Citizen security and human capital:

IMPLEMENTATION MANUAL AND BEST PRACTICES FOR PROJECT DESIGN IN CENTRAL AMERICA'S NORTHERN TRIANGLE

Table of Contents

● SECTION I **Introduction**

Context: Crime and violence in Central America's Northern Triangle

Crime and violence prevention

● SECTION II **The impact of crime and violence on human capital in the Northern Triangle**

Table of Figures

Acknowledgments

Executive Summary

Introduction

1 This manual examines how human capital projects (health and education) financed by the World Bank can integrate activities that address citizen security. While the manual provides important information on context of crime and violence in Northern Triangle countries, its principal contribution is as a guide for task teams. The manual, in combination with the Citizen Security Toolkit produced for last year's ASA, is an important resource for teams to think deeply about what kinds of activities can be included in their projects. The manual lays out the basic approach to citizen security that the World Bank has adopted but also details programs and interventions that work to reduce violence in the education and health sectors and can be incorporated into project design.

Crime and violence prevention: Sources and types and how they can be prevented

2 Crime and violence can be principally attributed to youth gangs and organized crime in Central America's Northern Triangle. This region also has a history of extrajudicial killings and abuses by the police and armed forces. Furthermore, gender-based violence (GBV) is one of the most prevalent types of violence in the region and has the highest rates in the world. Risk factors, which can be understood as personal characteristics and environmental conditions that place individuals at risk of engaging in violent behavior, have been broadly used to understand crime and violence. A combination of two or more of these risk factors at the individual, relationship, and community levels can lead individuals to engage in violence and criminal behaviors associated with the main actors responsible for violence and crime in the Northern Triangle. Governments in the

Northern Triangle have substantially transitioned from exclusively using a *mano dura* approach to address crime and violence to a preventive approach. This approach focuses on identifying the risk factors specific to highly violent individuals and communities and addressing them through a differentiated risk approach (primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention) in coordination with community policing efforts and improvements to the physical environment. Close coordination between and strengthening of the main actors in target communities has also been a key element of this approach. In past years, Northern Triangle countries have also focused on identifying and strengthening protective factors (which reduce the likelihood of individuals engaging in antisocial behaviors) as part of this approach.

The impact of crime and violence on human capital in the Northern Triangle

3 Crime and violence have a detrimental impact on service delivery in the areas of health, education, and employment generation and access. In numerous communities, people cannot go to school, a health center, or workplace in a territory controlled by a gang different than the one that controls theirs. This results in missed economic opportunities, discontinued and incomplete medical treatments, high dropout rates, and death. The trauma and lesions associated with violent incidents, including physical, sexual, and psychological violence, require people to receive mental health and medical treatment, which Northern Triangle countries have limited capacity and resources to provide. On average, only an estimated 1.4 percent of the national health budget of Northern Triangle countries is assigned for mental health services. Students witness homicides and are also victims of extortions and recruitment by gangs on their routes to school. In

Honduras, 1,522 students were murdered between 2010 and 2018.[1] Gang presence in schools generate a tense and unfit environment for learning. According to the Salvadoran Ministry of Education, 34.8 percent of middle schools had gang presence in 2016[2] Teachers are forced to give passing grades to gang members or face consequences which include death. In Honduras, between 2009 and 2014, official government data show that 83 teachers were murdered.[3] Employment opportunities are also affected by crime and violence. Extortions prevent businesses from expanding and generating job opportunities. Additionally, people living in gang-ridden communities are not only victims of gang violence, but also of the stigma associated with living in those communities, which often results in employers not hiring them.

Successful crime and violence interventions for human capital projects in the Northern Triangle

4 Numerous interventions have been implemented and evaluated in the developed world, yielding positive results in violence prevention. However, in past years, these interventions have also been carried out in the developing world and, in Latin America, there is evidence that they have attained positive results in reducing or preventing crime and violence. The most successful education-related interventions include early child development (ECD)

and preschool enrichment programs for at-risk children; increasing the availability and quality of ECD and childcare facilities and programs; providing incentives to complete secondary education; providing incentives to pursue courses in higher education and job training; including violence prevention/conflict resolution modules in the curriculum; offering afterschool programs; and creating safe routes for youths on their way zto and from school or other community activities. Alternatively, successful health-related violence prevention interventions include family therapy; drug courts and illicit substance rehabilitation programs; hospital-based violence prevention programs; cognitive behavioral therapy; and reproductive health services that meet the needs of young people, especially those at risk. To ensure a comprehensive approach for human capital development, these interventions, when possible, should be integrated into prison rehabilitation and reinsertion programs.

Adapting citizen security interventions into human capital projects

5 As presented above, there are some interventions to reduce crime and violence that can be included in human capital projects. To include and adapt these or any other crime and violence interventions to World Bank human capital projects, four steps are recommended. First, it is important to define the area of intervention, and identify and allocate resources to compile crime and violence data on it. Second, once the information has been compiled, it is important to organize and analyze it to define the main crime and violence problems and threats to the project; identify the main groups responsible for violence in the area of intervention, as well as the crime and violence hotspots; identify the main risk and protective factors; carry out a political economy analysis; and analyze the information and write down conclusions. Third, it is important to define a strategy and approach by identifying interventions to mitigate crime and violence based on the analysis of the information compiled, ensuring that the selected intervention fits under the main project's scope and goals,

1 ACNUR. (2018). Impacto de la violencia en 2020 Centros Educativos de Tegucigalpa. Análisis de los riesgos, necesidades, y propuestas de los docentes en riesgo de desplazamiento forzado. Retrieved from https://www.acnur.org/5bf4a1c14.pdf.

2 PNUD. (2018). Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano: El Salvador 2018, ¡Soy Joven! ¿Y ahora qué? Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo. Retrieved from: https://www.undp.org/content/dam/el_salvador/docs/IDHES%202018%20WEB.pdf.

3 Peña, M. (2020). Absent students, murdered teachers: Gang violence permeates Honduras' schools. NBC News. Retrieved from https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/absent-students-murdered-teachers-gang-violence-permeates-honduras-schools-n1144951.

developing a theory of change and a project framework (i.e., logical framework), and identifying resources and partners for the intervention. Finally, measuring success for the project should be carried out through monitoring and evaluation activities, defining indicators, and establishing monitoring and evaluation timelines.

Putting it all together

[6] Health and education interventions to reduce crime and violence should be inclusive and address the most relevant risk factors of individuals, while working with their families and utilizing the resources of the community. It is never too early or too late to change negative behaviors, but interventions should be targeted and respond to the specific needs of communities and individuals to attain positive results. Interventions must ensure that all aspects of the ecology are taken into consideration, and that the most adequate types of services are provided to reduce violence. Interventions that are not based on evidence and usually address only superficial risk factors tend to be unsuccessful. There is significant work to be carried out in the Northern Triangle to reduce crime and violence, and working through human capital development project presents a promising approach to address this issue and improve the lives of millions of people in the region.
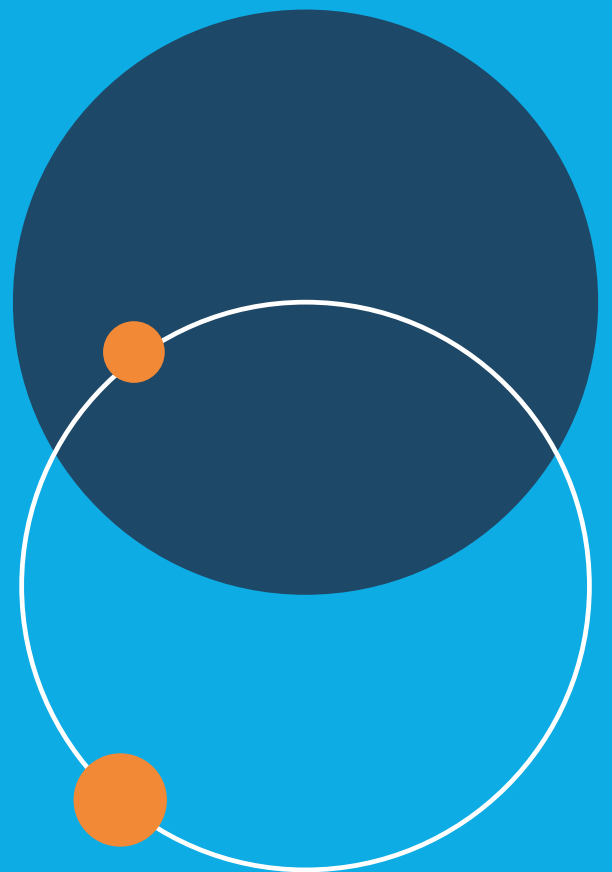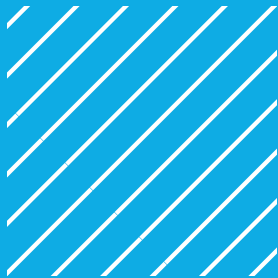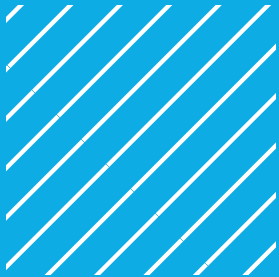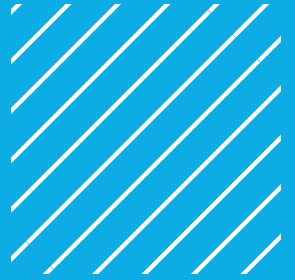
Section I

Introduction

Context: Crime and violence in Central America's Northern Triangle

Crime and violence prevention

Introduction

Background

7 **The greatest resource a country has is its people. Central America's Northern Triangle, with a combined population of 33.3 million[4], and approximately half of the labor force between 15 and 24 years old[5], has great potential to increase economic growth and improve people's livelihoods.** In past years, there have been improvements in some human capital measures in this region. For instance, El Salvador experienced a steady increase in the 'survival to age 5' indicator in the past two decades; Guatemala saw improvements in its harmonized test scores; and Honduras achieved improvements in its survival probabilities for its adult population.[6] These improvements are the result of investments in health and education, and they usually take time to materialize. As a result, it is of foremost importance to continue investing in human capital to achieve further benefits for the people of this region.

8 **The World Bank has invested in human capital development in the region and has a commitment to improving it worldwide[7]** Examples of projects financed by the World Bank in the Northern Triangle have included the Education Quality Improvement Project, which expanded the adoption of the Inclusive Full Time School (IFTS) Model in 29 Salvadoran municipalities, or the Strengthening Public Health Care System Project, which supported the expansion of the Integrated Health Care Services Model in the 82 poorest municipalities of El Salvador. In Guatemala, the World Bank financed the Maternal-Infant Health and Nutrition Project which helped to provide access to basic health and nutrition services for over one million people. In Honduras, the World Bank financed the Education Quality, Good Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project, which allowed the Secretary of Education to expand school coverage in disadvantaged communities from 3 to 50 percent through the opening and equipping of nearly 800 pre-schools, as well as training for all their volunteer teachers. All this work has had a positive impact on building these nations' human capital.

El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala ranked 97, 103 and 109 out of 157 countries, respectively, in the Human Capital Index.

9 **Despite human capital improvements attained in some areas, these countries still lag behind other countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region due in part to high levels of crime and violence.** El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, ranked 97, 103, and 109 out of 157 countries, respectively, in the Human Capital Index (HCI).[8] Violent crime has a profound impact on people's health and education, hindering sustained economic development and overall wellness of the population. In the Northern Triangle, youth gangs and organized crime have become an impediment for young people to attend school, work, or visit a health facility. The years of life lost due to the high numbers of homicides have a profound impact on these economies, which spend up to 17.7 percent of their GDPs in security costs[9], and hence, lose valuable resources that could be used in other areas for human capital development. As a result, addressing crime and violence is paramount to obtaining the highest returns from investments in human capital interventions in the Northern Triangle.

---

4 World Bank (2020a). World Bank Data.

5 World Bank. (2020b). World Bank Data.

6 World Bank. (2020c). Human Capital Project. HCI: Country Briefs and Data. Retrieved from https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/human-capital#About.

7 See the Human Capital Project (HCP) website for more information on what the World Bank is doing to improve human capital around the world: https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/human-capital#About

8 "The HCI is a cross-country metric [that measures] the human capital that a child born today can expect to attain by her 18th birthday, given the risks of poor health and poor education prevailing in her country." The five indicators of the HCI are 1) probability of survival to age five, 2) a child's expected years of schooling, 3) harmonized test scores as a measure of quality of learning, 4) adult survival rate (fraction of 15-year olds that will survive to age 60), and 5) the proportion of children who are not stunted; World Bank. (2019). Insights from Disaggregating the Human Capital Index.

9 Such is the case in El Salvador according to some estimates. Barrios, J.; Escobar, J.; Ruiz-Arranz, M.; & Moreno, C. (2019). Impulsando el Crecimiento Inclusivo y Sostenible. Inter-American Development Bank.

[10] **Investments in education and health in Central America's Northern Triangle to increase human capital can decrease crime and violence in the region.** Education is an investment in human capital that increases future work opportunities as well as opportunity costs of criminality, and therefore discourages engagement in criminal behaviors. Education can raise the marginal returns from work above the marginal returns from crime, so human capital investments in education can reduce crime.[10] Education also makes people more patient, discouraging them to commit crimes, given that forward-looking people prioritize not obtaining an immediate reward over being punished in the future through, for example, long prison sentences or other consequences. In this sense, education can also make people more risk averse, discouraging them from committing crimes when the returns to this type of activity are uncertain. Education can also change a persons' social network in the long run, helping them associate with peers that will be more educated and, therefore, less inclined towards committing crimes and negatively influencing others.[11] Crime and violence also have significant negative long-term impacts on health and well-being in areas such as brain development, risk-taking behavior, post-traumatic stress disorder, and physiological stress that places people at greater risk of chronic disease.[12] Additionally, violence hampers growth, disproportionally affecting low socioeconomic communities with health issues such as malnutrition, obesity, and chronic disease. Investing in health and education through a citizen security approach can have positive results in crime and violence reduction and maximize returns from these investments.

[11] **There is plenty of evidence that shows the positive impact that investments in education and health can have on preventing crime and violence.** Investments in preschool programs result in fewer crimes, higher earnings, and a higher likelihood for individuals to graduate high school and have a job.[13] Additionally, enrollment in secondary education can reduce violent behavior in youth at risk according to studies in countries such as Brazil,

Chile, Honduras, Mexico, and the United States.[14] Further, afterschool programs in Brazil have resulted in a 60 percent reduction in community violence, as well as reduced rates of suicide, substance abuse, theft, armed robbery, and sexual aggression.[15] With respect to health, cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) interventions are the most successful in reducing recidivism in prison populations. The most effective ones result in declines of up to 52 percent in recidivism.[16] Evidence shows that these interventions are as effective in community settings as they are in prisons.[17]

Purpose

[12] **This manual examines how human capital projects (health and education) financed by the World Bank can integrate activities that address citizen security.** While the manual provides important information on context of crime and violence in Northern Triangle countries, its principal contribution is as a guide for task teams. This manual, in combination with the Citizen Security Toolkit produced for last year's ASA, is an important resource for teams to think deeply about what kinds of activities can be included in their projects. It lays out the basic approach to citizen security that the World Bank has adopted but also details programs and interventions that work to reduce violence in the education and health sectors and can be incorporated into project design.

[13] **The procedures outlined in this manual are intended to occur during the design phase of a project and as part of the Environmental and Social Framework ꟷESFꟷ assessment to evaluate, characterize, and mitigate the risks that crime and violence risks pose to a project.** In this regard, it is of particular importance to assess how crime and violence risks may prevent vulnerable populations from accessing the services provided by the project. Crime and violence prevention interventions can be carried out throughout the life of a project, from design through implementation to completion. However, understanding the relationship and impact that these interventions have on crime and violence prevention provides project designers and implementers with

10 Chioda, L. (2017). Stop the Violence in Latin America: A look at Prevention from Cradle to Adulthood. Latin America Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank.

11 Chioda (2017).

12 Fischer, N., & Teutsch, S.M. (2014). Safe Summer Programs Reduce Violence and Improve Health in Los Angles Country. NAM Perspectives. Discussion Paper, National Academy of Medicine, Washington, DC.

13 Hoffman, J.S.; Knox, L & Cohen, R. (2010). Beyond Suppression: Global Perspectives on Youth Violence. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

14 World Bank. (2008). Supporting Youth at Risk: A Policy Toolkit for Middle-Income Countries. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/514781468175152614/pdf/437050WP0ENGLI1YouthAtRisk01PUBLIC1.pdf.

15 World Bank (2008).

16 Abt, T. & Winship, C. (2016). What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle. USAID.

17 Abt & Winship (2016).

a tool to analyze human capital interventions from a crime and violence reduction perspective, and leverage on the interventions that their projects are already carrying out to address this issue. This is particularly important in a region like the Northern Triangle, where crime and violence hinder human capital development. It is important to point out that procedures outlined in this manual can also be incorporated into any other type of World Bank interventions for projects to have more targeted citizen security objectives.

14 **This manual draws from the existing literature on the effectiveness of human capital investments in reducing crime and violence, and presents this information in a comprehensive and accessible manner.** Toolkits have been developed to implement school-based violence prevention interventions, and it has been extensively written about the impact of violence on the health of populations. This manual highlights the most successful interventions to reduce crime and violence through education and health activities and provides a roadmap to include them in projects in the Northern Triangle to reduce the type of violence specific to this region. This manual draws from and aims to complement toolkits and guides developed to reduce crime and violence in this region.

Key concepts

15 A few concepts will be used throughout this manual that are worth defining now for an easier grasp of the information in the next sections.

- **Human capital:** consists of the knowledge, skills, and health that people accumulate throughout their lives, enabling them to realize their potential as productive members of society."[18]

- **Crime:** This refers to any type of act that violates criminal law. Crimes may or may not be violent. For example, fraud or embezzlement are crimes, but they are not violent. Also, trafficking drugs across a border without being detected is a non-violent crime. Alternatively,

violent crimes generally involve the use of force or injury to another person such as assault or homicide.

- **Violence:** According to the World Health Organization, violence is "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.[19]" Not all violence is a crime. For example, in some countries, psychological violence may not be considered a crime under the penal code. Also, violence can be inflicted upon oneself, or occur between individuals or groups (such as in wars) and may be spontaneous or premeditated.

- **Citizen Security:** This expression refers to "the right of citizens to live free from all forms of violence and crime in times of peace."[20] It is different from public security which mainly focuses on law enforcement. Citizen security goes beyond reducing homicide rates. It includes an effective judicial system, a penitentiary system that focuses on the rehabilitation and reinsertion of offenders, and respect for the rule of law.[21]

Organization

16 This manual is organized as follows: Section one provides context on crime and violence prevention in Central America's Northern Triangle and explores the factors that increase the likelihood of crime and violence. Section two provides an overview of the impact of crime and violence on human development in the Northern Triangle's context. Section three presents successful and promising violence prevention interventions for human capital projects, focusing specifically on health and education. Section four provides guidelines on how to adapt citizen security interventions into human capital projects. Section five closes the manual with some final remarks.

19 Violence Prevention Alliance. (n.d.). Global Campaign for Violence Prevention: Definition and typology of violence. Retrieved from: https://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/

20 Yuri, S., Fevre, C., Corrales, M., Morales, C., Tetreault, A., & Buitrago, P. (2013). Approach Paper: Citizen Security in Latin America and the Caribbean: IDB's Comparative Advantage. Inter-American Development Bank. Retrieved from https://publications.iadb.org/en/approach-paper-citizen-security-latin-america-and-caribbean-idbs-comparative-advantage.

21 USAID. (2015). Crime and violence prevention field guide.

18 World Bank. (n.d). About the human capital project. Retrieved from https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/human-capital/brief/about-hcp.

Context: Crime and violence in Central America's Northern Triangle

Crime and violence from a comparative perspective: The Northern Triangle as the most violent region in the world that is not at war.

17 **In the past decade, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras have consistently had homicide rates amongst the highest in Latin America and the Caribbean.** With homicide rates of 52 (El Salvador), 38.9 (Honduras), and 22.5 (Guatemala) per 100,000 people in 2018[22], this region's murders are far above the 10 per 100,000 mark considered as epidemic by the World Health Organization. Although there are relevant differences among the three countries, there are also common factors attributable to the high incidences of violence in the region. Widespread and marked gang presence in communities lead to competition for territorial control to carry out kidnappings, petty sale of illegal drugs, and extortions which are the main source of gang revenue. Gang rivalries and revenge killings also due to turf control are commonplace in gang-infested communities. High levels of domestic and sexual violence, combined with weak household and family structures, leave children and adolescents vulnerable to becoming easy gang or organized criminal group recruits, as they seek thrill and a sense of belonging. Weak capacity of law enforcement institutions, high levels of corruption, and co-opting of the state by criminal organizations result in extremely high impunity levels (95 percent or higher) in

this region. [23] Also, citizen confidence in law enforcement is low, resulting in the underreporting of crimes.

18 **Governments have adopted different types of approaches to reduce crime, including repressive and preventive approaches.** Northern Triangle governments have a history of using *mano dura* (iron fist) or repressive approaches to address crime and violence. In all three countries, these measures have proven counterproductive and have resulted in increased violence and criminal activity. In the past decade, the governments in the region started using a preventive approach to crime and violence, based on its success elsewhere in the world. Police reforms, violence prevention programs, and government security strategies have been carried out in this region, and governments have attributed the reduction in violence to these interventions. However, these interventions have lacked thorough evaluations to prove program effectiveness. An alternate explanation for this reduction in violence could be that gangs have shifted their focus and are becoming more specialized and collaborating with organized crime, leaving behind turf brawls with rival gangs, and focusing on profit-generating activities such as drug trafficking.

In the past decade, the governments in the region started using a preventive approach to crime and violence, based on its success elsewhere in the world.

22 World Bank. (2020d). Intentional homicides (per 100,000 people) – El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.

23 Eguizábal, C., Ingram, C., Curtis, K., Korthuis, A., Olson, E. & Phillips, N. (2015). Crime and Violence in Central America's Northern Triangle: How U.S. Policy Responses are Helping, Hurting, and can be Improved. Wilson Center International Center for Scholars. Retrieved from https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/crime-and-violence-central-americas-northern-triangle-how-us-policy-responses-are.

Sources and types of crime and violence in the region

[19] Crime and Violence in the Northern Triangle can be largely attributed to gangs and organized criminal groups (mainly drug-traffickers). The region also has a history of extrajudicial killings and abuses by the military and police, and gender-based violence (GBV) is one of the most prevalent types of violence in the region, with the highest rates in the world:

[20] **Violence in the Northern Triangle is largely carried out by youth gangs.** In 2012, a truce brokered by the Government of El Salvador between MS-13 and Barrio 18[24], the two largest gangs in El Salvador, resulted in a significant reduction in homicides, while its collapse in 2014 led to the highest number of homicides since the Peace Accords. The truce provided more weight to the theory that most violence in El Salvador can be attributed to gangs. Some data show that gang-related violence accounts for an estimated 70 percent of the homicides in El Salvador.[25] In Honduras, the data is inconclusive, but there is a correlation between the areas with most gang presence in the country and the largest number of homicides. Together, 80 percent of violence is attributed to organized crime and gangs in Honduras.[26] In Guatemala's gang-controlled areas, 41 percent of homicides can be attributed to gang-related activities. Disaggregating the homicide data and attributing murders to a particular group is challenging in the Northern Triangle; however, the information available shows that gang-related activity is in great part responsible for homicides in these countries. Youth are the main victims and perpetrators of gang violence in the Northern Triangle, affecting these countries' human capital potential.

Box 1: The impact of COVID 19 on Gangs in the Northern Triangle

The immediate effect of the pandemic was slowing down crime. The Honduran National Anti-Gang Force reported a 70-80 percent decrease in extortions from mid-March to the end of April 2020. However, gangs and criminal groups quickly adapted to the "new normal." Gangs in the Northern Triangle exploited the pandemic to expand their appeal and acceptance in their territories. In the first months of the pandemic, some gangs in El Salvador handed out food products in their communities, and they also stopped extorting people and businesses. They also enforced government lockdown measures in their communities and threatened to punish violators with violence. These actions were not altogether altruistic: gangs were protecting their members from getting infected given that they would probably not receive treatment at a medical facility, and they also wanted communities to potentially become their allies. In Guatemala and El Salvador, gangs have also profited or interfered with the distribution of face masks, benefiting families of gang members.[27]

Due to reduced sources of income during the pandemic, gangs in El Salvador have had to reduce their economic support to relatives and lawyers of imprisoned gang members. Gangs have also resorted to increased drug peddling and petty crime to compensate for the reduced revenue from extortions. Despite a decline in extortions due to the pandemic, gangs in Guatemala and Honduras resumed their extortions in June and August 2020, and in Guatemala, they never stopped extorting local businesses and bus companies.

Crime and violence impact principally marginalized communities in the Northern Triangle. These communities are also the most vulnerable to COVID-19, and in some instances the most affected by it. Clearly, this link shows an evident lack of investment, provision of services, and government attention in these areas. Investing in health and education has the potential to reduce the risk of contagion in these areas – of both diseases and violence.

24 The Barrio 18 is divided into two rival factions in El Salvador: the Revolucionarios and the Sureños.

25 Katz, C., Hedberg, EC., & Amaya, L. (2016). Gang truce for violence prevention, El Salvador. Bull World Health Organization. 96(9), 660-666A. doi: 10.2471/BLT.15.166314.

26 Lohmuller, M and Dudley, S. (2016). Appraising Violence in Honduras: How much is Gang-Related? Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/appraising-violence-in-honduras-how-much-is-gang-related/

27 International Crisis Group (2020)

[22] **It is important to clarify the distinction between gangs and organized crime.** Organized crime focuses on material gain at a large scale, while gangs principally focus on territory control, local loyalties to the *barrio*, and maintaining their identity through their conflicts with rival gangs. Although some gang subgroups (*clicas, tribus, canchas*) are involved in organized crime, as a whole, gangs are not involved in this type of activities, and those who are involved are only part-time players in these schemes.[28] Gangs are very diffuse, fragmented, and opportunistic organizations with a philosophy that the gang comes before personal financial profit. Additionally, there are no crime specialists in gangs – every gang member is involved in many types of crimes and their peers are aware of these.[29] The gang philosophy, lack of operational sophistication, and involvement of many "witnesses" or participants in crimes, make gangs unreliable partners for international criminal organizations whose main interest is efficiency, profit, and not getting caught by the authorities.[30] Also, the amount of monetary resources and firepower controlled by organized criminal organizations like drug cartels greatly exceeds that of gangs in Central America's Northern Triangle. For example, using extortions (the gangs' main source of income) as a measure, Salvadorans pay USD$756 million and Hondurans USD$200 million annually in extortions, while cartels' revenues are in the billions.[31] It is also important to point out that, depending on the context, drug trafficking organizations may not have a direct affinity with the communities where they operate, while gangs are an intrinsic part and generally have direct ties to them.

> **Gangs are very diffuse, fragmented, and opportunistic organizations with a philosophy that the gang comes before personal financial profit.**

28 Dudley, S. (2018). MS13 in the Americas: How the World's Most Notorious Gang Defies Logic, Resists Destruction. Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.justice.gov/eoir/page/file/1043576/download.

29 Dudley (2018)

30 Murcia (2015); Dudley (2018)

31 Only the Sinaloa cartel makes approximately US$3 billion per year from drug sales in the US (Congressional Research Service, 2019); Restrepo, A. (2019). Extorsión, violencia y crimen organizado: 8 ideas para frenar el impuesto del miedo. Sin Miedos. Inter-American Development Bank. Retrieved from https://blogs.iadb.org/seguridad-ciudadana/es/extorsion-violencia-y-crimen-organizado-8-ideas-para-frenar-el-impuesto-del-miedo/.

> **Extortion is so widespread, that some businesses already include a line for extortions in their budgets.**

[23] **Extortions, the gangs' main source of income, have a pervasive impact on Northern Triangle countries and their societies.** Although difficult to measure, it is estimated that extortions cost these countries between 1 and 3 percent of their GDP.[32] Extortion victims include people living in marginalized communities, small and medium formal and informal businesses, and large multinational companies. In other words, there are few who are not victims of extortions in the Northern Triangle. In El Salvador, 23 percent of people admit having been extorted; however, many will not dare to discuss the issue because the consequences can be grave.[33] Extortions increase the costs of doing business, obstructing companies' capacity to operate, affecting their efficiency, and discouraging new investment. In Honduras, businesses represent 54 percent of extortion victims, and 80 percent of registered small businesses and traders report having been extorted.[34] Extortion is so widespread, that some businesses already include a line for extortions in their budgets. In Guatemala, the main industry affected by extortions is the transport sector: Bus drivers' homicide rate is twice the national rate, and gangs collect and estimated USD$ 70 million from extortions to buses.[35] Extortions in the Northern Triangle also contribute to forced displacement, as many people either leave their communities or their country due to the threats of the gang and the fear of being killed for not paying an extortion. Extortions also reduce access to social services and cause schools to close.[36] Most extortions

32 Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2019). A Criminal Culture: Extortion in Central America. An Insight Crime-Global Initiative Report.

33 Jaitman, Laura. (2017). The Costs of Crime and Violence: New Evidence and Insights in Latin America and the Caribbean. Inter-American Development Bank. Retrieved from https://publications.iadb.org/en/costs-crime-and-violence-new-evidence-and-insights-latin-america-and-caribbean.

34 Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime (2019).

35 Ruiz, P. (2020). Facing the challenge of extortion in Central America. Initiatives Implemented to reduce extortion. Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime; Clavel, T. (2019). Extortion of Guatemala's Red Buses: Where Gang and Elite Criminal Interests Meet. Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/investigations/extortion-guatemalas-red-buses-gang-criminal/.

36 Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime (2019).

are directed from prisons in the Northern Triangle, and extortion money is used for the general costs of living of gang members, the welfare of imprisoned members and of families of fallen members, legal fees, purchasing firearms, bribes, and setting up façade businesses to launder money.

The Northern Triangle countries have the highest homicide rates for women in the world.

24 **There is a history of extrajudicial killings and abuse by military and police forces in the Northern Triangle.** With wide support for *mano dura* approaches in 2015, and after the Salvadoran government categorized gangs as terrorist organizations under the 2016 "anti-gang laws," extrajudicial killings by death squads, which include active members of the police, increased across the country, targeting suspected gang members.[37] In 2015, 17 percent of all homicides in El Salvador were committed by police forces.[38] Further, a 2016 survey shows that 35.7 percent of respondents had seen a police officer physically mistreat a person.[39] In Honduras, police officers have also been involved in death squad killings of gang members. The Honduran Observatory on Violence reports that police killed 285 people between 2012 and 2015, with many of those cases not being properly investigated.[40] Additionally, according to the Public Prosecutor's Office, most complaints to human rights institutions and the District Attorney's Office are against police forces, and include abuse of authority, false imprisonment, and unlawful entry and search.[41] In Guatemala, former police and military

officers have been involved in corruption, supporting drug cartels, and in extrajudicial killings. In 2018, the former Chief of Guatemala's Civil Police was sentenced to 15 years in prison for participating in extrajudicial killings in Guatemala in 2006.[42] Between 2011 and 2012, Guatemala saw an increase in extrajudicial killings, mainly perpetrated by private security agents and citizen security boards.[43]

25 **Gender-based violence (GVB).** The Northern Triangle countries have the highest homicide rates for women in the world. El Salvador has the highest female homicide rate in the world at 14.4 per 100,000, followed by Honduras at 10.9 per 100,000.[44] Guatemala comes in at fourth place with more than 9 per 100,000.[45] In El Salvador, 54.4 percent of women say they have suffered some form of violence in their lives, while 22.5 percent report having been victims of physical violence, and 13.3 percent victims of sexual violence.[46] In Guatemala, 24.5 percent of women reported physical violence by male partners; 54 percent of men expressed favorable views on the use of physical violence towards their wives for not keeping the house well; and 58 percent of men have positive attitudes on physical violence towards their wives for disloyalty (the highest number in Latin America and the Caribbean).[47] A similar percentage of women believe that men can use physical violence towards them for disloyalty. In Honduras, close to 40 percent of female homicides occurred outside, compared to 28 percent indoors, suggesting that most female homicides are not related to domestic violence, but as a result of criminal violence[48].

37 Asman, P. (2019). Police again at center of death squad uncovered in El Salvador. Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/police-center-death-squad-el-salvador/; Dudley (2018).

38 Muggah, R., Garzon, J.C., & Suarez, M. (2018). La "Mano Dura": Los costos de la represión y los beneficios de la prevención para los jóvenes en América Latina. Igarapé Institute.

39 IUDOP. (2016). Encuesta de evaluación del año. 2016 y sobre el cumplimiento de los Acuerdos de Paz. Universidad Centroamericana. Retrieved from http://www.uca.edu.sv/iudop/wp-content/uploads/INFORME-141.pdf.

40 United Nations. (2017). Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions on his mission to Honduras. General Assembly Human Rights Council.

41 Muggah, R., Garzon, J.C., & Suarez, M. (2018).

42 Trial International. (2018). Former Guatemalan Chief of Police Erwin Sperisen Guilty of Participating in Extrajudicial Executions. Retrieved from https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/affaire-sperisen-lancien-chef-de-la-police-du-guatemala-complice-dexecutions-extrajudiciaires/.

43 Citizen security boards are community police groups that were created with the support of the state in 1999; Bargent, J. (2013). Extrajudicial Killings on the Rise in Guatemala. Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/extrajudicial-killings-on-the-rise-in-guatemala/.

44 Geneva Declaration Secretariat. (2015). Global Burden of Armed Violence 2015: Every Body Counts. Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from http://www.genevadeclaration.org/fileadmin/docs/GBAV3/GBAV3_Ch3_pp87-120.pdf.

45 Geneva Declaration Secretariat (2015).

46 Navarro, L., Velásquez, M., & Megías, J. (2015). Violencia contra las mujeres en El Salvador: estudio poblacional 2014.

47 Adams, T. (2015). Legacies of Exclusion: Social Conflict and Violence in Communities and Homes in Guatemala's Western Highlands. Guatemala Conflict Vulnerability Assessment Final Report. USAID. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1862/Guatemala_Conflict_Vulnerability_Assessment.pdf.

48 Geneva Declaration (2015).

RISK FACTORS

Individual

Societal

Community

Relationship

LOW HUMAN CAPITAL

◆ **YOUTH GANGS**
◆ **ORGANIZED CRIME**
◆ **EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS**

HOMICIDE RATES AMONGST THE HIGHEST IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Crime and violence prevention

What causes crime and violence?

26 **Risk factors, which can be understood as personal characteristics and environmental conditions that place individuals at risk of engaging in violent behavior, have been broadly used to understand crime and violence.**[49] These should not be understood as the causes of violence, however, as it is very difficult to find causality between single risk factors and a criminal or violent event.

27 Instead, these events can be better understood as the result of a combination of two or more risk factors. From a human ecology[50] standpoint, these risk factors occur at the individual (behavioral, cognitive, and biological traits), relationship (family, friends, partners, and peers), community (schools, workplaces, neighborhoods, etc.), and societal (economic interests, social norms, laws and policies, institutional practices, etc.) levels. On the other hand, there are also protective factors which are those characteristics and conditions that reduce the likelihood of individuals engaging in criminal or violent behaviors. Table 1 presents some risk factors at the four different levels.

Table 1: Risk factors[51]

LEVEL	RISK FACTORS		
INDIVIDUAL	· Gender · Age · Family environment	· Biological and psychological characteristics	
		· Brain abnormalities · Neurological dysfunction	· Prenatal and perinatal complications · Head injuries	· Antisocial Attitudes · Learning disabilities · Early exposure to neurotoxicants
RELATIONSHIP	· Poor monitoring and supervision of children by parents · Poor attachment between parents and children · Household size and density	· Large number of children in the family · Mother who had first child at an early age · History of family violence · Beliefs supporting the use of violence in relationships	· Low levels of family cohesion · Weak social ties to conventional peers · Antisocial or delinquent friends · Membership in a gang · Use of harsh, physical punishment to discipline children
COMMUNITY	· Urban area (vs. rural) · Presence of gangs · Presence of guns	· Illicit markets · Low levels of community integration · Access to drugs	· Narcotics trafficking · Access to firearms · Low social capital
SOCIETAL	· Economic and social policies that create or maintain gaps and tensions between and among groups of people	· High income inequality · Media violence · Lack of access to employment, education, health, and basic physical infrastructure · War and militarism	· Poor governance · Lack of trust in the police · Cultural norms and gender socialization · Weak laws and policies related to violence · All forms of exploitation

50 The ecological model of human development was first used to understand factors that lead to child abuse and was later adopted for use in other fields of violence research. The simplified version of this model used in this manual includes four levels: individual, relationship, societal, community, and societal.

51 Author's own elaboration with data from Hoffman, Knox, & Cohen (2010); and USAID (2015).

49 Hoffman, Knox, & Cohen (2010).

How can crime and violence be prevented?

[28] **Historically, Northern Triangle governments have adopted a mano dura (iron fist or "tough on crime") or repressive approach to address crime and violence, but this approach has not been effective.** In fact, it led to the strengthening of gangs and criminal organizations, increased lethal violence, augmented human rights violations, and contributed to prison overcrowding. According to a United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report, violence intensified in these three countries between 2005 and 2010, as a result of these policies.[52] Crimes attributed to gangs also increased and diversified, including kidnappings and extortions, and some gang members started participating in organized crime.[53] With respect to prison overcrowding, between 1999 and 2014, the number of prisoners in Honduras grew by about 50 percent.[54] The Honduran prison system currently operates at 189 percent over capacity, with most inmates held in pre-trial detention.[55] El Salvador's prison population more than quadrupled between 2000 and 2016, from 7,700 to around 37,000. The number of imprisoned gang members grew from 7,555 in 2009 to approximately 13,000 in 2015.[56] In Guatemala, the number of prisoners tripled between 2000 and 2014, from about 7,000 to more than 21,000.[57] With more members in prisons, gangs' legal and trial fees and prisoner maintenance costs increased, resulting in an organized system of extortions to public transportation and small businesses, which today represent millions of dollars and are their main source of income. Learning from the shortcomings of *mano dura*, Northern Triangle countries began implementing crime and violence prevention interventions as part of their crime reduction strategies, but have done so in an uncoordinated manner, with a limited focus, and with weak monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

[29] **Crime and violence prevention is a promising strategy** that if implemented in a comprehensive and coordinated manner that involves all relevant actors at the national and local levels, focuses on the reduction of risk factors and the expansion of protective factors through primary, secondary, and tertiary violence prevention interventions in a specific setting, has the potential of reducing crime and violence. This approach to classifying prevention interventions is known as the public health model[58] and understands violence as a disease that, if left untreated, can spread. As such, it proposes interventions to prevent the disease from spreading (primary prevention), treat (intervene/interdict) those who carry the disease (secondary prevention), and create the conditions required for a full recovery after the disease has been treated (tertiary prevention).[59] This model has been implemented with successful results in cities such as Glasgow, UK, where violent crimes decreased by 37 percent[60]; and in Los Angeles, California, where gang-related crimes decreased by 33 percent in intervention areas.[61] It is important to carry out primary, secondary, and tertiary violence prevention interventions concurrently to address the full spectrum of potential and actual offenders and victims. Table 2 presents a detailed list of interventions categorized under the three types of prevention. Further, these interventions should be combined with crime control strategies and physical improvement interventions, such as community policing and Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED), respectively.

> **It is important to carry out primary, secondary, and tertiary violence prevention interventions concurrently to address the full spectrum of potential and actual offenders and victims.**

a. **Primary prevention:** Primary prevention is a broad approach directed toward the general population and addresses general socioeconomic risk factors leading to violence, such as citizens' lack of trust in institutions, the

[52] UNDP. (2013). Seguridad ciudadana con rostro humano: diagnóstico y propuestas para América Latina. Informe Regional de Desarrollo Humano 2013-2014. United Nations Development Program.

[53] UNDP (2013).

[54] Insight Crime. (2019). Extortion Explainer 1: Evolution of extortion in the Northern Triangle. Investigations.

[55] Insight Crime (2019).

[56] Insight Crime (2019).

[57] Insight Crime (2019).

[58] It is also known as the epidemiological approach.

[59] Krug, E.G.; Dahlberg, L.L.; Mercy, J.A.; Zwi, A.B.; & Lozano, R. (2002). World report on violence and health. World Health Organization; Abizanda, B., Hoffman, J., Marmolejo, L., & Duryea, S. (2012). Citizen Security: Conceptual Framework and Empirical Evidence. Inter-American Development Bank; Hoffman, Knox, & Cohen (2010).

[60] Bergeron, J. & Mills. S. (2019). Treating violence like a disease: Could the Glasgow model work here? CBC. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/glasgow-violence-crime-ottawa-police-1.5338102.

[61] This data is for the Saturday Night Lights program. See Box 2 for additional information on violence prevention interventions in Los Angeles; Abt, T; Winship, C. (2016). What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle. USAID; Rice, C. (2012). Gang programs: L.A. anti-gang efforts are working. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved from https://www.latimes.com/opinion/la-xpm-2012-apr-05-la-ol-rice-gang-reduction-blowback-20120405-story.html.

erosion of the social fabric, and a high tolerance for crime and violence.[62] Activities in primary prevention include education, health services, social engagement, cultural awareness, and personal development programs that seek to address sociopolitical, group, and community factors for violent behaviors. Activities may also include public education campaigns aimed at changing societal norms that tolerate and normalize violence. This level of prevention is effective because its holistic approach has a low risk of stigmatizing communities since it avoids targeting specific groups of people. Success at this level mitigates the violence risk factors before groups or individuals become at-risk, often through implementing programs that address basic human needs.

b. **Secondary prevention:** Secondary prevention focuses on individuals or groups considered at the greatest risk of becoming perpetrators of violence. This population may include victims of domestic violence, members of dysfunctional families, school dropouts, drug addicts and alcoholics, unemployed individuals living in communities with violent gangs, etc. Secondary prevention interventions reach fewer individuals in a more targeted manner than primary prevention does. These types of interventions require identifying the population or populations at risk and targeting interventions to them. Some examples of secondary prevention activities include programs for youth leadership, remedial education, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, skills training, anger management, and behavioral change media.

c. **Tertiary prevention:** Tertiary prevention is an approach targeted to individuals who have already engaged in criminal or violent behavior or have been in conflict with the law. The purpose of this type of interventions is to prevent individuals from reoffending and to reduce recidivism by rehabilitating those who have been prosecuted and incarcerated. This type of prevention reaches fewer individuals than either primary or secondary prevention and requires the most specialized rehabilitation and therapeutic services.

---

62 USAID (2015).
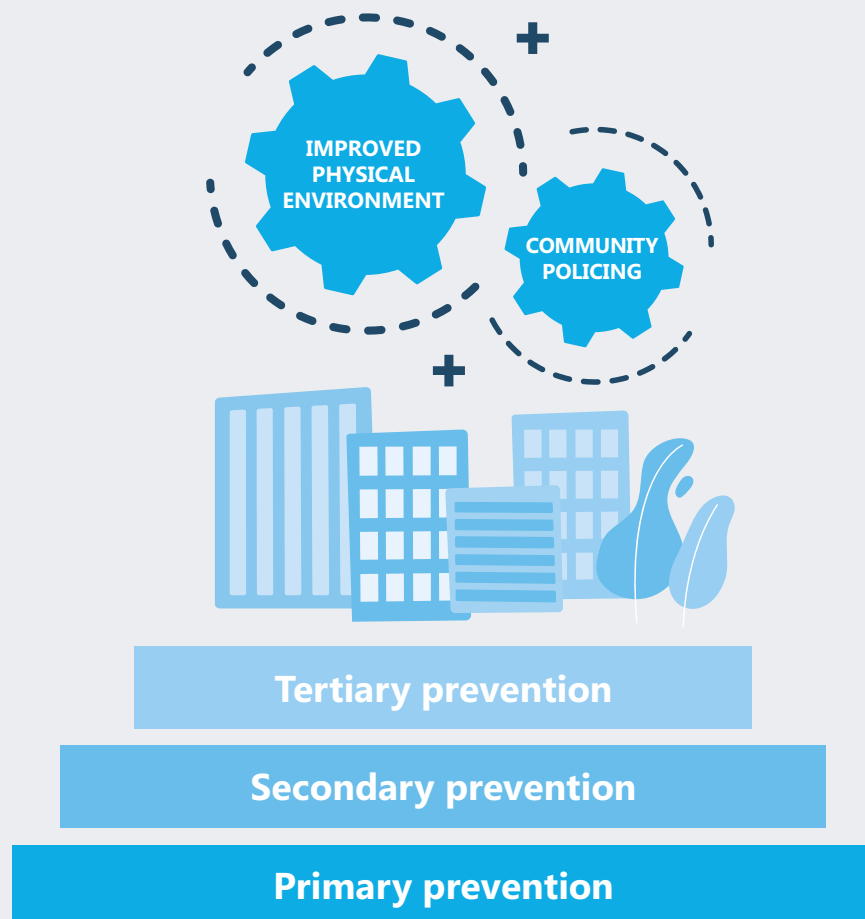

IMPROVED PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

COMMUNITY POLICING

Tertiary prevention

Secondary prevention

Primary prevention

Table 2: Crime and violence prevention interventions at the different levels of the ecological model[63]

PREVENTION TYPE / RISK LEVEL	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY
INDIVIDUAL	· School-based violence prevention programs (afterschool, arts, gender-based violence prevention, and gang violence prevention programs) · School-based programs that help students develop social, emotional, and behavioral skills to build positive relationships · Life skills training · Early child development programs. · Comprehensive job training combined with internships	· Incentive programs to complete secondary education · Academic enrichment programs · Comprehensive job training combined with internships · School-based violence prevention programs (afterschool, arts, gender-based violence prevention, and gang violence prevention programs) · Life skills training · Violence interruption · Equivalency education and diploma programs · Hospital-based violence intervention programs · Cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) · Providing incentives to pursue courses in higher education	· Aggression replacement training (ART) · Drug courts · Comprehensive job training programs · Incentive programs to complete secondary education · Life skills training · Violence interruption · Focused deterrence · Equivalency education and diploma programs. · Cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT)
RELATIONSHIP	· Parenting programs · Incentives to mothers to keep children in school · Family therapy · Mentoring programs that pair youth with caring adults · Home-school partnerships programs to increase parental involvement	· Court protection orders for intimate partner violence victims · Parenting programs. · Mentoring programs for at-risk youth · Violence interruption · Family therapy and counseling · Early child development programs with emphasis of parental training	· Shelters for victims of domestic violence · Modeling and social learning · Family therapy
COMMUNITY	· Positive youth development programs · Limits on alcohol sales · Mentoring programs for at-risk youth · Community mobilization · Improving school quality and settings, including teacher practices, school policies, and security · Creating safe routes for children on their way to and from school or other community activities · Extra-curricular activities · Quality reproductive health services · Increasing the availability of childcare facilities and programs	· Providing equivalency education programs · Directed patrols · Alternative dispute resolution (ADR) · Community mobilization. · Improving emergency response, trauma care, and access to health services. · Quality reproductive health services · Training health care workers to identify and refer youth at high risk of violence · Increasing access to prenatal and postnatal care · Increasing the availability of childcare facilities and programs	· Prison-based drug rehabilitation programs · Prison farms · Alternative dispute resolution (ADR) · Increased access to quality health services
SOCIETAL	· De-concentration of poverty · Reducing income inequality · Media campaigns · Enforcing laws prohibiting illegal transfer of guns to youth.	· Legislation restricting concealed carrying of firearms · Laws reducing children's access to firearms · Regulating alcohol sales · Raising alcohol prices	· Restorative justice · Trauma systems for rapid response and rehabilitation · Mandatory reporting laws for child and elderly abuse · Laws with procedures to handle sexual violence · Disarmament and demobilization (DDR) programs

63 Author´s own elabotarion with information from Hoffman, Knox & Cohen (2010); and USAID (2015).

30 **Community policing can complement primary, secondary and tertiary violence prevention efforts.** This law enforcement strategy refers to a collaboration between the police and the community to identify and solve community problems. It allows officers to continuously work in the same area to develop stronger bonds with citizens working and living in it. This interaction permits officers to engage with local residents to prevent crime instead of responding to incidents after they occur, making it a preventive rather than a reactive strategy. The more involved law enforcement is with the people they are sworn to protect, the more people can support law enforcement in achieving their goals.[64] The strategy engages community members to identify the criminal activities they are most affected by, providing law enforcement officers priorities to focus on for people living in their areas of operation. Community policing also creates a safe social environment where trust is built between community members and the police. The ultimate goal is safer communities with low crime indices.[65]

> **The more involved law enforcement is with the people they are sworn to protect, the more people can support law enforcement in achieving their goals.**

31 **Improving the physical environment can also have positive results in crime and violence reduction.** Situational crime prevention is based on the premise that characteristics of the physical environment influence the amount of violent crime that occurs in an area, and thus, crimes can be reduced by changing the physical environment to make it more difficult and riskier for potential criminals to commit a crime. For example, public spaces that are well lit and open to community surveillance prevent crime. On the other hand, dark alleys, streets and buildings with the presence of trash, vandalism, graffiti, and disorderly civil behavior encourage violence.[66] Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) is a subset of situational crime and violence prevention that encourages the inclusion of preventive features in urban design to decrease opportunities for crime and increase the likelihood of a criminal being caught.[67]

Section conclusion

32 Central America's Northern Triangle is the most violent region in the world that is not at war. This violence is carried out mainly by youth gangs, and organized crime, whose main focus is drug trafficking. Also, the Northern Triangle countries have the highest homicide rates for women in the world. Crime and violence prevention is a promising strategy to reduce the high levels of crime and violence in the region and achieve greater human capital development.

33 Risk factors are used to understand the drivers of violence. The greater the number of risk factors youth are exposed to, the greater the possibility that they will engage in violence or commit a crime. Programs must aim to minimize or mitigate as many of these risk factors as possible to reduce the likelihood that a young person will engage in crime or violent behaviors. This will not only have a positive effect on the youth, but on their communities.

34 A comprehensive and effective violence prevention program will incorporate and combine primary, secondary, and tertiary interventions that address individual, relationship, community, and societal risk factors in a specific setting. Community policing and situational prevention strategies can complement these interventions. Section III presents successful crime and violence prevention interventions in the areas of health and education.

---

64 Lortz, M. (2016). What is Community Policing? EverBridge. Retrieved from https://www.everbridge.com/blog/what-is-community-policing/.

65 Abizanda, B., Hoffman, J., Marmolejo, L, & Duryea, S. (2012). Citizen Security: Conceptual Framework and Empirical Evidence. Inter-American Development Bank.

66 Sutton, H. (2017). Restoring paradise in the Caribbean: combatting violence with numbers. Inter-American Development Bank.

67 Abizanda et al. (2012).
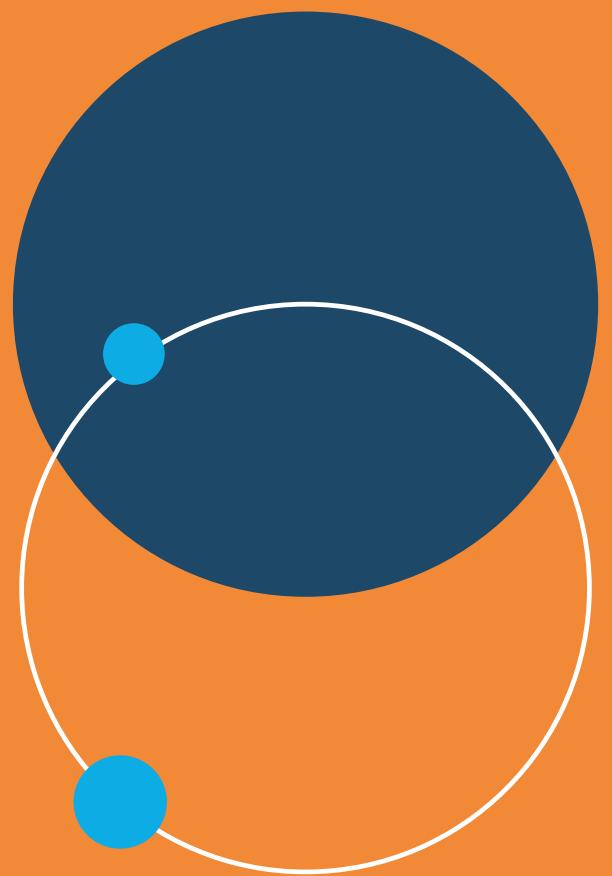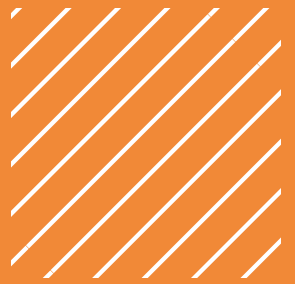
Section II

The impact of crime and violence on human capital in the Northern Triangle

The impact of crime and violence on human capital in the Northern Triangle

[35] **Crime and violence in the Northern Triangle represent a crippling tax on every aspect of life, hindering positive development outcomes.** Costs associated with crime and violence are tangible and intangible. With respect to tangible costs, as percentage of GDP, El Salvador and Honduras have the highest crime-related costs in the Latin America and the Caribbean region, at 17.7 percent[68] and 6.51 percent[69], respectively. Guatemala's crime-related costs as percentage of GDP are also high at 3.04 percent.[70] To put the magnitude of some of these expenditures in perspective, 45 percent of the costs of violence in El Salvador, which represent USD$4 billion, are equivalent to the national budget assigned for health, public works, and education.[71]

> **To put the magnitude of some of these expenditures in perspective, 45 percent of the costs of violence in El Salvador, which represent USD$4 billion, are equivalent to the national budget assigned for health, public works, and education.**

Social capital is affected and mistrust among residents increases, decreasing community collaboration and expanding the space and opportunity for gangs to operate.

Intangible costs include the pain and suffering of victims and their families, the long-term effects of violence against women, the disruption of family life, the loss of trust in neighbors and governmental institutions, and the constant state of fear in communities. Combined, tangible and intangible costs represent a major impediment to human capital development in Northern Triangle countries. This section reviews the impact of crime and violence on human development, taking into consideration the five indicators of the Human Development Index (HDI)[72] and, hence, grouping the analysis under two broad categories: 1) Impact of crime and violence on education, and 2) impact of crime and violence on health.

68 Barrios (2019).

69 Jaitman (2017).

70 Jaitmam (2017).

71 Banco Central de Reserva de El Salvador. (2016). Estimación del costo económico de la violencia en El Salvador, año 2014. Retrieved from https://www.bcr.gob.sv/esp/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=778:redib-acen-"estimación-del-costo-económico-de-la-violencia-en-el-salvador-año-2014"&Itemid=168.

72 The five indicators of the HCI are 1) probability of survival to age five, 2) a child's expected years of schooling, 3) harmonized test scores as a measure of quality of learning, 4) adult survival rate (fraction of 15-year olds that will survive to age 60), and 5) the proportion of children who are not stunted.

RISKS ON ROUTES TO SCHOOLS - NORTHERN TRIANGLE

High-risk communities

Threats, extortion, homicides

Forced recruitment of students to gangs

Restricted access or inaccessibility to schools
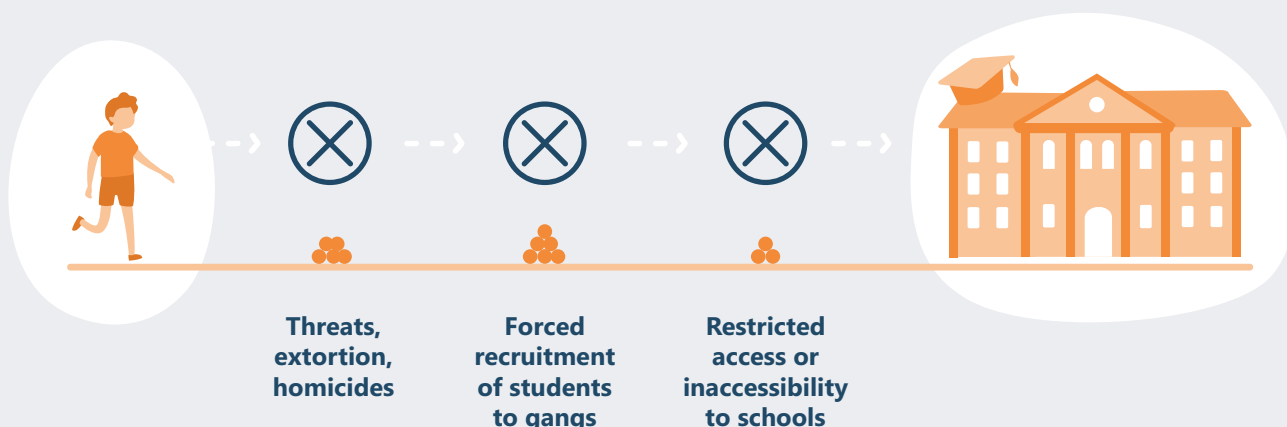
Impact of crime and violence on education in the Northern Triangle

[36] Crime and violence generated by youth gangs have a profound impact on education in Central America's Northern Triangle. The impact of this phenomenon has negative effects and ensues situations that can be categorized under a) risks that exist on the routes to schools, and b) schools as risky sites for students, teachers, and the education system in general.[73] The following subsections explain in detail how these risks affect the population and the school systems in the Northern Triangle.

A · RISKS ON ROUTES TO SCHOOLS

[37] Routes to schools in municipalities affected by gang violence pose a threat to students, exposing them to being forcibly recruited by gangs, as well as to other types of crime and violence, including homicide. Gang control of territories also represents a challenge for access to education as described below.

[38] **Unsafe routes where students witness threats, extortion, homicides, and other crimes.** Unfortunately, routes to schools in territories with gang presence are unsafe for students. In violent municipalities, students report experiencing threats, being victims of extortion, and witnessing homicides, among other crimes. For example, in the municipality of Nueva Guadalupe, San Miguel, El Salvador, young people reported having seen the dead bodies of their friends after leaving school for the day.[74] In 2019, 25 students were killed and 21 went missing in El Salvador.[75] In Honduras, 1,522 students were murdered between 2010 and 2018.[76]

Teachers and school authorities are forced to give gang members passing grades, even though they do not meet the requirements for this.

73 ACAPS. (2014). Otras Situaciones de Violencia en el Triángulo de Norte Centroamericano: Impacto Humanitario. Retrieved from https://iecah.org/images/stories/Otras_situaciones_de_violencia_ACAPS_Mayo_2014.pdf.

74 Banco Mundial. (mimeo). Evaluación de Seguridad Ciudadana para los Municipios de Chinameca, Nueva Guadalupe, San Cayetano Istepeque, y Guadalupe – El Salvador.

75 Fuentes, C. (2019). 25 estudiantes han sido asesinados este año y 21 más están desaparecidos. Elsavador.com. Retrieved from: https://www.elsalvador.com/noticias/nacional/25-estudiantes-han-sido-asesinados-este-ano-y-21-mas-estan-desaparecidos/580063/2019/.

76 ACNUR. (2018). Impacto de la violencia en 2020 Centros Educativos de Tegucigalpa. Análisis de los riesgos, necesidades, y propuestas de los docentes en riesgo de desplazamiento forzado. Retrieved from https://www.acnur.org/5bf4a1c14.pdf.

RISKS FOR STUDENTS

Gang and gun presence

Absenteeism, grade repetition, and dropout

Physical, sexual and pshychological violence

39 **Forced recruitment of students to gangs or to gang activities.** Gangs have found a source of human resources in students to join their structures and activities. Students are forced to join these groups to avoid jeopardizing their or their families' integrity, or to avoid being killed. Also, sometimes students do not mention to their parents about their forced involvement in gangs for fear of retaliation. Gangs currently recruit children as young as seven to support their illicit activities.[77]

40 **Restricted access or inaccessibility to schools.** Gangs control specific territories, creating borders that limit access to residents from other territories. Frequently, gangs ask people from territories other than those under their control to identify themselves to make sure they are not informants. On many occasions, people who do not belong to these territories cannot access them and run the risk of becoming victims of violence. This is mainly a problem for secondary school youth in the Northern Triangle since not all territories have establishments that provide this level of education.[78] For this reason, youth must cross into territories where the gang in control is different than the one in control where they reside. This dynamic puts the life and integrity of young people at risk when they want to access their education centers.

41 **General climate of insecurity.** Unsafe routes generate a climate of insecurity in communities. Parents are concerned about the safety of their children, and this generates stress and fear in the population, which in turn, affects student performance. Likewise, social capital is affected and mistrust among residents increases, decreasing community collaboration and expanding the space and opportunity for gangs to operate. In Honduras, 29.6 percent of students feel unsafe in schools, and in Guatemala, 57.5 percent of students report always being afraid of going to school.[79]

B · SCHOOLS AS RISKY SITES FOR STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

42 With the high levels of crime and violence in some Northern Triangle municipalities, schools have shifted from being places of protection, learning, encouragement, and development, to violent and risky sites for teachers and students. Furthermore, high levels of violence have a negative effect on the national education systems, affecting the general population with fewer opportunities for social and labor inclusion, and thus development opportunities.

RISK FOR STUDENTS

43 **Presence of gang members and weapons among students.** Gangs not only have a presence in some schools, but in many cases, they control them. Gang members carry weapons in schools and occasionally have confrontations with other gang members in these settings. According to the Salvadoran Ministry of Education, in 2016, 34.8 percent of middle schools had gang presence, 10.9 percent knives, and 10.5 percent firearms.[80] In Honduras, 90 percent[81] of teachers believe their school is being affected by gangs, while in Guatemala, 17 p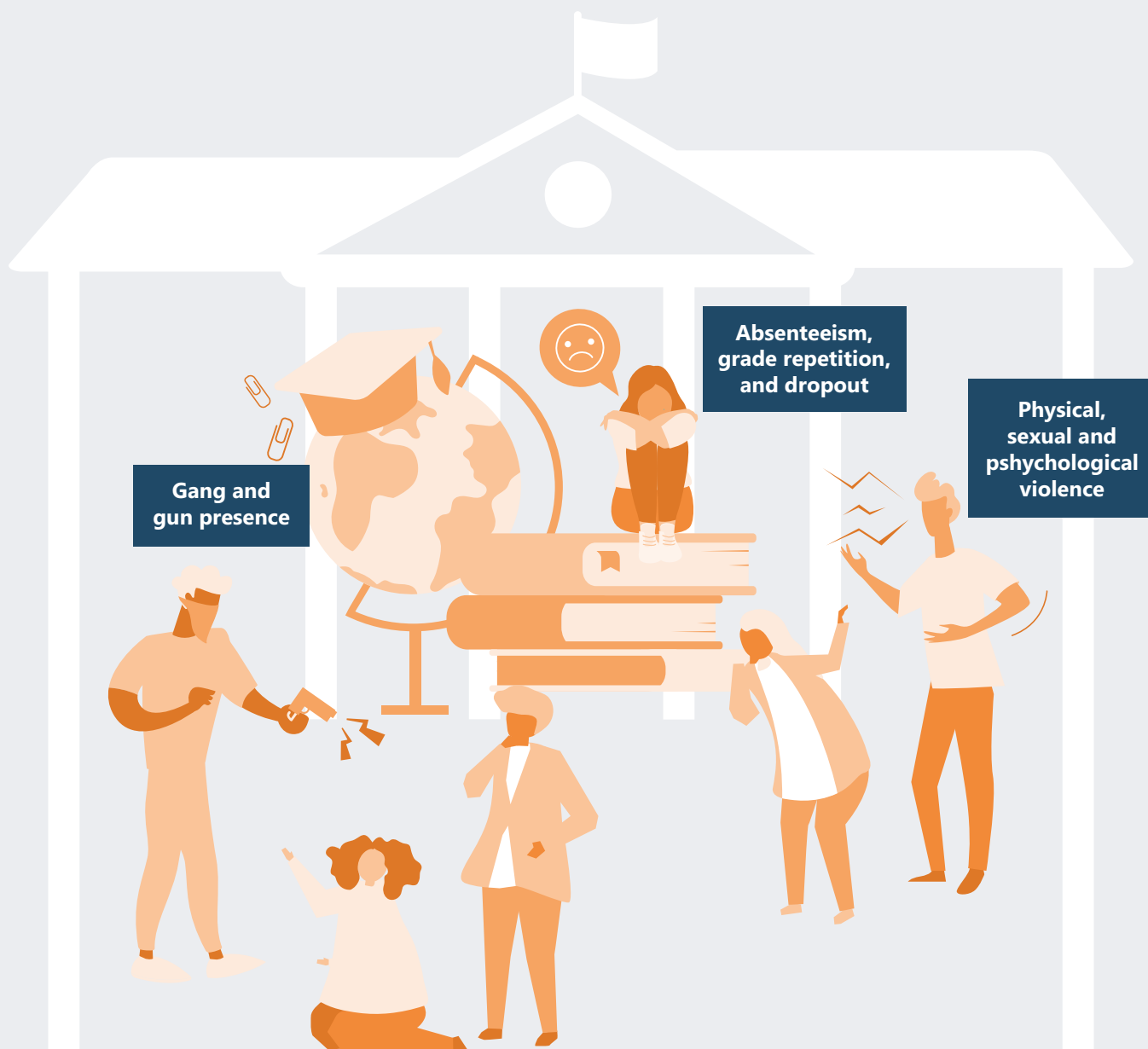ercent of teachers report gang presence in their establishments.[82] Teachers and school authorities are forced to give gang members passing grades, even though they do not meet the requirements for this. The alternative to not doing this is death. In some Salvadoran schools, it is reported that gang members do not wear uniforms; however, they still attend classes with other students. This means that students, and school authorities and personnel can easily identify gang members but cannot control them. Girls and adolescents are also affected by gangs in schools. In some cases, they are constantly harassed by gang members and, in other instances, they become their girlfriends. For male students in particular, it can be very dangerous to talk to gang member girlfriends because they risk being physically hurt.[83] In high-risk municipalities, when gang members are not inside educational establishments, there is a risk that they may be outside ready to recruit, extort, threaten, or in the worst cases, murder students.

44 **Physical, sexual and psychological violence between students.** Violence in El Salvador spills over into all of

---

77 Lemus, R. (2019). Niños de siete años son reclutados por pandillas. El Mundo. Retrieved from https://elmundo.sv/ninos-desde-siete-anos-son-reclutados-por-pandillas/.

78 ACAPS. (2014).

79 ACAPS (2014).

80 PNUD. (2018). Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano: El Salvador 2018, ¡Soy Joven! ¿Y ahora qué? Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo. Retrieved from https://www.undp.org/content/dam/el_salvador/docs/IDHES%202018%20WEB.pdf.

81 Sample: 83 teachers in 5 schools in Tegucigalpa and Comayagüela, two areas highly impacted by gangs.

82 ACAPS (2014).

83 Banco Mundial. (mimeo).

society, causing violent behaviors to be reproduced in schools. A UNDP study showed that 48 percent of middle schools in El Salvador experience psychological violence; 33 percent physical violence; 28 percent bullying; and 4 percent sexual violence.[84] In general, boys and male adolescents are more exposed to physical violence, while girls and female adolescents are at a greater risk of sexual violence.[85] In municipalities with gang presence, female youth are at high risk of being pressured to become gang members' girlfriends, especially female adolescents between 13 and 15 years of age. Harassment and constant violence have a psychological impact on students, which can result in trauma and the normalization of violence in the short and long-term.

> **Security expenditures could be used by Northern Triangle countries to provide a better education to its people or to invest in other much-needed aspects of human development.**

[45] **Absenteeism, grade repetition, and dropout.** The first mechanism that parents use to protect their children from the high levels of violence in schools is making them abandon their studies. Dropout numbers due to gang violence is high. In 2017, the Salvadoran Ministry of Education (MINED) estimated that 15,000 young people had dropped out of school due to violence, representing 5.1 percent of this population.[86] In general terms, it is important to note that the dropout rate in the group between 15 and 19 years of age was 37.7 percent. The incidence of dropout is higher for women (39.6 percent) than for men (36.8 percent) and higher in rural areas (50.3 percent) than in urban areas (27.9 percent) in El Salvador. In addition, regarding the repetition of a school year or a lag in educational attainment for the aforementioned group (15 to 19), the Salvadoran MINED calculates that 26.5 percent of people lag behind their age in educational attainment. In Guatemala, the dropout rate across all educational levels was 5.04 percent in 2019, and

the percentage of students who failed the school year was 5.86 percent.[87] In Honduras, 8.6 percent of students dropped out between 2016 and 2019, and 40 percent of middle school students failed in 2019.[88]

EFFECTS ON TEACHERS AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

[46] **Demotivation, absenteeism and transfer requests from educational personnel.** Threats and extortion cause teachers to quit, skip classes, and request transfers to less risky areas. This results in high-risk areas with low quality education. Teachers become hostages and potential victims of gang action in high-risk areas. It should be noted that requests for transfers have decreased in recent years, and that some teachers have falsely claimed that they have been victims of threats in order to be transferred to places closer to their homes.[89] However, threats still exist, and many teachers are daily victims of violence in their institutions. In Guatemala, 28.4 percent of teachers report having been victims of violence or knowing someone who has been harassed by the gangs when arriving at or leaving the school.[90] In Honduras, between 2009 and 2014, official government data show that 83 teachers were murdered.[91]

[47] **Temporary or permanent closure of schools.** Extortions and the departures of teachers from schools have caused temporary and permanent school closures in high-risk areas. Night and evening centers have especially been affected by insecurity.[92] This is because in high-risk areas, people generally do not go outside after 6PM. In 2015, 12

[84] PNUD (2018).

[85] PNUD (2018).

[86] PNUD (2018).

[87] Gonzales. (2020). Deserción escolar aumentó en ciclo básico y diversificado. elPeriódico. Retrieved from https://elperiodico.com.gt/nacion/2020/02/08/desercion-escolar-aumento-en-ciclo-basico-y-diversificado/.

[88] Yanes, R. (2019). Educación Honduras 2019: 40% de estudiantes de media reprobaron el año. La Prensa. Retrieved from https://www.laprensa.hn/premium/1342423-410/resultasos-educativos-2019-secretaria-educacion-honduras-reoprobados; Vasquéz, S. (2020). Más de 175,000 estudiantes en Honduras dejaron las aulas en los últimos cuatro años. La Prensa. Retrieved from https://www.laprensa.hn/premium/1358176-410/educacion-honduras-desercion-escolar-matricula-2019-cortes-milton-ayala-migracion.

[89] Peñate, S. (2018). Educación realiza traslados de docentes por amenazas. La Prensa Gráfica. Retrieved from https://www.laprensagrafica.com/elsalvador/Educacion-realiza-traslados-de-docentes-por-amenazas-20180619-0108.html.

[90] ACAPS (2014).

[91] Peña, M. (2020). Absent students, murdered teachers: Gang violence permeates Honduras' schools. NBC News. Retrieved from https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/absent-students-murdered-teachers-gang-violence-permeates-honduras-schools-n1144951.

[92] ACAPS (2014).

EFFECTS ON TEACHERS AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Demotivation, absenteeism and transfer requests from educational personnel

Temporary or permanent closure of schools

Limited access to secondary and technical education

Increased spending due to insecurity

private educational centers that provided preschool, basic and secondary education closed in El Salvador due to low enrollment as a result of insecurity. Similarly, 3 public schools closed that year due to insecurity.[93]

48 **Limited access to secondary and technical education.** Compared to the rest of Latin America, El Salvador is in fifth place among countries with the lowest levels of secondary school completion. Among the males who drop out of high school, 7.9 percent mention doing it because of violence or insecurity. Interestingly, violence or insecurity is not mentioned by women as one of the main reasons for dropping out of high school. Although there is a high disinterest in young people to continue their studies (33.2 percent for men and 40.6 percent for women), gang territorial control prevents many students from moving freely and safely to attend secondary and technical schools that are not in their own territories, as previously mentioned.[94] Low high school completion and enrollment in technical courses reduces opportunities for young people, affecting social and labor inclusion, and indirectly increasing conditions that could result in risk factors for crime and violence.

49 **Increased spending due to insecurity.** The State is forced to incur expenses for the protection of its students in the Northern Triangle due to the high levels of insecurity. Similarly, private schools must invest in private security to protect their students. In 2018, the government of El Salvador launched the School Protection Plan to provide protection and support by the National Civil Police (PNC) to 1,123 schools.[95] In Honduras, a School Police has also been created to protect primary and secondary schools from gang influence.[96] Security expenditures could be used to provide a better education or to invest in other aspects of these countries' development.

93 ElSavador.com. (2016). Inseguridad forzó cierre de 12 colegios privados. ElSalvador.com. Retrieved from https://historico.eldiariodehoy.com/historico-edh/9801/inseguridad-forzo-cierre-de-12-colegios-privados.html.

94 PNDU (2018).

95 Peñate (2019).

96 Rodriguez, D. (2019). Toma forma nueva fuerza policial para proteger escuelas y colegios. La Prensa. Retrieved from https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1301015-410/toma-forma-nueva-fuerza-policial-proteger-escuelas-colegios-honduras.

Box 2: World Bank Safe and Inclusive Schools Platform

In 2018, 1 billion children experience physical, sexual, or emotional violence worldwide. The global cost of violence against children is approximately USD$7 trillion or double the world's expenditure on education. Violence can result in higher risk of drop out, lower learning outcomes, lower self-efficacy levels, higher likelihood of exhibiting behavioral problems in school, suspension or absenteeism, and early pregnancy — all leading to loss of human capital. As part of a renewed and broader commitment to address this issue, the World Bank developed the Safe and Inclusive Schools Platform in 2019. The aim of this platform is to institutionalize violence against children in all of its education projects and activities, and includes four pillars:

· *Operational mainstreaming: This pillar includes the systematic screening of the operations portfolio with focus on countries with high prevalence of violence against children. It also includes timely inputs to SCDs/CPFs, and specific reviews of education sector plans. The target is to have 5 operations per year for safe schools and to triple the baseline of 12 by 2024.*

· *Capacity building and support: This pillar aims to build the World Bank's internal capacity to work on school violence prevention and inclusion and increase the number of World Bank's Education Specialists and consultants, development partners, and counterparts able and willing to work on preventing school violence and enhancing inclusion in the education sector. This will be achieved through an e-course on school-based violence prevention available to Education Specialists, Social Development Specialists, counterparts and partners; a school-based violence prevention toolkit; and the INSPIRE handbook, which includes seven strategies for ending violence in schools, and which was developed in partnership with UNICEF, UNODC, and the World Health Organization, among others.*

· *Analytics: This pillar aims to develop an analytical agenda on safe and inclusive schools oriented at building the evidence base on what works to prevent*

school violence and enhance inclusive education in developing countries and bridging the gap between research and policymaking and programming. This will be achieved through a cost-benefit analysis of interventions to end violence in schools with support from the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children, qualitative assessments of school violence prevention, a comprehensive safe to learn diagnostic tool, and inclusive education financing.

· ***Global Alliances:*** *This pillar aims to lead by example by joining forces at the global level to raise the visibility and importance of school violence prevention and inclusion, and closely work in partnership with other institutions to better support client countries. Partnerships have been established with DFID, UNICEF, UNESCO, End Violence, Norad, AFD, and DFAD, among others.*

Through the Platform, the Bank is working in 12 countries to prevent school violence through teacher and staff trainings, curriculum development to include violence prevention modules, improved physical environments, afterschool programs, family and community engagement, and reporting mechanisms for violence. These countries include the Dominican Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Brazil, Tanzania, Haiti, Uganda, Liberia, Lebanon, Nepal, Ivory Coast, Kazakhstan, and Pakistan.

Impact of crime and violence on health in the Northern Triangle

50 Crime and violence have an adverse effect on people's physical, mental, sexual, and reproductive health; the wellbeing of communities; and the health system.[97] Communities with high levels of violence and limited access to health services are especially affected due to structural deficiencies in the health system and the territorial control

exercised by the gangs. The most obvious and visible impacts are deaths, mainly from firearms, as well as injuries, which drain and monopolize the resources of health centers, focusing efforts on emergency services to the detriment of other types of health services.[98] Furthermore, it is important to highlight that youth are the most affected in terms of health by the high rates of violence in the Northern Triangle. Crime and violence have a direct impact on physical health, mental health, and the health system as described below.

> **Firearm victims are priority cases in intensive care units to the detriment of other patients.**

A · PHYSICAL HEALTH

51 **Homicides.** In 2018, El Salvador had the second highest homicide rate in Latin America and the Caribbean with 52 homicides per 100,000 people.[99] Honduras had a homicide rate of 38.9 per 100,000 and Guatemala 22.5 per 100,000 in 2018.[100] In El Salvador, young people are highly affected by homicides, with a rate of 105.9 per 100,000 in 2017.[101] These numbers do not include unregistered violent deaths or missing persons. From a public health perspective, the homicide rate for young people in El Salvador is 10.5 times higher than the figure considered as epidemic by the World Health Organization. Given that young people die at such a young age, the disability-adjusted life year is extremely high in El Salvador, representing millions of dollars in losses for the economy. In 2008, this cost was the second highest in the Latin America and the Caribbean region after Colombia.[102] Clearly, homicides have a significant impact on the survival of Northern Triangle country populations, directly affecting their human capital.

98 ACAPS (2014).

99 World Bank (2020d).

100 World Bank (2020d).

101 PNUD (2018).

102 Banco Mundial. (2011). Crimen y Violencia en Centro América: Un Desafío para el Desarrollo. Banco Mundial LAC. Retrieved from https://siteresources. worldbank.org/INTLAC/Resources/FINAL_VOLUME_I_SPANISH_CrimeAnd-Violence.pdf.

97 ACAPS (2014)

PHYSICAL HEALTH

- Homicides
- Injuries
- Sexual and reproductive health

MENTAL HEALTH

- Depression
- Drug abuse
- Alcohol consumption
- Anguish
- Anxiety
- Post-traumatic stress
- Constant worry

*Less than 2% of health budgets spent on mental health

HEALTH SYSTEM

- Increased public health spending
- Personnel shortages
- Reduced access to health

52 **Injuries.** External injuries are one of the main causes of mortality worldwide and utilize significant health system human and financial resources in violent countries, where resources are limited. Firearm and knife injuries, sexual violence, and other external injuries require immediate and subsequent physical and mental assistance for most victims. The fatality rate of firearm injuries is very high and access to adequate and timely health services is low. This results in subsequent chronic or disability problems. Firearm victims are priority cases in intensive care services to the detriment of other patients. This causes deterioration in the health of patients with chronic diseases and delays in surgical interventions since priority is given to those injured by firearms.[103]

53 **Sexual and reproductive health.** Sexual violence in the Northern Triangle is so high that its levels have been compared to those in war zones.[104] With few options available, survivors internalize their suffering and generally do not seek help out of fear or ignorance. This population

---

[103] ACAPS (2014).
[104] ACAPS (2014).

receive little support, and most are unaware that they can access treatments. However, it is important to note that few health centers in communities or hospitals offer services for sexual violence victims, including assistance that integrates physical, psychological, and prophylactic aspects to reduce the risk of clandestine abortions, unwanted pregnancies, and contagion of sexually transmitted diseases.[105] Given the forced relationships of gang members with female adolescents, and the high number of adolescent pregnancies, access to and knowledge about health services is essential. Between 2015 and 2017, the Salvadoran Ministry of Health registered 65,678 prenatal cases of girls and adolescents between 10 and 19 years of age.[106] In 2019, Guatemala registered 114,858 adolescent pregnancies, 30,479 more than in 2018.[107] Mortality associated with sexual violence can occur from suicide, homicide, or HIV infections, among other causes.[108]

B · MENTAL HEALTH

[54] **Mental and psychological health services represent a challenge to the health sector in the Northern Triangle.** In El Salvador, only 1 percent of the national budget assigned to health goes to mental health, and from this amount, 92 percent goes to only two psychiatric hospitals.[109] In Honduras, 1.75 percent of the health budget is assigned for mental health services, of which 88 percent is for psychiatric hospitals and 12 percent for the remainder of mental health services.[110] Mental health expenditures by the Guatemalan government are 1.46 percent of the total health budget, of which 93.71 percent

are for mental hospital expenditures.[111] The most common effects of violence in the Northern Triangle include depression, drug abuse, alcohol consumption, anguish, anxiety, post-traumatic stress, and constant worry. The most relevant mental health needs include accompaniment and guidance in grief processes, and psychological care for crises, depression, and risky behaviors.[112] Suicides are also extremely high in El Salvador with a rate of 10.5 per 100,000 inhabitants.[113] Between January 2015 and March 2019, 615 suicides were registered in El Salvador, some of which were due to violence.[114] In Guatemala, the suicide rate for males is 3.6 per 100,000 and for females 1.1 per 100,000.[115] The Salvadoran public health system has only 66 mental health professionals, who on average treat 1,532 patients. In total, there are 39 psychologists and 27 psychiatrists within the country's public health system.[116]

Violence and crime overwhelm emergency services due to the amount and severity of victims' injuries.

C · IMPACT ON THE HEALTH SYSTEM

[55] **Increased public health spending.** Health personnel workload increases with firearm victims since most cases require surgery, intensive care, and rehabilitation. In terms of public health spending, this represents a large problem for Northern Triangle countries since increased financial and human resources are needed.[117] In 2017, the estimated

105 ACAPS (2014).

106 Hernández, E. (2019). 19,190 niñas y adolescentes embarazadas. El-Salvador.com. Retrieved from https://www.elsalvador.com/eldiariode-hoy/19190-ninas-y-adolescentes-embarazadas/588759/2019/.

107 OSAR. (2020). Embarazos en adolescentes del año 2015 al 2019. Observatorio de Salud Reproductiva. Retrieved from https://osarguatemala.org/embarazos-en-adolescentes-del-ano-2015-al-2019/.

108 WHO. (2002). Informe mundial sobre la violencia y la salud: resumen. World Health Organization. Publicado en español por Organización Panamericana de la Salud. Retrieved from https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/es/summary_es.pdf.

109 PAHO. (n.d). Promoviendo el Bienestar Integral, Salud Mental y Salud Física. Organización Panamericana de la Salud El Salvador. Retrieved from https://www.paho.org/els/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=261:promoviendo-bienestar-integral-salud-mental-salud-fisica&Itemid=291.

110 WHO. (2008). Informe sobre el Sistema de salud mental en Honduras. World Health Organization. Retrieved from https://www.who.int/mental_health/honduras_who_aims_spanish.pdf?ua=1.

111 WHO. (2011). Mental Health Atlas – Guatemala. World Health Organization. Retrieved from https://www.who.int/mental_health/evidence/atlas/profiles/gtm_mh_profile.pdf?ua=1.

112 ACAPS (2014).

113 Arenas, M. (2018). ¿Por qué hay tantos suicidios en Latinoamérica? Aleteia. Retrieved from https://es.aleteia.org/2018/07/18/por-que-hay-tantos-suicidios-en-latinoamerica/.

114 Lemus, R. (2019a). Salud Reporta 615 suicidios entre 2015 y 2019. El Mundo. Retrieved from https://elmundo.sv/salud-reporta-615-suicidios-entre-2015-y-2019/.

115 WHO (2011).

116 La Prensa Gráfica. (2017). 66 profesionales para la salud mental del país. La Prensa Gráfica. Retrieved from https://www.laprensagrafica.com/elsalvador/66-profesionales-para-la-salud-mental-del-pais-20170516-0082.html.

117 ACAPS (2014).

health costs for violence against youth in El Salvador was USD $395.1 million, which is equivalent to 1.6 percent of GDP. The amount for health expenditures as a result of violence for the entire population was USD $709.2 million in 2017, representing 2.9 percent of GDP.[118] As these numbers demonstrate, public health spending on violence is extremely high.

56 **Shortages and new demands.** Violence and crime overwhelm emergency services due to the amount and severity of victims' injuries. On top of this, there is a shortage of personnel specialized in serious injuries and surgery, as well as personnel coverage problems in primary health centers in violent or gang-controlled municipalities. Additionally, there is lack of professionalization of ambulance and first aid services, which are mainly made up of volunteers. This means that there are no medical services (or they are very limited) that can provide first aid at the sites where violent events occur.[119]

Absenteeism from work is high when health personnel needs to go to gang affected areas.

57 **Access.** High expenditure on health and the use of resources as a consequence of violence, combined with structural deficits in the health system, affects people's access to health, increasing their vulnerability and health needs in violent areas.[120] Furthermore, in high-risk municipalities, where territories are controlled by different gangs, people cannot go to their health center for fear of being hurt by the gangs. Similarly, health personnel, vector control personnel, and people who work in different health efforts in violent communities, report threats and attacks by gangs when they try to enter these territories. Absenteeism from work is high when health personnel needs to go to gang affected areas. This shows how health personnel feel like their lives are at risk when they go to these places. In interviews with local authorities in Salvadoran municipalities, it was reported that, in some cases, the mayor must speak with the gangs to authorize the entry of education or health personnel to areas controlled by them.[121]

Section conclusion

58 Crime and violence have a detrimental effect on health and education in the Northern Triangle. Students and teachers are victims of gang violence and, in many cases, it seems as if they cannot control gangs within their institutions; in fact, there are cases where gangs are in control of schools. School performance is low in Northern Triangle countries due to a weak educational system, accessibility to schools, and other structural factors; however, violence through the dissemination of fear among students, which keeps them in a constant state of distress, also affects school performance and their ability to learn skills and accumulate human capital. Violence affects the mental health of Northern Triangle populations, while the health systems do not provide enough resources to address this issue. Depression, drug abuse, alcohol consumption, anguish, anxiety, post-traumatic stress, and constant worry leads to other chronic conditions that also have an impact on health systems. Severe injuries, such as those from firearms and knives, monopolize resources in low-resourced health care units to the detriment of other patients, and increase costs due to the nature of the type of care required during procedures and after.

59 Interventions are urgently needed to allow youth, their families, and communities, to have access to education and healthcare systems. These interventions must be comprehensive and address the main risk factors that are generating the violence in specific settings. The following section presents successful interventions to address crime and violence as it pertains to health and education.

---

118 PNUD (2018).
119 ACAPS (2014).
120 ACAPS (2014).

121 Banco Mundial (mimeo).
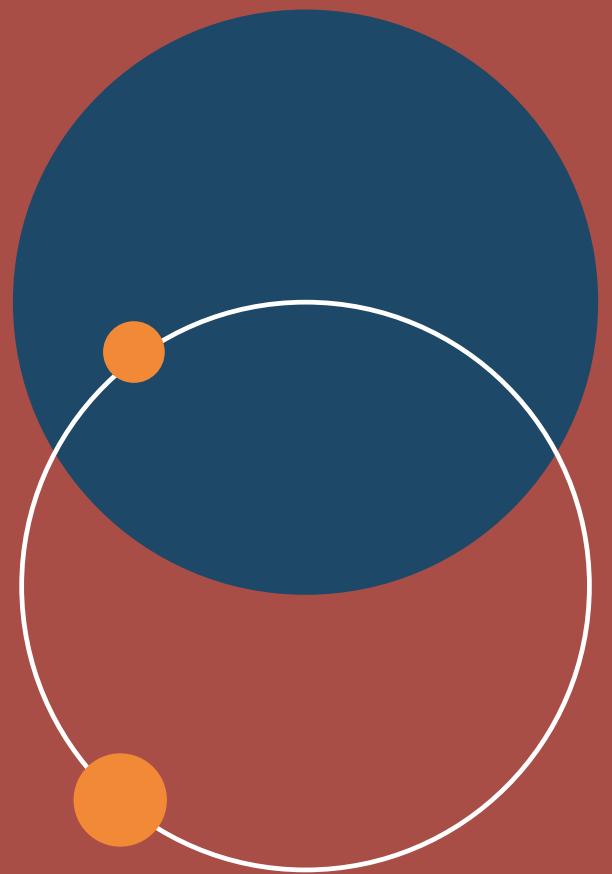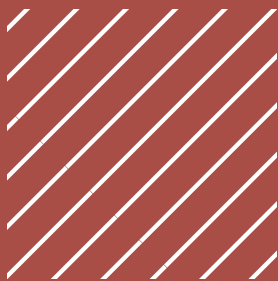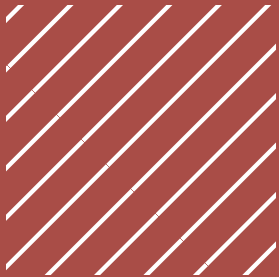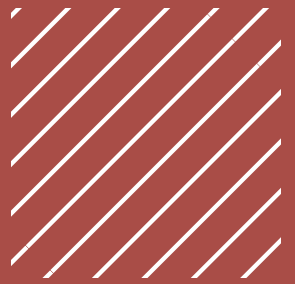
Section III

**Successful crime and violence
interventions for human capital projects
in the Northern Triangle**

Successful crime and violence interventions for human capital projects in the Northern Triangle

[60] Numerous interventions have been implemented and evaluated in the developed world, yielding positive results in crime and violence prevention. However, in past years, these interventions have also been carried out in the developing world and, in Latin America, there is evidence that they have attained positive results in reducing or preventing crime and violence. This section presents interventions that are proven to be successful in reducing crime and violence in the areas of education and health. It is important to point out that the results for some of these interventions – as it is often the case in most crime and violence work – have positive outcomes in the medium- or long-term. Each intervention listed in this section is also categorized as "primary, secondary, and/or tertiary" prevention for the reader's reference.

such as Brazil, Colombia, Jamaica, the Philippines, Turkey, and the United States, enriched child care and preschool programs that have invested in nutrition, health, and psychosocial development, have resulted in higher achievement test scores, higher high school graduation rates, and lower crime rates for participants well into their 20s.[123] Additionally, longitudinal studies demonstrate that ECD programs can also reduce the risk of early pregnancy, substance abuse, and criminal and violent behaviors during adolescence and young adulthood.[124] In the United States, the High/Scope Perry Preschool Project showed that youth who participated in quality preschool programs committed fewer crimes, had higher earnings, were more likely to hold a job, and were more likely to graduate from high school than youth who did not participate.[125]

Education

[61] **Early child development (ECD) and preschool enrichment programs for at-risk children (primary, secondary).** There is a plenty of evidence showing that there are opportunities to intervene to prevent a youth's involvement in violence during his or her mother's pregnancy, or from the time she or he is born. Aggressive and violent behavior at very young ages, and early school-performance problems, are predictive of violent behavior and other social problems later in life.[122] Investing in quality ECD programs is one of the most cost-effective ways to prevent risky behaviors among youth – mainly those who are most disadvantaged – and has long-term benefits for human capital development. In countries

Investing in quality ECD programs is one of the most cost-effective ways to prevent risky behaviors among youth.

[62] **Increasing the availability and quality of ECD and childcare facilities and programs (primary, secondary).** ECD programs attempt to improve the capacity of young children to develop and learn through a combination of programs and activities that include basic nutrition; health; activities to stimulate children's mental, physical, psychosocial, and verbal skills; and parenting training.

122 Hoffman, Knox & Cohen (2010).

123 Hoffman, Knox & Cohen (2010); World Bank. (2008). Supporting Youth at Risk: A Policy Toolkit for Middle-Income Countries. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/514781468175152614/pd-f/437050WP0ENGLI1YouthAtRisk01PUBLIC1.pdf.

124 Hoffman, Knox & Cohen (2010).

125 Hoffman, Knox & Cohen (2010).

These programs operate under the evidence that most brain development occurs within the first 5 years of life, so promoting positive cognitive, social, and emotional skills during this period have long-lasting effects on their capacity to learn and self-regulate emotions and behaviors. Programs for children between 0 and 3 focus primarily on providing parental support and education, while programs for children 3 and 5 focus on providing quality programs for children based in community centers and run by trained teachers. ECD interventions can occur at home, in community centers, or at preschools or other educational settings, highlighting the importance of quality EDC and childcare facilities.[126] In the United States, a Nurse Family Partnership program that provides maternal and early childhood health services for families most in need returned $5 in net benefits associated with crime reduction and child abuse and neglect prevention and increased education test scores for each dollar spent.[127]

With an improved environment, communities are more likely to take ownership of public spaces, decreasing the opportunity for crime, and making school routes safer for youth.

63 **Providing incentives to complete secondary education (primary, secondary, tertiary).** Secondary school completion is one of the most important preventive investments a country can make in at-risk youth to improve educational outcomes and reduce risky behaviors. Incentives to complete secondary school include financial incentives such as conditional cash transfers[128], school vouchers, grants, loans, school supplies, and free transportation to and from school. They also include improving school quality to strengthen the connection between school and work and improving teacher training for a better experience; reducing teacher

absenteeism; engaging the community as monitors of teacher and student performance; starting peer tutoring programs; improving the quality of the infrastructure; providing nonformal education; and eliminating grade repetition.[129] Additionally, they also include providing second chance programs, including literacy, comprehensive education, and education equivalency programs, and job training programs to allow youth who are not in school the chance to complete their secondary education and enter tertiary education or find a job. A secondary education lets at-risk youth make informed decisions and establish connections with supportive and caring adults. This is further reinforced when other adults or parents outside of school are also positively involved in this process. Studies in countries as diverse as the United States, Brazil, Mexico, Honduras, and Chile, have shown that enrollment in secondary education can greatly reduce violent behaviors in youth at risk.[130]

64 **Providing incentives to pursue courses in higher education and job training (primary, secondary, tertiary).** Job training can be divided into skills training and multiservice training. Skills training includes vocational training, apprenticeships, or second chance programs (as described above) to build young people's technical knowledge and skills.[131] Multiservice training focuses on developing a young person's skills as a worker, and provides general skills training, life skills, job search and placement support[132], and entrepreneurship, among others. Skills trainings are more common than multiservice training programs, but the latter have had more success in developing countries like Mexico, Argentina, Chile, and Peru.[133] A report by the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) on programs for at-risk youth in Latin America identified vocational, life and leadership skills programs as effective in building self-efficacy, social skills, and self-esteem, all of which act as

126 Hoffman, Knox & Cohen (2010).

127 Hoffman, Knox & Cohen (2010).

128 Conditional cash transfers (CCT) can also be given to parents to keep children in school. Bolsa Escola in Brazil is a good example of a successful CCT program.

129 World Bank (2008).

130 World Bank (2008).

131 USAID (2015).

132 Job placement and employment support programs are essential to level the playing field between at-risk youth and those with more resources. Providing at-risk youth with information on job opportunities and preparing them for employment, increases their job prospects; USAID (2015).

133 These programs include Jóvenes con Rumbo in Mexico, Entra 21 and Jóvenes in Argentina, Chile and Perú; USAID (2015).

protective factors against youth violence.[134] Additionally, higher education courses increase the number of years of education attained by a young person, improving the likelihood of finding a job, reducing the likelihood of being highly vulnerable to social and economic change, and decreasing the probabilities of engaging in crime and violence.[135] The incentives for this could include stipends for transportation, work-related incentives, grants, loans, and conditional cash transfers.

65 **Including violence prevention/conflict resolution modules in the curriculum (primary, secondary, tertiary).** Schools can serve as ideal settings to carry out violence prevention activities. These activities can focus on mitigating risk factors through trainings to teachers in violence prevention and youth development, focusing on, for example, the formation of new nonviolent masculinities or bullying, as crosscutting themes of the school curriculum. Activities can also focus on drug and alcohol use prevention, addressing issues such as the consequences of drug and alcohol abuse, and drug trafficking. Students may also engage in activities sponsored by law enforcement, and other sectors of the community relevant to crime and violence prevention to promote conflict resolution through peaceful means, and address issues such as the risks and consequences of joining a gang.[136] School-based programs should include family, parents, or caring adults to have a greater impact on the positive development of youth. Building a connection of trust with a caring adult can have a great impact on transferring positive messages to youth for better outcomes in crime and violence prevention.[137]

66 **Afterschool programs (primary, secondary).** Also referred to as out-of-school time (OST) programs, these programs offer safe spaces where youth can carry out supervised and productive activities, enhance their academic achievement, and develop positive relationships with peers and adults. There are many types of afterschool programs, but they all share the goal of preventing youth from engaging in unproductive or risky behaviors. The most effective afterschool programs comprise a mixture of academic, cultural, and recreational activities for youth. These programs are sponsored by and take place at schools, community-based organizations, faith-based organizations, local governments and their facilities, and volunteer groups. Using existing infrastructure, such as schools, contributes to keeping these programs' costs low. Programs such as Brazil's *Abrindo Espaços*, which offers academic, athletic, cultural, and other activities for youth afterschool and on weekends, achieved a 60 percent reduction in community violence, as well as reduced rates of suicide, substance abuse, theft, armed robbery, and sexual aggression in Pernambuco.[138]

67 **Creating safe routes for youths on their way to and from school or other community activities (primary).** If possible, this should be part of a safe neighborhood program to engage law enforcement and the community in actions to prevent crime and violence. Police can patrol school routes for youth and build positive relationships with them to generate trust and be better informed to prevent crime. As part of these efforts, improvements to infrastructure to provide enhanced security for youth when they travel to and from school could include improved lighting, graffiti removal, community gardens, and upgrading nearby public spaces such as parks. Also, school infrastructure is important for violence prevention, as school buildings that are poorly designed and overcrowded can contribute to violence by reducing the capacity of students to avoid confrontations and of teachers to monitor students.[139] With an improved environment (see Section I, How can crime and violence be prevented?, Situational crime prevention in this manual) communities are more likely to take ownership of public spaces, decreasing the opportunity for crime, and making school routes safer for youth.

134 Gallardo, J., Abad, M. & Gómez, J.A. (2008). ¡Preparados, Listos, Ya! Una Síntesis de Intervenciones Efectivas para la Prevención de Violencia Que Afecta a Adolescentes y Jóvenes. Washington, DC: Pan American Health Organization and GTZ German Cooperation.

135 World Bank (2008).

136 USAID (2015).

137 Mentoring programs work this way, and when conducted correctly, have a positive impact on youth school performance and attendance.

138 World Bank (2008).

139 Hoffman, Knox, & Cohen (2010).

Box 3: Case study: Legalization and social inclusion of gangs in Ecuador

In 2007, the Government of Ecuador legalized gangs. This decision, along with innovations in criminal justice and police reform, contributed to a reduction in the homicide rate from 15.35 per 100,000 in 2011 to 5 per 100,000 in 2017. Approaching crime and violence prevention from a development perspective, the state rejected repression policies and opted for a crime reduction strategy through direct engagement with the gangs.

The government strategy encouraged the gangs to work together with formal state institutions to obtain benefits. By leaving violence, gangs gained access to funding for cultural and recreational activities, as well as to jobs and skills training opportunities provided by the state. The process started with the Sacred Tribe Atahualpa of Ecuador (STAE) gang, but later, after witnessing the benefits that legalization brought, other gangs joined. Eventually, warring gangs ceased all violence between them, and some even started collaborating to benefit their members.

The process was in part successful because gangs were able to maintain their identity and embrace it as an urban subculture; however, their actions no longer included crime or violence. Gangs had to restructure themselves and place great importance on education, as their members where being invited to participate in conversations with government and to present in forums as agrupaciones juveniles urbanas (youth urban groups). To access funds for cultural and recreational activities, gangs learned how to write proposals and some of their members were hired to work in government.

Through this process, youth urban groups have built ties with local governments, the police, and with other cultural or youth organizations. They have also seen their leaders encourage members to go to school and get an education. Some of the gang members were given scholarships to attend college, and one of them completed a master's degree in Community Development.

Although gangs still face many challenges in their efforts towards full acceptance and inclusion, this was a major step in reducing crime and violence by working with those who are at the greatest risk of engaging in violence or committing crime. Among the lessons learned from this program are the importance of investing in jobs skills and education to give opportunities to populations at risk and reduce crime.

Health

68 **Family Therapy (secondary, tertiary, tertiary):** Family-level interventions support vulnerable families through the improvement of life and parenting skills that enhance the quality of life for children. Most programs focus on empowering parents by providing them with the skills and resources to help their youth go through family, peer, school, and community situations in a positive manner.[140] The foundation for positive behavior and interpersonal relationships with peers and adults is learned through interaction with parents and relies on positive parentingskills, hence the importance of these programs.[141]

69 **Two types of family therapies have shown positive results.** Functional Family Therapy (FFT) which focuses on families with youth ages 11-18, who are at risk or already engaged in delinquency, violence, substance abuse, or deviant behaviors. These programs consist of 8 to 15 sessions at the family's home or at a clinic and include three phases: 1) engagement and motivation, 2) behavior change, and 3) generalization.[142] Multisystemic Therapy (MST) is the second type of successful family therapy and it is a highly individualized family- and community-based program that suggests that deviant behaviors are multisystemic, encompassing youth and their families, peer groups, school, and community context. The intervention aims to reduce risk factors by building youth and family strengths.[143]

70 **Illicit substance rehabilitation programs and drug courts (secondary, tertiary).** Drug courts are specialized courts designed to divert drug-related offenders with less charges into treatment instead of prison. Their purpose is to reduce substance use and recidivism among offenders as well as alleviating already crowded prison systems, and preventing offenders from engaging in violence inside prison.[144] They focus

140 USAID (2015).

141 Hoffman, Knox, & Cohen (2010).

142 World Bank (2008). Engagement and motivation include developing alliances, reducing negativity and resistance, improving communication, minimizing hopelessness, developing family focus, and increasing motivation for change. Behavior change includes developing and implementing individualized change plans, changing current negative behaviors, and building relational skills. Generalization includes maintaining and generalizing change, preventing relapses, and providing community resources necessary to support change.

143 World Bank (2008).

144 Goldkamp, J. S., White, M., & Robinson, J. (2001). Do drug courts work? Getting inside the drug court black box. Journal of drug issues, 31(1), 27-72; Lutze, F. E., & Van Wormer, J. G. (2007). The nexus between drug and alcohol treatment program integrity and drug court effectiveness: Policy recommendations for pursuing success. Criminal Justice Policy Review, 18(3), 226-245.

on treating drug addiction with rigorous monitoring, including periodic hearings and the submission of urinalyses, which are randomly scheduled.[145] Drug courts use a graduated rewards and sanctions system - including praise and encouragement, warnings, short jail sentences, or termination from the program for repeated offenses – to help substance abusers attain and maintain a drug-free life.[146] Overall, drug courts have been effective, showing a recidivism rate of 45 percent compared to 55 percent for non-participants.[147] A study also showed that over a period of two years after the program, 66 percent of drug court graduates were arrested compared to 81 percent for non-participants.[148]

71 **Hospital-based violence intervention programs (HVIP) (secondary, tertiary):** These are multidisciplinary violence intervention programs that identify patients that are at risk of repeated violent injury and connect them with hospital- and community-based resources aimed at reducing risk factors for violence. They work from the principle that there is a unique window of opportunity to make contact and engage with victims of violent injury, improve their lives, and reduce retaliation and recidivism while they are recovering in the hospital. Evidence shows that individuals are especially receptive to interventions that can change negative and promote positive behaviors in healthcare settings.[149] This population is particularly at risk of being victims of violence repeatedly or becoming perpetrators themselves. HVIPs include **trauma-informed care** as part of their interventions to get to know the patients better and build trust with them so they follow the required medical treatment and engage with the support networks they are referred to.[150] This support includes community-based

services, mentoring, home visits, follow-up assistance, and long-term case management. These programs also work to identify risk factors such as substance abuse, as well as protective factors to help patients improve their skills to find employment or continue their education.

Cognitive-behavioral programs consistently show the largest overall effect and a significant impact on all types of antisocial behavior.

72 **Cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) (secondary, tertiary):** These programs are based on the premise that cognitive deficits and distortions are learned rather than naturally occurring. As a result, these programs emphasize individual accountability and aim to teach offenders to understand their thoughts and choices right before their criminal or negative behaviors.[151] CBT programs generally include "a structured program with a limited number of sessions teaching adequate modes of social perception, identification of emotions, causal attribution, perspective taking and empathy, alternative thinking, anticipation and evaluation of consequences, self-control, anger management, interpersonal problem-solving, and related skills."[152] Cognitive-behavioral programs consistently show the largest overall effect and a significant impact on all types of antisocial behavior.[153] Cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) interventions are the most successful programs in reducing recidivism in prison populations. The most effective ones result in declines of up to 52 percent in recidivism.[154] Further, evidence shows that these interventions are as effective in community settings as they are in prisons.[155] These programs also show the importance of mental health interventions in crime and violence prevention.

145 Goldkamp, J. S., White, M., & Robinson, J. (2001). Do drug courts work? Getting inside the drug court black box. Journal of drug issues, 31(1), 27-72; Lutze, F. E., & Van Wormer, J. G. (2007). The nexus between drug and alcohol treatment program integrity and drug court effectiveness: Policy recommendations for pursuing success. Criminal Justice Policy Review, 18(3), 226-245.

146 Mitchell, O., Wilson, D.; Eggers, A., & MacKenzie, D. (2012). Assessing the effectiveness of drug courts on recidivism: A meta-analytic review of traditional and non-traditional drug courts. Journal of Criminal Justice, 40(1), 60-71; USAID. (2015).

147 Mitchell (2012).

148 Gottfredson, D., Najaka, S., & Kearley, B. (2003). Effectiveness of drug treatment courts: Evidence from a randomized trial. Criminology & Public Policy, 2(2), 171-196.

149 HAVI. (2020). What is a hospital-based violence intervention program (HVIP)? The Health Alliance for Violence Intervention. Retrieved from https://www.thehavi.org/what-is-an-hvip.

150 Trauma-Informed Care. (2020). What is trauma-informed care? Trauma-informed care implementation resource center. Retrieved from https://www.traumainformedcare.chcs.org/what-is-trauma-informed-care/.

151 Welsh, B. & Farrington, D. (2006). Preventing Crime: What Works for Children, Offenders, Victims, and Places. Cornwall, Great Britain: Springer.

152 Welsh & Farrington (2006), p. 34.

153 Welsh & Farrington (2006).

154 Abt & Winship (2016).

155 Abt & Winship (2016).

Box 4: Case study: Community-based gang intervention model in Los Angeles, California

The City of Los Angeles, California, is home to more than 700 gangs and 40,000 alleged gang members, making it the gang capital of the world. Incarceration costs in California exceed USD$10 billion annually, with a minimum monthly cost per inmate in the Los Angeles County of USD$21,403. A reduction in crime and violence would allow the city to have more resources to spend in education, health, public transportation, and other important services.

To reduce violence, the City of Los Angeles adopted a community-based gang intervention model. This model consists of a two-pronged approach which 1) includes the deployment of peacemakers on the streets who quell rumors, prevent and mediate conflicts, respond to crises, and 2) delivers rehabilitative services to gang-involved individuals, their families, and communities.

Peacemakers, who are also known as Gang Intervention Workers or Crisis Intervention Workers, are usually former gang members, who serve as credible messengers in their communities, as they have personal knowledge, understanding, and experience of gang life, and thus, provide the greatest opportunity for building, gaining, and maintaining confidence and trust among active and former gang members. This connection allows individuals to transition away from negative behaviors to a more productive and healthier lifestyle.

Gang intervention on the street is combined with the provision of gang-responsive and specific individual and family services. Service providers offer mental health, job training, job placement, LGBT, sex and drug, recreational, juvenile justice and alternative measures, tattoo removal, academic and educational support, arts and culture, and faith-based services.

The program operates under the Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) office of the City of Los Angeles and has been successful in reducing crime and violence. The program highlights the importance of building relationships between credible messengers who stop violence — including through hospital visits after a shooting occurs to prevent retaliation — and active or former gang members; working jointly with youth at risk and their families; and involving the community to provide a comprehensive set of services specific to the needs of participants. The combination of effective interventions is also essential to the success of this model.

[73] **Reproductive health services that meet the needs of young people, especially those at risk (primary, secondary, tertiary).** Today, youth, particularly those at risk, need quality reproductive health care due to longer periods of nonmarital sexual activity, the rise in sexually transmitted diseases, and the prevalence of drug consumption and abuse. Youth do not use reproductive health services for a number of factors, including laws and policies, inconvenient hours of operation, high service costs, lack of knowledge of their existence, poor health personnel service, perception of lack of confidentiality, and cultural and gender obstacles.[156] Quality and welcoming reproductive health services can make youth feel comfortable, get advice on their sexual health, and make better reproductive health-related choices, increasing the likelihood that they will return for follow-up visits. Being able to make informed decisions about their behaviors, learning how to deal with peer and partner negative influences, knowing about the costs of risky behaviors, and learning how to cope with the consequences of poor health behaviors, such as unwanted pregnancies and drug addiction, can make youth less vulnerable to other risks associated with crime and violence.[157] Health service providers for youth should employ caring adults who are trained to work with youth, respect and listen to them, and honor their privacy and confidentiality. By building trust, youth will be more likely to use these services, reducing their possibilities of being affected by negative health outcomes.[158]

The recommended human capital interventions in this section should also be applied to prison populations to reduce crime and violence in the Northern Triangle when possible.

156 World Bank (2008)
157 World Bank (2008)
158 World Bank (2008).

ENHANCED PROTECTIVE FACTORS

Individual

Societal

Community

Relationship

ENHANCED HUMAN CAPITAL

◆ **INCREASED COMMUNITY RESILIENCE**
◆ **INCREASED GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY**
◆ **REDUCED DEVIANT BEHAVIORS**
◆ **REDUCED YOUTH GANG AND ORGANIZED CRIMINAL GROUP ACTIVITY**

REDUCED VIOLENCE AND HOMICIDES RATES
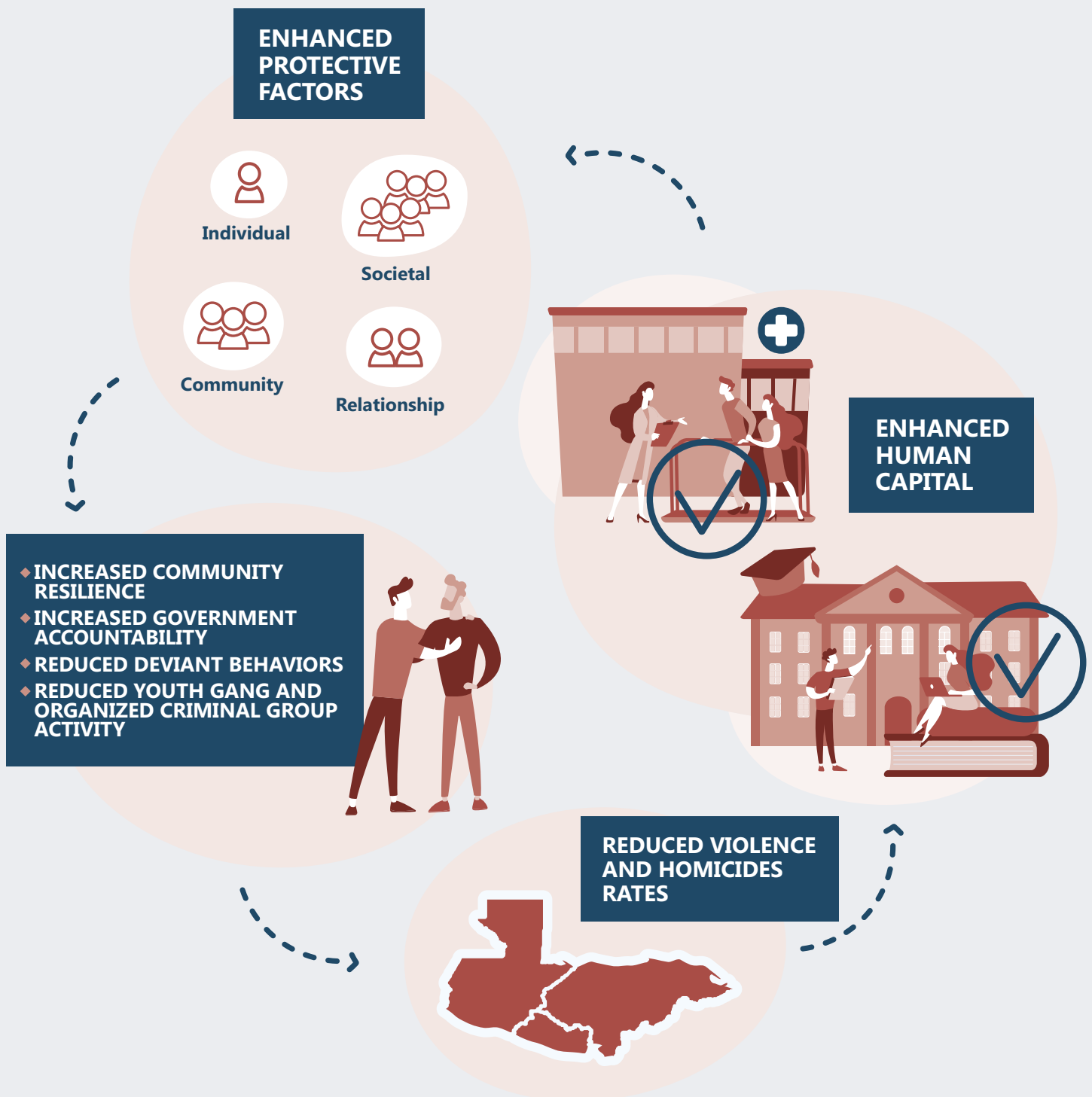
Rehabilitation and Reinsertion programs

74 **Integrate human capital development interventions into rehabilitation and reinsertion programs.** Crime and violence are largely directed from prisons in the Northern Triangle. Imprisoned gang and criminal organization leaders have enormous power and influence over criminal activity on the outside. The recommended human capital interventions in this section should also be applied to prison populations to reduce crime and violence in the Northern Triangle when possible. Prison populations are vulnerable, with low human capital levels. Their vulnerability and risks are exacerbated in prisons and, hence, they need quality health, therapies to address behavioral problem, jobs skills, and strong relationships that will ease their transition to freedom. Otherwise, recidivism will remain at high levels, and this population will be confined to a vicious cycle of crime and vulnerability, which will affect themselves and their communities. Solving the problems in jails may be a major step towards reducing crime and violence on the streets of the Northern Triangle. To improve human capital and contribute to these efforts, the World Bank has supported mainly HIV/AIDS prevention interventions for vulnerable groups, including prisoners, in countries such as Afghanistan, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Indonesia, Moldova, Pakistan, the Philippines, Russia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Ukraine, and Uganda, as well as in regions such as Europe and Central Asia.

Section conclusion

75 This section presented interventions that have proven to be effective in reducing crime and violence after rigorous evaluations that, in some cases, have lasted for extended periods of time (15-20 years). These interventions show the importance of strong relationships between children, youth, and caring adults. Likewise, these interventions demonstrate the importance of working with youth, their families, and the resources available in their communities.

76 The case studies in this section show innovative ideas to address the gang issue by working with gangs, as they are the actors causing the violence in communities. Once communities start seeing gang members as potential assets for economic development and community improvement, positive changes can occur. However, this population should be provided with targeted services, such as the interventions presented in this section, to generate positive change. The most important aspect of these programs is that behaviors, and not the identity of the gang members, were targeted and modified.

77 The interventions presented in this section should also be part of a larger comprehensive violence prevention strategy that combines interventions and works collaboratively across sectors. This is important to build partnerships with local governments, civil society, and the private sector to generate jobs that could benefit from the skills and human capital acquired by youth through the programs presented in this section. Similarly, at the societal level, policies should be inclusive to ensure fair access and inclusion for youth at risk in marginalized areas. In the Northern Triangle, youth (even if they do not belong or are no longer part of a gang) are not taken into consideration for job opportunities if their resume shows that they come from a gang-ridden neighborhood. Working across sectors can prevent this situation, construct synergies with different actors, and provide more access to jobs and capital for entrepreneurial projects for youth, while building human capital and reducing crime and violence.

78 To carry out the interventions presented in this section, it is also important to understand that the capacity of many actors and institutions – including teachers, schools, social workers, health workers, community leaders, judges, and families, among others – will need to be enhanced. This is particularly the case in the Northern Triangle, where institutional and community capacity is low.
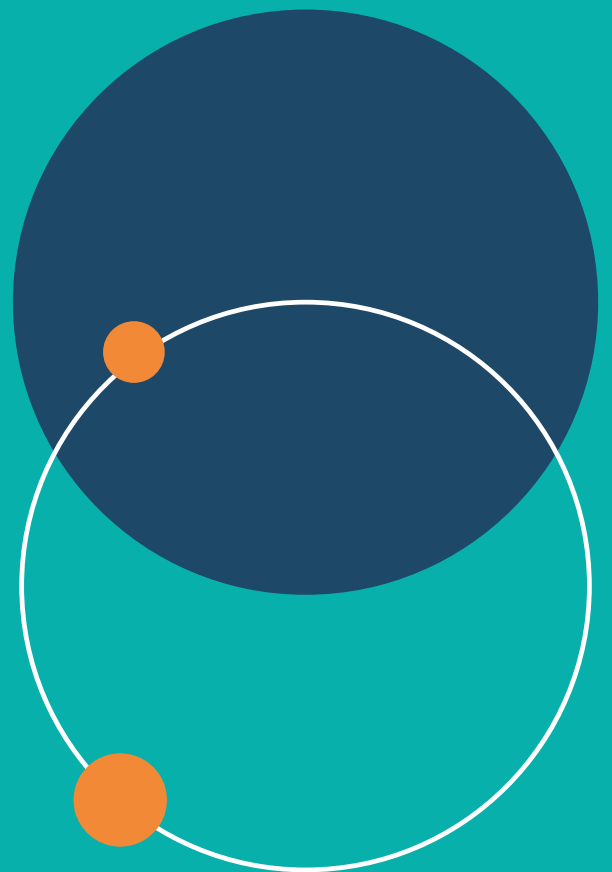
Section IV

Adapting citizen security interventions into human capital projects

Adapting citizen security interventions into human capital projects

79 Aided by the information presented in the sections above, this section provides a roadmap on how to design a crime and violence prevention intervention for a project to maximize returns on human capital investments. The procedures outlined below should be taken into consideration during a project's design phase, and specifically as part of the ESF assessment to evaluate, characterize, and mitigate the risks that crime and violence risks pose to a project. During this step, it will be of particular importance to assess how crime and violence risks may prevent vulnerable populations from accessing the services provided by the project. Also, it should be assessed whether the components of the project already have interventions that can contribute to crime and violence reduction to implement them through that purview and amplify outcomes. The steps below can also be incorporated into any other type of World Bank interventions for projects to have more targeted citizen security objectives.

Defining the area of intervention, compiling data, and allocating resources

80 **Define the area of intervention.** The first step of the assessment is knowing at what level the project may have the major negative impact from crime and violence. In Central America's Northern Triangle, political or administrative divisions are categorized into four main levels: national, departmental, municipal, and community. Commonly, crime and violence interventions are carried out at the municipal or community levels to attain the best results. A place-focused approach sets specific boundaries for analysis and interventions, focusing on the assets and weaknesses of the area, its main actors, and the dynamics specific to that area. This approach to selecting an area of intervention has been effective, as crime and violence tends to occur in specific

> **A place-focused approach sets specific boundaries for analysis and interventions, focusing on the assets and weaknesses of the area, its main actors, and the dynamics specific to that area.**

places within a territory, even when it may seem that it is widespread, as in Northern Triangle countries. Further, given the complex nature of crime and violence, it is important to understand that the combination of two or more risk factors that increase the likelihood of this phenomenon to occur in a territory are specific to it.

81 For projects that have a national-level scope, with interventions in most departments or municipalities, it is advisable to identify the most violent departments or municipalities and select them as a first step. This analysis will show how violence is distributed across a country or territory and will allow to identify clusters of municipalities affected by crime and violence to develop synergies and exchange among actors in those areas to achieve improved results, if conditions permit. Prioritizing areas of intervention in a nation-wide project will save resources

and have a better impact on crime and violence-affected populations. Once the most violent departments or municipalities are selected, an in-depth assessment of each territory must be conducted to identify the main actors, risk and protective factors, resources, and capacities, among others, as described below.

82 **Compile information on the selected areas of intervention.** Once the area or areas of intervention are selected, the next step involves compiling crime-and-violence-relevant information. This information may include socioeconomic indicators; homicide rates; demographics, including the percentage of youth population; risk and protective factors; main actors; perpetrators and victims of crime; where crime and violence occur; details on the nature of crimes in the area; crime and violence interventions carried out previously; police presence and programs; and presence of gangs or other criminal groups.[159] Also, collect information on markets and incentives to understand the system in which crime and violence are occurring. This information will be useful to develop a political economy analysis later on.

83 This information can be found in police records, judiciary records, transparency portals, country indicator/data systems, municipal offices and websites, human development indexes, available public opinion and victimization surveys, crime and violence observatories, hospitals, clinics, faith-based organizations, census data, prison records, juvenile detention centers, newspapers, magazines, and documentaries.[160] This list is not exhaustive but provides the main sources of information. Additionally, holding focus groups and individual interviews with key actors in the area of intervention can provide in-depth information on the perceptions and knowledge that specific groups of people and institutions have on crime and violence. It is also advisable to collect information on whether crime and violence prevention projects by the government or international donors have been or are being implemented in the target municipality, as well as socioeconomic indicators, human development indexes, and demographic information, to obtain a comprehensive perspective of the location.

84 When collecting information on whether crime and violence prevention projects have been or are being implemented, a best practice is to speak to donors, government institutions, or implementing partners in charge of these projects. Talk to them to learn what has and has not worked, and also to obtain their perspective on how they see the World Bank's intervention contributing to the overall crime and violence strategy in that area. Also, consultations with donors, government institutions, and implementing partners can provide information on what specific areas (as long as they are within the purview of the project) the project could provide support to reduce crime and violence. Speaking with relevant stakeholders will also prevent duplication of efforts and wasting resources.

85 **Identify and allocate resources to collect information and carry out the assessment.** The effectiveness of the analysis and assessment will be based on the quality of information compiled on crime and violence in the area of intervention. Data collection can be a lengthy and challenging task in Central America's Northern Triangle. Information presented on transparency portals may not be updated and may not be available for the level of analysis needed. That is, there may not be information for the area of intervention, which will most likely be at the municipal and community levels. In Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, information can be requested from government agencies; however, this process can take time, and in some cases, the information may not be available or will not be provided. Also, a recommended method to collect information in Central America's Northern Triangle is through focus groups. This method, however, needs to be planned for in advance and it should be clear who the main actors in the area of intervention are to be able to get a representative group to carry out this procedure. Additionally, security considerations should be taken into account to carry out this method. As a result, it is of paramount importance to determine what resources, including personnel and funds for logistics, will be needed to collect the data, organize and analyze it, and later conduct the assessment.

---

159 USAID (2015).
160 USAID (2015).

Organizing and analyzing the data

86 **Define the main crime and violence problems and threats to your project.** Within your intervention area, define how crime and violence are affecting people's lives. For example, it can be that there is a high dropout rate and poor grade attainment because the school is located in a gang-controlled territory where students cannot cross into. Another problem could be that a criminal organization is stealing supplies from the local hospital and resealing it for a profit, complicating the provision of services to the people in the area of intervention. It could also be that there is poor parental supervision in a community because parents work long hours in an area far away, so children are not attending school and are being recruited by a local gang. Determine whether there are any structural problems, such as lack of economic opportunities, weak government institutions, corruption, poor provision of basic services, poor relationships between citizens and with the police, and lack of citizen engagement and participation.

87 **Identify the main group or groups responsible for crime and violence and the place(s) where most incidents occur in the area of intervention.** Crime and violence are often carried out by a few individuals in a few places. Under this step, the characteristics of the people who commit crimes and violent acts should be laid out. For example, what their age and gender is, do they have any criminal records, do they commit crimes individually or are they part of a criminal structure. If they are part of a criminal structure, what are the characteristics of this structure? What values is it based on and how is identity built? Is the structure driven by profit or something else? Are most of its members adults, youth, men, women, etc.? With respect to the area where most incidents occur, it is important to identify the characteristics that may be contributing to the higher incidence of violence in these places. For example, the area might not be well lit, there may be bushes that allow criminals to commit their crimes without being seen, there may be a significant accumulation of trash in the area, or the walls may be covered in graffiti.

88 **Identify risk and protective factors in the area of intervention.** Look in the data for potential risk and protective factors at the individual, relationship, community, and societal levels. Determine which risk factors are the most prominent, who they affect the most, and whether there are protective factors that can counter the effects of the risk factors. Focus on the assets of the intervention area and whether they play a role in reducing crime and violence. Identifying risk and protective factors will be essential to determining which interventions will be best suited to reduce crime and violence in the area of intervention.

89 **Carry out a political economy analysis (PEA) of the area of intervention.** Identify the main political and economic processes that have an impact – be it positive or negative – on the dynamics of your area of interventions as they pertain to crime and violence. Establish who benefits from crime and violence, what the power relations are between actors, what incentives exist to change dynamics that contribute to crime and violence, and what incentives may change attitudes and behaviors to improve security, social cohesion, and peaceful coexistence. It may be helpful to conduct a stakeholder analysis to understand the different relationships and power dynamics under the broader PEA.

90 **Analyze the information and write down conclusions.** With information on where crime and violence occur and who commits it, what the main risk and protective factors are, and how local dynamics influence citizen security outcomes, conclusions can be drawn to build a thorough analysis of the situation. At this point, it is important to connect the most salient points from the information compiled and analyze it to build a case on what is occurring in the project's area of intervention. For example, a conclusion may be that three predominant risk factors at different levels – namely, lack of opportunities, antisocial attitudes, and lack of family cohesion – are driving young males to find solace and an identity in gangs, so they are being easily recruited. The gang is powerful, so the local municipal authorities are shy about openly carrying out programs that would help youth stay away from gangs. However, there is a faith-based organization (asset that foments protective factors) that is working with youth and families to address

Box 5: Case study 3: Crime and violence evaluation for a geothermal project in El Salvador

The Government of El Salvador is seeking funding from the World Bank to develop geothermal fields to improve and diversify its energy production. This will potentially be carried out by the ES Increasing power generation from geothermal resources in El Salvador project. During an initial visit to the project sites, the social development team supporting this project quickly understood that crime and violence could pose a threat to its implementation.

To learn more about this threat and find ways to mitigate it, the Citizen Security Team under Social Development LAC laid out a plan to conduct a crime and violence evaluation of the 5 municipalities where the project will be implemented. This plan took into consideration the resources needed to carry out the evaluation, including the hiring of a consultant with knowledge of crime and violence prevention in El Salvador and experience in conducting focus groups. The evaluation process consisted of 1) a desk study to collect as much information available through online sources and phone interviews, 2) a mission to the 5 project municipalities to conduct focus groups with the main actors identified in the desk study, 3) a qualitative analysis of the information collected during the focus groups, and 4) the drafting of a report to present conclusions based on a rigorous analysis of the data.

More than 30 focus groups were carried out with a team of three people in the target municipalities during a period of four days. The information from these focus groups was analyzed and eight conclusions on the citizen security situation of these municipalities were drawn from the data:

1. *There is lack of capacity in governmental and nongovernmental institutions as a result of lack of resources and coordination.*

2. *Citizen's perception of insecurity has decreased despite the ongoing presence and influence of gangs and violent events.*

3. *Gangs have a strong influence in youth and their behaviors, interactions, and development.*

4. *There is lack of trust in an under-resourced police force, which is potentially corrupt and has principally adopted a reactive approach to crime and violence, while distancing itself from the people.*

5. *People attribute violence to family disintegration due to migration, along with lost values, low social capital, and a law that prevents parents and teachers from educating children and adolescents.*

6. *Gangs live in the collective imaginary of the people as a distant-but-close actor that generates fear and defines behaviors in the communities.*

7. *The lack of knowledge on violence prevention is prevalent in the target municipalities, resulting in non-empirical efforts to reduce crime and violence that focus mainly on sports and cultural activities.*

8. *Communities have hope in churches (mainly evangelical) and in the family as actors who can influence positive change.*

These conclusions led to conversations with the social arm of the project implementing unit (PIU), which already conducts interventions that can mitigate some of the risks posed by crime and violence in the target municipalities. The Citizen Security Team will provide trainings in citizen security to key members of the PIU so they can build local capacities to mitigate the risks of crime and violence in project municipalities and leverage on the work they are already carrying out.

the three risk factors and is helping them stay away from gangs. This is an example for illustrative purposes only; however, the analysis and conclusions drawn from the data should be thorough, covering all the important connections and relationships, and understanding how crime and violence occur and evolve in the area of intervention. Additionally, the analysis needs to take into consideration the project's goals and objectives.

Defining a strategy and an approach

91 **Identify interventions to mitigate crime and violence based on the analysis of the information compiled.** Given the complexity of crime and violence and the many possible combinations of risks factors that can lead individuals and groups to engage in violent behaviors, interventions that address different risk factors in a specific place and leverage the resources of a community will be necessary to achieve positive results. Section 2 of this document presents some successful interventions that can be taken into consideration for human capital projects in Central America's Northern Triangle. Table 2 also presents a list of possible interventions at the different levels (individual, relationship, community, and societal) that can be considered in different areas of human development. Given that contexts are different and specific, the interventions will have to be adapted to the local context, taking into consideration the different actors, power dynamics, relationships, community assets, community weaknesses, structural problems, and the socioeconomic situation, among others. The most important consideration when selecting an intervention is that it is not implemented in isolation or focuses exclusively on one risk factor. Interventions need to approach the main citizen security problems in the area of intervention in a comprehensive manner, involving all the relevant actors and taking into consideration the different dynamics at play. Generally, interventions implemented in isolation fail, as they do not take into account the multifactorial nature of crime and violence.

92 **Ensure the selected intervention fits under the project's scope and goals.** As with the analysis of the information collected, the identification of an intervention should be done with the project's scope and objectives in mind. This allows crime and violence prevention interventions to be carried out under a particular area of expertise. For example, an education program may have a component to review the elementary education curriculum of a country. In this case, interventions should focus on, for instance, adding a violence prevention component to the curriculum to promote a culture of peace among students, develop positive masculinities, or instruct peaceful conflict resolution skills. Also, a project to improve youth health outcomes, which has a mental health component, can include different types of therapies, including cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) or family therapy, to change violent behaviors in youth. A health project will not be able to address structural economic issues but can coordinate with government entities involved in addressing this issue to ensure a comprehensive type of intervention for its beneficiaries. Crime and violence prevention strategies and their objectives must be aligned with projects' objectives to maximize project results, while reducing the risk that crime and violence can have on them.

93 **Develop a theory of change and roadmap to specify how crime and violence will be reduced through the selected intervention.** A theory of change can help explain how the intervention will achieve its objectives. Let's use the example above on youth joining gangs in a community and pretend that the intervention selected is building on the work with youth and families that the faith-based organization is carrying out. A theory of change for selecting this intervention could be that *if youth and their families are provided services such as family therapy, and the local government is strengthened to accompany these youth and their families through the provision of specialized mentoring during the school year, then youth's risky behaviors will be modified and youth will become more engaged in school, reducing their likelihood to join a gang*. To achieve this, a roadmap for the intervention should be designed. Logical frameworks are useful to visualize project objectives, results, and outcomes – and they should include these components. It is extremely important to ensure that all interventions include a roadmap that shows how different components of the intervention feed into a main objective. Additionally, these intervention objectives must be linked to the project's objectives, as described in the next paragraph.

94 **Identify resources needed to carry out the intervention.** Once the intervention is identified, designed, and adapted

to the local context, it will be important to identify the resources needed to carry it out, so they can be included in the project's budget. Ensure that all labor, equipment and materials, and any other required resources are included for funding. In some cases, the resources that will be used to carry out the main project's activities may also be used to carry out the crime and violence prevention intervention, so it is important to coordinate these matters with all team members. In addition to personnel, equipment, and materials, it is also important to know whether any partnerships with government institutions, civil society organizations, or the private sector will be needed to execute the intervention, and whether they will need support to increase their capacity to carry out an intervention. All partners should have a clearly defined role and their implementation costs should also be taken into consideration for the budget. Ultimately, what is important is that if the work is implemented with different organizations, all efforts are coordinated to avoid duplicity, wasted resources, and delayed submission of deliveries. If possible, and whenever their capacities permit, main project component partners could also implement crime and violence prevention activities.

Measuring success

95 **Monitor and evaluate the intervention.** As in the main project, the crime and violence intervention must be monitored and evaluated to keep track of the performance of its activities. Monitoring refers to the continuous tracking of proposed activities against the workplan. It should work as an internal review to track progress and performance. Alternatively, the evaluation measures the project's performance at established points in time to assess to what extent outputs and outcomes have been achieved. A plan to monitor and evaluate the intervention that includes intervention indicators, targets, outputs and outcomes, and timelines should be developed.

96 **Define intervention indicators.** Defining indicators will allow the intervention to know whether it is achieving its proposed objectives and results. The indicators should come from the intervention's objectives and results defined in the logical framework or roadmap mentioned above. Indicators should be identified to measure outputs

and outcomes. Outputs are results directly related to the intervention, whereas outcomes are defined as higher level results from the intervention. An output could be the creation of a municipal violence prevention committee, and the outcome, better prepared community actors to work on the reduction of crime and violence.

97 **Establish monitoring and evaluation timelines.** The timelines to measure the intervention's outcomes and outputs should be aligned with the project's monitoring and evaluation timelines. If needed, the intervention could have different monitoring timelines to keep track of intervention-specific results.
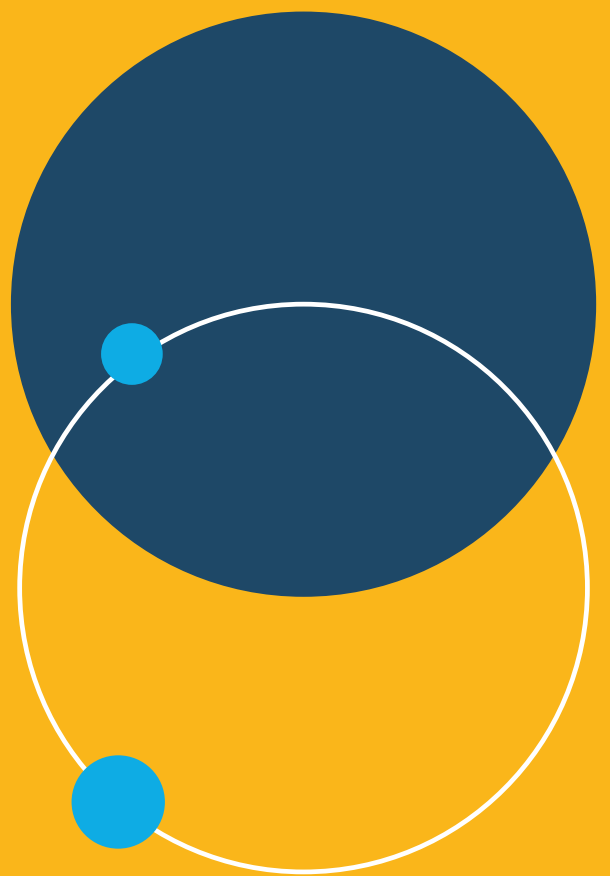
98 **Considerations with crime and violence results.** Crime and violence are complex issues that are not easy to measure. It is important that the objective and results, along with their outputs and outcomes are specific, measurable, achievable and attributable, relevant, and timely (SMART indicators). Also, when explaining results, causality conclusions should be avoided if a proper study has not been conducted on whether an intervention caused a reduction in crime and violence. It is very difficult to prove causality in crime and violence, so it is better not to establish direct cause for an outcome if it cannot be proved. Correlation can be established with caution and with sufficient supporting information.

Section conclusion

99 It is very important to develop a thorough understanding of the project's area of intervention through an in-depth assessment. This will allow to include a valuable citizen security perspective into the projects to not only mitigate risks associated with crime and violence during the assessment phase of the project but also throughout its life. A good assessment, along with the design of relevant interventions that take into consideration the risk factors that are contributing to crime and violence, and a robust monitoring and evaluation component, can result in successful interventions. To summarize this section, the following is a flowchart of the processes presented above (Graphic 1). Annex 1 presents an illustrative description of these processes in a fictional community in the Northern Triangle.

GRAPHIC 1: ADAPTING CRIME AND VIOLENCE INTERVENTIONS INTO HUMAN CAPITAL PROJECTS

1

GETTING STARTED

· Define area of intervention
· Identify and allocate resources to compile information
· Compile information on the selected area of intervention

· Define the main C&V problems and threats to your project
· Identify the main group or groups responsible for crime and violence and the hotspots in your area of intervention
· Identify risk and protective factors
· Carry out a political economy analysis
· Analyze the information and write down conclusions

ORGANIZING AND ANALYZING THE DATA

2

3

DEFINING A STRATEGY AND AN APPROACH

· Identify interventions to mitigate crime and violence based on the analysis of the information compiled
· Ensure the selected intervention fits under the project scope's and goals
· Develop a theory of change and framework
· Identify resources and partners

· Monitor and evaluate interventions
· Define intervention indicators
· Establish monitoring and evaluation timelines

MEASURING SUCCESS

4

Section V

Conclusion

Conclusion

¹⁰⁰ Central America's Northern Triangle has been greatly affected by crime and violence in the past decades. Gangs and organized crime have turned the region into the most violent in the world that is not at war. The high levels of violence have normalized this phenomenon in some communities, with spillover effects to all aspects of society. However, this region has seen human capital improvements in some areas in past years that, although small, demonstrates the region' capacity for positive change. This change, however, will not be possible without first addressing the crime and violence issue. It is clear, at least in the Latin America and Caribbean region, that economic growth does not lead to reduced violence, so investing in strategies to contain and prevent this phenomenon is paramount to further accumulate human capital.

¹⁰¹ Education and health issues are completely relevant, complementary, and directly affected by crime and violence in the Northern Triangle. The limited access to education and health services presents a challenge to the normal development of these activities. Furthermore, people, especially youth, are directly affected by violence, often becoming victims of gangs and their actions. Violence has a significant impact on education and health, affecting development opportunities for young people and their communities and leaving permanent marks on the wellness of the population. Under these conditions, human capital investments are not sustainable.

¹⁰² The literature presented in this manual shows that health and education interventions to reduce crime and violence should be inclusive and address the most relevant risk factors of individuals, while working with their families and utilizing community resources. It is never too early or too late to change negative behaviors, but interventions should be targeted and respond to the specific needs of communities and individuals to attain positive results. Interventions must ensure that all aspects of the ecology are taken into consideration, and that the most adequate types of services are provided to reduce violence. Interventions that are not based on evidence and usually address only superficial risk factors tend to be unsuccessful.

¹⁰³ The United Nations guidelines in ECOSOC resolution 2002/13 provide a summary of what effective interventions to reduce crime and violence should include. These recommendations go in line with what has been presented in this manual:

   a. Inclusive approaches which reduce youth marginalization;

   b. Participatory approaches;

   c. Integrated multisectoral strategies;

   d. Balanced strategies that include early intervention, social and education programs, restorative approaches, and crime control;

   e. Targeted and tailored strategies and programs to meet the needs of specific at-risk groups; and

   f. Approaches that respect the rights of children and young people.[161]

¹⁰⁴ Human capital projects provide an opportunity to address crime and violence in Central America's Northern Triangle. Given the magnitude of this issue, not addressing it at the commencement and throughout the life of the project, has the potential to affect project results and place their sustainability at risk. Human development interventions cannot afford to ignore crime and violence concerns in the Northern Triangle if they truly aim to have a positive impact in improving the lives of the people of these countries.

---

161 Hoffman, Knox, & Cohen (2010).
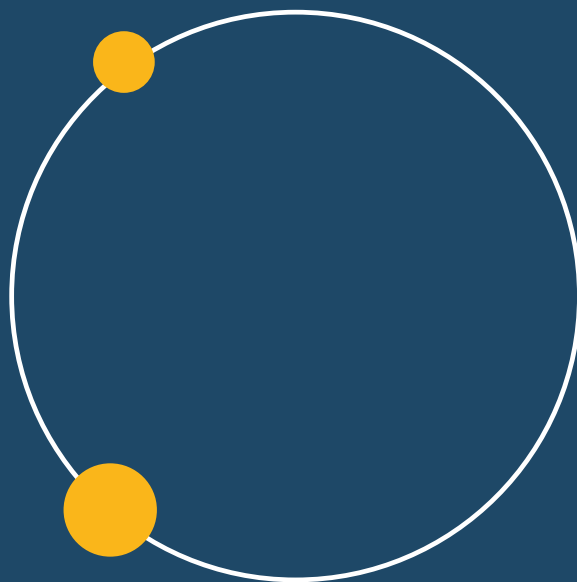
References

References

Abizanda, B.; Hoffman, J.S.; Marmolejo, L; & Duryea, S. (2012). *Citizen Security: Conceptual Framework and Empirical Evidence.* Inter-American Development Bank.

Abt, T. & Winship, C. (2016). *What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle.* USAID.

Asman, P. (2019). *Police again at center of death squad uncovered in El Salvador.* Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/police-center-death-squad-el-salvador/.

Bargent, J. (2013). *Extrajudicial Killings on the Rise in Guatemala.* Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/extrajudicial-killings-on-the-rise-in-guatemala/.

ACAPS. (2014). *Otras Situaciones de Violencia en el Triángulo de Norte Centroamericano: Impacto Humanitario.* Retrieved from https://iecah.org/images/stories/Otras_situaciones_de_violencia_ACAPS_Mayo_2014.pdf.

ACNUR. (2018). *Impacto de la violencia en 2020 Centros Educativos de Tegucigalpa. Análisis de los riesgos, necesidades, y propuestas de los docentes en riesgo de desplazamiento forzado.* Retrieved from https://www.acnur.org/5bf4a1c14.pdf.

Adams, T. (2015). *Legacies of Exclusion: Social Conflict and Violence in Communities and Homes in Guatemala's Western Highlands. Guatemala Conflict Vulnerability Assessment Final Report.* USAID. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1862/Guatemala_Conflict_Vulnerability_Assessment.pdf.

Arenas, M. (2018). *¿Por qué hay tantos suicidios en Latinoamérica?* Aleteia. Retrieved from https://es.aleteia.org/2018/07/18/por-que-hay-tantos-suicidios-en-latinoamerica/.

Banco Central de Reserva de El Salvador. (2016). *Estimación del costo económico de la violencia en El Salvador, año 2014.* Retrieved from https://www.bcr.gob.sv/esp/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=778:redibacen-"estimación-del-costo-económico-de-la-violencia-en-el-salvador-año-2014"&Itemid=168.

Banco Mundial. (2011). *Crimen y Violencia en Centro América: Un Desafío para el Desarrollo.* Banco Mundial LAC. Retrieved from https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAC/Resources/FINAL_VOLUME_I_SPANISH_CrimeAndViolence.pdf.

Banco Mundial. (mimeo). *Evaluación de Seguridad Ciudadana para los Municipios de Chinameca, Nueva Guadalupe, San Cayetano Istepeque, y Guadalupe – El Salvador.*

Barrios, J.; Escobar, J.; Ruiz-Arranz, M.; & Moreno, C. (2019). *Impulsando el Crecimiento Inclusivo y Sostenible.* Inter-American Development Bank. Retrieved from https://publications.iadb.org/publications/spanish/document/BIDeconomics_El_Salvador_Impulsando_el_crecimiento_inclusivo_y_sostenible.pdf.

Bergeron, J. & Mills. S. (2019). *Treating violence like a disease: Could the Glasgow model work here?* CBC. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/glasgow-violence-crime-ottawa-police-1.5338102.

Bortherton, D. & Gude, R. (2018). *Social Inclusion from Below: The Perspectives of Street Gangs and Their Possible Effects on Declining Homicide Rates in Ecuador.* Inter-American Development Bank. Retieved from https://publications.iadb.org/en/social-inclusion-below-perspectives-street-gangs-and-their-possible-effects-declining-homicide-0.

Cardenas, T. (2009). *A Guide for Understanding Effective Community-Based Gang Intervention Model. Volume II.* Retrieved from https://cardenas.house.gov/sites/cardenas.house.gov/files/Community-Based%20Gang%20Intervention%20Model.pdf.

Chioda, L. (2017). *Stop the Violence in Latin America: A look at Prevention from Cradle to Adulthood. Latin America*

Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Clavel, T. (2019). Extortion of Guatemala's Red Buses: Where Gang and Elite Criminal Interests Meet. Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/investigations/extortion-guatemalas-red-buses-gang-criminal/.

Congressional Research Service. (2019). Mexico: Organized Crime and Criminal Organizations. CRS Report. Retrieved from https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41576.pdf.

Dalby, C & Carranza C. (2019). InSight Crime's 2018 Homicide Round-Up. Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/insight-crime-2018-homicide-roundup/.

Dudley, S. (2018). MS13 in the Americas: How the World's Most Notorious Gang Defies Logic, Resists Destruction. Insight Crime. Retrieved from https://www.justice.gov/eoir/page/file/1043576/download.

Eguizábal, C., Ingram, C., Curtis, K., Korthuis, A., Olson, E. & Phillips, N. (2015). Crime and Violence in Central America's Northern Triangle: How U.S. Policy Responses are Helping, Hurting, and can be Improved. Wilson Center International Center for Scholars. Retrieved from https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/crime-and-violence-central-americas-northern-triangle-how-us-policy-responses-are.

ElSavador.com. (2016). Inseguridad forzó cierre de 12 colegios privados. ElSalvador.com. Retrieved from https://historico.eldiariodehoy.com/historico-edh/9801/inseguridad-forzo-cierre-de-12-colegios-privados.html.

Fischer, N., & Teutsch, S.M. (2014). Safe Summer Programs Reduce Violence and Improve Health in Los Angles Country. NAM Perspectives. Discussion Paper, National Academy of Medicine, Washington, DC.

Fuentes, C. (2019). 25 estudiantes han sido asesinados este año y 21 más están desaparecidos. Elsavador.com. Retrieved from https://www.elsalvador.com/noticias/nacional/25-estudiantes-han-sido-asesinados-este-ano-y-21-mas-estan-desaparecidos/580063/2019/.

Gallardo, J. M. Abad, and J. A. Gómez. (2008). ¡Preparados, Listos, Ya! Una Síntesis de Intervenciones Efectivas para la Prevención de Violencia Que Afecta a Adolescentes y Jóvenes. Washington, DC: Pan American Health Organization and GTZ German Cooperation.

Geneva Declaration Secretariat. (2015). Global Burden of Armed Violence 2015: Every Body Counts. Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from http://www.genevadeclaration.org/fileadmin/docs/GBAV3/GBAV3_Ch3_pp87-120.pdf.

Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime (2019). A Criminal Culture: Extortion in Central America. An Insight Crime-Global Initiative Report.

Goldkamp, J. S., White, M. D., & Robinson, J. B. (2001). Do drug courts work? Getting inside the drug court black box. Journal of drug issues, 31(1), 27-72.

Gonzales. (2020). Deserción escolar aumentó en ciclo básico y diversificado. elPeriódico. Retrieved from https://elperiodico.com.gt/nacion/2020/02/08/desercion-escolar-aumento-en-ciclo-basico-y-diversificado/.

Gottfredson, D. C., Najaka, S. S., & Kearley, B. (2003). Effectiveness of drug treatment courts: Evidence from a randomized trial. Criminology & Public Policy, 2(2), 171-196.

HAVI. (2020). What is a hospital-based violence intervention program (HVIP)? The Health Alliance for Violence Intervention. Retrieved from https://www.thehavi.org/what-is-an-hvip.

Hernández, E. (2019). 19,190 niñas y adolescentes embarazadas. ElSalvador.com. Retrieved from https://www.elsalvador.com/eldiariodehoy/19190-ninas-y-adolescentes-embarazadas/588759/2019/.

Hoffman, J.S.; Knox, L & Cohen, R. (2010). Beyond Suppression: Global Perspectives on Youth Violence. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Insight Crime. (2019). Extortion Explainer 1: Evolution of extortion in the Northern Triangle. Investigations. Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/investigations/extortion-explainer-evolution-extortion-northern-triangle/.

International Crisis Group. (2020). Virus-proof Violence: Crime and COVID-19 in Mexico and the Northern Triangle. Latin America Report No 83.

Jaitman, Laura. (2017). The Costs of Crime and Violence: New Evidence and Insights in Latin America and the Caribbean. Inter-American Development Bank. Retrieved from https://publications.iadb.org/en/costs-crime-and-violence-new-evidence-and-insights-latin-america-and-caribbean.

Katz, C., Hedberg, EC., & Amaya, L. (2016). Gang truce for violence prevention, El Salvador. Bull World Health Organ. 96(9), 660-666A. doi: 10.2471/BLT.15.166314.

Krug, E.G; Dahlberg, L.L.; Mercy, J.A.; Zwi, A.B.; & Lozano, R. (2002). World report on violence and health. World Health Organization.

La Prensa Gráfica. (2017). 66 profesionales para la salud mental del país. La Prensa Gráfica. Retrieved from https://www.laprensagrafica.com/elsalvador/66-profesionales-para-la-salud-mental-del-pais-20170516-0082.html.

Lemus, R. (2019). Niños de siete años son reclutados por pandillas. El Mundo. Retrieved from https://elmundo.sv/ninos-desde-siete-anos-son-reclutados-por-pandillas/.

Lemus, R. (2019a). Salud Reporta 615 suicidios entre 2015 y 2019. El Mundo. Retrieved from https://elmundo.sv/salud-reporta-615-suicidios-entre-2015-y-2019/.

Lohmuller, M and Dudley, S. (2016). Appraising Violence in Honduras: How much is Gang-Related? Retrieved from https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/appraising-violence-in-honduras-how-much-is-gang-related/.

Lutze, F. E., & Van Wormer, J. G. (2007). The nexus between drug and alcohol treatment program integrity and drug court effectiveness: Policy recommendations for pursuing success. Criminal Justice Policy Review, 18(3), 226-245.

Mitchell, O., Wilson, D. B., Eggers, A., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2012). Assessing the effectiveness of drug courts on recidivism: A meta-analytic review of traditional and non-traditional drug courts. Journal of Criminal Justice, 40(1), 60-71.

Marlowe, D. B., Festinger, D. S., Lee, P. A., Dugosh, K. L., & Benasutti, K. M. (2006). Matching judicial supervision to clients' risk status in drug court. Crime & Delinquency, 52(1), 52-76.

Muggah, R.; Garzon, J.C.; & Suarez, M. (2018). La "Mano Dura": Los costos de la represión y los beneficios de la prevención para los jóvenes en América Latina. Igarapé Institute.

Murcia, W. (2015). Las pandillas en El Salvador: Propuestas y desafíos para la inclusión social juvenil en contextos de violencia urbana. Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL). Documentos de Proyectos. Retrieved from https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/39362-pandillas-salvador-propuestas-desafios-la-inclusion-social-juvenil-contextos.

Navarro, L.; Velásquez, M.; & Megías, J. (2015). Violencia contra las mujeres en El Salvador: estudio poblacional 2014. Retrieved from https://www.utec.edu.sv/media/catedra-generos/investigaciones/2014/violencia_contra_las_mujeres_INFORME_FINAL_2014.pdf.

OSAR. (2020). Embarazos en adolescents del año 2015 al 2019. Observatorio de Salud Reproductiva. Retrieved from https://osarguatemala.org/embarazos-en-adolescentes-del-ano-2015-al-2019/.

PAHO. (n.d). *Promoviendo el Bienestar Integral, Salud Mental y Salud Física. Organización Panamericana de la Salud El Salvador.* Retrieved from https://www.paho.org/els/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=261:promoviendo-bienestar-integral-salud-mental-salud-fisica&Itemid=291.

Peña, M. (2020). *Absent students, murdered teachers: Gang violence permeates Honduras's schools. NBC News.* Retrieved from https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/absent-students-murdered-teachers-gang-violence-permeates-honduras-schools-n1144951.

Peñate, S. (2018). *Educación realiza traslados de docentes por amenazas. La Prensa Gráfica.* Retrieved from https://www.laprensagrafica.com/elsalvador/Educacion-realiza-traslados-de-docentes-por-amenazas-20180619-0108.html.

PNUD. (2018). *Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano: El Salvador 2018, ¡Soy Joven! ¡Y ahora qué? Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.* Retrieved from https://www.undp.org/content/dam/el_salvador/docs/IDHES%202018%20WEB.pdf.

Restrepo, A. (2019). *Extorsión, violencia y crimen organizado: 8 ideas para frenar el impuesto del miedo. Sin Miedos. Inter-American Development Bank.* Retrieved from https://blogs.iadb.org/seguridad-ciudadana/es/extorsion-violencia-y-crimen-organizado-8-ideas-para-frenar-el-impuesto-del-miedo/.

Rice, C. (2012). *Gang programs: L.A. anti-gang efforts are working. Los Angeles Times.* Retrieved from https://www.latimes.com/opinion/la-xpm-2012-apr-05-la-ol-rice-gang-reduction-blowback-20120405-story.html.

Rodriguez, D. (2019). *Toma forma nueva fuerza policial para proteger escuelas y colegios. La Prensa.* Retrieved from https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1301015-410/toma-forma-nueva-fuerza-policial-proteger-escuelas-colegios-honduras.

Sutton, H. (2017). *Restoring paradise in the Caribbean: combatting violence with numbers. Inter-American Development Bank.*

Trauma-Informed Care. (2020). *What is trauma-informed care? Trauma-informed care implementation resource center.* Retrieved from https://www.traumainformedcare.chcs.org/what-is-trauma-informed-care/.

United Nations. (2017). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions on his mission to Honduras. General Assembly Human Rights Council.*

UNDP. (2013). *Seguridad ciudadana con rostro humano: diagnóstico y propuestas para América Latina. Informe Regional de Desarrollo Humano 2013-2014. United Nations Development Program.*

USAID. (2015). *Crime and violence prevention field guide.* Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/DI_-_CVP_Field_Guide_-Final_Draft.508compliant.pdf.

Vasquéz, S. (2020). *Más de 175,000 estudiantes en Honduras dejaron las aulas en los últimos cuatro años. La Prensa.* Retrieved from https://www.laprensa.hn/premium/1358176-410/educacion-honduras-desercion-escolar-matricula-2019-cortes-milton-ayala-migracion.

Violence Prevention Alliance. (n.d.). *Global Campaign for Violence Prevention: Definition and typology of violence.* Retrieved from: https://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/.

Welsh, B. & Farrington, D. (2006). *Preventing Crime: What Works for Children, Offenders, Victims, and Places.* Cornwall, Great Britain: Springer.

WHO. (2002). *Informe mundial sobre la violencia y la salud: resumen. World Health Organization. Publicado en español por Organización Panamericana de la Salud.* Retrieved from https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/es/summary_es.pdf.

WHO. (2008). *Informe sobre el Sistema de salud mental en Honduras. World Health Organization.* Retrieved from https://www.who.int/mental_health/honduras_who_aims_spanish.pdf?ua=1.

WHO. (2011). *Mental Health Atlas – Guatemala. World Health Organization.* Retrieved from https://www.who.int/mental_health/evidence/atlas/profiles/gtm_mh_profile.pdf?ua=1.

World Bank. (2008). *Supporting Youth at Risk: A Policy Toolkit for Middle-Income Countries.* Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/514781468175152614/pdf/437050WP0ENGLI1YouthAtRisk01PUBLIC1.pdf.

World Bank. (2020a). *Population Total - El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras. World Bank Data.* Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=GT-HN-SV.

World Bank. (2020b). *Labor force participation rate for ages 15 – 24, total (%) (national estimate) – El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras. Data.* Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.ACTI.1524.NE.ZS?locations=SV-GT-HN.

World Bank. (2020c). *Insights from Disaggregating the Human Capital Index.* Retrieved from http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/514331571771382419/Public-Human-Capital-Index-Insights-2019-10.pdf.

World Bank. (2020d). *Intentional homicides (per 100,000 people) – El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.* Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/VC.IHR.PSRC.P5?locations=SV-HN-GT.

World Bank. (n.d). *About the human capital project.* Retrieved from https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/human-capital/brief/about-hcp.

Yanes, R. (2019). *Educación Honduras 2019: 40% de estudiantes de media reprobaron el año. La Prensa.* Retrieved from https://www.laprensa.hn/premium/1342423-410/resultasos-educativos-2019-secretaria-educacion-honduras-reoprobados.

Yuri, S.; Fevre, C.; Corrales, M.; Morales, C.; Tetreault, A., & Buitrago, P. (2013). *Approach Paper: Citizen Security in Latin America and the Caribbean: IDB's Comparative Advantage. Inter-American Development Bank.* Retrieved from https://publications.iadb.org/en/approach-paper-citizen-security-latin-america-and-caribbean-idbs-comparative-advantage.

Annex 1:

Citizen security assessment based on processes established in Section IV

[1] Fictional example: The Government of El Salvador is seeking funding to finance a health and education project to improve the infrastructure, equipment, and resources of schools, and to provide increased access to health, including mental health, in three low-income neighboring municipalities in the east of the country. During the design of the project, ESF specialists at the World Bank identify crime and violence as a possible risk to the project and would like to further assess the situation to mitigate the risk. They refer to the *Citizen security and human capital: Implementation manual and best practices for project design* (the manual) and carry out the following steps per the roadmap in the manual.

DEFINING THE AREA OF INTERVENTION, COMPILING DATA, AND ALLOCATING RESOURCES

Define the area of intervention: Given the project's scope and the small size of the municipalities, the project team decides to preliminarily focus its interventions at the municipal level.

Identify and allocate resources for the citizen security assessment: The project team understands the importance of addressing citizen security issues in the area of intervention and allocates resources to collect information and carry out the citizen security assessment. The team decides to set aside funds to hire two consultants to carry out the assessment. These funds will cover travel and labor costs for the assessment.

Compile information on the selected areas of intervention. Once the area of intervention has been identified, the project team hires two consultants to conduct desk research and travel to the field to compile information on socioeconomic indicators; homicide rates; demographics, including the percentage of youth population; risk and protective factors; main actors; perpetrators and victims of crime; where crime and violence occur; details on the nature of crimes in the area; crime and violence interventions carried out previously; police presence and programs; and presence of gangs or other criminal groups. They also ask the municipal offices for support to obtain police and judicial records, as well as to schedule focus groups with relevant actors in the municipalities. Through initial conversations and their online research, the team and the consultants also learn that other donors have not implemented citizen security projects in these municipalities, but the mayors have been holding youth soccer leagues, which are considered part of their crime and violence prevention strategies, although there are no actual municipal violence prevention plans in any of the municipalities.

ORGANIZING AND ANALYZING THE DATA

The information collected is analyzed and the team determines that the three target municipalities are areas where there are low levels of education; the homicide rate is not high, but there have been isolated and violent murders in past years; the household income in this area is low, around or lower than the minimum wage; there is not enough police presence and people do not trust the police; a significant amount of parents work late and children are left unsupervised by an adult for most of the day; local government capacity is low and in the three municipalities, people are starting to doubt the mayors' capacity to bring services to their communities; youth are the main victims and perpetrators of crime and there are not many afterschool opportunities for this group; and a small gang is present in the area of intervention and has started extorting people and businesses.

Define the main crime and violence problems and threats to your project. Upon the collection and analysis of the data, the team determines that the main violence threat to the project is the high number of youth who do not have afterschool opportunities or parental supervision after school. They spend significant amounts of time on the streets, potentially becoming easy recruits of a disorganized but violent youth gang that has cliques operating in the three municipalities.

Identify the main group or groups responsible for crime and violence and the place where most incidents occur in the area of intervention. The data analysis shows that a diffuse but violent gang is responsible for most of the violence in the municipalities. This gang is not very well organized but hopes to become an official faction of one of the main gangs in the country. They have not committed any homicides but have started extorting people and business. The gang has approximately 10 members per clique in each municipality ranging between 15 and 22 years of age. The team's analysis also shows that the places where most extortions occur in the blocks surrounding central plazas in the three communities that share borders in the three project municipalities.

Identify risk and protective factors in the area of intervention. The team refers to Table 1: Risk Factors of the manual and, with information analyzed from the data collection step above, determines that the following are the most prominent risk factors in the three communities: large youth population; dysfunctional families; poor parental supervision; gang presence in the community; and lack of access to employment, education, health and basic physical infrastructure. With respect to protective factors, the team identifies a teacher in the high school that serves the population of the three at risk communities. This teacher is committed to providing extra support to students not only in academic matters but also in providing advice for them to make informed and positive choices. Also, the high school received maintenance in the previous year, so classrooms are in good condition; an auditorium for 100 people was built; and 15 computers with connection to the internet were installed. The teacher works closely with a local pastor in a church, providing guidance and advice to youth.

Carry out a political economy analysis of the area of intervention. Most people in the three target municipalities travel to a nearby, larger municipality to work during the day and return home at night. Security is not the people's or the mayors' main focus in these three municipalities, because the situation is not out of control, as it is in other nearby municipalities. The main concern people currently have in the area of intervention is access to potable water. However, the people are increasingly starting to get worried about crime and violence because of the gang that is operating in the area and the extortions that it is carrying out. The mayors have not been able to get access to potable water for all the communities in their municipalities, including the three communities where there is increased gang activity. There are rumors that one of the gang members is nephew of one of the mayors. Elections are coming up and the current mayors have real competition. With the failure to provide water to all the people in the areas of intervention, if they do not address the issue of security, the current mayors risk not being re-elected. Given this information, it is likely that the current mayors or any candidates will support crime and violence prevention interventions in their municipalities.

Analyze the information and write down conclusions. At this point, the team has enough information to develop conclusions about the citizen security situation in the municipalities to guide the design of some possible interventions. The team concludes that there is low governmental capacity but political will to carry out crime and violence prevention interventions; the youth gang can still be controlled and eliminated given its disorganization and small number of members; youth are at great risk of being recruited by the gang given that there are no afterschool, job, or other educational opportunities for them; and given that work is not available in these municipalities, people travel to a nearby municipality for work, contributing to family dysfunction, low family cohesion, and lack of parental supervision.

DEFINING A STRATEGY AND AN APPROACH

Identify interventions to mitigate crime and violence based on the analysis of the information compiled. Based on the situation in the three bordering communities and the resources available, the team decides to design an intervention that uses the existing high school infrastructure for afterschool programs to provide opportunities for youth, increase social capital through enhanced community interactions, strengthen families, and build the skills of youth so they are better prepared to find jobs. This intervention is targeted to all youth in the communities and their families. A second proposed intervention focuses on engaging youth who are at the greatest risk of joining gangs to provide them with family counseling and targeted services to modify risky behaviors.

Ensure the selected intervention fits under the project's scope and goals. The team selects its interventions given that they fall directly under the main education and health project's scope and goals and contribute to the attainment of its objectives, while reducing crime and violence. The high school in the area of intervention could receive more computers, and classrooms and other spaces could be adapted to provide afterschool services to youth in the community. Also, the playground could be remodeled with synthetic grass so youth can play soccer there – the sport they are most interested in according to focus groups held by the team in these municipalities. These improvements will directly support the proposed crime and violence interventions, while directly fulfilling the project's main goals and objectives. Likewise, the provision of family counseling, including cognitive behavioral therapies, fall under the project's main goal of providing greater access to health to the target communities.

Develop a theory of change and roadmap to specify how crime and violence will be reduced through the selected intervention. Based on the proposed interventions and analysis of the crime and violence situation in the area of intervention, the team develops the following theory of change: *IF a safe space where youth can maximize their potential and which brings the community together is provided, and IF targeted family counseling is given to youth at the greatest risk of engaging in violence and to their families, THEN youth will stay off the streets, reducing their likelihood of engaging in crime and associating with negative peers, and youth at the greatest risk of engaging in violence and their families will change their negative behaviors, positively influencing their immediate network and community and reducing crime and violence.*

The team develops a framework to guide the intervention and its objectives.

> **Objective: Reduce the likelihood of crime and violence in the three project municipalities, with a focus on the three most vulnerable communities**
>
> | **Result 1: Youth have increased access to afterschool activities** | **Result 2: Youth and their families receive family counseling to modify violent behaviors** |
> |---|---|
> | Intermediate Result 1.1: Create opportunities for youth to participate in afterschool activities.

Intermediate Result 1.2: Engage youth and their families in afterschool activities at the high school.

Intermediate Result 1.3: Provide equipment for afterschool activities. | Intermediate Result 2.1: Develop a curriculum for family counselors in the community.

Intermediate Result 2.2: Improve the knowledge about family counseling techniques in the community

Intermediate Result 2.3: Promote positive behaviors as a standard in the community |

Identify resources needed to carry out the intervention. The team identifies the need for family counselors. Health professionals part of the main project cohort will be trained in these types of services, and they will later transfer this knowledge to other people in the community with the right interest, background, and skills necessary to carry out these interventions. The team will also need to hire a coordinator for the afterschool activities at the school, as well as some instructors for these activities. The project will seek to obtain funding for the coordinator's salary through the municipal office, and the instructors will volunteer their time (they will include youth who possess knowledge in computers, English, sports, etc.). Any additional equipment needed will be provided as part of the project's main objectives. Additionally, the high school teacher who is committed to her students will impart some of the afterschool activities, and the church pastor will provide counseling and guidance to youth in a more formal manner as part of the afterschool activities at the high school.

MEASURING SUCCESS

Monitor and evaluate the intervention and establish monitoring and evaluation timelines. The team has agreed to adhere to the timelines established by the main intervention to report on results. However, the citizen security sub-intervention will also conduct regular monitoring on interventions' progress every month during the first year, and then every quarter in subsequent years.

Define intervention indicators. Measuring change is difficult under a citizen security intervention. However, the project will measure impact through output and outcome indicators such as:

- Number of youth who participate in project afterschool activities.

- Number of families who engage in afterschool activities with their youth.

- Number of youth and their families who participate in family counseling program
  (threshold and selection established by project)

- Percentage of youth and families who report changes in negative behaviors.

- Community perceptions of crime and violence decreased.

- Number of after school activities developed with the project's support.