration to report crime and work with the police will be lower. In addition, governments will have to spend more money to improve the perception of public institutions, further increasing the already high cost of crime in the region. Policies in the region clearly need to focus on reducing risks of actual victimization, but also on rebuilding trust in public institutions.

*Source:* Corbacho, Ruiz, and Philipp (2012, forthcoming).

- d. *The effectiveness of policies is limited by the lack of a comprehensive approach, which would take into account an analysis of all risk factors to address the causes of violence in a particular context and ensure effective and accountable policies.* Citizen security has historically been treated and approached from a perspective almost entirely focusing on law enforcement.
- e. *Lack of definition of clear responsibilities and low coordination between central and local government limit the potential of success.* Successful examples of C&V prevention reduction in the region have surfaced mostly from experiences of local governments and municipal level efforts, rather than from national policies results. Examples include efforts in Bogotá, Diadema, Guayaquil, Medellín, Peñalolen, Puente Alto, Quito, and São Paulo. These experiences, as well as research from within and outside Latin America and the Caribbean, highlight the importance of the involvement of the local governments in dealing with C&V.<sup>17</sup> The literature cites several possible justifications for the importance of a local approach to C&V prevention. For example, C&V are not evenly distributed in countries, regions or even cities. Rather they tend to be clustered among relatively few places (Sherman et al. 2002). Due to their proximity to these

places, local governments have a comparative advantage in preventing C&V within these places. Furthermore, local government authorities have a major role in developing and tailoring programs to local circumstances, since crime is experienced at the local and the neighborhood level and thus can be tackled locally. However, especially among smaller cities, these governments are weaker than their national counterparts. Furthermore, weak articulation between strategies at the national and local levels contributes to low policy effectiveness. This can stem from a lack of clarity in the allocation of responsibilities between central and local government.

- f. *Low levels of specialization among public officials affect policy quality.* In general, staff of security, justice, and related institutions lack adequate training. This limits their ability to analyze, design, execute, and evaluate security policies. The practical absence of a culture of evaluation also limits the government's ability to improve service delivery and apply knowledge.
  - g. *Weak information and obsolete analysis and management tools impede good diagnosis, execution, and policy feedback.* Several studies have identified two critical bottlenecks: "(i) the lack of quality data and information to support empirical analyses and diagnostic assessments that would enable better policy targeting; and (ii) the weakness of public policy management, planning, and evaluation tools in the sector, which has constrained the capacity to measure results and the learning process in the regional context. These problems are reflected in weak diagnostic assessments, the lack of systematic analyses based on empirical evidence, the inadequate inclusion of cost-effectiveness considerations in the interventions, and the limited use of monitoring and evaluation tools" (IDB 2012b, p. 8).
  - h. *The weakness of the criminal justice system (CJS) compounds risks.* Incarceration rates are high and increasing, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean. Overcrowding of prisons—which averages 60 percent for the entire Latin American and Caribbean region (IDB 2012a)—constitutes a humanitarian problem. It is also a roadblock to the rehabilitative power of corrections. To a large extent, prison overpopulation is the result of an excessive resort to preventive imprisonment, which in turn results from delays in trials, the lack of alternative sentencing systems, the inadequacy or nonexistence of pretrial services,<sup>18</sup> and the lack of protocols for determining when pretrial detention should be applied, and when and how decisions on precautionary measures should be reviewed, among other problems (IDB 2012a).
- 1.21 *The legacy of totalitarian regimes and post-conflict scenarios.* Dictatorships and wars in the region have deeply influenced the low trust of the citizens in institutions whose mission is to protect them.<sup>19</sup> In some countries, military forces or death squads violated civil and human rights. Some police units were part of the repressive apparatus, through political espionage, illegal detentions, disappearances, and the like. The judiciary was used as another tool to repress citizens in dictatorial regimes. Due to this troubled history and weak transparency, compounded by lack of delivery from the security institutions, some citizens question the legitimacy of the state, perceive a culture of impunity, and maintain low levels of trust in government (WOLA 2009).

## II. A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR C&V PREVENTION FROM A DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

- 2.1 **There are many possible ways of classifying C&V prevention programs. One of the first efforts draws upon the public health approach for preventing diseases and injuries.** This effort divides prevention activities into three categories: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary prevention involves measures focused on improving the general well-being of individuals. Secondary prevention focuses on intervening with populations at risk to stop them from becoming offenders or victims. Tertiary prevention involves measures directed toward those who have already been involved with crime or victimization (Krug et al. 2002). A further classification, developed by Van Dijk and de Waard (1991), distinguishes among offender-oriented, situation-oriented, and victim-oriented activities. It permits policies to be organized by the different stages of the development of violent and criminal activity (primary, secondary, or tertiary), focusing on the victim (or potential victim), as well as the offender (or potential offender), and on implementing response and prevention efforts.
- 2.2 Table 3 synthesizes the Conceptual Framework for the Bank’s work in citizen security and crime prevention policy. It builds on the five specific areas of action and a cross-cutting area of institutional strengthening.<sup>20</sup>

**Table 3. Range of Areas of IDB Interventions in Citizen Security**

| Cross-cutting area of action     | Institutional capabilities   |  |  |  |   |
|----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|---|
|                                  | Enhance state effectiveness and efficiency in preventing C&V by increasing policymaking capacities and promoting the use of empirical evidence in policies |  |  |  |   |
| Specific areas of prevention     | Social intervention  | Situational prevention   | Police   | Judiciary system                                 | Penitentiary system   |
| Key objective                    | Addressing violent and criminal behavior among young people; substance abuse; and domestic violence <sup>a</sup>   | Reducing opportunities for criminal and violent behavior stemming from environmental factors | Detecting opportunities for crime and deterring its occurrence | Detecting, prosecuting, and sentencing offenders | Increasing the effectiveness of rehabilitation to prevent recidivism after integration into society |
| Target risk level                |  |  |  |  |   |
| Primary risk level               | ✓  | ✓  | --   | --   | --  |
| Secondary risk level             | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  | --   | --  |
| Tertiary risk level <sup>b</sup> | --   | --   | ✓  | ✓  | ✓   |

Source: Authors.

- a. Preventing youth from progressing from low-risk to high-risk behavior, which are proximate determinants of violent and criminal behavior. Preventing domestic violence includes preventing the intergenerational transmission of violent behavior.
- b. Given that the tertiary level is defined as having conflict with the law, this Conceptual Framework addresses interventions in the area of penitentiary system and rehabilitation. However, tertiary interventions for youth in conflict with the law can also be carried out in a range of community settings, independently of penitentiary systems. See Limbos et al. (2007).
- 2.3 The sections that follow present a list of activities for each of the intervention areas defined. These activities are the most supported by the best available research evidence, and by experimental or quasi-experimental evidence of effectiveness.

**A. SOCIAL PREVENTION: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE AND EXAMPLES**

- 2.4 **Social prevention.** While potentially covering an extremely broad array of interventions, this area is focused on three key areas of prevention: aggressive and delinquent behavior among youth;<sup>21</sup> substance abuse; and domestic violence. These three areas contribute to overall levels of C&V in the region. In each area, a well-defined series of behaviors (trajectories) can be effectively interrupted before behavior progress to violent or criminal activities.<sup>22</sup>
- 2.5 **Youth.** Violent and criminal behavior by youth are typically preceded by less severe externalizing behaviors such as dropping out of school, minor acts of aggression, theft, and/or exploratory drug use (Buka and Earls 1993; Nagin and Tremblay 1999). The potential to stop minor externalizing behaviors from progressing to more serious behaviors and keep youth on positive paths is a key objective of the Framework. Although much evidence suggests that early interventions at pre-school ages or younger are also effective in reducing criminal and violent behavior among youth and young adults,<sup>23</sup> given the pressing time horizon faced by most governments, the Framework will focus on specific interventions that can yield reductions in C&V for older children and youth within a five-year horizon.
- 2.6 Given that distinct populations require differentiated policies, the youth population is disaggregated into the three levels of interventions, shown in table 4.

**Table 4. Mapping of Risk Groups**

| Primary   | Secondary  | Tertiary   |
|---|--|--|
| <p><b>Group 1.</b> Low risk:<br/>Youth attending school, age 18 and younger</p> | <p><b>Group 2.</b> Medium risk:<br/>Disengaged youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Younger than 18 who have not completed secondary school and are not attending school</li> <li>• Youth ages 18–29 who are neither in school nor working (NI-NIs)</li> </ul> <p><b>Group 3.</b> High risk:<br/>Youth engaged in externalizing behaviors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth exhibiting externalizing behaviors (substance abuse, aggression, theft, adolescent</li> </ul> | <p><b>Group 3.</b> High risk:<br/>Youth engaged in externalizing behavior</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth in conflict with the law</li> </ul> |

pregnancy, etc.)

- Youth engaged in serious violent or criminal acts
- 

Source: Duryea and Vivo (2011).

2.7 **The key concepts and evidence** presented below are summarized from a longer document that explores in greater detail transmission mechanisms of behavioral change and evidence substantiating these different “theories of change” (Duryea and Vivo 2011). The mechanisms draw from traditional economics, behavioral economics, psychology, and neuroscience.

- Reduce exposure to opportunities for risky behavior.* This approach, also known as the “incapacitation effect,” exploits supervised time such that individuals have less time to partake in risky activities. Evidence for youth includes a step to lengthen the school day in Chile, where Krueger and Berthelon (2011), in a quasi-experimental evaluation, find that property and violent crime subsequently declined. In another quasi-experimental analysis in the United States, Anderson (2010) analyzes state changes in minimum dropout age and finds that the additional time in school results in lower property and violent crime. The need for effective supervision is paramount. Researchers note that bringing youth together for activities without adequately monitoring their activities can foment C&V. This could happen, for example, if youth centers or sports fields are constructed without sustainable funds for adult supervision.
- Increase costs to deviant behavior by improving the future.* When the future looks more promising, the cost of deviating from the positive path with risky behavior is higher and more likely to be avoided. This can be done by investing in hard skills and reorienting outlooks to place more weight on the future. For example, the experimental evaluation of the Jobs Corps training program for youth in the United States found that the program reduced criminal activity and increased earnings for several years following participation in the program (Schochet, Burghardt, and McConnell 2008).
- Reduce returns to deviant behavior.* A systematic review of drug substitution programs found that methadone maintenance substantially reduces the volume of crime committed by addicts and that medically controlled heroin maintenance is even more effective at reducing criminal activity (Egli et al. 2009).
- Strengthening socio-emotional capacity to respond to difficult situations.* There is a strong and growing body of experimental evidence regarding the impact of strengthening socio-emotional skills (Hill et al. 2010). As an example, experimental evaluations of Life Skills Training, a curriculum-based program applied in various settings to middle- and high-school-age students in the United States, found declines in smoking and alcohol use, with less consistent results for marijuana use (Botvin et al. 1995). The Life Skills Training program aims to teach skills to resist social influences that encourage drug use and to foster the development of general personal and social skills. An experimental evaluation of the Kingston YMCA program in Jamaica found that this program reduced aggressive behavior among males who had dropped out of school and were

receiving counseling and skills training (Guerra et al. 2010). Other successful programs strengthen youth's socio-emotional skills by providing training to their parents. The negative impact of harsh parenting practices on adolescent self-efficacy and behavior has been well documented (Blatt and Homann 1992; Dodge, Pettit, and Bates 1994). The goal of programs such as Parenting Wisely and Brief Strategic Family Therapy is to improve parental interactions with youth, which are subsequently reflected in youth behavior. This reduces risk factors and strengthens protective factors for substance abuse and other conduct problems. Experimental evidence for both programs in the United States and Canada points to reductions in externalizing behavior of youth (Nickel et al. 2006).

- e. *Remove constraints for positive behavior.* A more positive behavioral trajectory may be blocked by income or other constraints. Chioda, De Mello, and Soares (2012) have recently found that the expansion of Bolsa Familia, a conditional cash transfer program in Brazil, to 16–17 year-olds significantly reduced crime in areas surrounding schools with an ex ante higher share of 16–17 year olds. This additional economic subsidy linked to the school attendance of 16–17 year-olds may lift some of the incentives for these youth to seek income through illegal activities. Or it may be that opportunity to engage with a different peer group while staying in school reduces delinquent behavior. While the authors cannot untangle the transmission mechanism of the intervention, the existing evidence suggests that the effect is not channeled through the incapacitation effect, as there is little co-variation of crimes with the school day. Other interventions have also found that lifting constraints with respect to forming a new living situation can reduce C&V. Brassiolo (2011) shows that when Spain made it easier to exercise outside options by easing access to divorce, intimate partner violence fell, particularly among women without children. In the Midwestern United States, the ESID intervention was designed to provide women who had previously experienced domestic violence with legal assistance, employment assistance, and housing assistance, such that they would be able to live independently from their abusers. In a randomized control trial, Sullivan (2003) finds that women who received this intervention of “economic empowerment” experienced significantly less violence over the two- year period of the study than women assigned to the control group. In South Africa, an intervention providing microfinance and training to women (IMAGE Study) demonstrated major reductions in rates of intimate partner violence (Pronyk et al. 2006).<sup>24</sup>
- 2.8 **Domestic violence.** Preventing the inter-generational transmission of violence is a key objective of the Framework. Young boys exposed to domestic violence are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior as adolescents and use violence against women as adults (Archer 1994; Whitfield et al. 2003).
- 2.9 Although evidence from impact evaluations remains very scarce, there is some evidence of the effectiveness of psychosocial approaches in reducing domestic violence, particularly at the primary and secondary levels. For example, the experimental evaluation of the school-based program Stepping Stones in South Africa found a reduction in domestic violence reported by men (Jewkes et al. 2008). Changing community norms through material transmitted through soap operas has shown to be

promising for altering attitudes toward domestic violence in Nicaragua in the Program Sexto Sentido (Solorazno et. al 2008). At the secondary level for populations exposed to violence, programs such as Cognitive Behavioral Intervention for Trauma in Schools in the United States (now being implemented in Australia, China, Guyana, and Japan) have been shown to reduce symptoms of psychosocial dysfunction among youth in the treatment group vs. the control group (Stein et al. 2003). At the tertiary level, the evidence is mixed with respect to “control” interventions such as mandatory arrests of both parties when police are called to respond to domestic disturbances. Studies have found that incidents of domestic violence increased among parties with lower socioeconomic backgrounds: that is, those with “less to lose” from an arrest (Sherman et al. 1992). With respect to the more general approach of enhanced domestic violence prosecution (including specialized prosecution units and prosecution without witness testimony), results from quasi-experimental studies reveal mixed results. Positive impacts have been found for some sub-groups in some applications, but there is a lack of solid, replicable results. To build the toolbox with respect to “what works” in preventing domestic violence, much more rigorous experimentation is needed.

2.10 Table 5 summarizes the key lines of action in social prevention and provides examples of effective programs.

**Table 5. Key Lines of Action in Social Prevention and Examples of Effective Programs**

|                                |          | Primary  | Secondary   | Tertiary  |
|--------------------------------|----------|--|---|---|
| <b>Externalizing behaviors</b> | Youth    | 1. Exploit supervised time (after-school, extended school activities)<br>2. Target vulnerable schools with effective programs:<br>Example: Linking the Interest of Families and Teachers (LIFT) (USA)  | 1. Improve hard skills (training, quality education, etc).<br>Examples: Kingston YMCA program (Jamaica), Jobs Corps (USA)<br>2. Strengthen socio-emotional capacity.<br>Examples: Strengthening families program, cognitive-behavioral intervention for trauma in schools | Intensive psychosocial services.<br>Example: Multisystemic therapy offered to youth and families <sup>a</sup> |
| <b>Substance abuse</b>         | All ages | Target vulnerable schools with effective programs.<br>Examples: Project No Drug Abuse (USA), Midwestern Prevention Project (USA)   | Drug substitution programs (methadone), Counseling and treatment programs   | Frequent test + graduated sanctions<br>Example: Delaware Program (USA)  |
| <b>Domestic violence</b>       | All ages | 1. Target vulnerable schools with effective programs: socio-emotional skills.<br>Examples: Stepping Stones (South Africa)<br>2. Mass media/entertainment.<br>Example: Sexto sentido (Nicaragua)<br>3. Economic empowerment:<br>Example: ESID (USA) | Psychosocial programs.<br>In schools: cognitive behavioral intervention for trauma in schools<br>Family-based therapy.  |   |

Source: Authors' compilations.

- Significant impacts found in original programs have not been replicated in some other applications.

2.11 **What doesn't work.** It is important to note that reducing risky behavior through “scare tactics” has tended to be ineffective and at times counterproductive. Scare tactics typically involve sharing shocking information via ex-drug addicts and convicted felons, among others. In primary-level interventions, for example, the long-standing drug awareness program taught in U.S. schools by police officers (DARE) was found to promote alcohol use and to have no effect on marijuana use, according to a randomized control trial (Sloboda et al. 2009). Similar results have been found in evaluations of tertiary-level programs. For example, the U.S. program “Scared Straight” brings young offenders on field trips to scary prison environments. A meta-analysis of seven randomized control trials of “Scared Straight” has established that the program significantly increased the probability that treated youth engaged in the risky behavior.<sup>25</sup> While information may be a basic ingredient for making decisions about behavior, it is not necessarily straightforward to construct messages that will shift youth behavior in a positive direction, and the backfiring of the message is a strong possibility.

## B. SITUATIONAL PREVENTION: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE AND INDICATIVE EXAMPLES

2.12 **Situational crime prevention** has been defined as “a preventive approach that relies, not upon improving society or its institutions, but simply upon reducing opportunities for crime” (Clarke 1992, p. 3). “Reducing opportunities for crime is achieved essentially through some modification or manipulation of the physical environment in order to directly affect the offender’s perceptions of increased risks and effort, and decreased rewards, provocations and excuses” (Cornish and Clarke 2003). Situational prevention techniques are tailored preventive measures that are directed at specific forms of crime; and involve the design and management of the physical environment in a systematic way (Clarke 1997).

2.13 **Underlying theory.** Situational crime prevention is also influenced by *rational choice theory*, developed by the Nobel award economist Gary Becker (1968), among other researchers. This perspective appears to have had the greatest influence on the pragmatic orientation of situational crime prevention, as articulated by its main proponent, Ronald Clarke (1997). It posits that before committing a crime, the potential offender considers the likelihood of being detected, the penalty he/she would get in case of being found guilty, and the gain to be netted from committing the crime (Seigel 1992). The *routine activities theory*, related to the rational choice theory, considers the occurrence of crime based on the interaction among potential offenders and potential victims in the absence of capable guardians. These elements jointly determine opportunities for crime. Potential offenders “learn about criminal opportunities from their peers, the media and their own observation, but they are differentially sensitized to this information as well as being differentially motivated to...create opportunities. Thus, offender perceptions and judgments about risks, effort and rewards, provocations, and excuses play an important part in defining the opportunity structure” (Clarke 1997, p. 14.) The situational approach is also supported by theories that emphasize natural, informal surveillance as a means of guardianship (Welsh and Farrington 2010).

2.14 Situational prevention activities are usually classified in five groups, as shown in table 6.

**Table 6. Situational Prevention Activities**

| Increase the effort  | Increase the risks  | Reduce the rewards   | Reduce provocation  | Remove the excuses   |
|--|---|--|---|--|
| Harden targets, control access to facilities, screen exits, and control weapons. Examples: Public space closure, and housing certification | Extend guardianship, assist natural surveillance, and strengthen formal surveillance. Examples: Closed circuit television (CCTV), street lighting, surveillance, and residential alarms | Conceal targets, and disrupt markets. Examples: Time limits on alcohol sales | Reduce frustration and stress, avoid disputes, reduce emotional arousal, and neutralize peer pressure. Examples: Maintain efficient queues and polite service, reduce crowding in pubs, prohibit racial slurs, and enforce good behavior on sports fields | Set rules, post instructions, alert conscience, assist compliance, control drugs and alcohol. Examples: Harassment codes, breathalyzers in pubs, server interventions, and alcohol-free events |

Source: Cornish and Clarke (2003).

2.15 ***Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) is a subset of situational crime prevention.***<sup>26</sup> According to CPTED theory, the likelihood for a crime to occur can decrease if the urban or physical environments are modified. CPTED encourages the incorporation of preventive features in urban design and housing to decrease opportunities for crime, increasing the risks for potential offenders to be caught and the efforts to commit the crime. According to CPTED theory, the likelihood for a crime to occur can decrease if the urban or physical environments are modified. 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: this refers to management plans of public spaces; (iv) territorial reinforcement: this concept refers to the 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: environmental interventions need to be grounded in the community to activate social control mechanisms” (Alvarado and Abizanda 2010). Urban areas with low levels of territorial integration are often affected by high levels of violence, due to the overcrowding, lack of public spaces, and other tensions that weaken trust and social capital. As such, slum upgrading projects in the region are integrating CPTED as a means to tackle security issues, while improving urban environment in excluded areas (see box 4).

#### **Box 4. The “Metrocable” System in Medellín**

In 2004, the city of Medellín, Colombia, built a cable car system (“Metrocable”) to connect residents in excluded communities, oftentimes with high levels of crime, with the central city metro line, thus helping to improve the citizen’s mobility and to create better prospects of inclusion. The Metrocable project also upgraded urban infrastructure around the cable car stations to enhance the safety of these public spaces. Other much-needed venues for social development and cultural interaction in marginalized communities (such as sports centers, public gathering spaces, pedestrian paths, public schools, and libraries) were also built in these communities. Preliminary conclusions of studies about the changes between 2003 and 2009 using a nonexperimental, pre-post analysis provide some insight into changes that have occurred in neighborhoods affected by the cable car intervention, in contrast to control neighborhoods. The propensity to perceive higher levels of collective efficacy increased to a greater extent; the risk of perceived violence decreased to a greater extent; the increase in trust in the police and the propensity to rely on the police were higher. However, at the same time, the risk of physical and social disorder was more likely to increase in intervention than in control neighborhoods, possibly as a result of the increased intra-urban tourism to the intervention neighborhoods, as well as the greater traffic that followed the growth of businesses in the area. More research on the effects of interventions composed by urban upgrade and social components originated in the region is required to have a better grasp of the change mechanisms they activate and their effectiveness in curbing C&V.

*Source:* Adopted from Cerda et al. (2010).

#### **Primary prevention interventions**

- 2.16 **Closed Circuit Television (CCTV): Effective for particular crimes.** “In a systematic review of 44 high-quality evaluations from the U.S, U.K., and several other Western countries, it was found that CCTV is most effective in reducing crime in car parks, in reducing vehicle crimes, and is more effective in reducing crime in the U.K. than in other countries” (Welsh, Farrington, and O’Dell 2010, p. 27). A systematic review and meta-analysis of 44 evaluations of CCTV, in several locations (city centers, public housing, public transport and parking lots in Canada, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States) showed that CCTV mostly decreased vehicle crime in parking lots. CCTV caused a modest (16 percent) but statistically significant decrease in crime in experimental areas compared with control areas, mostly driven by the decrease in vehicle-related crime in parking lots (Welsh and Farrington 2002).
- 2.17 **Improved street lighting: Effective in many areas.** A systematic review and meta-analysis (based on 13 high-quality evaluations from the United Kingdom and the United States) by Welsh and Farrington (2007; 2009a) found that improved street lighting is effective in city and town centers, residential areas, and public housing communities. It is also more effective in reducing property crimes than in reducing violent crimes. In pooling the effects of all 13 studies, it was found that improved street lighting led to a 21 percent reduction in crime.

## Secondary prevention interventions

- 2.18 Secondary situational prevention encompasses interventions aimed at the physical environmental design in different environments and in vulnerable and excluded communities (see box 5).
- 2.19 **Public space closure and surveillance.** As discussed by Welsh and Farrington (2010, p. 32ff), there is consistent evidence that street closures are effective in preventing crime in excluded neighborhoods in the United States. In an evaluation of a traffic barrier scheme in Los Angeles, Operation Cul de Sac, which changed through roads into cul de sacs, the Los Angeles Police Department installed traffic barriers in neighborhoods with acute levels of gang violence. “In the two years that the traffic barriers were in place, the experimental area, compared to the control area, experienced significant decreases in both assaults and homicides, with no displacement of crimes to surrounding neighborhoods detected. When traffic barriers were removed, homicides and assaults increased in the experimental area, whereas in the control area homicides increased and assaults remained constant” (Lasley 1998, p. 3).
- 2.20 **Security guards.** Evidence suggests that the deployment of security guards is a promising way to ensure formal surveillance when implemented in car parks and targeted at vehicle crimes. However, the surveillance technique of place managers appears to be of unknown effectiveness in preventing crime in public places (Welsh, Farrington, and O’Dell 2010).
- 2.21 **Residential: Housing certification—Promising, but requires more research.** Safety housing certification requires that homes features and equipment such as external doors, locks, and windows withstand reasonable levels of attack from burglars. In the United Kingdom, a 2009 evaluation of the British housing certification program “Secured by Design” found that installation of certified doors and windows in a dwelling may decrease the chances of that dwelling experiencing housebreaking crime (Armitage and Monchuk 2009). However, this evidence can only be classified as promising because the evaluation is not rigorous enough to infer causality and requires further external validity.
- 2.22 **Residential alarms.** Few rigorous studies have been conducted, but there is promising evidence. A study based on five years of statistics (Lee 2008) found that an increase of burglar alarms appeared to explain the decrease of residential burglaries. Burglar alarms are target-hardening measures that protect the home where a burglary alarm exists, without displacing burglary to nearby houses. The study also showed that the installation of alarms provided other residences nearby with protection from burglars. This experiment needs to be replicated to increase its external validity.
- 2.23 **Schedule limits on alcohol sales.** Evidence from the region points to the effectiveness of establishing limits on the schedule to sell alcohol. Brazil (World Bank 2011c) and Colombia (Sanchez et al. 2011) cite several experiences that point toward the positive effects on reducing murders and assaults by imposing curfews on alcohol sales. The research evidence suggests that the alcohol policy of Diadema, Brazil to prohibit alcohol sales after 23.00 hours (11:00 pm) prevented approximately eleven murders a month in a city of 350,000 people. The research evidence further suggests that this policy also prevented approximately nine assaults against women each month (Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation 2004).

- 2.24 **Nuisance abatement.** This “is considered a situational crime prevention measure because of its place-specific focus, as well as its use of the threat of civil action to curtail (the crime and violence) problem, and decreasing excuses for committing a crime...Four high-quality evaluations, including two randomized experiments showed evidence of reduced drug-related crime” (Welsh and Farrington 2010, p. 24). A randomized experiment carried out in Oakland, California compared the impact of policies focusing on controlling social disorder of civil remedies (such as engaging police and municipal workers in enforcing civil law codes and municipal regulations, inspecting drug nuisance properties, targeting blighted properties, and bringing civil proceedings against owners who did not comply) as opposed to traditional police responses, such as surveillance, interrogations, and arrests. Observed drug selling decreased significantly in the experimental blocks compared to control blocks (Mazerolle, Roehl, and Kadleck 1998).
- 2.25 **Gun control.** A program of banning firearms from residents was applied in Cali (1993–94), and in Bogota (1995–97). Bans took place at times where probability for homicide was higher, and applied even to those citizens with legitimate permits. These bans were evaluated in a study by Villaveces et al. (2000), which compared periods where the intervention took place with similar periods without the intervention. The study finds that homicides were reduced by 13 percent to 14 percent. The evaluation was not experimental, but it shows some effectiveness of the bans on carrying guns in the particular context of Colombia.

**Box 5. Situational Crime Prevention and Displacement of Crime**

By definition, crime displacement is the relocation of crime from one place, time, target, offense, or tactic to another as a result of some crime prevention initiative. “A growing body of research has shown that situational measures may result” in the reverse of displacement, yielding a “diffusion of crime prevention benefits” through deterrence and discouragement (Welsh, Farrington, and O’Dell 2010, p. 37).

One of the most comprehensive reviews of the extent of displacement among 102 evaluations of situational-focused crime prevention projects found that displacement and diffusion are equally likely to occur, with a slightly greater likelihood of diffusion than displacement (27 percent vs. 26 percent) (Guerette and Bowers 2009). “Similar effects have been found for hot-spots policing interventions” (Braga 2007). A randomized experiment in Lowell, Massachusetts testing for the presence of displacement in a problem-oriented policing project in 2008 found no significant displacement to the immediately surrounding areas of the targeted places (Braga and Bond 2008).

**C. PREVENTIVE ACTIVITIES BY THE POLICE: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE AND EXAMPLES**

- 2.26 Very broadly defined, the practical goal of policing is to reduce crime victimization, which is logically linked to C&V prevention (Braga 2008). Traditionally, policing has been implemented with reactive methodologies, as a response by society to control and repress crime and violent behavior. However, as this section will explain, modern policing theory shows police work can be effective when it acts proactively to prevent C&V: that is, by detecting potential opportunities for offenses to be committed and deterring them from occurring.

- 2.27 As Sherman (2011b) points out, the core knowledge of police effectiveness has grown mainly on the basis of randomized field experiment methods. These have shown that the police are more effective in preventing crime when their interventions are *targeted*:
- In places where crime is concentrated (such as hot spots)
  - To more vulnerable individuals and repeat victims )
  - On repetitive, high-harm offenders, ensuring all legal protections and due process are fully respected.
- 2.28 Another way the police in countries like the United Kingdom and the United States assist in preventing further crime is by diverting offenders from legal prosecution to alternative mechanisms (such as diversionary programs for first-time offenders) in coordination with the judiciary. The effectiveness of diversion of suspects from prosecution to other strategies is supported by an increasing number of randomized controlled experiments in the United Kingdom and the United States, especially for juvenile and low-risk offenders (see Petrosino et al. 2010). These studies also show that diversion of offenders is more cost-effective at accomplishing deterrence, rehabilitation, and restoration than anything done at other stages of the criminal justice system (Sherman 2011a). However, in most Latin American countries, the police do not have the capacity, legal authority, and institutional alternatives to divert suspects from formal prosecution; such options are largely mandated by judges at the prosecution's request.<sup>27</sup>
- 2.29 Table 7 summarizes the underlying concepts applied to preventive activities by the police:

**Table 7. Underlying Concepts in Preventive Activities by the Police**

| <b>Increase the effort</b>   | <b>Increase the risks</b>                                | <b>Reduce the rewards</b>                   |
|--|--|---|
| Protect highly harmed and vulnerable victims from repeat victimization | Increase surveillance (targeted patrolling in hot spots) | Disrupt the market for stolen/illegal goods |

Source: Authors, drawing on Cornish and Clarke (2003).

- 2.30 Preventive activities by the police can also be classified according to the risk level of their targets, as shown in table 8:

**Table 8. Preventive Activities by the Police**

| <b>Primary</b>        | <b>Secondary</b>   | <b>Tertiary</b>              |
|-----------------------|--|------------------------------|
| Non-targeted policing | Problem-oriented policing<br>Hot spots policing<br>Protecting highly harmed and vulnerable victims | Policing high-harm offenders |

Source: Authors.

### Primary prevention activities

- 2.31 ***Increasing the number of police in and of itself does not increase effectiveness, if additional units are not deployed to target risks.*** Evidence suggests that the marginal effect of adding members to police agencies is weak and inconsistent. This is compounded by the fact that it is difficult to disentangle the effect of adding more police to the effectiveness of the deployment strategy from the effects of improving the skills and training of the new agents in the force (Sherman et al. 2002).

### Secondary prevention interventions

- 2.32 ***Targeting problems: Problem-oriented Policing (POP) is effective.*** POP is an approach to policing that deals with clusters of similar incidents, whether crime or acts of disorder. Problem-oriented policing is a wide category based on the idea that effective crime prevention is linked to the ability of the police to identify and deal with the causes of specific patterns of crime. The interventions that fall into this category can be divided into two groups: those that focus on problem places, and those that focus on specific crimes (such as homicide or robbery) or offenders (Alonso and Pousadela 2011). POP methodology comprises four stages, known by the acronym “SARA” (Scan, Analyze, Respond, and Assess).

- *Scan*: Gather information about the incidents.
- *Analyze*: Examine the information and analyzes it to establish hypotheses of causes.
- *Respond*: Deliver police work to tackle the causes identified.
- *Assess*: Monitor and evaluate results from the intervention for feedback.

POP methodologies are backed by evidence and are most effective in places where offenders or potential offenders have access to alcohol, or firearms, or prostitution (Sherman et al. 2002).

- 2.33 One of the most widely disseminated and successful POP strategies that incorporated additional prevention measures is Boston’s Operation Ceasefire, which sought to deter gang-related, firearm-perpetrated violence. Its main objective was to reduce the rampant number of gun-perpetrated homicides among youth under 18, which increased by a staggering 418 percent from 1984 to 1994 (Braga et al. 2001). Boston’s Operation Ceasefire combined two elements. First, law enforcement tackled illicit firearms trafficking that contributed to the surge in homicides. The law enforcement strategy was accompanied by a targeted message to gang-affiliated youth that illegal weapons possession and use would not be tolerated. The second element is the “pulling levers strategy,” meaning that all available levers would be pulled to ensure swift and certain response from law enforcement. “Simultaneously, gang outreach workers, probation and parole officers, and other community groups offered gang members services and other kinds of help” (Braga and Weisburg 2012, p. 69). While under the leadership of Boston’s Police Department, the Operation included an interagency group composed of criminal justice officers and other practitioners, as well as outreach workers attached to the Boston Community Centers program—and later in the development of the program, civil society organizations. Research techniques were applied to diagnose and assess drivers of youth violence in Boston, in partnership with academia (Braga et al. 2001). An analysis of homicides before and after the intervention based on time-series data

conducted by Braga and colleagues (2001) found a statistically significant decrease of 63 percent in the monthly average number of youth homicides in Boston.

- 2.34 ***Problem and community-oriented policing reforms in Chile and Colombia.*** Chile and Colombia have implemented plans to optimize police effectiveness in urban settings, with a community and problem-oriented vision. Metropolitan jurisdictions have been divided into smaller districts, called *cuadrantes*. The reforms have enabled decision making (and accountability) to be devolved to police personnel closer to the community; the aim is to increase the responsiveness and adequacy of response. Reforms also promote a more intensive use of technology to enhance the delivery of police services—such as the implementation of the Tactical Crime Analysis (STAD) system by the *Carabineros* in Chile<sup>28</sup>—to increase the police capacity to diagnose and tackle specific crime problems. This approach depends critically on the trust of citizens in the police and solid knowledge of the community, its context, and problems. In Colombia, an experimental evaluation of early impacts has shown that crime rates fell by 11 percent on average in the experimental sectors. The decrease in car theft (38 percent decline) and homicide (10.7 percent decline) were especially significant (Araya 2011).
- 2.35 ***Targeting places: Hot spots policing is also effective.*** Many experiments in policing address *hot spots*: places and situations in which very high volumes of *moderately harmful* crimes are concentrated.<sup>29</sup> In particular, common assault in high-conflict situations is concentrated in specific locations. These locations provide large sample sizes for implementing high-intensity but short-lived crackdowns, problem-oriented policing, and stop-and-search for weapons, among other approaches. Evaluations using randomized controlled experiments<sup>30</sup> of hot-spot interventions show more effectiveness than random, preventive, reactive police patrol (NRC 2004). Consistent evidence from the United States and Europe underscores that the more precisely patrol presence is concentrated at the hot spots, the less crime there will be in those places and times.

### **Tertiary prevention interventions**

- 2.36 ***Targeting high-harm offenders.*** Much of the serious harm caused by crime is produced by a small number of offenders, who are “increasingly identifiable through large-sample data mining of systematically compiled criminal histories of individual offenders” (Berk 2009). One challenge for developing a rule of law is to find legal means to deal with dangerous offenders, respecting due process and human rights. Lawful programs to do this can increase incarceration of dangerous offenders by up to 500 percent in some field experiments (Martin and Sherman 1986a; 1986b).
- 2.37 ***Targeting highly-harmed victims.*** Much of the harm of crime is focused on categories of vulnerable victims, including women. The crimes against vulnerable victims are highly predictable with modern information technologies that allow the mapping to locate repeated victims (Tseloni and Pease 2004).
- 2.38 ***A note on police reform.*** One of the recurring themes in Latin America and the Caribbean is the weakness of police, endemic corruption among many police forces in the region, and the needs for comprehensive reform and modernization. Burdened by a legacy of nondemocratic practices, the legitimacy of the police in some countries depends on crucial institutional elements: leadership and modern training; effective internal and external control mechanisms; and an operative system of command and

control. Success will be hampered “without long-term vision and strong political will on the part of the region's governments” (WOLA 2009, p. 2). In particular, a challenge that policymakers and practitioners face is the approach of such reforms: a gradual transition versus the creation of new institutions (Sherman 2011 b). Box 6 presents an example of an incremental approach to reforming the police in Rajasthan, India, analyzed as a randomized control experiment.

**Box 6. Emerging Evidence: A Randomized Control Trial on the Effectiveness of Policing Changes in Rajasthan, India**

The Rajasthan Police Department designed, implemented, and tested four administrative interventions, using a randomized control trial, to verify whether police performance and public perception of the police could be improved as a result of those changes. The four interventions proposed were: (i) placing community observers in police stations; (ii) a freeze on transfers of police staff; (iii) in-service training to update skills; and (iv) weekly duty rotation, with a day off per week. Two of the reforms (the freeze on transfers and training) improved police effectiveness and citizens’ satisfaction. The decoy visits were associated with an improvement in police performance. The other reforms showed no robust effectiveness.

Researchers argue that one explanation for the differences in effectiveness might be due to the degree and level of implementation of the reforms. Transfers and training orders were decided upon by higher hierarchical levels, not by station chiefs. Likewise, they did not have an influence on the timing of the decoy visits. However, community observers and the day off required the involvement of station chiefs (and the community).

Another conclusion of the analysis is that even if the senior personnel is committed to implementing reforms, there is a risk of their being blocked by ground-level participants if reforms are not carefully designed to include the interests of the rank-and-file members of the police.

*Source:* Banerjee et al. (2012).

**D. PREVENTIVE ACTIVITIES BY THE JUDICIARY: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE AND EXAMPLES**

2.39 “While traditional crime prevention efforts are directed toward those who are not yet involved in crime,” broader concept also includes programs implemented by the judiciary (prosecution and judging) that focus “on reducing the criminal activities of offenders” (Sherman et al. 1997; Sherman et al. 2002). This section of the paper will present a set of interventions based on empirical evidence (see table 9).

2.40 ***An important caveat: The need to design interventions with a systemic view.*** A systemic view is advisable over a more narrow institutional approach, which can have a limited impact given the multi-institutional characteristics of criminal justice systems.<sup>31</sup> For example, problems in Latin American and Caribbean prisons derive partly from their overcrowding. This penitentiary overpopulation, in turn, is due to problems of prolonged detention or heavy-handed use of pretrial detention. Yet the courts, and not the penitentiary system, have the legal authority to make decisions on length of imprisonment or pretrial detention (Stone 2011).

- 2.41 Empirical evidence regarding interventions to increase effectiveness and the cost-efficiency of the judiciary system in preventing C&V point to three main conclusions:
- a. *Use of alternative justice mechanisms should be increased.* An emerging body of research shows that restorative justice methodologies contribute to reducing the frequency and seriousness of criminal convictions in a cost-effective way (Sherman and Strang 2011). However, more research needs to be undertaken to ensure external validity.
  - b. *Traditional sanctions tend to be ineffective at changing offender behavior and reducing recidivism.* “A meta-analysis of more than 400 research studies that examined the effects of punishment on recidivism found that punishment produced almost identical effects on pretrial detention and offender recidivism as did no punishment or reduced punishment. This included drug testing, electronic monitoring, fines, intermittent incarceration, restitution, and incarceration” (Gendreau and Goggin 1996). In contrast, drug courts, through their sanctions, have been shown to have impacts on reducing drug use and recidivism. The effectiveness of drug courts may be related to the fact that compliance is carefully monitored through drug-testing, with immediate and well-defined consequences, whereas most sanctions are associated with behaviors that may happen far into the future, with a low probability of being detected (Gendreau and Goggin 1996).
  - c. *Different kinds of offenders require different kinds of sentencing.* It is important to target sentences according to the risk profile of the offender, including the offense committed, the frequency of occurrence, and the ability to inflict graver harm to society.

**Table 9. Preventive Interventions by the Judiciary**

| Primary | Secondary | Tertiary   |
|---------|-----------|--|
|         |           | Pretrial services  |
|         |           | Diversion of juvenile offenders from formal prosecution  |
|         |           | Diversion to noncustodial sentencing in specific cases (minor offenses, low-harm offenders). Electronic monitoring |
|         |           | Alternative resolution mechanism: Restorative justice  |
|         |           | Special courts: Drug courts  |

Source: Authors.

### **Tertiary prevention activities**

2.42 ***Pretrial services in the region.*** In spite of important and numerous criminal procedural code reforms in Latin America and the Caribbean, not many studies about the effectiveness of pretrial services are available. Chile, and more recently, Mexico, have implemented such measures. A 2008 study of Chile concluded that the empirical information available was too scarce and not suited to draw conclusions on the effectiveness of the new pretrial provisions in the new criminal procedural code (Venegas and Vial 2008). More recently, in 2011, the state of Morelos, in Mexico, opened the Adolescent Preventive Measures Unit, the first pilot program of its kind in Latin America. This unit contributes to managing supervised pretrial release based on assessment of each underage person charged. It is also in charge of his/her supervision. The project has yielded some promising results to date, with 90 percent of the adolescents supervised by the unit complying with the conditions set by their pretrial release. Although the number of beneficiaries of the Morelos is small and there has not been a rigorous evaluation, the results are promising and deserve further research and evaluation.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.43 ***Diversion from the judiciary***

- a. *Diversion of juvenile offenders from formal prosecution.* A systematic review found that prosecution of juvenile offenders increased repeat offending, on average, across all studies examined (Petrosino, Guckenburg, and Turpin-Petrosino 2010) as measured by prevalence, incidence, severity, and self-report outcomes.<sup>33</sup> Interventions that provided substantial services and supervision to the offenders yielded the most evidence of improvements (Sherman 2011a).<sup>34</sup>

### 2.44 ***Non-custodial sentences***

- *Non-custodial, community-based sentences are more cost-effective.* Sherman and Strang (2012) examined 27 tests in a systematic review comparing community-based sentences to custodial sentences. They concluded that the rate of re-offending over two years after a noncustodial sanction was lower than after a custodial sanction in 11 out of the 13 statistically significant comparisons. However, in 14 out of the 27 comparisons, there was no statistically discernible difference in recidivism (see Villettaz, Killias, and Zoder 2006). Given the far higher costs of imprisonment compared to community penalties, the potential savings of using community penalties is substantial.
- *Electronic monitoring (EM) seems an effective and cost-effective alternative to imprisonment.* A randomized controlled trial in Argentina resulting from a “natural experiment,” allowed a comparison of cases assigned to different judges by lottery (Di Tella and Schargrotsky 2009). “Offenders with similar characteristics, offense types, and criminal histories were assigned by lottery to judges with consistent sentencing patterns, which were either house arrest with EM or prison sentences. Over a period between one and two years, the repeat arrest rate of the EM group was 40% lower than for the imprisoned group: 22% for ex-prisoners versus 13% for those sentenced to EM. The cost of the EM was US\$10 per month, far less than the likely cost of imprisonment. While 17% of the offenders on EM escaped and avoided supervision, only 27% of those were re-arrested—not far higher than the re-arrest rate for those sent to prison.

Evidence from Sweden shows that the use of EM for early release from prison lowered recidivism, compared to release from a longer prison sentence with no EM upon release (Marklund and Holmberg 2009). The U.S evidence is less compelling, but also less rigorous (Renzema and Mayo-Wilson 2005).<sup>35</sup>

- *The usage of non-custodial sentences for minor offenses is effective.* Research examining what sentencing options work better in reducing crime show that noncustodial programs such as treatment programs, community employment programs, and vocational education programs work with some lower risk offenders. Successful programs tend to be structured and focused, use multiple treatment components, use behavioral methods, and ensure meaningful contact between treatment personnel and participants (Sherman 2011a, citing MacKenzie 2002).

#### 2.45 **Alternative justice**

- *Restorative justice conferences (RJCs) seem to work.* Restorative justice conferences are face-to-face meetings between offenders, their victims, and their respective families, after the offender has accepted responsibility for having harmed the victim. Sherman and Strang (2012) present the findings of a systematic review of 12 RJCs with almost 3,000 cases conducted since 2005 in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This method has been tested both as an *alternative* to prosecution and as a *supplement* to prosecution, for both adults and juveniles, for violent and property crimes, and for offenders in prison as well as those serving sanctions in the community. These meetings have been shown to reduce the frequency and seriousness of criminal convictions over the two-year follow-up period of the study. The cost-effectiveness estimates of the seven tests in the United Kingdom show that the cost of crime prevented is as much as 11 times higher than the cost of training police officers to deliver the two-hour meetings (Shapland 2008). The findings fit the life-course concept of a turning point followed by desistance that may have the most effect on the most frequent offenders or most serious offenders (Woods 2009). Recently, some Caribbean jurisdictions have introduced restorative justice policies that could prove effective.<sup>36</sup>

#### 2.46 **Special courts**

- *Drug courts decrease recidivism.* A systematic review of 55 tests of drug courts found that compared to prosecution of drug offenders in conventional courts, diversion or referral to special drug courts reduced repeat offending by about one-third (Wilson and Davis 2006). The review found the strongest effects when drug court was used as a pretrial diversion, which is more cost-effective than conventional justice procedures.<sup>37</sup>

2.47 **With regard to other regional empirical evidence**, an evaluation carried out by the IDB's Office of Evaluation and Oversight (Soares et al. 2010) assessed an experience in Peru to improve judicial coverage for peripheral populations who live far away from courts. The analysis showed that improving access to formal justice "shifts the resolution of conflicts away from traditional mechanisms and toward the newly provided formal mechanisms and...ultimately, marginally reduces the incidence of self-reported conflicts" (Soares et al. 2010, p.2).

**E. PREVENTIVE ACTIVITIES BY THE PENITENTIARY SYSTEM AND REHABILITATION:  
EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE AND EXAMPLES**

- 2.48 **Activities in the penitentiary system** are aimed at encouraging criminal and violent activity to cease or desist, and preventing recidivism upon reentry in society. Prison is the stage of the criminal justice system that is the least cost-effective and perhaps most crime-inducing (Sherman 2011a). However, the penitentiary system can help stop some crimes from being committed because of it constrains prisoners' personal freedom; thus it has an incapacitating effect.
- 2.49 Two theories underlie the modern conceptualization of rehabilitation:
- *Life-course criminology.* One of the most influential theoretical perspectives on recidivism is the view of criminal activity over the entire life-course of offenders, from early adolescence through age 70 and beyond (Sampson and Laub 1993; Laub and Sampson 2003). This perspective builds on concepts of criminal careers by breaking down trajectories of offenses, as well as identifying turning points that create opportunities for offenders to stop committing crimes and start a new life. Turning points tend to be induced by engagement in family responsibility and conventional occupations (Sherman 2011a).<sup>38</sup>
  - *Social network criminology.* In addition to the life-course perspective, the social network perspective (Sarnecki 2001 ) on criminal activity provides a framework for understanding crime as a collaborative activity, more often committed with co-offenders than alone (Reiss 1988b). This perspective has been largely overlooked by criminal justice agencies, despite empirical evidence (Sherman 2011a).
- 2.50 The influential model advocated by Public Safety Canada of risk-need-responsivity for offender assessment and rehabilitation (Bonta and Andrews 2007) posits that rehabilitation programs should be:
- *Risk-based.* The programs match the intensity of the treatment received by the offender to the offender's risk to re-offend (risk principle).
  - *Needs-based.* The programs start with an analysis of the characteristics of the offender that increase his/her propensity to commit crime, and target them in treatment (need principle).
  - *Responsive to the offenders' abilities.* The programs aim at optimizing the offender's ability to learn from the intervention. Their design is based on the offender's specific strengths and abilities (learning style, motivation, and the like) (responsivity principle).
- 2.51 The brief discussion that follows reviews a series of rehabilitation interventions in penitentiary systems that have proved effective in decreasing recidivism among certain offenders and adapting to their specific characteristics (see table 10). In addition, it presents a novel venue for research offered by a natural experiment of inmate relocation, which has shown decreased recidivism rates.

**Table 10. Preventive Activities by the Penitentiary System and Rehabilitation**

| Primary | Secondary | Tertiary  |
|---------|-----------|---|
|         |           | Custodial regime shows modest benefits for serious juveniles<br>Cognitive-behavioral treatments for adults and juveniles<br>Drug treatment for addicts<br>Boot camps (more effective than other custodial programs) |

Source: Authors.

**Tertiary prevention activities**

2.52 ***Custodial treatment of serious juvenile offenders presents modest benefits.*** A systematic review of 28 impact evaluations conducted in Canada, England, and the United States found consistent evidence of modest benefit from treatment programs in juvenile institutions in those countries. (Garrido and Morales 2007). The treatment programs included cognitive behavioral therapy, educational programs, therapeutic communities, and other treatments requiring highly trained psychologists and other specialized staff.

2.53 ***Treatments for inmates***

- *Cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) for offenders has been shown to be effective.* CBT techniques generally involve a mix of cognitive skills training, anger management, and various supplementary components related to social skills, moral development, and relapse prevention. A systematic review of 58 RCTs and quasi-experimental evaluations of CBT found that this approach to offender rehabilitation increased the chances of desistance from crime by an average of 53 percent during the studies' follow-up periods. These effects were combined from tests of CBT both in prisons and as part of community sentences, with similar results in both settings (Lipsey, Landenberger, and Wilson 2007). Effects were the same for juvenile and adult offenders, and were most beneficial for offenders with the highest risk of recidivism (Sherman 2011a).
- *Drug treatment in prison is significantly effective to decrease recidivism.* A systematic review of 66 experimental and quasi-experimental tests of drug treatment programs in prisons (mostly in the United States) found an average reduction in recidivism rates from 35 percent to 28 percent (Mitchell, Wilson, and MacKenzie, 2006). The average difference was 37 percent more prevalence of repeat offending without any drug treatment compared to the average of all drug treatment programs. The review found that the therapeutic communities approach yielded the largest reductions in repeat offending compared to no treatment. However, the review did not analyze the cost-effectiveness of the

therapeutic communities' intervention. The therapeutic communities approach deals with a wide range of issues in an offender's life beyond drugs, some of which may be the underlying cause of their drug addiction (Sherman 2011a).

- *Boot camps for younger offenders seem effective when compared to other custodial regimes.* A systematic review by MacKenzie, Bierie, and Mitchell (2007) studied 43 U.S.-based boot camp programs for younger offenders.
  - Compared to standard prison regimes, the boot camps graduates had lower recidivism.
  - Compared to probation, the loss of liberty experienced by a boot camp program member seems to be associated with increased recidivism.
  - Compared to a large prison, boot camp members showed less recidivism than persons with custodial sentences.

2.54 ***Relocation of re-entering offenders to a different city shows promise.***<sup>39</sup> Kirk (2009) developed a study based in the United States that analyzed the initial one-year follow up after release of offenders displaced by Hurricane Katrina. The study found that as many as 26 percent of the inmates who randomly had gone to their old social networks had been sent back to prison for new crimes. However, only 11 percent of those who had relocated to a new community where they had never been were sent back to prison. This substantial reduction in returning to prison was still clearly apparent after three years, “with 65 percent of the ‘returners’ re-imprisoned, but only 35 percent of the ‘relocators’ back in prison” (Sherman 2011a, p. 9). As described in literature on life-course criminology, success is related to cutting or weakening ties with the social network with which an offender had been actively engaging in crime.

2.55 ***Effect of intense correctional interventions on low-risk offenders.*** Intense correctional intervention on low-risk offenders does not decrease recidivism; indeed, it might even increase it. Potential reasons for this might be: exposure of low-risk offenders to higher risk offenders and disruption or weakening of the protective factors, including strong family ties and jobs (Lowenkamp and Latessa 2004) (see box 7).

#### **Box 7. Crimes in Prison**

Inmates are found to be in possession of knives and firearms, cell phones, and other forbidden items. “The traffic in arms and drugs, corruption, and low levels of professionalization of prison guards, combined with the idleness caused by a lack of... rehabilitation programs” might be among the causes that penitentiaries do not fulfill the role of helping to stop criminal activity (Dammert and Zuniga 2008, p. 109). Other offenders continue their business from inside the prison, having technological means and connections to accomplices outside the prison walls. Situational measures, such as screening of objects taken into prison and blocking of cell phone signals, have been implemented in the region, but no evidence of effectiveness has been identified yet. The structural causes for this have not been tackled.

## F. INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITIES AND CITIZEN SECURITY POLICIES

- 2.56 **Institutional transformation to bring about legitimate, capable, and accountable institutions for C&V prevention is central to link security and development approaches effectively; however, the process of effective institutional transformation is poorly understood** (World Bank 2011a). There is a paucity of research literature describing the organizational and socio-political factors and contexts hospitable to institutional transformation and public sector innovation in C&V prevention; organizational change and system intervention frameworks; or sequencing stages to enhance delivery of public C&V prevention services. No evaluation studies on public management interventions to decrease C&V and increase citizen security were found. Nonetheless, innovations in practice and policy—although untested—abound, as different sectors, disciplines, cities, nations, and the region, seek to meet the pent-up demand for citizen security.
- 2.57 **Recent multi-sectoral approaches, particularly in Latin American cities, suggest the promise of a more integrated, comprehensive, multi-component public sector responses to C&V—although they are poorly understood.** Brazil and Colombia have undertaken some of the most intensive efforts to foster multiagency approaches, creating teams drawn from the military, police, and civilian service agencies, civil society organizations, and residents, working together strategically in combined national and local offices to address all aspects of local crime reduction and violence prevention. These multi-component approaches emphasize a balance between long-term structural prevention and control-oriented approaches incorporating short-term, quick-impact programs (targeted policing, urban upgrading, and social service provision) with longer-term preventive interventions (changing cultural norms, building alternative conflict resolution mechanisms) and address a variety of risk factors simultaneously.
- 2.58 **These interventions hold promise for rapidly urbanizing areas—not only in the developing world, but also in high- and middle-income countries. In these areas, violence is concentrated and is characterized by the convergence of a wide range of risk factors, including overcrowding, inequality, youth unemployment, and drug crime. Interventions often require focused but coordinated action on several fronts.** The emphasis on local government and community engagement in design, implementation, and oversight appears to have resulted in better diagnoses of the drivers of violence, ensuring stronger community ownership. The emphasis on a broader citizen security service delivery system, which includes the identification of gaps, duplication, and overlaps in services, and the establishment of mechanisms to facilitate inter-agency communication and coordination—such as wrap-around services, joint decision making, unified assessment and intake processes, and shared information systems—appear to have ensured a more efficient path to deliver municipal services, better addressing the intensive needs of specific hot spot communities and at-risk populations (World Bank 2011a).
- 2.59 **Although such societal-level and community-level interventions are regarded as potentially more effective and more cost-effective than individual-level, close relationship, family-level, or single-sector interventions, fewer have been evaluated, and the underlying institutional “operating systems” are not well understood** (WHO/John Moores University 2010). The art and science of public sector management of these initiatives remains largely unexplored, reflecting the gaps in the larger field of implementation research. Their underlying principles, critical components,

methodologies employed, and sequencing could be researched prospectively, as new municipal efforts informed by such approaches are launched and piloted. This would help accumulate evaluation evidence to help actors in the region learn from one another about "good public management practices" for reducing the social costs of C&V.

- 2.60 **Communities that Care (CTC) is an operating system that provides research-based tools to help communities mobilize to promote the positive development of children and youth, and to prevent adolescent problem behaviors that impede positive development, including substance abuse, delinquency, teen pregnancy, school dropout, and violence.** This multiple-component, community-based program (implemented at a city, a county, a small town, neighborhood, or housing development level) has been replicated in over 300 communities across Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These programs can address some or all focus areas: family, school, community-based youth, and community. The full CTC process is based on large-scale, community-wide public health promotion model. Results from a seven-state experimental trial involving 24 small to medium-sized towns show that within four years of using the CTC system to reduce health-risking behaviors in adolescents, communities can significantly reduce the incidence of delinquent behaviors and use of alcohol, tobacco, and smokeless tobacco, as well as the prevalence of binge drinking, and delinquent behavior among young people by grade eight (Hawkins et al. 2009). As summarized by Welsh and Farrington (2010, p. 46), "This approach is not without its challenges and complexities (e.g., cost, implementation, establishing partnerships among diverse agencies), but there is wide agreement that an evidence-based approach that brings together the most effective prevention programs across multiple domains offers the greatest promise for reducing crime and building safer communities."
- 2.61 **A program in Chile based on the Communities that Care model, *Paz Activa*, offers a systematic approach to community building.** It guides a community coalition of decision makers through an assessment and prioritization process that identifies the risk and protective factors most in need of attention in their communities. It then links those priorities to prevention programs proven to work in addressing them. In particular, it helps them assess problems, prioritize initiatives, target scarce resources, implement a clear decision-making process for allocating funds and other resources; establish a shared vision, common language, and collaborative design plans, and collaborative prevention planning structure; develop a data-driven profile of community strengths and challenges; establish action priorities based on the data showing community needs; and develop clear and measureable outcomes that can be tracked over time to show progress. In the first year of implementation of a pilot of *Paz Activa* in a disadvantaged community in Santiago's metropolitan area, crime decreased (Araya 2011). CTC decision-making processes include both experts and real community participation. The Citizen Security Program in Uruguay is also incorporating the CTC model.
- 2.62 **The World Health Organization has identified 10 scientifically credible strategies for preventing interpersonal and self-directed violence that can be implemented at varying levels (WHO 2008) (see box 8).** Applying them in the Latin American and Caribbean context will require significant capacity building within and across state actors and broader prevention partners (see box 9). While all the strategies listed

require efficient and targeted response from the state, specific strategies, such as improving criminal justice systems and social welfare systems, require focused modernization of the state interventions, and offer unique opportunities for citizen security efforts in the region to contribute to a global evidence base. As implementation of these strategies takes place in the region, efforts must be carefully supported and evaluated to ensure that they are working and to build the prevention knowledge base. The IDB's Regional Public Good for the promotion of impact evaluation in crime prevention policies, as well as the Good Practices to Prevent Crime competition, are fostering increased attention to evaluation issues.

**Box 8. Ten Scientifically Credible Strategies for Preventing Interpersonal and Self-directed Violence**

1. Increase safe, stable, and nurturing relationships among children, their parents, and caretakers.
2. Reduce availability and misuse of alcohol.
3. Reduce access to lethal means, such as guns, knives, and pesticides (often used to commit suicide, especially in low- and middle-income countries).
4. Improve life skills and enhance opportunities for children and youth.
5. Promote gender equality and empower women.
6. Change cultural norms that support violence.
7. Improve criminal justice systems.
8. Improve social welfare systems.
9. Reduce social distance between conflicting groups.
10. Reduce economic inequality and concentrated poverty.

*Source: WHO (2008, p. 3).*

**Box 9. Transforming Institutions to Deliver Citizen Security in Fragile States**

Two clusters of activities necessary to transform institutions to deliver citizen security in fragile states were described in the 2011 World Development Report: confidence-building measures to increase citizen trust; and institution-building approaches. The report cites emerging literature on approaches to development across a variety of domains—from economic policy to social policy to institution building—that promotes a flexible and pragmatic approach to progress—and thus one that is suited to the “experimental best-fit” approach. This includes:

- Pressure for performance around meaningful goals. Overall, this is a shift from measuring progress around outputs (such as budgets spent, items procured, legislation passed, or policies adopted) to assessing performance around outcomes, including citizen trust.
- Pragmatism and flexibility in the ways goals are accomplished. Pressure for performance must be accompanied by giving flexibility to the agents responsible for performance. Reformers need to be given the space for “disruptive” innovations that may look inferior but hold the seeds to progress.
- Pursuing monitoring, information, and evaluation systems that support feedback loops and continuous learning oriented to the decision cycle. Rigorous evaluation of results is one key

element of evaluating alternative approaches, but not the only one. Programs need built-in mechanisms of learning so that what is promising can be scaled up and what is not working can be changed—in shorter cycles of continuous feedback. Such evidence about what works and what does not work will in turn be useful for other countries as they strive to adapt experience from abroad to their own context.

Source: World Bank (2011a).

- 2.63 **Scholars have identified four basic requirements for research evidence to impact policy and practice:** (1) agreement on the nature of evidence, and ensuring that policymakers are up to date with existing evidence, and with the existing uncertainty of scientific knowledge; (2) a strategic approach to the creation of evidence and the development of a cumulative knowledge base; (3) effective dissemination of knowledge, together with the development of effective means for accessing knowledge; (4) initiatives to increase the use of evidence in both policy and practice, including action steps at the organizational level (Davies and Nutley 2001, p. 87).
- 2.64 **A noteworthy regional municipal-academic partnership is the PREVIVA program in the Metropolitan Area of Medellín, Colombia.** It brings together researchers, communities, and mayors from 10 municipalities to improve evidence-based public policy and uptake in three main ways: (1) developing action-oriented information; (2) promoting an attitude for change and a desire for change, based on the assumption that cultural changes presuppose a community decision to legitimize and promote the acceptance of public policies aiming at promoting changes; and (3) organizing resources for concrete programs. The Medellín experience merges tools and approaches from the social sciences (mapping, inventories of interventions, empowerment, problem-solving, and consensus) and epidemiological approaches (establishment of surveillance systems and development of victimization and aggression surveys) to identify important risk and protective factors for interpersonal violence. It resulted in the development of the Prevention of Risky Behaviors for Life (PREVIVA) Program (*Prevención de Conductas de Riesgo para la Vida*). The activities were organized and managed in collaboration with Coexistence and Security Committees in all 10 municipalities of Medellín's Metropolitan Area. They included the mayor, the mayor's cabinet members (health, education, social action and interior), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), community leaders, religious and educational leaders; the police, the Attorney General's office, judges, and PREVIVA team members. Next steps in the PREVIVA Program include continuing to follow-up and evaluate the programs and policies developed and implemented under PREVIVA: prevention of intimate partner abuse in families of former members of illegal armed groups; prevention of domestic violence in general population; prevention of child abuse in families; prevention of aggression among children aged 0 to 3; early prevention of risk behaviors in preschoolers and school-age children; prevention of dating violence; promotion of the acceptance of the rule of law in communities; and the adoption of evidence-based public policy at the municipal level.<sup>40</sup>
- 2.65 **Five key elements have been identified for a robust national foundation for evidence-based violence prevention in low- and middle-income countries.** These elements can help prevent future acts of violence, reduce disabilities, and help victims cope with the impact of violence on their lives, and restore trust in institutions of the state. The five elements are: "(1) developing a national action plan and identifying a lead agency; (2)

enhancing the capacity for data collection; (3) increasing collaboration and exchange of information; (4) implementing and evaluating specific actions to prevent violence; and (5) strengthening care and support systems for victims” (WHO 2008, p. 35).<sup>41</sup>

### III. CONCLUSION

3.1 Ideally, this Conceptual Framework would present “best bets” that have been proven to be effective and are ready for application in Latin America and the Caribbean. However, few interventions have been implemented in the region with the capacity to evaluate the outcomes and collect the data needed to measure cost-effectiveness. Further, implementation is hampered because the field has not sufficiently advanced in many areas to identify those core components of evidence-based programs, and open up the “black boxes” of evidence-based practices and policies. Implementation science is in its infancy. Finally, this Framework does not incorporate many newer policy and intervention approaches developed in the region and in many projects funded by the Inter-American Development Bank since they do not meet the threshold of evidence for inclusion in this report. Only a few examples of promising work are included for illustrative purposes. As such, the Conceptual Framework does not capture the full range of citizen security approaches in the region. The strongest case possible must therefore be made to increase knowledge about evidence-based policy for C&V priorities in the region, invest in building the capacity to implement interventions that have proven effective, strengthen and carry out strong evaluations of promising interventions in the region, and build the “operational systems” and institutional capacities for sound citizen security policy formulation and implementation. The conceptual framework developed by Zaro, Rosenberg, and Mercy (2008) identifies different domains in which activities are necessary for moving an integrated agenda for preventing interpersonal and self-directed violence in low- and middle-income countries: leadership, research and data collection, capacity building, and dissemination. The Zaro, Rosenberg, and Mercy framework serves as a departure point to identify necessary elements to advance citizen security in the region.<sup>42</sup> The elements are discussed briefly below.

3.2 **Leadership.** Leadership at the highest level is needed to provide the incentives to build a comprehensive approach to citizen security in the region.

- Momentum must be shaped through the construction of multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary coalitions and collaborations that are sufficiently inclusive, at both the national, state and local levels, to generate broad support, and establish coordinating mechanisms with the capacity to involve multiple sectors in a broad-based implementation strategy.
- The capacities of the ministries, departments, and agencies with a comparative advantage vis-à-vis citizen security need to be strengthened and fully utilized.
- Building leadership for citizen security also takes place at a regional level, such as the IDB’s support and launch of the Inter-American Coalition for the Prevention of Violence, in 2000. The first of its kind in the world, it sought to raise awareness among decision makers, opinion makers, and civic leaders about the social and economic costs of violence; to promote the need to transcend traditional crime-fighting approaches based on control and to advance those emphasizing prevention; to establish coordination procedures among multilateral organizations to enhance the success of interventions at national and local levels; and to advocate for, build, communicate about, and build political will to expand resources, funding, and collaboration among participating founding member

agencies (the World Bank, OAS, PAHO, UNESCO, USAID, and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention).<sup>43</sup>

**3.3 Research and data collection.** Data are necessary to set priorities; guide the development of interventions, programs, and policies; and monitor progress at the local, national, and regional level. Examples of incipient efforts to increase quality information (some of which are supported by the IDB) include: implementation of crime observatories; protocols to construct indicators; victimization surveys to complement information registered by the health and criminal justice systems; establishment of centralized repositories of relevant data and information for decision-making purposes; warehouses of empirical evidence; protocols to collect information in police reports; and a regionally driven set of standard indicators on citizen security.

- A goal should be to create a system that routinely obtains descriptive information on a few key indicators that can be accurately and reliably measured for the full range of social, situational, preventive policing, judiciary, and penitentiary and rehabilitation systems that are emerging as key components of a citizen security approach. This would enable measurement of interventions at the individual level and measurement of the population-based impact of local, state, national, and regional citizen security efforts.
- The contributions of violence and crime to other development challenges could also be documented, and baseline measurements for C&V and its consequences routinely measured.
- The IDB, through the development of a streamlined strategic research agenda, could play a critical role in collecting and analyzing data that illuminate the determinants, risk factors, costs, and interrelationships among the most significant types of violence and violent crime, as well as fear of crime, to better inform citizen security programs and policies.

**3.4 Capacity-building and dissemination.** Citizen security engages many different sectors of society. In particular, health, social development, education, and criminal justice (policing, judiciary, and penitentiary) institutions play critical roles in formulating and implementing prevention strategies and addressing victims' needs. The success of citizen security efforts is largely contingent on these sectors being able to cooperate and coordinate their efforts. Too often, policies are designed in sectoral silos, with limited interaction among sectors, as well as among different government levels. Projects are not targeted and potential impacts are diluted.

- Thus citizen security initiatives should focus on enhancing effective collaboration between these sectors, as well as improving coordination among government levels, institutions, and communities.
- Building the needed management know-how and human resources to implement, manage, and evaluate citizen security policies is key.
- Additional priority activities are the development of: information, technical assistance and training systems to support the implementation of evidence-based prevention strategies and victim services; prevention and treatment delivery systems that integrate key sector involvement in the implementation of evidence-

based strategies; translation and dissemination of information on evidence-based prevention and treatment and successful implementation strategies.

- Additional research to understand what works and why to improve aligned deployment of resources in the field is necessary, as well as more knowledge to improve the effectiveness of mainstreaming and scaling up successful pilots.

3.5 **Implementing and evaluating interventions** The development of information that evaluates what programs and policies are most effective is critical. A number of effective, promising and scientifically credible strategies to prevent violence and crime and reduce fear can be adapted and implemented in Latin America and the Caribbean. There are also promising strategies from the region that merit further strengthening and research support.

3.6 **One tool to begin to address some of these elements is the initiative recently launched by the IDB: the [Proposal for the Establishment of the Special Program and Multidonor Fund for Citizen Security](#) (IDB 2012b). It seeks to remediate the existing bottlenecks hindering effective citizen security public policy formulation by increasing: (i) capabilities to generate, analyze, and disseminate data to enable the design, execution, and evaluation of policies based on information; (ii) capacities to evaluate public practices and policies to prevent C&V; and (iii) opportunities for knowledge-sharing and dissemination through regional dialogue and bilateral cooperation. By supporting these three areas of action, the Initiative can help improve the effectiveness of public policies on citizen security in Latin America and the Caribbean, improve citizen safety, and increase a sense of citizenship.**

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## V. ENDNOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> In 2011, nearly twice as many respondents to the Latinobarometro survey in Latin American and Caribbean countries cited insecurity as their top concern compared to unemployment (28 percent versus 16 percent) (Latinobarometro 2012).
- <sup>2</sup> Currently, 21 countries in the region have a National Citizen Security Policy (Alertaméricas, Organization of American States. [http://www.oas.org/dsp/english/cpo\\_observatorio\\_politicas.asp](http://www.oas.org/dsp/english/cpo_observatorio_politicas.asp))
- <sup>3</sup> Demand for IDB projects from countries of the region increased greatly in 2012. Projects in the pipeline totaled approximately US\$328 million (for nine investment projects: one each in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Peru, and Uruguay, and three in Brazil. The one-year total is almost equivalent to the total approved from 1998 to 2011 (US\$382 million).
- <sup>4</sup> See McIlwaine and Moser (2001); Corbacho, Ruiz, and Phillip (2012, forthcoming). For a comprehensive summary and concrete examples of the impact of crime on society, on the economy, and on governance, see UNODC (2007a; 2007b).
- <sup>5</sup> Young people from low- and middle-income backgrounds are more vulnerable to homicide, with homicide rates of 90 per 100,000, compared to just 21 per 100,000 among youth from high-income backgrounds. See CIDH (2009).
- <sup>6</sup> The majority of studies estimate that between 20 and 50 percent of women in Latin America and the Caribbean experience violence by an intimate partner during their lives (Morrison, Ellsberg, and Bott 2004). This amounts to between 60 and 150 million women, using 2010 population estimates from ECLAC. And this is only one subset of violence against women.
- <sup>7</sup> Homicide is also racially concentrated. In Brazil, the murder rates among black youth ages 15–24 was three times the rate among whites the same age in 2007 (Julita Lembruber, written communication to Costa 2012).
- <sup>8</sup> An assessment of Latin American cities estimated that households located in cities with more than 1 million inhabitants had a 70 percent higher likelihood of experiencing violence than those in cities with cities with between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants (Gaviria and Pages 2002).
- <sup>9</sup> Buvinic, Morrison, and Shifter (1999).
- <sup>10</sup> IDB (2010); Sherman (2012).
- <sup>11</sup> Elements of these approaches can be found in multi-sector efforts in U.S. cities that are seeking to promote multi-jurisdictional strategic plans and coordinated efforts that advocate a balanced approach between law enforcement, corrections, and social prevention. These extend to education; health and human services (including public health, substance abuse and mental health, and services directed at children and families); criminal justice; early childhood development; and labor. These approaches engage high-level leadership and communities in planning and implementation, and focus actions in hot spots. An illustrative example is the UNITY Policy Platform, released in December 2010 (Prevention Institute 2010). The UNITY Urban Agenda was endorsed by representatives from 13 U.S. cities in April 2010 and is available at [www.preventioninstitute.org](http://www.preventioninstitute.org)
- <sup>12</sup> Indeed, citizen security is one of the dimensions of human security. The Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (ICHR) (2009, p. 8) states that citizen security involves “those rights to which all members of a society are entitled, so that they are able to live their daily lives with as little threat as possible to their personal security, their civic rights and their right to the use and enjoyment of their property; on the other hand, citizen security problems occur when a State’s failure to discharge, either in whole or in part, its function of providing protection against crime and social violence becomes a generalized situation, which means that the basic relationship between those governing and the governed has broken down.” The ICHR definition builds on the conceptual definition by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which strongly links citizen security to development (UNDP 1994).
- <sup>13</sup> The interventions led by Mayor Mockus in Bogota have been particularly disseminated. Cities where “civic culture surveys” have been implemented are: La Paz (Bolivia); Belo Horizonte (Brazil); Bogotá

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- and Medellín (Colombia); Quito (Ecuador); Mexico City and Monterrey (Mexico); and Caracas (Venezuela).
- <sup>14</sup> Research on violence has increased our understanding of factors that make some populations more vulnerable to victimization and perpetration. Risk factors increase the likelihood that a person will become violent or be victimized. Risk factors are not direct causes (DHHS 2001; Mercy et al. 2002).
- <sup>15</sup> Puddy and Wilkins' continuum also serves to provide common language for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers in discussing evidence-based decision making.
- <sup>16</sup> The 2011 World Development Report contains an in-depth analysis of institutional factors that underlie conflict and violence in weak states, drawing on theoretical background from "Paul Collier in *Breaking the Conflict Trap* [Collier et al. 2003], *The Bottom Billion* [Collier 2007], and Douglass North, John Wallis, and Barry Weingast in *Violence and Social Orders* [2006]. North, Wallis, and Weingast describe three 'doorstep conditions' for fragile countries to move toward long-term institutional violence prevention: (i) ensuring the rule of law, particularly over property issues, for elites; (ii) creating a 'perpetual state' in the constitutionality of transfer of power and the ability of state commitments to bind successor leaders; and (iii) consolidating control over the military. Their framework provides a perceptive analysis of national development dynamics but does not explicitly address international stresses on states, international assistance, or the influence of international norms and standards. Collier's work, by contrast, focuses less on domestic political dynamics and more on low income, corruption, and natural resource rents. He explicitly considers external security guarantees and international standards for resource extraction" (excerpt from World Bank 2011a, p. 105).
- <sup>17</sup> ICPC (2001); Petrella and Vanderschueren (2003); Dammert (2007); Plant and Scott (2008); Vanderschueren et al. (2009).
- <sup>18</sup> Pretrial services are those intended to evaluate the degree of danger posed by the offender and his or her probability of flight.
- <sup>19</sup> Notably, civil wars ravaged parts of Central America and claimed around 300,000 victims (World Bank 2010, p. 18).
- <sup>20</sup> The literature review conducted reflects on these areas as critical elements of the policies of citizen security. Sherman et al. (2002) focus on: community-based crime prevention, family-based crime prevention, school-based prevention reviews, labor markets and crime, preventing crime at place (situational prevention), policing for crime prevention, criminal justice, and crime prevention. UN norms and standards on crime prevention state that "a wide array of approaches [to prevention] can be used, ranging from environmental and situational interventions...social interventions...community-based approaches...to social reintegration approaches" ([www.unodc.org/pdf/compendium/compendium\\_2006\\_part\\_03\\_01.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/pdf/compendium/compendium_2006_part_03_01.pdf)). See also the recent review by the International Center for Crime Prevention (2010).
- <sup>21</sup> So-called externalizing behavior includes aggressive and delinquent behavior that can be minor but can lead to more serious violent or criminal behavior.
- <sup>22</sup> These key areas have been prioritized by the IDB's Social Sector Division.
- <sup>23</sup> According to Aos, Miller, and Drake (2006), the benefit-cost ratios for reducing crime in the United States are lower for early childhood interventions than for other interventions also shown to be effective through rigorous evaluations.
- <sup>24</sup> The results are based on a quasi-experimental design in that the program was "randomized" over a matched sample of eight communities. The participants in the microfinance program in the treated communities may differ on unobservables from the randomly selected individuals in the control communities.
- <sup>25</sup> For the meta-analysis of Randomized Controlled Trials (RCTs) of "Scared Straight," see Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, and Buehler (2003) and Lilienfeld (2005).
- <sup>26</sup> CPTED was proposed in 1972 by the criminologist C. Ray Jeffery, who highlighted the observation that crime occurs because of the opportunities created by the physical environment around the perpetrator.

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27 Hugo Fruhling, written communication with the authors, 2012.

28 The STAD system is similar to CompStat, which originated in New York City in the 1990s. It allows for computer-based, more detailed, and more timely collection of information on criminal occurrences. This information is the basis for a more decentralized decision making, as well as more agile and targeted police work.

29 This discussion draws on Sherman (2011b).

30 Sherman and Rogan (1995); Sherman and Weisburd (1995); Weisburd and Green (1995).

31 A comprehensive approach to criminal justice systems has been recommended by experts such as Tittle and Logan (1973), as well as Williams and Hawkins (1986), who have argued that the effectiveness of crime prevention interventions strongly depend on specific contexts and the proper functioning of the whole institutional framework (see IDB 2012a).

32 [http://www.presunciondeinocencia.org.mx/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=406:repensando-la-justicia-en-mexico-el-caso-de-morelos&catid=36:noticias](http://www.presunciondeinocencia.org.mx/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=406:repensando-la-justicia-en-mexico-el-caso-de-morelos&catid=36:noticias).

33 The systematic review examined 29 controlled, random (or quasi-random) assignment experiments, with 7,300 juveniles.

34 This review found particular benefit of the system developed by Michigan State University in the 1970s, emphasizing behavioral contracting and juvenile advocacy.

35 This discussion is drawn from Sherman (2011a, p. 6)

36 For example, the Jamaica Justice Sector Reform Task Force (2007, p. 257) recommended the inclusion of restorative justice measures in cases identified by the police and/or prosecutor in accordance with general criteria or guidelines.

37 This discussion is drawn from Sherman (2011a). A systematic review of drug substitution programs found that methadone maintenance substantially reduces the volume of crime committed by addicts and that medically controlled heroin maintenance is even more effective at reducing criminal activity. Given high property crime rates among drug addicts, it is highly likely that these programs could be cost-effective compared to prosecution and sentencing. A search of the Campbell Collaboration Library of Systematic Reviews of Evidence on justice system practices reveals several general categories of programs with very strong evidence of effective crime reduction, including prison, courts, and juvenile justice (see [http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/reviews\\_crime\\_justice/index.php](http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/reviews_crime_justice/index.php)).

38 A detailed analysis of this theory can be found in Cullen, Wright, and Blevin (2006).

39 A promising program is one for which there is one test with considerable effects, but no replication. The critical issue for any program taken from other continents and tried in Latin America and the Caribbean is how well it survives cultural translation and how well it fits with the social and institutional contexts specific to Latin America and the Caribbean.

40 See <http://previva.udea.edu.co/>. Accessed April 21, 2012.

41 These elements draw on Mercy et al. (2002) and NRC (2008).

42 The elements are congruent with those identified by the National Research Council (2008) and World Health Organization (WHO) (2002; 2008) as necessary for advancing violence prevention in low- and middle-income countries.

43 For more information, see Hoffman, Guerrero, and Concha-Eastman (2002).