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Evidence and lessons
from Latin America

REGIONAL EVIDENCE PAPERS

Social Capital, Collective Efficacy and Community Based Crime Prevention in El Salvador

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El Salvador

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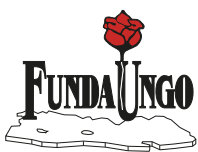
ABOUT THE ELLA PROGRAMME
ELLA, which stands for Evidence and Lessons from Latin America, is a south-south knowledge and exchange programme that mixes research, exchange and learning to inspire development policies and practices that are grounded in evidence about what works in varied country contexts. The programme has been designed and is coordinated by Practical Action Consulting (PAC) Latin America, in line with the objectives agreed with the funder, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), UK Aid. The Institute for Development Studies (IDS), Sussex University, UK, supports on research design, methods and outputs. To learn more about ELLA go to our website, where you can also browse our other publications on violence and citizen security and other ELLA development issues.

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SUMMARY

The regional evidence shows that although the countries in Latin America share important problems of violence and insecurity, there are marked differences amongst them when it comes to the magnitude of the problem. The most affected are the northern triangle of Central America (El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras). The high prevalence of crime and violence in Latin America and particularly in the northern triangle, has pressured the governments, international cooperation agencies and civil society to explore options beyond the traditional response of control and repression to address the situation.

According to various scholars specialized in the subject, repressive measures have not delivered the expected results in terms of crime and violence reduction, and relying only on the police and the criminal justice system has not worked. On the contrary, it has contributed to a growing and more complex problem. In response, a change of paradigm has been unfolding and violence prevention policies have been gaining support. In this new framework, conditions have been created that allowed a repositioning of prevention policies in the public agenda (Alda, 2014) and within them a recognition of the importance of community participation experiences (Dammert, 2005).

Crime prevention initiatives in Latin America show that there is an array of options that countries have been using to address the problem of crime and insecurity in their territories. These can be grouped into three types: (i) Community Based Crime Prevention (CBCP), (ii) Central Government-led crime prevention, and (iii) Community Policing. This study mainly focuses on the CBCP initiatives, which have been defined as: (a) an instrument to prevent crime and violence, and to reduce public fear of crime; (b) a tool to bring together different actors involved in crime prevention; (c) a means of developing local crime and violence prevention partnerships, (d) a method to ensure coordination and management of crime prevention initiatives, and (e) a way to identify priority areas and tasks[1].

It is within this context that we have reviewed the theory of *community social disorganization*, which focuses on the characteristics of the community that create opportunities for crime. The argument is that the development and strengthening of social capital and collective efficacy are relevant to address the risk factors that encourage criminal and violent behaviour in society and facilitate prevention. Ansari (2013) argues in terms of the interrelation and complementarity of social capital and collective efficacy. Both concepts "are partially overlapping and complementary to one another with regards to establishing and sustaining community social control. When social capital is activated in the specific direction to develop social control, collective efficacy plays an important role by providing a connection and activating the resource of social capital for the specific goal of safety. Social capital alone cannot guarantee safety, but collective efficacy cannot exist in [the] absence of social capital".

This study is based on two research questions: (i) How have two Community Based Crime Prevention projects implemented recently in El Salvador promoted social capital and collective efficacy to address crime and violence at the community level?, and (ii) Does social capital and collective efficacy have a relationship with the perception of insecurity?

This study seeks to contribute to the debate about the relationship between perception of insecurity and social capital and collective efficacy, by presenting a perspective from Latin America. First, it presents an overview of the alarming situation of violence, crime and insecurity in Latin America. Second, the study presents a regional

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[1] Quoting the concept developed by the World Bank, 2003.

review of crime prevention initiatives across Latin America, and specifically two CBCP projects implemented in El Salvador in order to learn about their main social capital building features. Finally, it presents the findings of a survey conducted in four communities with high levels of insecurity and 4 with low levels of insecurity. The survey was conducted in September-October 2015 to explore the connections and dynamics between social capital, collective efficacy and fear of crime at the community level in El Salvador.

The CBCP projects analyzed for this study show that due to the magnitude of crime and violence in the country, focused their interventions on four components: (i) Recovery, homogenization and invigoration of public spaces, (ii) non-traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, (iii) the reduction of risk factors in youth care programmes in schools, and (iv) the promotion of vocational training and employment opportunities for at-risk youth; all with the purpose of strengthening social capital and social cohesion, and reduce crime and fear of crime at the community level.

Some of the findings in this study present evidence that in the context of high crime and violence as the level of interpersonal trust decreases, the perception of insecurity increases. Another finding is that collective efficacy is lower when it is associated with a higher perception of insecurity. Hence the importance of studying social capital, collective efficacy and the fear of crime, in order to understand the dynamics that occur within the communities.

The two CBCP projects analysed in El Salvador are focused on promoting community organisation, participation and social capital. A paradox found in this study is that high levels of social capital coexist with high levels of violence. One challenge is to increase the levels of community participation and social capital; and the other, is to increase the willingness of neighbours to intervene under some specific conditions (collective efficacy).

Further initiatives to promote crime and violence prevention at the community level should consider actions in their design that address a double challenge: (i) strengthening existing community organisations, and (ii) building greater social capital and higher levels of citizen participation in solving community problems, producing more collective efficacy.

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GLOSSARY

Adesco	Communal Development Association
AIC	Australian Institute for Criminology
CARSI	Central American Regional Security Initiative
CBCP	Community Based Crime Prevention
Conjuve	National Youth Council
CVPP	Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Project
Fundaungo	Foundation Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo
Funpres	Foundation for Special education
Fusalmo	Foundation Salvador del Mundo
ICE	Index of Collective Efficacy
ICP	Index of Civic Participation
IPI	Insecurity Perception Index
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
Injuve	National Youth Institute
INSOCON	Informal Social Control Index
IPT	Interpersonal trust
JP	Joint Programme of Violence Prevention and Building Social Capital in El Salvador
Lapop	Latin America Public Opinion Project
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MDG-F	Millennium Development Goals Fund
Mined	Ministry of Education
MJPS	Ministry of Justice and Public Security
MVPC	Municipal Violence Prevention Committees
RTI	Research Triangle Institute
SOCOH	Social Cohesion Index
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
Unodc	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNS	United Nations System
Usaid	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization
WOLA	Washington Office on Latin America

Photo 1: Public Demonstration for Peace and Justice in San Salvador
Credit: El Salvador Presidency

INTRODUCTION

According to data from the UNODC (2014) about intentional homicide, this was the cause of death of almost half a million people (437,000) across the world in 2012. More than a third of those (36%) occurred in the Americas, 31% in Africa and 28% in Asia, while Europe (5%) and Oceania (0.3%) accounted for the lowest shares of homicide at the regional level.

In Latin America in the last two decades, the homicide trend has been growing and is higher than the international average (Alda, 2014; UNDP 2013). Between 2000 and 2010, homicides "grew in almost all countries of the region. In some cases very sharply, and in others moderately but in a sustained way. (…) In most countries, the rate has stabilized in the last two or three years, and there is even a small group of countries that show a moderate decrease" (UNDP, 2013). Central America is the most violent sub-region in Latin America.

The deterioration of security indicators in Latin America (UNDP, 2013) has several implications. First, it reflects to a certain extent the failure of the state to perform one of its statutory roles, which is the provision of security to its citizens. Second, in some cases citizens have resorted to non-state initiatives, such as vigilantism or lynching [2]. Third, it contributes to the erosion of support for the rule of law and democratic values. Fourth, it creates the conditions for a repositioning of prevention policies in the public agenda (Alda, 2014) and within them the importance of community participation experiences (Dammert, 2005).

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[2] See: Shirk, D., Wood, D., Olson, E. (Eds.) 2014. Building Resilient Communities in Mexico: Civic Responses to crime and violence, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Altthau, D., Dudley, S. nd. Mexico´s Security Dilemma: Michoacán´s Militias. The Rise of Vigilantism in Mexico and Its Implications going Forward, Wilson Center Mexico Institute.

This evolving early 21ˢᵗ century paradigm produced an important shift in the focus of citizen security[3] policies and programmes in Latin America in three aspects: (i) The recognition of the limited capacities of national governments to address this problem and therefore the need to advance towards coordination between different levels of government, with the novelty that local governments, in partnership with other actors in civil society, have assumed much greater participation in crime prevention. (ii) The recognition of the need for an integral approach in terms of integrating policies and measures of control, prevention and reintegration. (iii) Lastly, the definition of interventions at the community level, and the adoption of an approach which promotes community participation (Córdova, 2011).

It is within this context that Community-Based Crime Prevention (CBCP) initiatives have emerged and been promoted across Latin America, as a different way of responding to security issues. This represents a paradigm shift in the way crime is approached in the region, moving from the traditional policy approach in which the police and the criminal justice system are the central actors, to one in which the participation of local governments and the inclusion of mechanisms for citizen participation in these initiatives are at the forefront of crime prevention. In other words, an approach in which social capital is strengthened to reduce crimes related to a lack of social cohesion at the local level (Alda, 2014; Dammert 2007).

For the purpose of this research we borrowed the concept of CBCP strategies from the World Bank (2003), which have been defined as: (a) an instrument to prevent crime and violence, and to reduce public fear of crime; (b) a tool to bring together different actors involved in crime prevention; (c) a means of developing local crime and violence prevention partnerships, (d) a method to ensure better coordination and management of crime prevention initiatives, (e) a way to identify priority areas and tasks for crime prevention.

When talking about CBCP, one of its main components is community participation in crime prevention, thus the relevance of exploring the concepts of social capital and collective efficacy. Both refer to the links between the individual and society, social interactions, and how to act cooperatively to achieve shared goals. Social capital is an addition to the traditionally recognized productive resources: natural capital, physical capital, financial capital and human capital (Raczynski, Serrano, 2005, quoted in Concepts 19, 2010).

Putnam (2000) argues that the most general forms of social capital are trust and social participation. Coleman (1988) describes social capital as a network of informal, horizontal relations, as well as local and hierarchical relationships. From a sociological point of view, social capital is a complex concept that encompasses three elements: social networks, trust and participation.

We have reviewed the theory of community social disorganization, which focuses on the characteristics of the community that shape opportunities for crime. Sampson et al argued that collective efficacy, defined as social cohesion among neighbours combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good, is linked to crime reduction. Ansari (2013) argues in terms of the interrelation and complementarity of social capital and collective efficacy. Both concepts "are partially overlapping and complementary to one another with regards to establishing and sustaining community social control. When social capital is activated in the specific direction to develop social control, collective efficacy plays an important role by providing a connection and activating the resource of social capital for the specific goal of safety. Social capital alone cannot guarantee safety, but collective efficacy cannot exist in absence of social capital".

There is an important theoretical debate among sociologists and criminologists around causality, whether insecurity is what shapes social capital and collective efficacy, or whether social capital and collective efficacy

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[3] According to UNDP, citizen security consists "in the protection of a basic core of rights, including the right to life, respect for the physical and material integrity of the person and their right to a dignified life" (UNDP 2013). That is, citizen security is a people-centered approach, which has to do with the threats of violence and crime.

have an effect on insecurity. Within this debate, there is no conclusive evidence from previous comparative studies to determine if the existence of social capital and collective efficacy has a direct effect on levels of crime or fear of crime (perception of insecurity) (Buonanno, Montolio and Vaning, 2009). In turn, Maxwell, Garner and Skogan (2011), and Abdullah, Marzbali, Bahauddin and Tilaki (2015) found that fear of crime is lowered and crime rates actually drop where there is high social capital and high collective efficacy. Within this debate, our position is that social capital and collective efficacy does have an effect on insecurity.

Some of the latest efforts to prevent crime in Latin America propose to strengthen social capital and social cohesion in order to reduce risk factors and fear of crime. That is based on studies conducted mostly in the United States and in Europe over the past 30 years. The use of this conceptual framework to carry out empirical studies in Latin America has been very limited; in fact there have been only a few studies in this vein conducted in recent years, in countries such as Mexico and Colombia[4]. There is still plenty of room to explore and contribute to this important debate with more studies conducted in Latin America, thus the importance of the present study, being the first of its type in Central America.

Thus, we are interested in exploring the extent to which crime and violence prevention initiatives that promote social capital and collective efficacy are successful in reducing crime and violence in Latin America, more specifically through a case study of El Salvador. Our first research question is the following: How have two Community Based Crime Prevention projects implemented recently in El Salvador promoted social capital and collective efficacy to address crime and violence at the community level?

Based on the theoretical debate mentioned above, and the lack of studies at the community level that address these topics in Latin America, our second research question is: Does social capital and collective efficacy have a relationship with the perception of insecurity? We would expect that social capital and collective efficacy will help to reduce the fear of crime (perception of insecurity). The logic behind this is that the levels of interpersonal trust, civic participation, social networks and social cohesion of individuals living in the communities are important for joint action to address the risk factors that encourage criminal and violent behaviour.

Photo 2: Banner "Careful: We are watching you"

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[4] See: Valenzuela-Aguilera, A. 2012. La Eficacia Colectiva Como Estrategia de Control Social del Espacio Barrial: Evidencias Desde Cuernavaca, México. Revista Invi, No. 74, Vol. 27, 187-215.

Ruiz, J. 2010. Eficacia Colectiva, Cultura Ciudadana y Victimización: Un Análisis Exploratorio Sobre Sus Relaciones Con Diversas Medidas Del Miedo Al Crimen. Acta Colombiana De Psicología 13 (1): 103-114. Universidad de Colombia.

Knights, D. 2014. Collective Efficacy and Community-Based Crime Prevention in Trinidad and Tobago: Contributions to the Theory of Collective Efficacy. Washington University Open Scholarship. Washington University in St. Louis.

DESIGN AND METHODS

According to Kubrin and Weitzer (2003), early disorganization studies "assumed that social ties and social control shaped neighbourhood crime rates (....) These and other studies indicate a need to further investigate how social ties can differentially affect neighbourhood crime rates. Some argue that social ties are only important in terms of their resource potential, which is captured by the concept of social capital. Although it has been defined in various ways (Portes, 1998), social capital generally refers to intangible resources produced in "relations among persons that facilitate action" for mutual benefit (Coleman 1988). It is the resources transmitted through social ties, not the ties per se, that are key to facilitating social control. Such resources include obligations, information, trust, and norms. Ties between neighbouring parents, for example, might lead to the sharing of information or mutual obligations (resources) that may serve as a basis for monitoring and controlling children´s behaviour. Unfortunately, few studies have focused on the relationship between social capital and crime, but those that do, find support for this relationship"[5].

As Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) noted, "Both social ties and social capital appear to have limitations, however, in accounting for residents capacities to confront neighborhood problems (Taylor 2002). Networks and resources may be necessary, but not sufficient, for social control. What is missing is the key factor of purposive action (i.e., how ties are activated and resources mobilized to enhance social control). For the latter to occur, according to Sampson, residents must develop a willingness to take action, which depends, in large part, on conditions of mutual trust and solidarity among neighbors. Sampson´s construct of collective efficacy captures this linkage of trust and intervention for the common good"

In turn, Sampson and Raudenbush (2004, 2012) present a hypothesis about the relationship between disorder and crime. The central idea of these ecological theories is that disorder is a factor that contributes to crime. Sampson proposes that "in neighborhoods where collective efficacy is strong, the levels of physical (graffiti, garbage, syringes, etc.) and social disorder (people drinking on the streets, etc.) were low". This result emphasize Sampson, "are coherent with the idea that collective efficacy tends to inhibit disorder". The structural characteristics of the neighborhoods, "as well as the neighborhood cohesion and informal social control are what affects crime". Finally, the author points out the importance of studying signs of physical and social disorder, since these seem to have a cascade effect on the concentration and persistence of structural variables[6].

Although the literature on collective efficacy highlights the importance of social interactions and interpersonal trust between citizens, due to the important dynamics of crime in Salvadoran communities, it is also important to explore in this study whether residents in the communities have adopted behavioural changes related to the fear of being a victim of a crime.

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[5] For a review of the contributions and debates regarding social disorganization theory, see:

Kubrin, C., Weitzer, R. 2003. New directions in social disorganization theory. Journal of Research in crime and delinquency. Vol. 40, No. 4: 374-402.

Shaw, C., McKay, H. Social Disorganization Theory". In: Francis T. Cullen & Pamela Wilcox (ed.) Encyclopedia of Criminological Theory. SAGE Publications.

Sampson, R., Byron, W. 1989. Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social Disorganization Theory". AJS, Volume 94, No. 4: 774-802.

Sampson, R., Morennoff J., Earls, F. 1999. Beyond Social Capital. Spatial dynamics of collective efficacy for children. American Sociological Review Vol. 64: 633-660.

Abdullah, A., Marzbali, M., Bahauddin, A., Maghsoodi, M. (2015) Broken window and collective efficacy: Do they affect fear of crime? SAGE Open, January-March (1 – 11)

Maxwell, C., Garner, J., Skogan, W. 2011. Collective Efficacy and Criminal Behavior in Chicago, 1995–2004. Joint Center for Justice Studies Incorporated. Sheperdstown, West Virginia.

[6] Disorder can motivate people to move to other places and that increases residential instability.

This study is organised around two research questions. **(i) The first research question** seeks to explore: How have two Community Based Crime Prevention projects implemented recently in El Salvador promoted social capital and collective efficacy to address crime and violence at the community level? Given the magnitude, intensity and complexity of the problem of crime and insecurity in El Salvador, we explore the key components of the two CBCPs implemented to tackle the problems we have identified.

A review of crime and violence prevention initiatives across Latin America was conducted prior to our focus in two CBCP initiatives in El Salvador. We have grouped this selection of options in three types: (i) Community Based Crime Prevention (CBCP), (ii) Central Government-led initiatives, and (ii) Community Policing. As stated above, our interest focuses on the CBCP type.

For the selection of the two CBCP projects to be analyzed in the case of El Salvador, we used the following criteria: a) Temporality Criteria: Projects implemented in the period 2008 to 2014. The main reason for selecting this period of time is due to the research required to undertake interviews with key actors and stakeholders that were involved in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the selected projects; b) Basic Documentation Criteria: That the programmes and/or projects, to be considered, must include the following documentation: (i) Project description document, (ii) diagnosis report, (iii) systematization report of the experience and/or evaluation; and c) Characteristics Criteria: The selected projects should have the following characteristics: (i) the involvement of Local Governments; (ii) the promotion of community participation; (iii) a focus on the dynamics within the community; and (iv) the promotion of activities to address primary and secondary levels of crime prevention.

Based on the prior criteria, we selected two projects in El Salvador: (i) the "Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Project" (CVPP) implemented by the Research Triangle Institute with USAID funding, from 2008 to 2013; and (ii) the "Joint Programme of Violence Prevention and Building Social Capital in El Salvador" implemented by the United Nations System in El Salvador, from 2009 to 2013.

We reviewed the existing documentation of each selected project. We used qualitative tools to collect primary data including: (i) semi-structured interviews with 26 stakeholders[7] involved in the selected CBCP projects and (ii) two focus groups discussions with community members.

This study does not intend to be an evaluation of the results of the two projects, but rather an analysis using primary and secondary sources to learn about these particular violence prevention projects, and derive conclusions and policy recommendations from the most promising activities implemented.

(ii) The second research question seeks to explore: Does social capital and collective efficacy have a relationship with the perception of insecurity[8]? In the crime prevention literature the importance of intervening in the communities is underlined, since the "communities are the central institution for crime prevention, the stage on which all other institutions perform: families, schools, labour markets, retail establishments, police (...) must all confront the consequences of community life. Much of the success or failure of these other institutions is affected by the community context in which they operate" (Sherman, 1998). It is within this framework that we are interested in analysing social capital and collective efficacy at the community level.

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[7] Municipal Violence Prevention Committees members, school personnel (principals, teachers, psychologist), technical personnel (implementers), and technical personnel from RTI and UN agencies.

[8] Some authors have called "fear of crime". See:

Dubow, F., McCabe, E., Kaplan, G. 1979. Reactions to Crime: A Critical Review of The Literature. National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Ferraro, K., Grange, R. 1987. The Measurement of Fear of Crime. Sociological Inquiry (57) 70–97.

Skogan, G. 1987. The Impact of Victimization on Fear. Crime & Delinquency January (33) 135-154.

Smith, L., Hill, G. 1991. Victimization and Fear of Crime. Criminal Justice and Behavior 18 (2) 217–39.

We used a quantitative methodology and carried out a survey of community inhabitants to gauge social capital and collective efficacy, as well as to gather their perceptions of insecurity, and the crime victimization experiences[9] they have had. We also explored some socio-environmental conditions of the communities. Two groups of communities were selected. Four communities with high levels of insecurity (HI), and four communities that have the same socio-economic characteristics of the first group but with lower levels of insecurity (LI). The communities were selected based on their similarities in population size and socio-economic characteristics. Additionally the selection required that all the communities not be subject to a CBCP intervention.

The determination of the levels on insecurity (high and low) in each community was conducted with the support of personnel of the municipal governments and field visits conducted by the research team. This was necessary because there is no data available at the community level. The fieldwork was conducted between the 4th of September and 3rd of October 2015. 40 surveys were conducted in each community, one per household, for a total of 160 individuals in communities with high levels of insecurity; and 160 in communities with low levels of insecurity. Giving a total of 320 people surveyed. For the purpose of our research we consider this community size to be appropriate to explore descriptions of the population average, if we also consider that respondents were randomly selected. This research design allows us to compare and explore differences between communities with higher and lower levels of insecurity.

For the analysis at the community level, we have formulated three working hypotheses:

Ho1: The higher the levels of social capital at the community level the lower the levels of insecurity compared to those with lower levels of social capital.

Ho2: The higher the levels of collective efficacy at the community level the lower the levels of insecurity compared to those with lower levels of collective efficacy.

Ho3: The higher the levels of collective efficacy at the community level the lower the risk of problems associated with social environment compared to those with lower levels of collective efficacy.

We have two independent variables: (i) Social capital, and (ii) Collective efficacy; and two dependent variables: (a) Perception of insecurity, and (b) Risk factors in their social environment. The variable behaviour adopted due to fear of crime will be treated as an intervening variable. The operationalization[10] and measurement of variables is presented in Chapter five.

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[9] The questionnaire is presented in Annex 8.

[10] The operationalization of all variables used in this report are presented in Annex 1.

CRIME, VIOLENCE AND PREVENTION INITIATIVES IN LATIN AMERICA

Crime and violence in Latin America

In Latin America, the homicide trend in the last two decades has been growing and is higher than the international average (Alda, 2014; UNDP, 2013). Annex 2 presents the homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants of 18 Latin American countries for the period 2000-2013, according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2014). In 2012, 12 out of the 18 Latin American countries have shown a homicide rate higher than 10 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, a situation that according to the World Health Organization (WHO) is considered an epidemic.

Although the region appears to share a common trend regarding homicides, there are significant differences between the countries. Based on the data available for 2012 (See Annex 2), the countries can be divided in two groups. In the first one the countries with a rate above 10 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants: Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Venezuela. The other group of countries with homicide rates below the 10 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants: Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. There are also significant differences in levels of violence within the countries.

Data from the analysed countries shows that the most afflicted group by crime and violence are young men between the ages of 15 to 29. While they are victims they also appeared as the perpetrators responsible for an important amount of intentional violence and crime in the region (UNDP, 2013). El Salvador (92.3), Colombia (73.4), Venezuela (64.2), Guatemala (55.4) and Brazil (51.6), have the highest youth homicide rate in the world (UNDP, 2013).

Beyond homicides, specialists have identified other threats to citizen security in Latin America. For example, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2013) identifies the following threats: (i) common crime, (ii) organized crime, (iii) violence and crime committed by and against youth, (iv) gender violence, (v) corruption, and (vi) illegal violence committed by state actors. Other authors suggest that threats to citizen security tend to diversify the actions of organized crime: drug trafficking, migrant smuggling, human trafficking, kidnapping, extortion, and firearms trafficking[11]. Among the facilitator factors of crime and violence in Latin America, firearms, drugs and alcohol are listed.

However, theft and robbery are the type of crime to which citizens are most exposed, and are part of what could be considered "common crime"[12]. According to the Latin American Public Opinion Project survey, "48% of Latin Americans identify common crime as their main threat" (LAPOP, 2102). By 2014 the people surveyed were asked about the most important problem facing the country, since from 2004 to 2014 insecurity has been gaining in importance among citizen concerns, although it is the second option chosen by people, behind the state of the

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[11] See:

Hans, M., Niño, C., 2010. Anuario 2010 de la Seguridad Regional en América Latina y el Caribe. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Bogotá. Colombia.

Hans, M., Niño, C., 2011. Anuario 2011 de la Seguridad Regional en América Latina y el Caribe. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Bogotá. Colombia.

Hans, M., Niño, C., 2013. Anuario 2013 de la Seguridad Regional en América Latina y el Caribe. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Bogotá. Colombia.

[12] *Delincuencia común* would be the term use in spanish.

economy. The percentage of people in the Americas choosing insecurity as the most important problem grew from 22.5% in 2004 to 32.5% in 2014 (Latin America Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), 2014)[13].

The problem of insecurity has an objective and a subjective dimension. The first is captured by violence and criminal activity, while the second refers to the perception of personal insecurity. A recent study analyzed the perception of insecurity in Latin America using data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (2010) survey, to create an index on the perception of insecurity with a 0-100 format, where 100 represents the perception of total insecurity and 0 total security. The regional average on the scale of insecurity is 43. The countries with a perception of insecurity above the average are: Mexico (43.8), Bolivia (46.4), Ecuador (46.9), Belize (47.7), Venezuela (49.5), El Salvador (50.0), Argentina (52.4) and Peru (54.2), as presented in Annex 3.

Crime and violence in Central America

As presented in the previous section, Latin America has important problems of violence, crime and insecurity. For 2004, Central America "would be the most violent region in the world, except for those being affected by intense political violence" (UNDP, 2009).

According to the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime data presented in Annex 2 in comparison with the rest of Latin America the Central America sub-region has the highest murder rates with almost 36 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants for 2012. However in Central America there are two groups of countries: the Northern Triangle (Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador) with the highest homicide rates (for 2012 of 57.9, 85.5 and 41.2, per 100,000 respectively) and the South (Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama) (with rates of 11.3, 8.5 and 17.2, respectively). For this sub-region intentional homicides are not the only concern; as shown in Annex 3, there are also high levels of perception of insecurity.

These three countries (Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras,) besides sharing alarming homicide rates (see Figure 1), also share a youth gang problem, which is the most visible expression of a complex relationship between youth and violence in Latin America (United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2013). In recent years the gang problem has taken new characteristics that have made the problem more complex. According to Aguilar (2006), to some extent, as a result of actions taken by the *iron fist* policies of Government, the phenomenon has become more complex, with the transformation of gangs into more organized and hierarchical structures and the increasing use of violence.

Recent studies identified as the main factors associated with the problem of violence and security in Central America: (i) drug trafficking, and particularly due to the geographical position of Central America, making it a key transportation route for drugs bound from South America to the United States, (ii) youth and gang violence, (iii) availability of firearms, (iv) other manifestations of organized crime, (v) social needs, and (vi) weak government capacities, and more specifically weak criminal justice institutions[14].

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[13] For further information about LAPOP see: Latin America Public Opinion Project

[14] See:

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. 2012. Transnational Organized Crime in Central America and the Caribbean: A Threat Assessment. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

Aguilera, G., 2014. La problematica de la seguridad ciudadana y sus desafíos en Centroamérica. In: Maihold, G., Córdova, R. (Coord.) Violencia, delincuencia y seguridad pública en América Latina. Grupo Editorial Cenzontle y Cátedra Humboldt. México.

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Cruz, J.M. (ed.) 2006. Maras y Pandillas en Centroamérica: las Respuestas de la Sociedad Civil Organizada: tomo IV. Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas. San Salvador.

Figure 1. Northern Triangle Homicide Rate per 100,000 inhabitants, 2000-2014

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
El Salvador	39.3	36.9	37	36.4	45.8	62.2	64.4	57.1	51.7	70.9	64.1	69.9	41.2	39.4	61.1
Guatemala	25.9	28.1	30.9	35.1	36.4	42.1	45.3	43.4	46.1	46.5	41.6	38.6	39.9	39.3	37.5
Honduras	50.9	54.8	55.8	61.4	53.8	46.6	44.3	50	60.8	70.7	81.8	91.4	90.4	79	68
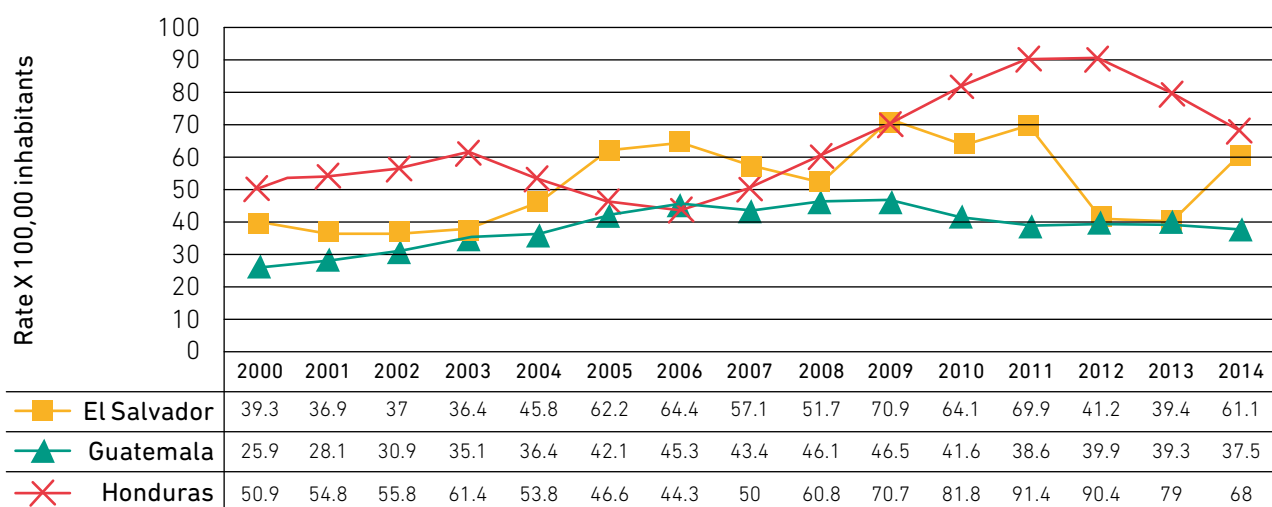
Own elaboration
Source: UNODC Global Study on Homicide accessed 28 September 2015.
Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo. 2013. Atlas de la Violencia en Honduras (2009-2012). Fundaungo. San Salvador.
Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo. 2015. Evolución de los Homicidios en El Salvador, 2009-2015. Aportes al Debate sobre la Seguridad Ciudadana No. 2. Fundaungo. San Salvador.
Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo. 2014. Atlas de la Violencia en Guatemala (2009-2013). Fundaungo. San Salvador.
Note: Data from the UNODC data base was used for the series of 2000-2008. The rest of the series 2009-2014 was constructed using the data base from the Atlas of Violence in Central America of Fundaungo.

From the different aspects related to violence and insecurity in Central America previously identified, for the purpose of this study, we want to comment on the topic of youth violence. In a study carried out by Cruz (2007), he presents an ecological model in which he identifies the main factors associated with the rise and development of youth gangs (See Annex 4).

Some of these factors are related to three socio-demographic processes ongoing in Central America: (i) An accelerated urbanization process, which involves rapid and uncontrolled urban growth, with problems of overcrowded housing. (ii) The increase in youth population, which generally has had limited options for social inclusion, significant dropout rates in the school system and limited absorption in labour markets (United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2013, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2015). (iii) A migration process that has implied in recent decades a large number of Central Americans leaving their countries of origin, which in turn has contributed to the disintegration of the traditional family structure.

According to data from the Population Census of the United States, by 2010 it is estimated that 3,998,280 Central Americans were living in the United States: 1,044,209 Guatemalan, 1,648,968 Salvadoran and 1,305,103 from other countries (Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama).[15] This migration phenomenon has continued due to the lack of economic opportunities in these countries, problems of insecurity and aspirations of family reunification.

[15] See The Hispanic Population 2010: 2010 Census Briefs

This problem of violence and insecurity has high economic costs for the Central American countries. A study carried out by Acevedo (2008) estimates that the economic costs of violence in Central America in 2006 reached an approximate amount of $6.506 million. This is equivalent to 7.7% of GDP[16] for the region, although the burden is significantly different from country to country. In absolute terms, the costs are higher for Guatemala (US$ 2.291 million) and El Salvador (US$ 2.010 million) and lower for Costa Rica (US$ 791 million) and Nicaragua (US$ 529 million). When it comes to the relative size of the economy, the situation changes. At one end is El Salvador, were violence enforces a cost close to 11% of its GDP; on the other end, Costa Rica, with a burden of 3.6% to its GDP. In Honduras and Nicaragua, the cost of violence is equivalent to 9.6% and 10% of their GDP respectively. In Guatemala, the relative weight of the cost of violence is 7.7% of its GDP, although it has the highest costs in absolute terms.

El Salvador multi-violence expressions

The insecurity crisis in El Salvador manifests in different ways and instead of referring to violence in general, from the analytical point of view it would be better to refer to different expressions of violence. It is at least possible to identify four: (i) the one reflected in the homicide rates; (ii) crime activities, (iii) the dynamic of youth violence, and (iv) violence against women (gender violence). These are different violence phenomena that have their own dynamics, and impact in different ways the life of Salvadorans.

As shown in Figure1, El Salvador homicides rates per 100,000 inhabitants has reached alarming proportions: 70.9 in 2009, 64.1 in 2010, 69.9 in 2011. It then drops (due to a truce between the major gangs) to 41.2 in 2012, andremained low with 39.4 in 2013. After the end of the truce it rose to 61.1 in 2014. Between 2009 and 2014, 21,692 Salvadorans were killed: 4,382 in 2009, 4,004 in 2010, 4,371 in 2011, 2,524 in 2012, 2,499 in 2013 and 3,912 in 2014. On average, this has implied 9.9 murders a day in the period 2009–2014.

When reviewing homicides it is easily identified that the primary victims are young males between the ages of 15 to 29 years old. "While the national homicide rate in 2009 was 71.2 per 100,000, the rate for men was 130.5 and 18.2 for women. For the same year, the youth homicide rate was 147.4. One thing to note is that the rate of young men killed was 271.0, four times the national rate. By contrast, the homicide rate for young women was 35.3, half the national rate" (Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo (Fundaungo), 2014), see Annex 5.

According to the World Bank, youth, mainly young men, comprise the bulk of both the victims and the perpetrators of violence in Central America. (WB, 2011). Among the factors that exacerbate violent situations, the National Youth Council[17] (Conjuve, 2011) found that the presence of firearms and knives, and consumption of and access to drugs and alcohol are the most prevalent.

Youth violence is also affecting schools. According to official data from the Ministry of Education (Ministerio de Educación (MINED), 2014) in the year 2014 alone 14,438 students abandoned their schools alleging crime as the main reason fortheir desertion. This number has been growing when compared to previous years; 9,192 (2013) and 7,463 (2012) students felt they needed, for their own safety, to abandon their studies[18].

The different expressions of violence across the region, elicited different responses from the governments of the region. The next section presents presents a summary of novel approaches used in Latin America to address violence and crime.

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[16] Gross Domestic Product.

[17] Conjuve for its acronym in spanish.

[18] La deserción escolar por inseguridad se duplicó en los últimos cinco años (Pupil dropout due to insecurity has doubled in the last five years) accessed 6 October 2015.

Crime Prevention Initiatives in Latin America

The transition to democracy in Latin America did not bring a change in the central actors who address the problems of crime: the police and the criminal justice system, or the typical approaches they use.[19] Although there are some differences in trends between Latin American countries, there was an increase in crime and fear of crime that caused insecurity to become of greater interest on the public agenda (Sapoznikow, Salazar, and Carrillo, 2000). As pointed by Ribeiro and Maitre (2010): "In one decade since the beginning of re-democratization in the region, crime has not reduced. Indeed, the homicide rate rose, and the sense of insecurity increased among the population in the major cities. In addition, the judicial, police and prison systems continued to face serious problems and deficiencies". This led many governments in the region to adopt *mano dura* policies (iron fist) during the 1990s´ (Basombrío & Dammert, 2013). Central America is one of the regions where these initiatives were strongest; policies such as Blue Freedom in Honduras, Broom Plan in Guatemala and Iron fist and Super iron fist in El Salvador.[20] These policies promoted an increase in imprisonment, a response that emphasized repression and increased the number of detainees in prisons, and passed special laws against gangs. To these measures and policies, it must be added the beginning of the use of armed forces in support activities of public security in the region. These *iron fist* policies failed to produce a significant improvement in the problem of insecurity (United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2013).

By the mid-nineties in Latin America an important debate on prevention vs. control/repression to tackle the problem of security took place. In this matter Arriagada and Godoy (2000) stated that prevention or repression/control policies are a false dilemma for citizen security. The multi-dimensional nature of the phenomena of violence and crime requires that governments combine both.

For the early twenty-first century an important shift has occurred in the focus of citizen security in Latin America. This involves three things (Córdova, 2011):

(a) The recognition of the limited capacities of national governments to address this problem and therefore the need to advance towards coordination between different levels of government with the novelty of local governments participating in prevention, as well as generating partnerships with other actors of society[21].

(b) The recognition of the need for an integral approach in terms of incorporating policies and measures of control, prevention and reintegration.

(c) Lastly, the definition of interventions at the community level, and adopt the approach of promoting community participation.

Community involvement in crime prevention "should be understood as a process of changing paradigms: countries emerging from a traditional intervention policy that had as an actor, almost exclusively, law enforcement institutions to include the participation of citizens, with the objective of achieving effective mechanisms of consolidation of social capital, and the reduction in problems related to a lack of coexistence at the local level, in addition to the actual crime prevention" (Ribeiro and Maitre, 2010). Although Ribeiro and Maitre (2010) point out the importance of community participation, they also warn: "the lightness, with which, in many cases,

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[19] "The dominant view at the time was that the restoration of democracy in the region would lead to an improved functioning of the criminal justice system" (Ribeiro, L. & Maitre, R., 2010).

[20] Policies such as Blue Freedom (Libertad Azul) in Honduras, Broom Plan (Plan Escoba) in Guatemala and Iron fist and Super iron fist (Mano Dura y Súper Mano Dura) in El Salvador.

[21] Dammert and Paulsen (2005) focuses on the need for local governments to assume the topic of prevention of crime as one of its core areas of intervention. There is a recognition of the potential of local governments to promote public security, as part of its own competence framework, which allows them a role in promoting the prevention of violence (Calderón, 2010).

community participation has been taken, could jeopardize the efficiency of prevention policies, generating a negative perception by the general public and institutions, or at least suspicion, about the real scope of prevention and specifically community prevention".

A fourth topic of this paradigm shift has to do with the support of international cooperation agencies to this new approach. In the area of prevention, international cooperation focuses on supporting activities aimed at reducing risk factors, building social capital and peaceful environments. An example of this is the multilateral cooperation of specialized agencies such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank and the United Nations Development Program; which have supported the areas of institutional strengthening, social and situational prevention, human development and support for excluded sectors (Mesquita, 2009).

Over the last decades in Latin America interventions oriented to promote citizen security have increased, according to an interventions mapping of citizen security in Central America funded by international cooperation, elaborated by the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (2011)[22]. In total 453 projects/programs of international cooperation have or will be implemented in the Central American region, for a costof US $ 1,710 million. Of these, 423 projects/programs, corresponding to 78%, had already been implemented. In this universe, 30% correspond to prevention ($ 403 million), of which 56% are loans and 44% are non-refundable.

Novel initiatives in the region

Based on a literature review of crime prevention initiatives in Latin America, we have identified different approaches and diverse types of initiatives (Dammert and Paulsen, 2005; United Nations Program for Development (UNDP), 2014). For the purposes of the study, we have grouped some of these initiatives in three types which are characterized by: (i) who articulates the actions; (ii) what kind of approach of violence and crime prevention is used; and (iii) the extent to which police-community relations are emphasized. The three types of initiatives are: community-based (CBCP), central government led and community policing.

The majority of the following initiatives work mainly on the "*primary*" *and* "*secondary*" levels of prevention, and to a lesser extent on "*tertiary*"[23]. They also combine actions on the three areas of intervention: social, situational and communitarian prevention[24].

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[22] This project was implemented between November 2009 and June 2010, although the data are updated to June 2011.

[23] (a)**Primary prevention:** "aimed at the general population and commonly answers to nonspecific needs such as acting on the social and situational contexts that favour violence" (CESC, 2004). It is supposed to intervene before a criminal or violent act occurs and operates through public policies such as, housing, employment, education and health.

(b) **Secondary prevention:** "aimed at specific risk groups and their needs (e.g. children, youth, women, potential offenders), who have suffered problems resulting from violence and require treatment and support to avoid re-victimization as well as to prevent them from becoming future victimizers" (CESC, 2004). It is supposed to intervene where violence occurs and it therefore operates in a targeted manner through specific programmes in the medium to long term.

(c) **Tertiary prevention:** "aimed at specific groups of people who have committed infractions of the law, who have entered the criminal justice system, seeking to promote their rehabilitation and prevent recidivism" (CESC, 2004). It is supposed to intervene after the crime occurs. Therefore, the offending person or repeated offenders (adult or child) are subjected to the intervention through various measures. It operates through specific short-term rehabilitation programmes.

[24] *Social prevention* acts on personal, psychological and/or social risk factors. These experiences may be aimed at high social risk groups ranging from the family (early prevention of domestic violence) to education (conflict mediation in schools) or health (children nutrition programmes). Social prevention can be somewhat non-specific in its security dimension, because security would be a long-term result of concentrated efforts of a variety of public policies. *Situational prevention*, unlike social prevention, is in its scope oriented to the potential criminal, victim and the context (Clarke, 1997). In this sense it acts on proximity or environmental factors closely related to triggering violence and illegal situations. It covers urban areas (recovery of public spaces, better lighting) disarmament and surveillance, and can benefit the general population and be directed to specific groups. Situational prevention operates anticipating the reasoning of the aggressor, establishing greater difficulties in their actions, reducing the rewards and removing excuses, (Clarke, 1997). *Communitarian prevention* combines elements of both, the social and situational, and its more defining characteristic has been local participation, specially defined at the neighbourhood level. The creation of monitoring committees and the involvement in short-range projects focuses on social or situational prevention.

Community-based Crime Prevention

The first group of initiatives in Latin America correspond to Community-based Crime Prevention (CBCP) experiences. A feature that characterizes this group of initiatives is the role of local government in designing and implementing programmes/plans for crime prevention, which articulates the participation of other local actors in the process, and coordinates at the same time with the national government. Within this type of intervention, local governments are co-responsible for public security, working with the community in order to prevent crime and violence.

For the communities, the availability of appropriate education and employment, strong community links and social interactions, including those associated with cultural and faith-based groups or respected elders, plus good recreation, transport and other facilities are all relevant. For children and youth, caring and consistent parenting, good role models and staying in school are all important. Thus, improvements in neighbourhood services and facilities, as well as increasing the social capital and providing opportunities for education and training for at-risk youth, can all help to protect neighbourhoods or individuals and to develop their resilience to crime and victimization (UNODC, 2010).

A community based crime prevention strategy is: (a) an instrument to prevent crime and violence, and to reduce public fear of crime; (b) a tool to bring together different actors involved in crime prevention; (c) a means of developing local crime and violence prevention partnerships; (d) a method to ensure coordination and management of crime prevention initiatives, and (e) a way to identify priority areas and tasks (World Bank, 2003).

The local experiences that promote citizen security and violence prevention which have shown some positive impacts are in: Bogota[25/26] and Medellin in Colombia; and Guayaquil and Quito in Ecuador. These are experiences that are promoted by local governments and some of them are implemented in situations of high levels of violence. In this regard, municipalities articulate coordination with other relevant state institutions and also social partners such as the private sector, Non-Government Organizations and leaders from various sectors. These initiatives began their implementation at the end of the decade of the nineties[27].

There are six important elements in the analysis of these experiences:

(i) The leadership of the mayors, and the formation of work teams.

(ii) The preparation of assessments that lead to the formulation of plans and policies.

(iii) Continuity in time in spite of changes of local government[28].

(iv) Initiatives that seek to strengthen social fabric, social capital, and prevent risk factors that lead to criminal behaviour (Llorente, 2010).

(v) The generation of reliable information systems and timely information for decision-making.

(vi) The participation of the community in actions directed to the recovery of physical and social order in their communities (Llorente, 2010).

Regarding the case of Bogota, it has been pointed out that "the success of Bogota in reducing the homicide rate and murders in traffic accidents, is linked to local government intervention that emphasized prevention as an educational mechanism", and highlights the emphasis on promoting co-existence (Dammert, 2005). Part of

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[25] Organizacion de los Estados Americanos. (sin fecha) Casos exitosos de seguridad en gobiernos locales.

[26] See: Acero, H. 2002. Seguridad y convivencia en Bogotá: logros y retos 1995-2001. In: Seguridad Ciudadana ¿espejismo o realidad? Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO-Ecuador), Organización Mundial de la Salud and Organización Panamericana de la Salud (OMS/OPS). Quito, Ecuador.

[27] Of these, Bogota the best known internationally and longer lasting, it begins in 1995, with ups and downs has continued to date.

[28] About this topic in the case of Bogotá, it is pointed out: "the political will to prioritize these issues and the development of the main lines of action" (Llorente, 2010).

the novelty of the approach focuses on the promotion of a"civic culture" that promoted actions to prevent the occurrence of a crime. These actions range from the regulation of risk factors such as alcohol and firearms use, to educational activities, especially targeted at youth, as well as spaces to resolve citizen and family conflicts (Acero, 2010).

International cooperation agencies like USAID have been promoting and supporting some CBCP initiatives in Latin America in the last decade in Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Panama. In the case of Mexico the project has provided support for community-based strategies to prevent and counteract crime and violence, "support[ing] Central Government efforts to formulate and implement evidence-based crime prevention policies and local efforts to promote social cohesion. CVPP[29] activities are closely coordinated with all levels of government and with civil society. Local Crime and Violence Prevention Master Plans, which were developed in each community through participatory processes, guide project planning, implementation and community engagement"[30].

In closing, the initiatives mentioned above promote efforts to prevent crime by using a wide "range of strategies that are implemented by individuals, communities, businesses, non-governmental organizations and all levels of government to target the various social and environmental factors that increase the risk of crime, disorder and victimization" (Australian Institute for Criminology, 2011). The two projects analysed in the case of El Salvador fit within this framework of CBCP.

Initiatives led by the Central Government

In these types of initiatives the actions are basically the responsibility of the central government in the design and implementation of public policies or through a national plan. However, there are some cases in which the central government formulates the initiatives, and some components are implemented through local governments.[31] To some degree municipal governments work in cooperation with the central government; although in this type of initiative it is the Central Government that formulates and leads the actions.

The case of the Democratic Security Plan (DSP) in the Dominican Republic, is a relevant experience. After experiencing an increase in homicide rates and the perception of insecurity, a reduction in institutional trust and the absence of a clear policy on prevention, the government took the lead in addressing public safety. There was a change in the way security was perceived before, by including in its objectives "to solve the absence of the state in excluded communities (...), encouraging the participation of its institutions with the communities and their inhabitants, to create opportunities, participation, solidarity, trust and hope"; the second objective was to " address in an integrated way, and also separately, the multiple causes of violence in the field of social cohesion and crime", and its final objective was "to create the conditions of physical security for society and its organizations to recover lost public and social space" (Ministry of the Interior and Police of the Dominican Republic, 2010). Following the change, the DSP was created and runs through the program Barrio Seguro (Safe Neighborhood) in locations with the highest crime rate. The program consisted of a combination of preventive and repressive measures by a change in the policing model and social projects in the selected locations, as well as strengthening social capital, citizen coexistence and community organizations. Among the results, a decrease in the numbers of violent crime and an improvement in subjective security were found (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2013).

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[29] Crime and Violence Prevention Project

[30] See USAID, Crime and violence prevention: México

[31] For cases in Central America that are of this type, see: Calderón, R. (comp.). 2010. Gobierno Municipal y Seguridad Ciudadana en Centroamérica y República Dominicana: reflexiones y propuestas para la acción.

For its part, despite having a rather low homicide rate, Chile experienced an increase in the perception of insecurity that provoked an immediate response from the central government. Thus, in 2000 the government launched the Programa Comuna Segura (Safe Community Program) "which has as central pillars community participation, the development of networks of participation in crime prevention and the development of local social capital" (Lunecke, 2005). Its approach is to act on the risk factors and seek community participation in the programme implementation phase. Among the results, it benefited a population of 3,891,036 inhabitants, with 2,737 security projects in different municipalities and 1,100 projects to strengthen community networks were funded (Lunecke, 2005).

Another interesting experience is "Todos Somos Juarez" in Mexico. Since 2001, civil society and the private sector have been making efforts to create an action plan to counter crime and violence. These efforts were materialized in the "Security Round Tables", a type of organization that became the main force between the government and organized society. During the following years, civil society organizations such as the "Citizen Medical Committee", "Juarenses for Peace" and the "Maquiladora[32] Association" played a central role in the creation of the Observatory of Public and Social Security of Juarez and the mobilization of thousands of citizens demanding that the Central Government improve security in Juarez (Shirk, A., Wood, D., Olson, E. (Eds.), 2014). Consequently, in 2010 the federal government, along with the government of the State of Chihuahua, adopted a strategy to promote public safety with the programme "Todos Somos Juarez". One of the first steps was to bring together civil society, and activate the "round tables" that had participated in previous years. These were represented by officials from the federal, state and local governments, and also included the private sector and organized civil society. The plan created 160 concrete measures to counteract crime and violence. The measures covered six areas: public security, employment, health, education, economic growth and social development (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2014). Another noteworthy initiative in México is the one developed in Monterrey[33].

As part of these type of initiatives, other efforts promoted by Central Governments can be considered, for instance the "Integral and Sustainable Citizen Security and Social Peace Promotion Policy" in Costa Rica,[34] and the "National Programme for the Social Prevention of Violence and Crime" in Mexico[35].

Community policing

Community policing initiatives[36] have as a main feature the improvement of police and community relations, and also as Frühling (2003) notes "[to] promote the use of problem-solving methods by most of the policemen, decentralise police operations with the support of the community and have a more flexible system of work shifts and schedules to respond to citizen demands".

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[32] Maquiladora is a manufacturing operation in Mexico, where factories import material and equipment on a duty- and tariff- free basis for assembly, processing, or manufacturing and then export the assembled, processed and/or manufactured products, sometimes back to the raw materials' country of origin

[33] See: Wilson Center. 2014. Building Resilient Communities in Mexico. Civic responses to crime and violence. Wilson Center.

[34] See: Presidencia de la República y el Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (2010). Política Integral y Sostenible de Seguridad Ciudadana y Promoción de la Paz Social. Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD). San José, Costa Rica.

[35] Comisión Intersecretarial para la Prevención Social de la Violencia y la Delincuencia (sin fecha). Bases del Programa Nacional para la Prevención Social de la Violencia y la Delincuencia e Instalación de la Comisión Intersecretarial. México, D.F.

[36] In Latin America regarding Community Policing experiences see:

Muller, M. 2010. Community Policing in Latin America: Lessons from Mexico City. European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, 88, April 2010. 21-37.

Labra, C. 2011. El Modelo de Policía Comunitaria: El Caso Chileno. Revista Chilena de Derecho y Ciencia Política - Vol. 3, Nº 1, Año 2,

For a regional perspective, see: Arias, P., Rosada-Granados., F. 2012. Reformas Policiales en América Latina. Principios y lineamientos progresistas. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Programa de Cooperación en Seguridad Regional Observatorio de Crimen Organizado en América Latina y el Caribe y Fundación Open Society Institute. Bogotá, Colombia; and Arias, E., Ungar, M. 2013. Community policing and public safety crisis in Latin America. Estudios Socio Jurídicos, 15, p. 19-52.In the case of Central America, see: Savenije, W. 2014. Experiences with the approach of community policing against insecurity in Central America. In: Maihold, G., Córdova, R. (Coord.) Violencia, delincuencia y seguridad pública en América Latina. Grupo Editorial Cenzontle, Cátedra Humboldt. México.

One of the best known experiences in Latin America is the National Plan for Quadrant Community Policing (PNVCC) in Colombia. In 2010, the National Police of Colombia, announced the PNVCC as a way of "improve[ing] police work by subdividing the territorial space into small areas (quadrants) for closer coordination with local authorities" (National Police of Colombia, nd). Using a number of criteria, the responsibility for a specific territory is given to a defined number of police officers. "The primary objective is to address the problems of social life within the communities "(...) The method used by the police is to guide the identification and solution of problems and the manifestations of violence and crime. In this sense, it responds not only to acts of violence but to problems related to the lack of citizen coexistence and in general, public security" (National Police of Colombia, nd). Among the results, it was determined that "trained policemen in the operation of the PNVCC model, were more efficient than untrained policemen who operated in similar units". Another finding was that the PNVCC tended to reduce homicides, robberies and thefts of vehicles (United Nations Programme for Development (UNDP), 2014). According to an impact evaluation conducted by *Fundación Ideas para la Paz* (2012) the 18% drop in homicides (2 of every 10 homicides) where the plan was implemented is due to the PNVCC.

Another experience of community policing has been implemented in Belo Horizonte, Brazil (Frühling, 2003). In Central America the policing model closest to a communitarian model is found in Nicaragua. The model has been evolving since the first stage of the Sandinista Police during the revolutionary process, which is now known as the "Proactive Communitarian Police Model". Among its main axes is the Youth Violence Prevention Plan, which includes a *preventive/corrective* approach[37].

Denney (2015) analysing the approach of *community policing* in the experience of several developing countries, particularly in Africa, warns about "the conceptual confusion surrounding community policing". This is due to *community policing* referring to a wide range of forms such as "alternative dispute resolution, police-community forums, joint police-community patrols, community outreach, the establishment of community policing as a police-wide philosophy and/or specific police units tasked with responsibility for community policing. In addition to these multiple forms, community policing is ascribed as a diverse set of objectives by the different actors involved (governments, police, communities and donors), including reduce crime, improved police-community relations, increased police accountability and strengthened state-society relations" (Denney, 2015). But beyond the importance of understanding the specific contexts, the approach of *community policing* falls within the framework of broader police reform processes and assumes a variety of forms and different objectives. In the literature, community policing "is often defined as both a philosophy and an organizational strategy that allows the police and the community to work together to solve community problems of crime, disorder and safety" (Denney, 2015).

An important aspect highlighted by Denney (2015) is that community policing refers not only "to experiences between the formal police and communities but can also refer to "informal" policing practices, whereby communities innovate their own strategies for dealing with local safety and security issues". In this sense, the community policing approach is somewhat problematic because it takes on different forms to reach multiple and different objectives as well as the diverse expectations of its results by different institutional actors.

Some informal policing practices have existed in Latin America as an answer of the rise of violence in some countries; this is the case of the *Autodefensas Michoacanas* in Mexico, or the *Rondas Campesinas* in Peru[38]. For the case of Mexico the actions came from community leaders and business owners who armed themselves to

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[37] For further detail see: Policía Nacional de Nicaragua. 2011. Sistematización del Modelo Policial Comunitario-Proactivo de Nicaragua. Policía Nacional de Nicaragua. Managua, Nicaragua.

Cooperación Alemana (2014) Sistematización de experiencias de Implementación de Policía Comunitaria en cuatro países de Centroamérica. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). San Salvador, El Salvador

[38] Calle, R., Ruiz, C. 2010. La Facultad de las Rondas Campesinas. Comentarios al acuerdo plenario de la Corte Suprema de Justicia que reconoce facultades jurisdiccionales a las rondas campesinas. Instituto de Defensa Legal (IDL). Lima, Perú.

defend their territory against drug trafficking. In Peru, it was an initiative born in the peasant sector to prevent cattle rustling and other crimes. As Dudley (nd) points out, there are lessons learned in these types of experiences that pose risks to citizen security.

Photo 3: Swearing in of new volunteers of Neighborhood Watch in Peru
Credit: Andina (Peruvian Newsagent)

CRIME PREVENTION, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COLLECTIVE EFFICACY IN EL SALVADOR

Two topics are addressed in this chapter. First a review of the two CBCP projects for the case of El Salvador focusing on the key components of the projects, and how these promote social capital and community participation by addressing the risk factors that lead to criminal behaviour. Second, an analysis of the findings on social capital, collective efficacy and insecurity perception in the communities, based on the survey conducted for this study.

The Analysed Projects

The criteria for selecting the two projects to be analysed in El Salvador is explained in chapter three:

(i) The "Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Project" (CVPP) implemented by RTI with USAID funding, from 2008 to 2013: its main goal was to contribute to crime reduction and improvement of citizen security in El Salvador by building capacity in government and civil society entities at the local and national levels to track and analyse patterns of crime and violence, plan and implement community-based violence prevention initiatives, and replicate best practices elsewhere (Cooperative Agreement, 2011).

(ii) The "Joint Programme of Violence Prevention and Building Social Capital in El Salvador" (JP)[39] implemented by the United Nations System in El Salvador, from 2009 to 2013: its main objective was to contribute to promote human development and the achievement of the Milleniun Goals, through the prevention of violence and the promotion of citizen security and social coexistence, with the active and leading participation of youth and women (Project Document, 2009).

Both projects decided to focus their work on the two levels of government: national and local.

(i) At the national level, with the public authorities, in terms of public policies, supporting the Ministry of Justice and Public Security drafting the National Policy for Justice, Security and Coexistence; and the revision of the National Violence Prevention Strategy in support of municipalities.

(ii) At the local level with selected municipalities, the work consisted of complementing central governmental efforts. Even though the projects are promoted by international cooperation agencies (such as USAID and UNDP), the projects are implemented through local governments and within the framework of the National Strategy for Social Prevention of Violence in Support of Municipalities (2010). As part of this strategy the Municipal Violence Prevention Committees (MVPC) are formed as local instances "constituted by representatives of all actors and sectors of the municipality, established to lead and coordinate the work of violence prevention". The aim of the MVPC is "to strengthen the participation of local society to prevent violence, improve citizen security and promote a culture of peace and coexistence". Their main functions are: (i) the development of municipal assessment of violence prevention, (ii) the development of a Municipal Plan for the prevention of violence, and (iii) the tracking and monitoring of the Action Plan.

At a more specific level, within the selected municipalities the work was concentrated in a limited number of communities that presented high levels of insecurity. The JP selected the Municipality of San Salvador[40], the capital of the country; and the project was implemented in 16 selected communities of the 6th and 5th districts. In turn, the CVPP worked in 86 communities of 15 municipalities: Izalco, Armenia, San Salvador, Ahuachapán, Ciudad Arce, Nahuizalco, San Juan Opico, Zaragoza, San Martín, Ilopango, Tonacatepeque, Soyapango, Nejapa, San Antonio del Monte and Santa Tecla[41].

The Main components

In general terms this section seeks to review the key components of the two CBCP projects for the case of El Salvador, in light of how these promote social capital and community participation, through addressing the risk factors that lead to criminal behaviour[42].

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[39] This was born out of the Millennium Summit, where targets were set around the main global challenges, held in September 2000. Under the fulfillment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) the project was part of the chapter and peace building and conflict prevention. In El Salvador the JP starts in 2009, five agencies of the United Nations System (UNS) (United Nations Development Program, United Nations Population Fund, International Labor Organization, Pan-American Health Organization-World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund) joined and assumed responsibility for coordination and management. Thus began the first pioneering experience in the country to integrate five agencies of the UNS working on a single initiative of violence prevention (Millennium Development Goals-Fund, 2009). The lead agency was the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the main local partners were the Ministry of Justice and Public Security (MJPS), the Institute of Youth (INJUVE) and the Municipality of San Salvador.

[40] The Municipality of San Salvador was selected as the intervention area because it was considered one of the ten most violent municipalities, with a rate of 77.9 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2008 (Millennium Development Goals Fund (MDG-F), 2009).

[41] In Santa Tecla the project only worked in strengthening the municipal violence observatory.

[42] For an overview of the projects See: for the CVPP: Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Project: A Project Systematization, El Salvador 2008-2012.; CVPP: Final Report. For the JP: Fondo para el Desarrollo de los Objetivos del Milenio. 2013. Informe Narrativo.; Fondo para el Desarrollo de los Objetivos del Milenio. 2013. Evaluación Intermedia.

Each of the projects has its own structure organizing the components, main products and effects, or objectives, results and activities. Nevertheless, it is not possible nor was the purpose of this study to analyse all the components with their different activities, which is why this study focuses on the most relevant activities within four purposes that we have identified: (i) Recovery, homogenization and invigoration of public spaces, (ii) non-traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, (iii) the reduction of risk factors in youth care programmes in schools, and (iv) the promotion of vocational training and employment opportunities for at-risk youth.

Recovery, homogenization and invigoration of public spaces

The importance and need for public spaces was recognised for both projects, referring to a place to interact with neighbours and thus construct social capital. At the same time, some environmental factors in the community were improved to facilitate coexistence in the recovered spaces.

As a result of the diagnosis conducted under the JP, it was concluded that "the public spaces of the intervention communities were characterized by a high concentration of crime, particularly those with higher disorganization". For this component, community consultations were conducted in order to gather the opinion of residents about their needs and expectations.

The key activities consisted of: (i) recovery and modification of spaces; (ii) homogenization of the use of public spaces through norms and ordinances[43]; (iii) invigorating the spaces through community participation[44]. (Millennium Development Goals Fund (MDG-F), 2013). In this regard, 12 public spaces (sports fields, playgrounds for children, parks, and communal houses) were recovered and/or rehabilitated.

In turn, the Research Triangle Institute (RTI) personnel stated that what people in the community asked for the most was the construction or improvement of communal houses, parks and sport courts, out of the menu of options for access to the small grants fund. There seemed to be a great need for this type of interventions in the communities where the project was implemented. In this project, more than 60 small infrastructure projects improved safe spaces for use by youth and adults: neighbourhood sports fields, community centres, better lit bus stops, etc. In some cases the beneficiary communities and municipalities contributed as a local counterpart with labour or funding (Schnell, 2012).

Non-Traditional Conflict Resolution

This was an important component for both projects, and consisted of three activities: (i) training youth in leadership; (ii) educating neighbours in the use of a creative conflict resolution mechanisms inside the community, in order to reduce levels of conflict and increase trust among them; and (iii) support for improving inter and intra-family relations.

<u>Youth leadership for the promotion of culture and citizen co-existence</u>

Among the activities to promote youth organization and leadership we want to highlight the model applied at the community level. This component consisted of: (i) training staff of the Local Government of San Salvador; (ii) selecting and training youth leaders to become local promoters of a culture of citizen co-existence; (iii) identifying problems in the communities; (iv) formulating proposals and implementing projects to foment a culture of citizen co-existence, between the personnel of the municipality, the local promoters and community members; and (v)

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[43] Another activity was a publicity campaign "I choose to live in peace" ("yo vivo en paz") to disseminate the norms and Offences Ordinance.

[44] Revitalization of these spaces through the Municipal Olympic Youth Club, which created community-based alternatives for sport practice and implementation of recreational activities.

the construction of an Action Plan that was implemented by local promoters, ADESCO, community boards and the municipality´s personnel (Millennium Development Goals Fund (MDG-F), 2013).

Conflict resolution

This component sought to promote conflict resolution through community mediation mechanisms contributing to de-judicialise certain conflicts and bring closer together public institutions and citizens in a participatory manner. The JP supported the mediating efforts by the municipality of San Salvador and the Attorney General's Office (Millennium Development Goals Fund (MDG-F), 2013). The Joint Mediation Centers[45] intervened in community conflicts involving family, property, labour and the environment, with the purpose of avoiding an escalation of these problems into violence or crime[46].

During the first year a total of 198 requests for mediation were responded to. During the second year of implementation the number rose to 242. Of the total of applications that were submitted to the mediation process, 73% ended in agreement, the remaining 27% without agreement (Millennium Development Goals Fund (MDG-F), 2013), which is an indication of the potential of this type of process to improve the relationship between neighbours.

Municipal technicians interviewed for this study indicated the need to educate residents of the communities in the importance of social co-existence. They stated that the municipality presents a high-crime problem but also a problem of domestic violence, and a marked lack of peaceful co-existence between neighbours. Mediation, said a technician, "*helps reduce conflict in communities when citizens recognize others and their needs*". Thus the importance of constructing social capital and social cohesion in the communities to prevent violent situations, with the participation of the community.

Support for families

The CVPP, through a small grant to *Fe y Alegría*, developed a "*Familias Fuertes*" programme (Strong Families), carried out as a pilot project in San Salvador District 6 and Zaragoza. Credited by participants with improving inter and intra-family relations and reducing the use of violence to resolve conflicts, it taught non-violent methods and helped parents and children apply those skills to their lives (Fe y Alegría, 2011).

Reduce risk factors in youth care programs in schools

Another important aspect to consider in the two projects, as the data presented in this study shows (see Annex 5), is that the most affected group by crime and violence in El Salvador are young men and women between the ages of 15 to 29 years old, which is why a great part of the activities of the projects were meant to work with youth at the community level, to disrupt the cycle of violence in which they are immersed.

The prevention model of the JP consisted of 2 components:

a. For the prevention of violence in schools, the following activities were implemented: (i) a situational analysis with the participation of the educational community; (ii) the creation of the Consultative Scholar Council (CCE)[47]; (iii) the promotion of a culture of peace through: directed recesses, fair play, youth leadership and accompaniment, conflict transformation, training workshops to promote life skills and self-care for students, summer adventure, (iv) activities directed at teachers: training in new methodologies for active participation, the facilitation of conflict resolution and constructive learning, among others.

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[45] Existed since 2006, but had worked as legal advice centers.

[46] This initiative attended to cases regulated in the Municipal Ordinance of Coexistence.

[47] A Student Council was created as a mechanism for youth expression. The Council conducted internal elections through which its president and vice-president are elected to represent them for a certain time and in turn, prioritizing and submittin needs to the Executive (Salvador del Mundo Foundation (FUSALMO), 2014).

b. Attending violence: (i) Drafting protocols to address violence, in order to identify, address and refer cases of violence; and (ii) creation of an Institutional Support Network, of different schools, local authorities and the central government, integrated in the Zonal Advisory Councils, and responsible for: formulating and implementing the aforementioned protocols and bring attention to the violent cases detected (Fund for the Achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG-F), 2013; Fundación Salvador del Mundo (FUSALMO), 2011; Fundación Salvador del Mundo (FUSALMO), 2013).

Providing access to psychological support

Family and youth services offered by *Fundación para la Educación Especial* (FUNPRES), the Ministry of Health, *Fe y Alegría*, and others were reported to be effective by participants. These programmes and services helped youth and older generations to deal with the difficult situations sustained by broken or dysfunctional families, poverty and lack of economic opportunities, and social marginalization. The Project through the small grants program provided alternatives to violence as a means of conflict resolution (Herrera, 2013).

This model consisted of: (i) psychological support to "troubled children" identified by the teachers based on their behaviour, and school performance; (ii) assessment by a psychologist of the "situation" in order to determine the best way to proceed (treatment); (iii) development of co-existence manuals at the schools by psychologists, teachers and youth, with the creation of a follow-up committee that was integrated by the students, with the responsibility of putting into practice the manual; (iv) conflict mediation awareness training in creative conflict resolution skills for teachers, students, parents, and community leaders; and (v) training of youth to strengthen their social skills on social co-existence, interpersonal relations, and self-esteem (Berk-Selligson et al., 2014).

In this regard, innovative programmes in high-risk neighbourhoods have offered creative conflict resolution, training and psychological support to prevent and reduce violence in public schools, and to improve coexistence with 12,590 students, parents, and community leaders in five municipalities (Herrera, 2013).

According to Berk-Selligson et al. (2014), their research shows "that on-site psychologists (both clinical and educational) are seen by school administrators and teachers as very effective agents in their work with troubled youths who would otherwise become prime targets for gang recruiters".

Promoting vocational training and employment opportunities for at-risk youth

The main reasons for these types of initiatives were to keep youth and children occupied, building up their self-esteem, work skills and providing an alternative to joining a gang (Schnell, 2012). This was in response to the few job opportunities for inexperienced youth to enter the formal labour market.

At the beginning of the project a situational diagnosis was conducted to identify the workforce requirements of the private sector in order to train youth in the required areas (Umaña, nd). The Center for Labour Training trained approximately 1,000 youth, in logistics and organization, administrative assistance, construction skills, among others.

The implementation model included: (i) technical and vocational training through the Centre for Labour Training; (ii) employment of youth through the Municipal Job Office; and (iii) seed capital initiatives for young entrepreneurs (self-employment). Upon completion of the courses they were taken into account by the Municipal Job Office in order to facilitate job placement. Its activities consisted of: Assistance for job interviews and preparation of the *curriculum vitae*, counselling, and the promotion of the youth´s insertion in the labour market.

The entrepreneurship component consisted of the following steps: (i) youth present a business idea (ii) they are then trained at the Center for Labour Training to transform the idea into a business plan; and (iii) they compete for seed capital. The 32 most innovative ideas were identified and given seed capital to start their own business.

In turn the CVPP conducted the following programmes to strengthen the technical, productive, and entrepreneurial skills of youth, and these consisted of: (i) extracurricular courses for students and the many out-of-school youth; (ii) internship and job opportunities, placement programmes; (iii) training in resumé preparation and interviewing techniques; and (iv) summer job placements (Herrera, 2013).

More than 8,000 youths were trained in job skills and entrepreneurship in programmes supported by the CMPVs through small grants and local funds. These youth developed skills through hands-on courses in more than 20 subject areas. Demand was highest for computer operation and maintenance, baking and food preparation, cosmetology, clothing design and fabrication, and auto maintenance (Schnell, 2012). The set of skills imparted were prioritized and selected by the CMVP of each municipality.

Impact Evaluation findings

The projects analysed lack data on impact/effects[48]. However, one study that could be used is from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) at Vanderbilt University, that at the request of USAID designed and carried out an impact evaluation of the CARSI community-based violence prevention programme in El Salvador[49]. In terms of methodology, LAPOP collected both qualitative and quantitative data in a total of 41 neighbourhoods (28 treatment and 13 control groups) in four municipalities (Santa Ana, San Juan Opico, Chalchuapa and Zaragoza).

A total of 1,665 individual interviews were conducted for the first round in non-at-risk neighbourhoods. In the areas where the experiment was carried out, about 1,700 interviews per round were conducted in the treatment neighbourhoods, and 670 per round in control communities, for a total of over 8,800 by the end of the third round.[50]

A note of warning about the scope of the study. This impact evaluation was designed "to measure the overall impact of the interventions, not to distinguish among the specific types of interventions, nor to evaluate the implementing partners, *per se*" (Lapop 2014).

The main finding of the impact evaluation of the community intervention programs in El Salvador is the following: "*we conclude that in several key respects the programs have been a success. Specifically, the outcomes in the treatment communities improved more (or declined less) than they would have if USAID's programs had not been administered*" (Lapop 2014).

Some specific key quantitative findings are the following:

(i) Significant reduction in the expected level of crime victimization and violence: 25% fewer reported occurrences of robberies than would be expected without intervention.

(ii) Significant increase in the expected level of citizens' perception of security: perception of neighbourhood insecurity declined 17% more than would be expected without intervention.

(iii) Significant decline in the perception of neighbourhood disorder: perception of youth loitering as a problem declined 8% more than would be expected without intervention.

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[48] This point will be addressed in the conclusions.

[49] For a review of the methodological aspects of the study, and the findings reported, see: LAPOP. 2014. Impact Evaluation of USAID's Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Approach in Central America: El Salvador Country Report.

[50] Three rounds of statistical data collection were conducted: a) The baseline data was collected in 2010; b) After implementation of the CARSI programs began, the mid-point evaluation was carried out in 2011; c) After the third year of the project, data was collected in 2012.

(iv) Social control of disorder has improved significantly: residents are 40% less likely to avoid dangerous areas of the neighbourhood because of fear of crime than would be expected without intervention; the perception that the community is organized to prevent crime increased 18% more than would be expected without intervention; and 11% greater interpersonal trust levels within neighbourhoods than would be expected without intervention.

Photo 4: Community Watch Volunteers in Ecuador

Social capital, collective efficacy, environmental factors and insecurity in the communities

Having carried out the overall analysis of both implemented CBCP projects in the case of El Salvador, we next focus the analysis on the data collected at the community level. As explained in a previous section, it is important to understand the dynamics within the communities that could be related to crime and violence and the initiatives that could be implemented to address this problem. In this section we analyse first the problem of crime and insecurity in the communities, and second we analyse the role played by social capital, collective efficacy, environmental factors, as well as insecurity perceptions in communities with high and low levels of insecurity, crime and violence.

The database contains information for 8 communities, which are divided in two groups: four communities with higher insecurity (HI), and four communities with lower insecurity (LI). Both groups of communities were selected as explained in the Design and Methods section.

The problem of crime and insecurity in the communities

Respondents were asked to identify "what is the most serious problem faced by the neighbourhood or community?". The different answers were grouped into five categories of analysis: insecurity, crime and violence represent

54.5% of the answers; economy and unemployment 33.1%; public services 23.2%; other responses 6.0%; and there is no problem stands at 13.2%. The following table presents this information for the two types of communities. The most relevant fact is that regardless of the type of community, insecurity, crime and violence are identified as the most serious problem at the community level. This data tends to match those reported in recent national surveys (Universidad Tecnológica, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales Programa El Salvador, Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2013).

Table 1 . What is the most serious problem facing your community.(Percentage)

Problem	High Insecurity	Low Insecurity	Total
Insecurity, crime, violence	53.1	56.0	54.5
Economy, unemployment	5.6	0.6	3.1
Public services	30.0	16.4	23.2
Others	6.3	5.7	6.0
No problem	5.0	21.4	13.2
Total	100 (n=160)	100 (n=159)	100 (n=319)

Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

As for the crime victimization rate for the past year, the average is 26.6% for the sample, and although there are differences between the different types of communities, it is higher in communities with "low insecurity" (30.6%), compared to those with "high insecurity" (22.5%)[51]. In order to explore the findings, a cross tabulation is presented in Annex 6, between the question about the type of criminal act committed and the place where it occurred, by type of community. The paradox is that more crimes are reported in the communities with "low insecurity", compared with "high insecurity". However, what is relevant is not the number itself, but the type of crime and place of occurrence (presented in Annex 6).

An Insecurity Perception Index (IPI) was created[52], which shows, unsurprisingly, that communities with lower insecurity (LI) exhibit the lowest perception of insecurity (32.4%) and communities with higher insecurity (HI) show a higher perception of insecurity (50.8%).

[51] The difference is not statistically significant.

[52] The question is the following: "How safe do you feel in this neighbourhood? very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe?"". In order to create an index on the perception of insecurity we transform the question in a 0-100 format, where 100 represents the perception of total insecurity and 0 total security.

Figure 2. Insecurity perception by type of community.
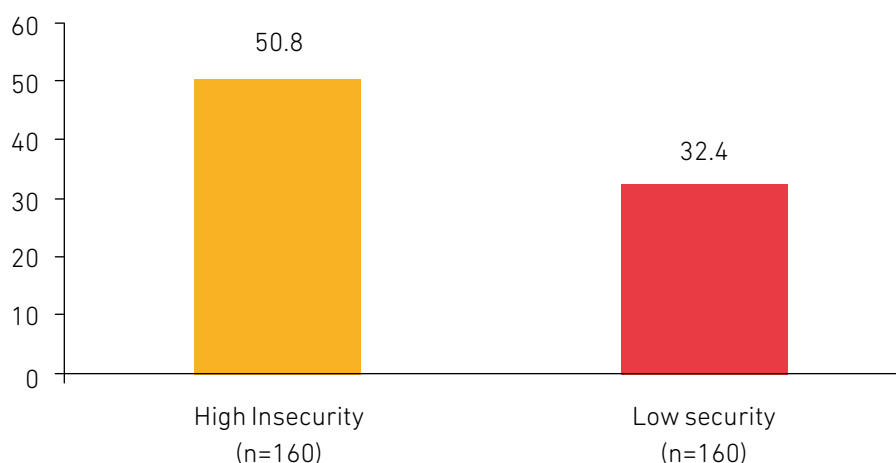
Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

Social capital, collective efficacy and insecurity

For the purpose of the study, social capital is operationalised in two dimensions: Interpersonal trust and civic participation, both at the community level. Regarding Interpersonal trust (IPT), people expressed feeling more trust in their neighbours in their community than in Salvadorans in general. 37.8% said that people in their community are very trustworthy, 29.1% somewhat trustworthy, 25.0% not very trustworthy and 7.5% untrustworthy. While asking in general about the trust in Salvadorans, 10.3% said that they were very trustworthy, 24.7% somewhat trustworthy, 45.9% not very trustworthy and 18.8 % untrustworthy. This shows that citizens tend to have more trust in the people living in their communities than the people outside of it.

This data is consistent with the data reported in the national survey of the Latin American Public Opinion Project in El Salvador for 2014 about interpersonal trust for the people living in their community: 30.7% very trustworthy, 34.8% somewhat trustworthy, 25.4% not very trustworthy and 9.1% untrustworthy, while the levels of interpersonal trust in people in the community remained stable in the last decade (Córdova, Cruz, Zechmeister, 2015).

Table 2 . Interpersonal trust in the community and country (Percentage)

	Very trustworthy	Somewhat Trustworthy	Not very Trustworthy	Untrustworthy	DK	DA	Total
How would you describe the people who live in your community?	37.8	29.1	25.0	7.5	0.3	0.3	100 (n=320)
Generally how would you describe Salvadoran people?	10.3	24.7	45.9	18.8	0.3	0	100 (n=320)

Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

When comparing the results by type of community, the most important finding is that the residents in the communities with lower insecurity (LI) exhibit a greater level of trust in the people living in their communities, in comparison to the communities with higher insecurity (HI), as presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Interpersonal trust in the community and country, by type of community (Percentage)
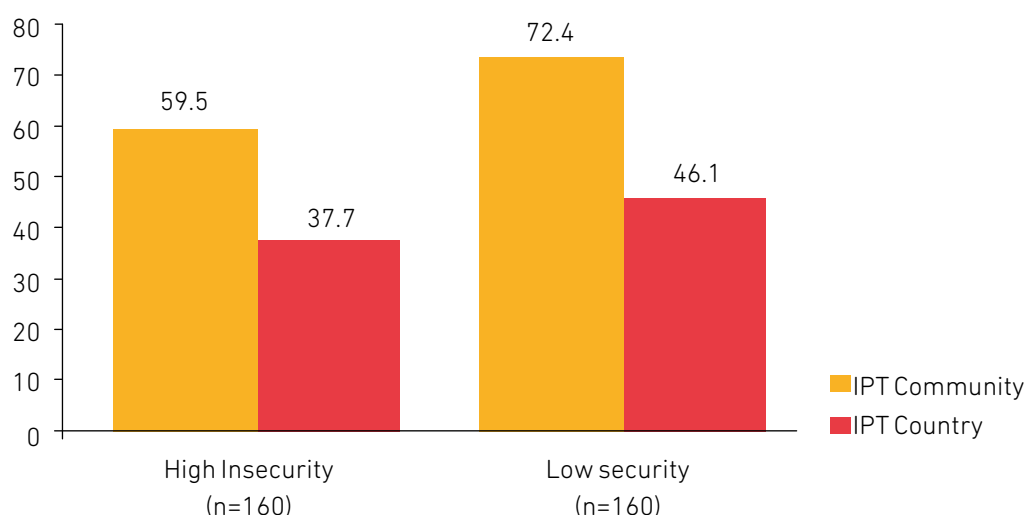
Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

In the following figure we explore the relationship between interpersonal trust at the community level and insecurity perception. As levels of interpersonal trust[53] decrease there is an increase in the perception of insecurity (29.6 for very trustworthy, 41.5 for somewhat trustworthy, 50.0 for not very trustworthy and 75.0 for untrustworthy). Insecurity perception is greater for those that show the lowest levels of interpersonal trust.

Figure 4. Perception of insecurity by interpersonal trust at the community level
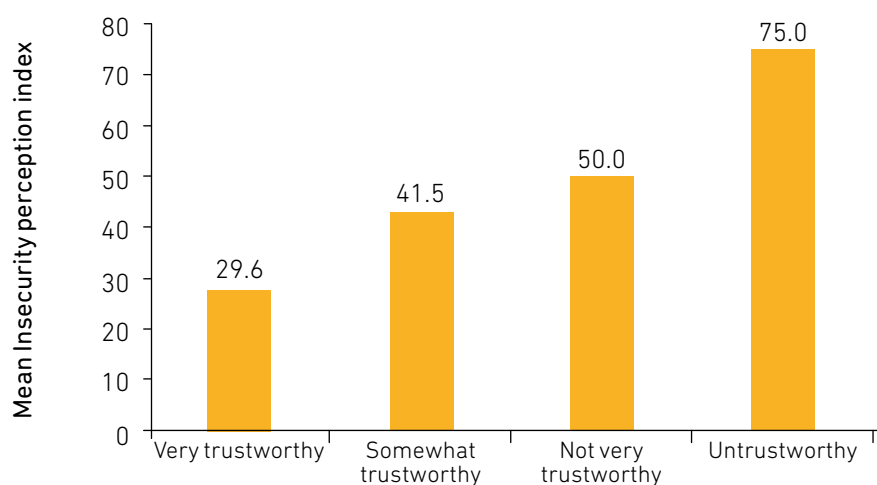
Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

[53] To simplify the figure, the IPT was broken down in four categories: very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy and untrustworthy.

Regarding civic participation at the community level, the survey included three questions to measure the contribution of residents to solve a community problem. These were then used to create an Index of Civic Participation (ICP)[54]. In general terms a low level of participation is observed. On average only 30% have contributed to solve a problem, 22.8% have donated money or materials and 30.3% have contributed with their own work to their community. Figure 5 shows that participation is greater in communities with higher insecurity (HI) (30.2%) compared to communities with lower insecurity (LI) (25.2%). The relationship between civic participation and the insecurity perception was not statistically significant and is not presented.

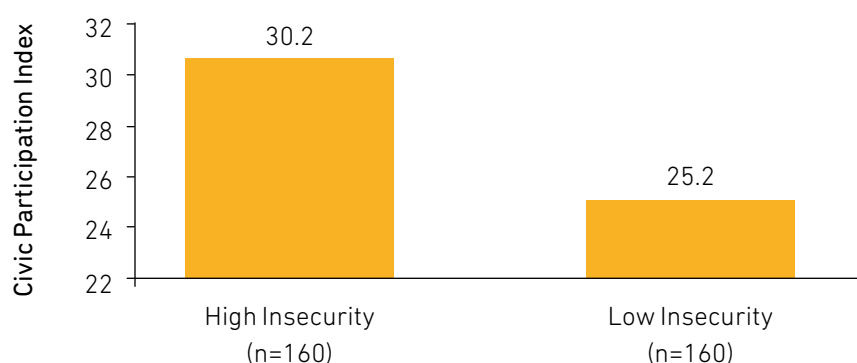Figure 5. Civic participation by type of community(Percentage)

Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

The findings present evidence that partially supports the first hypothesis. In the context of a widespread problem of crime and insecurity, interpersonal trust (IPT) at the community level is higher in communities with lower insecurity. When exploring the relationship between interpersonal trust and insecurity perception, we found that as the level of interpersonal trust decreases, an increase in the perception of insecurity is observed. While the Index of Civic Participation (ICP) is higher for the communities with high insecurity, the relationship with insecurity is not statistically significant.

As shown in the conceptual framework, we based our analysis on social disorganization theory, particularly relying on Sampson et al. (1997) who argue that collective efficacy, defined as social cohesion among neighbours, combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good, is linked to crime reduction in the communities. First, we created a Social Cohesion Index (SOCOH), with three questions that explore the following: (i) people of this community are willing to help their neighbours, (ii) people of this community can be trusted, and (iii) this community is very much united[55].

Secondly, we created an Informal Social Control Index (INSOCON), with three questions that explore the likelihood that neighbours would intervene under some specific conditions: (i) if children were skipping school, (ii) if children were showing disrespect to an adult, and (iii) if a fight broke out in front of their house[56].

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[54] The three questions used to create the ICP were transformed in the format 0-100, where 0 represents No and 100 Yes. The index is in a format 0-100. In the last twelve months have you contributed to help solve a problem in your community or residents of your neighbourhood or community? Have you donated money or materials to help solve any problem in the community or neighborhood? Have you helped with your own work or labour? The Cronbach's Alpha of this index is 0,644

[55] The three questions used to create the SOCOH Index were transformed in the format 0-100, where 0 represents No and 100 Yes. The SOCOH Index is in a format 0-100. The Cronbach's Alpha for the SOCOH Index is 0,706.

[56] The three questions used to create the INSOCON Index were transformed in the format 0-100, where 0 represents No and 100 Yes. The INSOCON Index is in a format 0-100. The Cronbach's Alpha for the INSOCON Index is 0,696.

Figure 6 shows the mean of the Social Cohesion Index (SOCOH) for both types of communities: The LI group has the higher average 63.5, follow by the HI with 57.3. The Informal Social Control Index (INSOCON) is also shown for both groups: The LI has the highest average with 47.5, while the HI has 42.0. There are two aspects to highlight here. First, the averages of INSOCON are lower when compared to SOCOH, indicating that the disposition of neighbours to intervene under some specific conditions is lower. Second, in terms of comparing low and high insecurity communities, the communities with lower insecurity (LI) have higher levels in both indexes.

Figure 6. Mean SOCOH and INSOCON by type of community
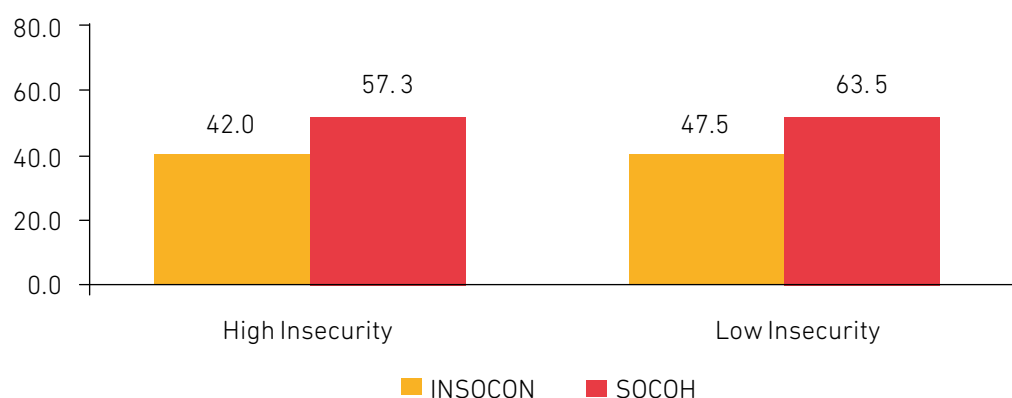
Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

Following Sampson, the Index of Collective Efficacy (ICE)[57] was built from the integration of both Indexes: SOCOH and INSOCON. In the next figure, the ICE is presented for both groups: The lower insecurity communities (LI) had the higher average, at 55.6, followed by the high insecurity communities (HI) at 49.8.

Figure 7. Mean Index of Collective Efficacy by type of community

Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

[57] The Cronbach's Alpha is 0,541.

In the following figure we present the relationship between the Collective Efficacy Index and the Insecurity Perception Index, by type of community. In this case, in order to simplify the understanding of the results, we are presenting the ICE broken down in four categories: low, medium, high and very high levels of collective efficacy. The key finding is that the mean of lower collective efficacy is associated with higher perceptions of insecurity; and this decreases as collective efficacy increases.

Figure 8. Mean Index of Insecurity Perception by Collective Efficacy Index for type of community

Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

Regarding the relationship between collective efficacy and insecurity perception by communities with high and low levels of insecurity, in the next figure it can be observed, for the entire sample, that as the level of collective efficacy increases the perception of insecurity decreases, and this provides support for the second hypothesis.

Figure 9. Relationship between the Index of Collective Efficacy and Insecurity Perception Index.
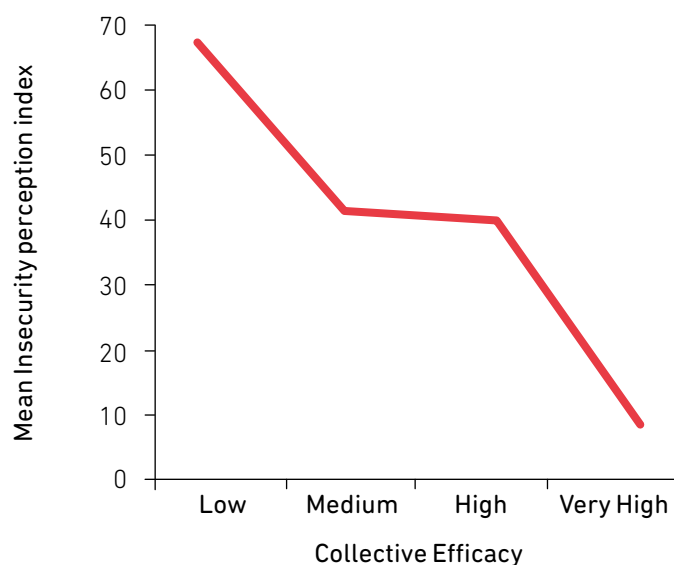
Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

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The literature on social disorganization highlights the importance of social interactions, building social capital and, particularly, promoting interpersonal trust and citizen participation. Within the Collective Efficacy framework, we can see the importance of social cohesion among neighbours, combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good, with the purpose of reducing crime. The challenge is how to do that in a context of significant levels of crime and insecurity at the local level, like the one that prevails in El Salvador. With this concern in mind, we included in our survey questions to explore whether the residents in the communities had adopted different behaviours due to the fear of being a victim of a crime in the last 12 months[58].

Due to the fear of being a victim of crime, neighbours have changed their behaviours, notably in reducing their interactions with other members of the communities. Young children are affected; 51.9% of respondents responded that they prevent their underage children from going out. There are other measures taken that reduce contact with others, which is an essential part of civic life: 76.6% avoid going out at night, 69.1% have limited the number of recreation sites they go to, 64.4% avoid participating in public events, 58.5% have stopped using community infrastructure, 50% have stopped visiting relatives or neighbours, 48.8% avoid going out alone, 40.9% have limited the places where they shop and 38.1% no longer use public transport, all because of their fear of crime. 38.8 % have made changes to their home (razor wire, bars, locks, gates, etc.), and 25.6% felt the need to change the place where they live.

In Figure 10 we present the information disaggregated by type of community (low and high insecurity). In 8 of the 11 measures, the percentage of behavioural change is higher in the communities with high insecurity; in two it is basically the same for both type of communities; and only one measure is it higher in the communities with low insecurity (avoiding public transportation). This allows us to conclude from the data that in the communities with high insecurity neighbours have adopted higher levels of behavioural change that reduce social interactions with other community members.
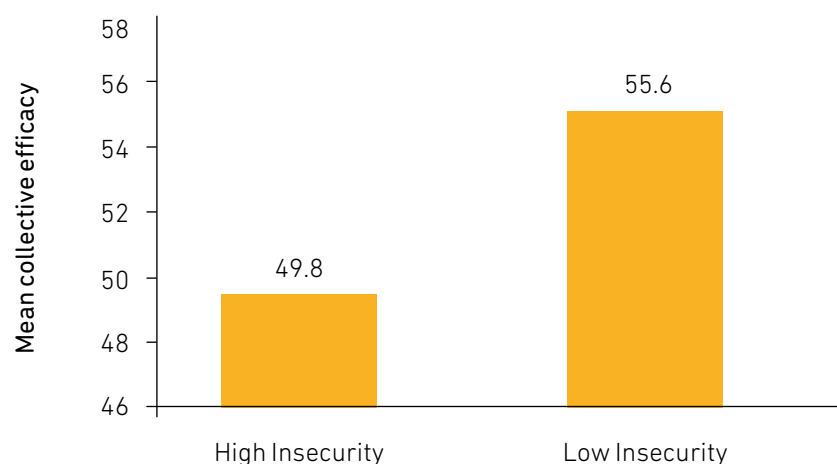
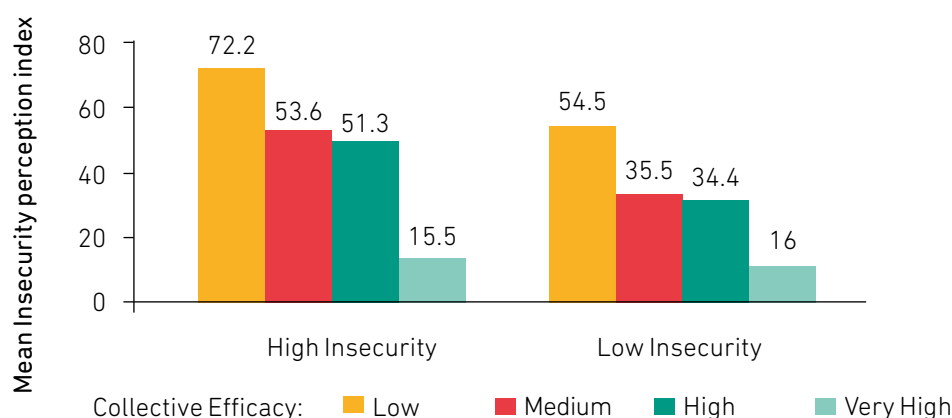Figure 10. Behavior adopted due to fear of crime by type of community (Percentage)

Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

[58] The battery of the 11 questions used can be seen in the Annex 1.

Environmental factors and insecurity

Based on the literature review, we have borrowed Samson´s argument that "in neighborhoods where collective efficacy is strong, the levels of physical (graffiti, garbage, syringes, etc.) and social disorder (people drinking on the streets, etc.) were low". With this purpose in mind, the survey included a series of questions aimed at measuring whether certain ecological conditions were considered a problem in the community.

These ecological situations have been grouped into five factors: gang-related activities, risk factors related to illicit drugs, criminal activity, citizen cohesion and risk factors associated with socio-environmental conditions[59]. In Annex 7 the results for the 17 measures are presented, but only for respondents who consider these to be a serious problem, and the data is organized by type of community (low and high insecurity). A key finding, which confirms the previous classification, is that overall, the communities with high insecurity (HI) are suffering in a stronger manner the problem of insecurity compared with communities with lower insecurity (LI).

Very similar is the situation regarding risk factors associated with socio-environmental conditions: (i) stains, graffiti or paint on the walls, (ii) abandoned houses, (iii) garbage on the sidewalks or streets/by the roadside, (iv) vacant lots/land with high grass, and (v) streets or dark places without lightning. Based on these five measures, an Environmental Risk Index (ERI) was created[60]. The findings presented in Annex 7 provide evidence that there are differences in the socio-environmental conditions reported in communities with high insecurity (HI) compared to communities with lower insecurity (LI).

The relationship between Collective Efficacy and the Environmental Risk Index is presented in the following figure. The main findings is that as collective efficacy increases the perception of problems for the environmental risk index decreases.

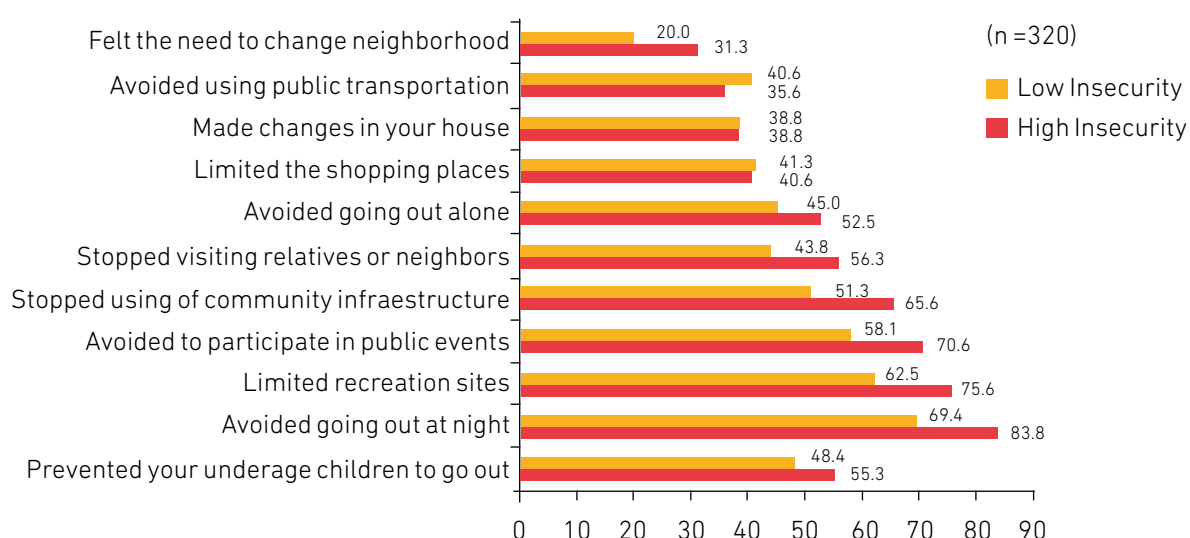Figure 11. Relationship between the Index of Collective Efficacy and Environmental Risk Index
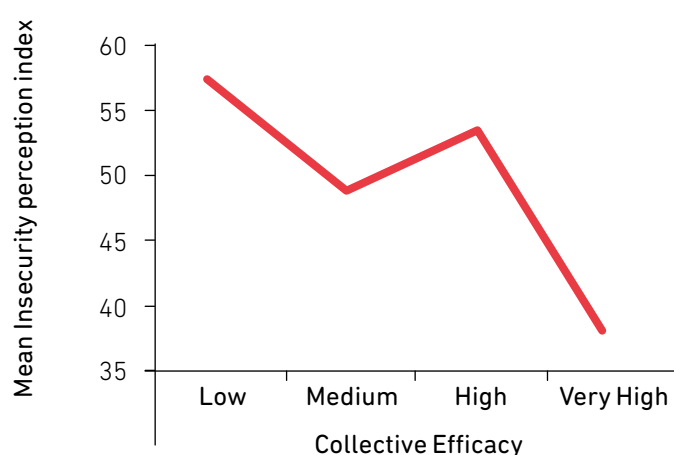
Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

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[59] The questions are presented in Annex 1.

[60] The five questions used to create the Environmental Risk Index are presented in Annex 1, and were transformed into a format 0-100. The ERI is presented in a format 0-100, where 0 represents No problem and 100 a very serious problem.

Photo 5: Mural "Stop Crime: In this Community the Neighbors are Vigilant"

DISCUSSION

In this section we would like to discuss seven findings, in the light of the social disorganization framework presented at the beginning of the paper.

1. We must put in perspective these findings. The review of the literature on social disorganization over the last decades has been principally focussed on the United States and Europe. We found few studies conducted in recent years in Latin American countries, and these focus primarily on Mexico and Colombia. Carrying out an empirical study of social capital, collective efficacy and perceptions of insecurity in one of the countries with the highest rates of violence worldwide, namely El Salvador, can be considered a pioneer study.

    For future studies in El Salvador, we recommend some adaptations be made to better tackle the fact that only limited information is available at the community level, taking into consideration also, the high levels of crime, violence and insecurity.

    Regardless of the need for future study design adaptation, as mentioned above, the literature on social disorganization, and particularly on social capital and collective efficacy, has proven to be an important approach to study the social dynamics which occur at the community level and thus shed more light and what kind of violence and crime prevention policies are likely to be more effective.

2. The D&M used was appropriate to design a sample that allows for comparison of the results in communities with high and low levels of insecurity. Although the size of the sample is relatively small, its purpose, to explore in depth relationships in the communities, was met. Important differences were found, depending on the levels of insecurity in the communities. In the future, it will be important to conduct studies with larger samples which allow higher levels of representativeness.

When exploring the relationship between social capital and insecurity perception, we found that as the level of interpersonal trust decreases, an increase in the perception of insecurity is observed; and also that in the context of a widespread problem of crime and insecurity, interpersonal trust at the community level is higher in communities with lower insecurity compared to communities with higher insecurity. The findings present evidence that partially support our first hypothesis.

The relationship of the Index of Civic Participation (ICP) with insecurity is not statistically significant. This might be due to lower levels of participation of Salvadorans in general. In the questionnaire we included a battery of questions about the existence of groups and organizations, in which we explored if Salvadorans attend meetings of these organizations, and the frequency with which they attend them. The main finding is that Salvadorans have a very low rate of participation; this data coincides with the findings of a survey using a national sample conducted by Lapop in 2014 (Córdova, Cruz and Zechmeister, 2015). This shows how challenging it is in El Salvador to build social capital in general, and particularly in communities with high levels of insecurity and crime in which citizen participation is desirable.

3. Regarding our second hypothesis, lower collective efficacy is associated with higher perceptions of insecurity, while the perception of insecurity decreases as collective efficacy increases. The data from this study presents evidence that supports our second hypothesis. In terms of the Social Cohesion Index (SOCOH) and the Informal Social Control Index (INSOCON), the data shows that averages of INSOCON are lower compared to SOCOH, indicating that the disposition of neighbours to intervene under certain specific conditions is lower. Additionally, the SOCOH and INSOCON indexes are higher in communities with lower levels of insecurity, and the same happens with the Collective Efficacy Index. This is something that should be enhanced in future interventions to promote violence and crime prevention at the local level in Salvadoran communities. It should be kept in mind that "(...) when social capital is activated in the specific direction to develop social control, collective efficacy plays an important role by providing a connection and activating the resource of social capital for the specific goal of safety. Social capital alone cannot guarantee safety, but collective efficacy cannot exist in absence of social capital" (Ansari, 2013).

4. There is an important theoretical debate among sociologists and criminologists around lines of causality, whether insecurity shapes social capital and collective efficacy or whether social capital and collective efficacy influence insecurity. Within this debate, previous comparative studies do not present conclusive evidence to determine if the existence of social capital and collective efficacy have a direct effect on levels of crime or perception of insecurity (fear of crime) (Buonanno, Montolio and Vaning, 2009). In turn, Maxwell, Garner and Skogan (2011), and Abdullah, Marzbali, Bahauddin and Tilaki (2015) found that fear of crime and crime rates actually drop where there is high social capital and high collective efficacy.

This topic is more relevant when a study focusses on communities with high levels of crime, violence and insecurity. At the beginning of the study, we made explicit our preference for the line of argument that states that social capital and collective efficacy does have an influence on insecurity. The findings presented show how closely social capital and collective efficacy are associated with perception of insecurity. On the other hand it is also possible that social capital and collective efficacy are affected by high insecurity. It is also

possible that both lines of reasoning interact simultaneously, meaning that social capital and collective efficacy do contribute to reduce perception of insecurity, and that crime and insecurity could at the same time be limiting social capital and collective efficacy.

The evidence presented, in the light of our conceptual framework, allows us to argue in favour of the importance of understanding the internal dynamics that exist within the communities, and that the study of social capital and collective efficacy really matters.

5. As collective efficacy increases, the perception of problems, as measured in the environmental risk index, decreases. The survey included a series of questions aimed at measuring whether some situations were considered a problem in the community, in terms of the social environment. Based on the literature review, we have borrowed Samson´s argument: "in neighborhoods where collective efficacy is strong, the levels of physical (graffiti, garbage, syringes, etc.) and social disorder (people drinking on the streets, etc.) were low". The evidence presented supports our third hypothesis, in the sense that collective efficacy tends to inhibit disorder.

6. The two projects studied have been designed taking into consideration two contextual factors that need to be made explicit. First, these projects respond to high intensity contexts of violence, crime and insecurity; in cities that have communities with high population concentration, socio-economic disadvantages, and moreover face complex dynamics of youth violence. Second, Local Government is a key actor in articulating and implementing activities, and also coordinating with the central government, as well as the community through the Municipal Violence Prevention Committees (MVPC).

The MVPC is an innovative structure that "appear to be successful in galvanizing the various stakeholding sectors of the targeted municipalities (specifically, the police, the school directors, the clergy, the community development association leaders [ADESCO], and health service providers), by incorporating representatives of each sector on every council. These representatives (...) become the link between the municipality and the various communities that have been selected for the crime prevention" (Berk-Seligson, et al., 2014).

7. Since we were interested in exploring how crime and violence prevention initiatives promote social capital and collective efficacy to reduce crime and violence in Latin America, more specifically in the case study of El Salvador, it is important to discuss the focus on youth of these interventions. According to the analysis of the data presented previously, youth have become a central actor explaining the dynamics of violence in the country. In the situational diagnosis it was seen that youth have limited options to improve their social inclusion; dropout rates in the school system are significant, and absorption in labour markets is limited (UNDP, 2013 and 2015). Thus the importance of directing efforts to offer relevant options to at risk youth.

CONCLUSIONS

In the literature review on crime prevention initiatives in Latin America we identified diverse types of initiatives that countries have used to address the problem of crime and insecurity. For the purposes of this study, we have grouped them into three different types: Community-based Crime Prevention (CBCP), Central Government-led initiatives, and Community Policing. The two projects analyzed for the case of El Salvador fall within the first type (The "Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Project" –CVPP- and the "Joint Programme of Violence Prevention and Building Social Capital in El Salvador" –JP-).

Although there are some differences in the components of each project, both aimed to achieve four goals we identified as important: (i) Recovery, homogenization and invigoration of public spaces, (ii) non-traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, (iii) Reduction in risk factors in youth care programmes in schools, and (iv) Promotion of vocational training and employment opportunities for at-risk youth.

Of the different activities promoted by these projects, there are some which have shown positive and promising results: the components dealing with the recovery, homogenization and invigoration of public spaces, as well as for the prevention of youth violence in schools. Regarding the first component, it is important to look beyond the infrastructure dimension and adopt a perspective which seeks to invigorate community participation in the management and maintenance of public spaces, in coordination with local governments. Regarding the last component, the projects have developed methodologies and tools to encourage and awareness, such as the school protocol to address violence and learning experiences. Currently the Ministry of Education is promoting a programme of full-time inclusive schooling (*Escuela Inclusiva de Tiempo Pleno*). This might represent an opportunity to incorporate lessons learned and methodologies from these projects in order to provide the educational community with protocols at the national scale, with specialized human resources (psychologists), as well as training teachers to address in a more articulated way the prevention of violence in schools. The two challenges that we have identified are: on the one hand to keep students attending school, and on the other hand, to reduce violence within the school system as a whole.

The other important contribution of these projects, in terms of their potential to build social capital, has been the use of non-traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. Within the Municipality/Attorney General centres there is potential for reducing conflicts that affect community coexistence. But as we have stated before, the need to educate residents of the communities on the importance of coexistence was emphasized in the interviews.

The component promoting vocational training and employment opportunities for at-risk youth has produced more positive results in terms of the range of vocational training activities available, but has shown limited results in terms of actual job insertion. The most crucial challenge for further interventions in this field is therefore to address, from a more thoughtful and articulated perspective, the problem of job insertion for at-risk youth, particularly in the context of modest economic growth and limited job creation in the labour market.

These types of projects are interested in promoting community organization, participation and social capital. A paradox could be formulated in the following terms: that important levels of social capital coexist with high levels of violence. According to the evidence presented, higher collective efficacy is associated with lower perception of insecurity at the community level. One challenge is to increase the levels of community participation and social capital; and the other, is to increase the disposition of neighbours to intervene under some specific conditions (collective efficacy). Our policy recommendation is to look at in more depth the issue of low levels of interpersonal trust and civic participation, as well as the relevance of social capital to build better integrated and collaborative communities, in which citizens participate actively in community life.

Further initiatives to promote crime and violence prevention at the community level should consider actions in their design that address a double challenge: (i) the strengthening of the existing community organizations, and

(ii) the need to build denser levels of social capital; to promote greater levels of citizen participation in solving community problems, and produce more collective efficacy.

This becomes a formidable task in contexts where the evidence shows that residents in the communities have adopted behavioural changes for fear of falling victim to crime. These include the reduction of contact with others, which is an essential part of civic life: things like avoiding going out at night, limiting the number of recreation sites, avoiding participating in public events, stopping using community infrastructure, stopping visiting relatives or neighbors, avoiding going out alone, limiting the places to shop and avoiding the use of public transport, all for fear of crime. Little progress can be made in building social capital and promoting citizen participation, if in some communities residents lock themselves in their homes and reduce interaction with others for fear of being victims of crime or insecurity. A problem appears to be that some interventions are designed under the assumption that neighbours might be willing to participate in activities promoted by local governments through their MVPC, in terms of prevention activities, without considering the internal dynamics of crime, violence and insecurity within the community.

One of the lessons learned of the projects analyzed in El Salvador is that future initiatives must consider in the design the inclusion of activities oriented to strengthen and institutionalize the MVPC, and endow them with tools, such as participatory work methodologies. Given the importance and generally good assessment of the MVPC, one critical challenge has to do with the difficulty of accessing financial resources to support violence prevention projects. A policy recommendation is to explore the feasibility of funding mechanisms such as: (i) the creation of a Competitive Fund[61] to which local governments can apply in partnership with community organizations, funded by the Central Government and cooperation agencies, with clearly defined rules; and (ii) that part of the funds the municipality receives from the Central Government, specifically via the transfer of Funds for Economic and Social Development (FODES), could be used to finance the Municipal Prevention Plans formulated by the MVPC.

Closing the gap, some recommendations for a future research agenda

The theory of social disorganization and the findings from the community survey of this study show the importance of understanding better the dynamics of social interaction at the community level. In some of the crime prevention projects, it is argued that the development and strengthening of social capital is an effective way to address the risk factors that encourage criminal and violent behaviour in society. Nevertheless, in Latin America this subject has not been explored in a more systematic way and there are few published studies.

The findings of this study show relatively moderate levels of social capital and collective efficacy at the community level. The measures of the Social Cohesion Index (SOCOH) and the Informal Social Control Index (INSOCON) show that averages of INSOCON are lower in compared to SOCOH, indicating that the disposition that neighbours have to intervene under some specific conditions is lower. This particular aspect deserves to be explored more deeply in future studies.

Finally, there is a lack of evidence based studies to inform on what crime prevention initiatives in the region are working better, and particularly in El Salvador. This is due to two factors. First, the methodological difficulties of measuring effects and/or impacts[62]. For instance, in one project evaluation, it is stated: "we are facing a set of overly generic effects, with indicators that show similarities with the products themselves.. (…) Thus it is often difficult to differentiate the indicators of the effects from the products, since there is no means-ends relationship that is clear in all cases" (MDGF, 2013). Second is the fact that projects do not include impact evaluations from the beginning. There is a need for evidence based analysis in order to learn more about what works and what does not, and be able to draw lessons learned and provide evidence to contribute to the theoretical debate and better policy formulation.

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[61] As in worked in Chile model with the "Chile Seguro: Plan de Seguridad Pública, 2010-2014"

[62] "Indeed, measuring impact directly by showing reductions in crime and violence levels linked to project activity would be a complex task. Among the reasons is that crime and violence rates fluctuate on a larger scale in response to factors beyond the project´s control (…) A second level of complication introduced by the difficulty of getting accurate and comparable before-and-after data in the high-risk communities" (Schenell, 2012).

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ANNEXES

Annex I

Operationalization of Variables

Variable	Operationalization	Survey question
Social Capital	(i) Interpersonal trust at the community level	Speaking of the people who live in this neighbourhood or community, would you say that they are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy?
	(ii) Civic participation at the community level.	In the last twelve months have you contributed to help solve a problem in your community or with residents of your neighbourhood or community?
		Have you donated money or materials to help solve any problem in the community or neighbourhood?
		Have you helped with your own work or labour?
Collective efficacy	(i) Informal social control	What is the probability that a neighbour does something about it if a child is skipping school?
		What is the probability that a neighbour does something about it, if a child is showing disrespect to an adult?
		What is the probability that a neighbour does something about it, if a fight breaks out in front of their house?
	(ii) Social cohesion and trust	People of this community are willing to help their neighbours
		People of this community can be trusted
		This community is very united
Levels of insecurity	(i) Perception of insecurity	In your opinion this neighbourhood/community is very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe very unsafe?

Annex 1A

Risk factors associated with their social environment	(i) Gang related activities	Please tell me if the following conditions are a serious problem, somewhat serious, hardly serious, not at all serious, or are not a problem in your community? (i)Youth in the streets doing nothing, loitering; (ii) Youth living in gangs in neighbourhood and (iii) Conflicts or fights between gangs.
	(ii) Illicit drugs	Please tell me if the following conditions are a serious problem, somewhat serious, hardly serious, not at all serious, or are not a problem in your community? (i) Drugged people in the streets; (ii) Sale of illegal drugs in your neighbourhood.
	(iii) Criminal activity	Please tell me if the following conditions are a serious problem, somewhat serious, hardly serious, not all serious, or are not a problem in your community? (i) Shootings; (ii) Robbery at home; (iii) Robbery of people when they walk down the street; and (iv) Murders.
	(iv) Citizen coexistence	Please tell me if the following conditions are a serious problem, somewhat serious, hardly serious, not all serious, or are not a problem in your community? (i) People fighting and arguing in the street; (ii) People who insult or annoy people when they walk down the streets of the neighbourhood; (iii) Drunk people on the streets
	(v) Social environment risks factors	Please tell me if the following conditions are a serious problem, somewhat serious, hardly serious, not at all serious or are not a problem in your community? (i) Stains, graffiti or paint on the walls, (ii) Abandoned houses, (iii) Garbage on the sidewalks or streets/by the roadside, (iv) Vacant lots/land with high grass, (v) Streets without lightning or dark places.

Annex 2.

Latin America Homicide Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants (2000-2013)

Country	Year													
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Mexico and Central America														
Belize	17.2	26.1	34.6	25.9	29.8	29.8	33.0	33.9	35.1	32.2	41.8	39.2	44.7	29.8
Costa Rica	6.4	6.4	6.3	7.2	6.6	7.8	8.0	8.3	11.3	11.4	11.3	10	8.5	8.7
El Salvador	39.3	36.9	37.0	36.4	45.8	62.2	64.4	57.1	51.7	70.9	64.1	69.9	41.2	39.6
Guatemala	25.9	28.1	30.9	35.1	36.4	42.1	45.3	43.4	46.1	46.5	41.6	38.6	39.9	39.4
Honduras	50.9	54.8	55.8	61.4	53.8	46.6	44.3	50.0	60.8	70.7	81.8	91.4	90.4	79.0
Mexico	10.3	9.8	9.5	9.3	8.5	9.0	9.3	7.8	12.2	17.0	21.8	22.8	21.5	NA
Nicaragua	9.3	10.4	10.6	11.9	12.0	13.4	13.1	12.8	13.0	14.0	13.5	12.5	11.3	NA
Panama	9.8	9.8	12.0	10.4	9.3	10.8	10.8	12.7	18.4	22.6	20.6	20.3	17.2	17.3
South America														
Argentina	7.2	8.2	9.2	7.6	5.9	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.8	5.5	5.5	NA	NA	NA
Bolivia	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	7.0	6.3	8.1	8.6	8.4	10.4	10.0	12.1	8.4
Brazil	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	23.5	23.9	23.0	22.2	23.4	25.2	NA
Chile	NA	NA	NA	3.2	NA	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.5	3.7	3.2	3.7	3.1	2.7
Colombia	66.5	68.6	68.9	53.8	44.8	39.6	36.8	34.7	33.0	33.7	32.3	33.6	30.8	30.3
Ecuador	14.6	13.0	14.6	14.6	17.7	15.4	17.0	15.9	18.0	17.8	17.6	15.4	12.4	NA
Paraguay	18.6	24.1	24.6	22.6	20.9	18.2	15.5	12.8	13.4	12.9	11.5	10.0	9.7	8.9
Peru	5.0	4.9	4.2	4.9	5.6	11.0	11.2	10.4	11.6	10.3	9.3	9.6	9.6	6.6
Uruguay	6.4	6.6	6.9	5.9	5.8	5.7	6.1	5.8	6.6	6.7	6.1	5.9	7.9	7.6
Venezuela	32.9	32.0	38.0	44.0	37.0	37.3	45.1	47.6	51.9	48.9	45.0	47.8	53.7	NA

Own Elaboration
Source: UNODC Global Study on Homicide accessed 28 September 2015.

Igarapé Homicide Monitor accessed 28 January 2016.

Annex 3.

Perception of Insecurity in Latin America, 2010

Country	Value
Peru	54.2
Argentina	52.4
El Salvador	50
Venezuela	49.5
Belize	47.7
Ecuador	46.9
Bolivia	46.4
Mexico	43.8
Paraguay	42
Chile	41
Guatemala	40.2
Uruguay	39.6
Colombia	39.3
Nicaragua	39.2
Brasil	38.3
Panama	36.3
Honduras	34.3
Costa Rica	32.3
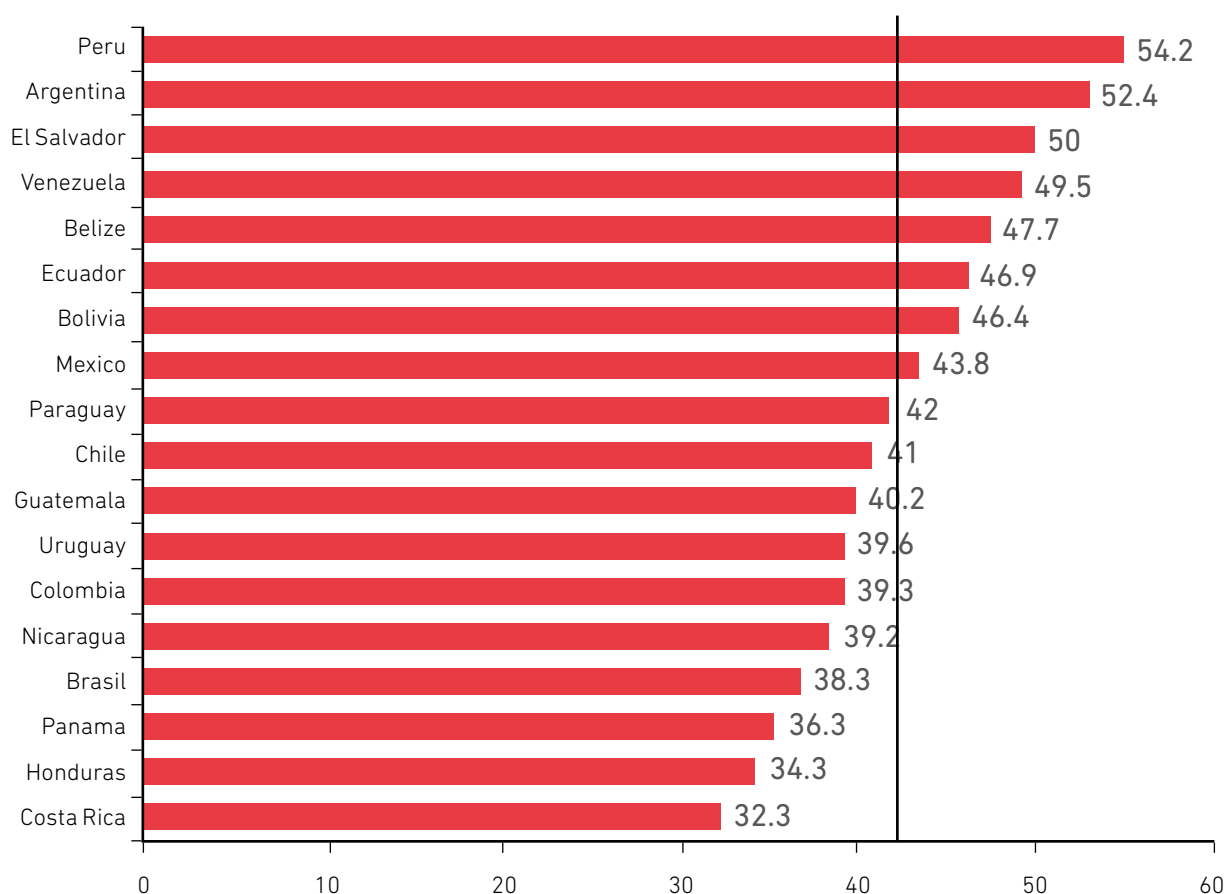
Source: Córdova, R. 2014. La Victimización por Crimen y las Percepciones de Inseguridad en América Latina y el Caribe. In: Maihold, G., Córdova, R. (Coord.) Violencia, delincuencia y seguridad pública en América Latina. Grupo Editorial Cenzontle y Cátedra Humboldt. México

Annex 4

An ecological model of the factors associated with the emergence of gangs in Central America

Level of relationship	Causality category	Factors
Social	Social exclusion	Socioeconomic precariousness
		Communities lack basic services or are of poor quality
		Lack of opportunity for technical and vocational training
		School expulsions and dropout rates
		Unemployment or underemployment
	Culture of violence	Cultural models of personal relationships
		Patterns of teaching and learning in the use of violence
		Cultural permissiveness towards the use of weapons
	Rapid and disorganized urban growth	Urban agglomeration and limited personal space
		Lack of recreational spaces
		Precarious or non-existent community social services
	Migration	Youth adopting gang culture abroad
		Youth returning to the country without a reference group
		Deportation of criminals
Community	Community disorganisation	Little confidence among community members
		Lack of citizen participation in community affairs
	Drug presence	Consumption of drugs
		Drug trafficking networks
Relational	Problematic Families	Dysfunctional families
		Abandonment and neglect by parents and/or guardians
		Family history of violence
	Friends members of gangs	Gang members in the community
		Gang members at school
	Violence dynamic	Reproductive cycle of violence
		Violence based on identities
Individual	The construction difficulties of the Personal identity	Search for identity through violence
		Absence of positive role models

Source: Cruz, J. M. 2007. Factores asociados a las pandillas juveniles en Centroamérica. In: Beltrán, M. A., Cruz, J. M., and Savenije, W. (eds) Exclusión social, jóvenes y pandillas en Centroamérica. Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, San Salvador, El Salvador.

Annex 5.

Homicide rate for youth (15-29 age) by Sex (2009-2014).
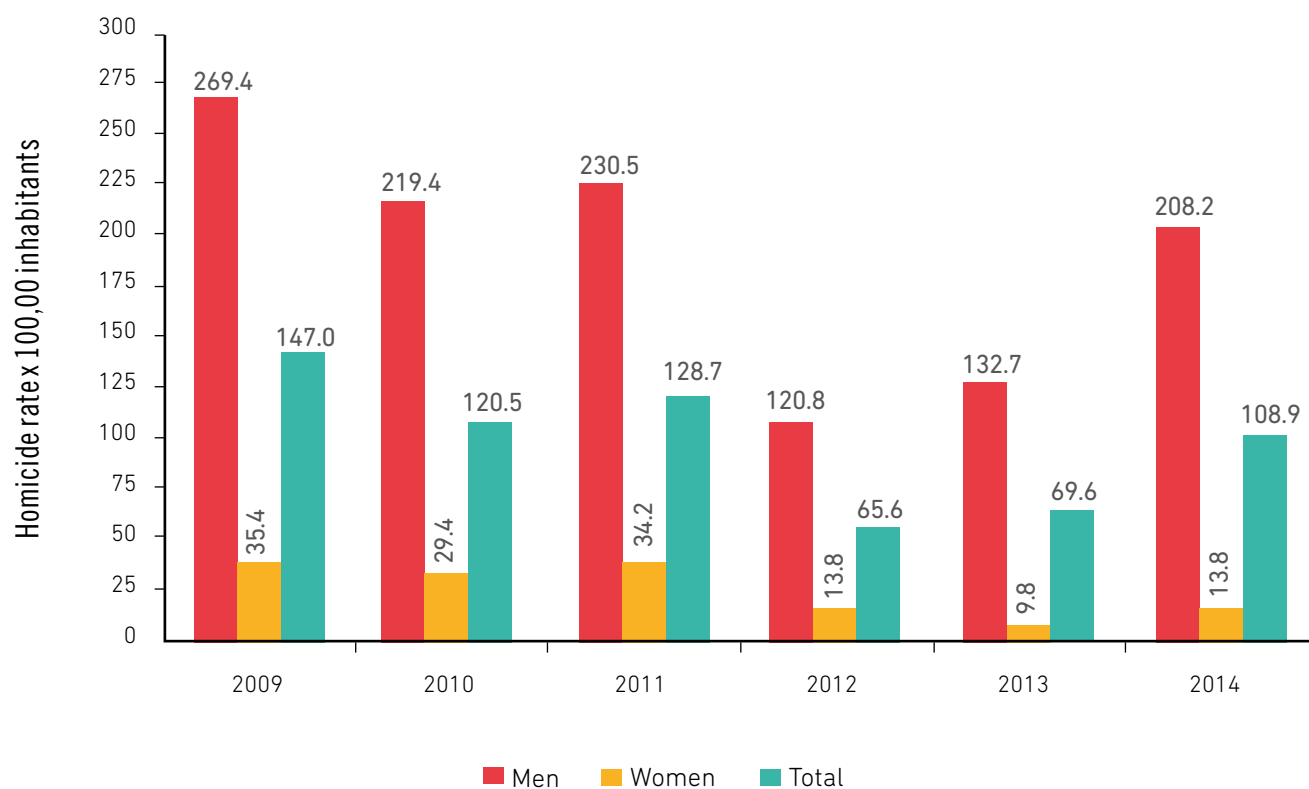
Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo. 2015. Evolución de los homicidios en El Salvador 2009-2015. Serie: Aportes al debate sobre la seguridad ciudadana. Número 2. Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo (FUNDAUNGO). San Salvador, El Salvador.

Annex 6.

Last criminal act suffered and the place of occurrence.

Felony	Low Insecurity				High Insecurity			
	At home	In this neigh-bourhood	Outside this nei-ghbour-hood	Total	At home	In this neigh-bourhood	Outside this neigh-bourhood	Total
Unarmed robbery without aggression or physical threat	20.0	6.7	20.8	16.3	0	36.4	20.0	19.4
Unarmed robbery with assault or physical threat	0	13.3	8.3	8.2	0	0	20.0	8.3
Armed robbery	30.0	66.7	50.0	51.0	0	27.3	33.3	22.2
Physical aggression without robbery	10.0	0	0	2.0	20.0	0	6.7	8.3
Kidnapping	0	0	4.2	2.0	0	0	0	0
Property damage	20.0	6.7	0	6.1	20.0	0	0	5.6
Extortion - or someone asked for a "rent"	0	0	4.2	2.0	40.0	18.2	20.0	25.0
Threats	20.0	0	8.3	8.2	10.0	9.1	0	5.6
Car theft	0	6.7	0	2.0	0	0	0	0
Attempted robbery of baby	0	0	4.2	2.0	0	0	0	0
Slander	0	0	0	0	10.0	0	0	2.8
Did not answer	0	0	0	0	0	9.1	0	2.8
Total	100.0 (n=10)	100.0 (n=15)	100.0 (n=24)	100.0 (n=49)	100.0 (n=10)	100.0 (n=11)	100.0 (n=15)	100.0 (n=36)

Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.

Annex 7.

Specific situations considered a problem in the community*, by type of community. (Percentage)

Type of community	HI	LI	Average	(n)
Gang-related activities				
Young people in the streets loitering	43.8	23.8	33.8	(108)
Youth living in gangs in the neighbourhood	40.0	16.3	28.1	(90)
Conflicts and fights between gangs	29.4	8.8	19.1	(61)
Risk factors related to illicit drugs				
Drugged people in the streets	24.4	11.9	18.1	(58)
Sale of illegal drugs in the neighbourhood	26.9	12.5	19.7	(63)
Criminal activity				
Shootings	32.5	13.1	22.8	(73)
Robbery at home	21.3	25.0	23.1	(74)
Robbery of people in the street	33.8	26.9	30.3	(97)
Murders	26.3	9.4	17.8	(57)
Citizen coexistence				
People fighting and arguing in the street	23.8	8.1	15.9	(51)
People who insult or annoy others in the streets of the neighbourhood	20.6	6.3	13.4	(43)
Drunk people on the streets	22.5	13.1	17.8	(57)
Risk factors associated whit socio-environment				
Stains, graffiti or paint on the walls	29.4	18.1	23.8	(76)
Abandoned houses	25.0	11.9	18.4	(59)
Garbage on the sidewalks or streets/ by the roadside	41.3	26.9	34.1	(109)
Vacant lots/land with high grass	34.4	15.6	25.0	(80)
Streets or dark places or without illumination	43.1	28.8	35.9	(115)
Total	100 (n=160)	100 (n=160)		

Source: Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, 2015. El Salvador: Study on Social Capital and Perception of Insecurity in the Communities.
Note: * only the percentages of people who considered a "very serious" problem in their community are shown. Do not present the percentages of people that answered somewhat serious, little serious, nothing serious or not a problem.

Annex 8.

QUESTONNAIRE FOR EL SALVADOR 2015 STUDY ON SOCIAL CAPITAL AND PERCEPTION OF INSECURITY
 AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

NC. Questionnaire number /__/__/__/	DE. Department /__/__/
EC. Surveyor name/__/__/	MU. Municipality /__/__/
S. Supervisor/__/__/	CB. Community/neighbourhood/__/__/
FA. Application date /__/__/__/__/	UR. Urban/rural/__/__/

This study is being developed to learn the views, values and experiences of social capital, trust in institutions and perceptions of insecurity. Your collaboration is important. There is no right or wrong answers; it is just your opinion on these issues. The survey is confidential. We appreciate your cooperation. Thank you.

General Data:

SE. Sex

1. Male 2. Female

EC. Marital Status

01	Single	04	Just living together
02	Married	05	Divorced
03	Widowed	06	Separated

ED. Age: _____ full years.

P1. In your opinion, what is the most serious problem facing your community/neighbourhood?

Water, lack of	1	Bad Government	17
Roads in poor condition	2	Environment	18
Recreation areas, lack of	3	Migration	19
Corruption	4	Drug trafficking	20
Credit, lack of	5	Gangs	21
Delinquency, crime	6	Poverty	22
Unemployment, lack of jobs	7	Popular protest (Strikes, road closures, etc.)	23
Malnutrition	8	Health services, lack of	24
Drug addiction	9	Security (Lack of)	25
Economy, problems with, crisis of	10	Transportation, problems of	26
Education, problems with, crisis of	11	Violence	27
Extortion	12	Housing, poor conditions	28
Electricity, lack of	13	There are no problems in this neighbourhood	70
High cost of living	14	Others	77
Shootings	15	DK	88
Loitering on the streets	16	DA	98

P2. In the past 12 months, have you attended a town meeting or municipal council session?

(1) Yes   (2) No   (88) DK   (98) DA

Now changing to another subject	Yes	No	DK	DA
P3. In the last twelve months have you contributed to helping solve a problem in your community or with residents of your neighbourhood or community?	1	2	88	98
P4. Have you donated money or materials to help solve any problem in the community or neighbourhood?	1	2	88	98
P5. Have you helped with your own work or labour?	1	2	88	98

I am going to read a list of groups and organisations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations: at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never.

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never	DK	DA	INAP
P6. Of a religious group?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P7. Of an association of parents of the school?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P8. Of a committee or board of community development?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P9. Of a labour union?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P10. Of a political party?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P11. Of a NGO?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P12. Of an organization of professionals?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P13. Meetings promoted by your neighbourhood/community board?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P14. Do you attend cleaning activities in your neighbourhood/ community?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P15. Cultural activities in your neighbourhood/ community?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P16. The practice of any sport, as a player?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
P17. [only to women] Meetings of associations or groups of women or housewives?	1	2	3	4	88	98	99

P18. Speaking of the people who live in this neighbourhood or community, would you say that they are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy?

(1)   Very trustworthy
(2)   Somewhat trustworthy
(3)   Not very trustworthy
(4)   Untrustworthy
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

P19. Generally speaking, would you say that you can trust most people or that one has to be very careful in dealing with others?

(1)   You can trust most people
(2)   One has to be very careful when dealing with others
(88)   NS
(98)   NR

P20. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement "when I have needed it, my neighbours have helped me"?

(1)   Agree
(2)   **(Do not read)** Neither agree nor disagree
(3)   Disagree
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

P21. Generally speaking would you say Salvadorian people are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy?

(1)   Trustworthy
(2)   Somewhat trustworthy
(3)   Not very trustworthy
(4)   Untrustworthy
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

	Yes	No	DK	DA	INAP
P22A. Is there an association or board in your neighbourhood / community?	1	0 [Go to P 27.]	88	98	99
P23. Are you a member of that association or board?	1	0	88	98	99
P24. In the last three months, have you attended a meeting called by the association or board of neighbours?	1	0	88	98	99
P25. In the last three months, have you done any volunteer work for this association or board?	1	0	88	98	99
P26. In the last three months, have this association or board of residents of this neighbourhood promoted crime prevention activities, such as safety measures for the neighbourhood or other activities?	1	0	88	98	99
P27. Is there any other association or institution that is promoting programs for the prevention of crime and violence in this neighbourhood/community?	1	0	88	98	99

P28. Now I will mention a number of organizations. I wonder how much confidence you have in the work they do.	Trus-tworthy	Somewhat trustwor-thy	Not very trus-tworthy	Untrus-tworthy	DK	DA
P28A. The churches	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28B. The Armed forces	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28C. The Supreme Electoral Court	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28D. The President of the Nation	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28E. The Legislative Assembly	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28F. The Supreme Court	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28G. The National government	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28H. The Ombudsman	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28I. The National Civil Police	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28J. The National Youth Institute (Injuve)	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28K. The municipal government	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28L. Municipal violence prevention council	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28M. The elections	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28N. The political parties	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28O. The Media	4	3	2	1	88	98
P28P. The NGO´s	4	3	2	1	88	98

P29. How interested are you in politics, a lot, some, little or none?

(1) A lot
(2) Some
(3) Little
(4) None
(88) NS
(98) NR

P30. In general, would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in El Salvador?

(1)   Very satisfied
(2)   Satisfied
(3)   Dissatisfied
(4)   Very dissatisfied
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

P31. How much does the central government represent your interests and benefit you as a citizen? A lot, some, little or none of your interests?

(1)   A lot
(2)   Some
(3)   Little
(4)   None
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

P32. How much do the Mayor and the Municipal Council represent your interests and benefit you as a citizen? A lot, some, little or none of your interests?

(1)   A lot
(2)   Some
(3)   Little
(4)   None
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

P33. In which year did you move here (the neighbourhood, or community)? **[If the respondent does not remember, probe: would you say more or less in which year]**

Year   ____/____/____/____/   (88)   DK   (98)   DA

P34. Without counting your relatives, approximately, how many friends do you have living in your neighbourhood / community? **[Do not read alternatives] [Probe: "Could you tell me about how many"]**

(1)   Any
(2)   Between 1 and 2
(3)   Between 3 and 5
(4)   Between 6 and 10
(5)   Between 11 and 20
(6)   More than 20
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

P35. Now, I 'm going to read some statements, for each statement we would like to know if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

	Strongly agree	Agree	[Do not read] neither agree nor disagree	Disa-gree	Strongly disagree	DK	DA
P35A. The people of the community is willing to help their neighbours	5	4	3	2	1	88	98
P35B. This community is strongly united	5	4	3	2	1	88	98
P35C I can leave my kids with my neighbours	5	4	3	2	1	88	98
P35D I can allow my neighbours' kids to come and watch TV in my house	5	4	3	2	1	88	98

P36. Now, I will make some general questions about your community. For each phrase we would like to know if it is very likely, likely, neither likely nor unlikely, unlikely, very unlikely.

	Very likely	Likely	[Do not read] neither likely nor unlikely	Unlikely	Very unlikely	DK	DA
P36A. Probability that a neighbour does something about it, if a child runs away from school	5	4	3	2	1	88	98
P36B. Probability that a neighbour intervenes, if a fight breaks out in front of his house	5	4	3	2	1	88	98
P36C. Probability that a neighbour intervenes, if a child or adolescent is disrespecting an adult	5	4	3	2	1	88	98

P37. And thinking about this neighbourhood or community where you live, are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the state of public spaces ?

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Dissa-tisfied	Very dis-satisfied	DK	DA
P37A. Park	1	2	3	4	88	98
P37B. Communal house	1	2	3	4	88	98
P37C. Sports court	1	2	3	4	88	98
P37D. Streetlights	1	2	3	4	88	98
P37E. Bus stops	1	2	3	4	88	98

P38. What about the state of public schools?

(1)   Very satisfied
(2)   Satisfied
(3)   Dissatisfied
(4)   Very dissatisfied
(88)   NS
(98)   NR

P39. What about the state of the roads?

(1)   Very satisfied
(2)   Satisfied
(3)   Dissatisfied
(4)   Very dissatisfied
(88)   NS
(98)   NR

P40. In the past 12 months have you adopted any of the following behaviours for fear of being a victim of a crime? [One answer for each question]	Yes	No	DK	DA
P40A. Limited visits to recreation sites	1	2	88	98
P40B. Avoided participating in public events	1	2	88	98
P40C. Stopped using community infrastructure	1	2	88	98
P40D. Felt the need to change neighbourhood or community	1	2	88	98
P40E. Avoided using public transportation	1	2	88	98
P40F. Avoided going out at night	1	2	88	98
P40G. Stopped visiting relatives or friends	1	2	88	98
P40H. Limited the places for shopping	1	2	88	98
P40I. Avoided going out alone	1	2	88	98
P40J. Prevented your underage children from going out	1	2	88	98
P40K. Made changes in your house (Razor wired, gates, locks, etc.)	1	2	88	98

P41. Did you vote in the second round of the last presidential elections on March 9, 2014?

(1) Yes   (2) No [Go to P.43]   (88) DK   (98) DA

P42. For which party did you vote for in the second round of elections on March 9, 2014?

(00) None (Left the ballot in blank, annulled the vote)

(1)   ARENA
(2)   FMLN
(7)   Other
(88)   DK
(98)   DA
(99)   INAP (Did not vote)

P43. I will read some of the things that people sometimes say about politicians, the government and I would like you to tell me if [read options]

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disa-gree	Strongly disagree	DK	DA
P43A. The government does not care much for people like you	1	2	3	4	88	98
P43B. Politicians are willing to lie to win the election	1	2	3	4	88	98

P44. Now, changing the subject, have you been the victim of any type of crime in the last 12 months? That is, have you been the victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, threats or any other type of crime in the last 12 months?

Yes [Go on]   (2) No [Go to P47.]   (88) DK [Go to P47.]   (98) DA [Go to P47.]

P45. Thinking about the last criminal act of which you were a victim, from the list that I will read to you, what kind of crime did you experience?

01	Unarmed robbery **without** aggression or physical threat	08	Household theft, thieves got into the house while no one was home
02	Unarmed robbery **with** assault or physical threats	09	Extortion
03	Armed robbery	10	[Do not read] Other
04	Physical aggression without robbery	88	DK
05	Rape or sexual assault	98	DA
06	Kidnapping	99	INAP [Was not a victim]
07	Property damage		

P46. Could you tell me where the last criminal act in which you were a victim occurred? [Read options]

01	In your home	05	In another country
02	In this neighbourhood or community	88	DK
03	In this municipality	98	DA
04	In another municipality	99	INAP [Was not a victim]

P47. Please tell me if the following conditions are a serious problem, somewhat serious, hardly serious, not at all serious or are not a problem in your neighbourhood or community.

	Serious	So-mewhat serious	Hardly serious	Not at all serious	Not a problem	DK	DA
P47A. Stains , graffiti or paint on the walls	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47B. Abandoned houses	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47C. Garbage on the sidewalks or streets/by the roadside	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47D. Vacant lots/land with high grass	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47E. Streets or dark places or without illumination	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47F. Young people in the streets doing nothing , wandering	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47G. Youth living in your neighbourhood gangs	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47H. Sale of illegal drugs in your neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47I. People fighting and arguing in the street	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47J. People who insults or annoys people when they walk through the streets of the neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47K. Drunk people on the streets	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47L. Drugged people in the streets	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47M. Robbery at home	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47N. Robbery on people when they walk down the street	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47O. Shootings	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47P. Brawls or fights between gangs	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
P47Q. Murders	1	2	3	4	5	88	98

P48. How safe do you feel in this neighbourhood?

(1)   Very safe
(2)   Somewhat safe
(3)   Somewhat unsafe
(4)   Very unsafe
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

P49. Do you think that the current level of violence in your neighbourhood/community is greater, equal, or less than other neighbourhoods/communities in this municipality?

(1) Greater   (2) Equal   (3) Less   (88) DK   (98) DA

P50. Have you heard of the Violence Prevention Committee in this municipality?

(1) Yes   (2) No   (88) DK   (98) DA   (99) INAP

P51. In the last three months, have you or someone you know attended a meeting called by the Violence Prevention Council in this municipality?

(1) Yes   (2) No   (88) DK   (98) DA   (99) INAP

P52. In the last 12 months, have you seen or heard that any institution has undertaken public works in this neighbourhood/community, such as improving street lighting, cleaning activities, construction or repair of streets , courts or park?

(01) Yes   (02) No   (88) DK   (98) DA

P53. In the last 12 months, have you seen or heard that a church has made efforts to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood/community?

(01) Yes   (02) No   (88) DK   (98) DA

P54. If you were a victim of a robbery or assault how much faith would you have the judicial system will punish the guilty? **[Read options]**

(1)   Much
(2)   Some
(3)   Little
(4)   None
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

P55. In the last 12 months, which of the following actions have you seen the Police do in this neighbourhood/community...

	Yes	No	DK	DA
P55A. Talking to the residents of this neighbourhood	1	2	88	98
P55B. Attend meetings of residents of this neighbourhood	1	2	88	98
P55C. Seen the Police performing activities to prevent crime in this neighbourhood	1	2	88	98
P55D. Relate to children and youth of this neighbourhood through recreational and educational activities	1	2	88	98

P56. In general, you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the performance of the police in your neighbourhood/community?

(1)   Very satisfied
(2)   Satisfied
(3)   Dissatisfied
(4)   Very dissatisfied
(88)   NS
(98)   NR

P57. In your opinion this neighbourhood/community is very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe very unsafe?

(1)   Very safe
(2)   Somewhat safe
(3)   Somewhat unsafe
(4)   Very unsafe
(88)   DK
(98)   DA

Now talking about you.

P58. How do you mainly spend your time? Are you currently… [Read options]

01	Working	06	Retired, a pensioner or permanently disabled to work [Go to P60.]
02	Not working, but have a job? [Continue]	07	Not working and not looking for a job [Go to P60.]
03	Actively looking for a job? [Continue]	88	DK [Go to P60.]
04	A student? [Go to P60.]	98	DA [Go to P60.]
05	Taking care of the home? [Go to P60.]		

P59. In this job are you: [Read options]

01	A salaried employee of the government	05	Unpaid worker
02	A salaried employee of the private sector	88	DK
03	Owner or partner in a business	98	DA
04	Self-employed	99	INAP

P60. The house where you live in is… [Read options]

01	Rented	04	[Do not read] Other
02	Owned by you	88	DK
03	Loaned or shared	98	DA

P61. Into which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit, including remittances from abroad and the income of all the working adults and children?

00	No income	06	Between $526 and $700
01	Less than $50	07	Between $701 and $1,000
02	Between $51 and $100	08	Greater than $1,000
03	Between $101 and $175	88	NS
04	Between $176 and $350	98	NR
05	Between $351 and $525		

P62. What was the last year of education you completed?=_____Year_____ (Primary, secondary, university, post-secondary not university)=_____ total number of years [Use the table below for the code]

	1°	2°	3°	4°	5°	6°
None	0					
Primary	1	2	3	4	5	6
Secondary	7	8	9	10	11	12
University	13	14	15	16	17	18+
Post-secondary, not university	13	14	15	16		
DK	88					
DA	98					

P63. Do you have any intention of going to live or work in another country in the next three years?

(1)　　Yes　　(2)　　No　　(88)　　DK　　(98)　　DA

P64. The salary that you receive and total household income: [Read options]

01	Is good enough for you and you can save from it	04	Is not enough for you and you are having a hard time
02	Is just enough, so that you do not have major problems	88	DK
03	Is not enough for you and you are stretched	98	DA

P65. ¿How many people live in your home at this moment_____ (88) NS (98) NR

Now to finish, could you tell me if you have in your house: [Read Options]

	No	Yes	DK	DA
P65A. Television	(0)	(1)	(88)	(98)
P65B. Refrigerator	(0)	(1)	(88)	(98)
P65C. Landline telephone	(0)	(1)	(88)	(98)
P65D. Vehicle/car	(0)	(1)	(88)	(98)
P65E. Indoor plumbing	(0)	(1)	(88)	(98)
P65F. Electricity	(0)	(1)	(88)	(98)
P65G. Computer	(0)	(1)	(88)	(98)
P65H. Internet	(0)	(1)	(88)	(98)

Thank you very much for your collaboration.

Annex 9.

ASSESSMENT OF QUALITY OF THE EVIDENCE FROM EXISTING STUDIES:

Bibliographic Reference	Quality assessment Indicator							Overall Strength of Evidence
	1. Defined question?	2. Transp-arent on data sources?	3. Clear design?	4. Suitable method?	5. Do findings match design?	DK 6. Findings contex-tualized?	DA 7. Logical policy recomm.?	
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