CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN THE CARIBBEAN

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Executive Summary: Growth and Development in the Caribbean

The Growth and Development in the Caribbean Practicum is a collaborative enterprise with the Caribbean Department of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) focusing on two sub-projects: Socio-Economic Profiles and Crime and Development. Four teams of two graduate students each completed one country economic and political analysis for their socio-economic practicum focusing on the Bahamas, Jamaica, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago. Each participant in the Crime and Development completed a literature review focusing on one of the five key areas of crime: crime trends, crime and business, violence in the home, gangs and gang violence, and youth violence and violence in schools. The reports serve as a capstone project for the completion of their Master’s studies in the School of International Service and provide background and recommendations for the Caribbean Department of the IADB, as well as inputs into its work-program.

The socio-economic reports (in a separate document) are focused on the analysis of the economic and political organizations of the countries and draw main findings and policy recommendations accordingly. A key message is that the four countries share certain similarities economically and politically, but have core dissimilarities as well. The similarities include small size of populations ranging from less than half a million to about 3 million people, proneness to natural disasters due to their geographic position, high rates of brain drain, a history of colonialism, closeness to the United States, and dependency on foreign markets. However, the countries also have differences including their economic growth and stability, external debt, and economic structure, i.e. service or commodity based. The summarized recommendations range from addressing internal fiscal and monetary imbalances, adopting policies that can lead to increasing employment in their main sectors of production (with an emphasis on addressing the shortcomings of the educational system and decreasing the administrative burden on private sector activity), and modernizing public sector institutions to increase revenue generating capacity, permit needed infrastructure public investments and reduce the burden of debt for the future generations. The recommendations in the reports are tailored to specific country circumstances.

The crime and development literature reviews focused on accessing the problem of crime and violence and its adverse impact on development efforts in the Caribbean, identifying the factors associated with crime and violence, and possible solutions to ameliorating the high prevalence of criminal and violent acts in the region. While crime studies in the Caribbean have proven to be a difficult task because of inadequate data and reporting, the Practicum produced an in-depth analysis of the existing evidence with respect to five important topics: crime trends, crime and business, violence in the home, gangs and gang violence and youth violence and violence in school. The reports document a substantial increase in reported crime over time, and of associated economic and social costs. The categories of crime examined in this review are
interlinked, and risks exist of self-reinforcing negative loops. The reports also looked at mitigation initiatives, both in the Caribbean as well as elsewhere in the world. While encouraging initiatives exist, there is need for considerably more formalized study of what can work, particularly in the Caribbean context.

The reports have been delivered to the Inter-American Development Bank, which may choose to use them as inputs in a number of forthcoming publications, in which case author attributions will include the AU student(s) responsible for drafting the reports.
Chapter 1 Crime Trends in the Caribbean

Tania Lucia Gaona

Introduction

Conducting crime studies in the Caribbean has proven to be a difficult task since there are varying definitions of crime across the Caribbean countries. Fear and hatred for the police has led to underreporting of crime partly due to the lack of trust between citizens and law enforcement, which has led to poor records of incidents. However, recent studies have attempted to overcome these challenges (through strategies such as conducting independent victimization surveys) and to address the issues of crime and violence in order to find possible solutions and bring an end to the violence in the region.

This research aims to analyze and compare crime trends in the Caribbean versus those globally, specifically examining two types of crime: violent and property crime. The study has been broken down into two parts. Part one describes the problem and the effects crime has had in the region as well as who likely perpetrators and victims may be. Part two reviews possible solutions and crime prevention strategies.

Part One: Effects of Crime in the Caribbean

Introduction

Escalating crime trends in the Caribbean region are of serious concern. The high levels of crime and violence in these countries has created negative outcomes, including high levels of insecurity and distrust, which presents a challenge to democracy and development. Therefore it is important to study these trends in order for government leaders to implement possible solutions to this issue. Part one aims to examine crime trends in the Caribbean region using available information from the early 1990s to 2014.

1. A. What is the problem?

The Caribbean has dealt with crime and violence for decades however, it became an escalating problem beginning in the late 1980s. In the past 20 years, the Caribbean region has experienced an increase in the number of crimes (Albuquerque and McElroy). Unfortunately there is not much information since many crimes go unreported due to the low levels of trust between citizens and the police (Hinton, Montalvo). Another reason is the differing definitions of crime across the countries and methods in which crime is recorded.

There are various types of crime taking place in the Latin American Caribbean region that have been studied. They can be broken down into two characters of crime: violent crimes and property crimes. Violent crimes include rape, murder, and homicide, while property crimes include theft, burglaries and robberies. Regarding the first category, from 2000 to 2011 the Caribbean’s homicide rates had increased from 12 to 21 per 100,000 inhabitants (Hinton, Montalvo). According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2013 study,
the Latin American Caribbean (LAC) region had an average homicide rate of 23 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2012, this is more than double the mean of Sub-Saharan Africa (Hinton, Montalvo). LAC has been defined by the UNODC as the deadliest regions in the world (Hinton, Montalvo). When compared to other regions of the world, the LAC Region has ranked first in homicide rates. 2007 data reported in Harriot (2008) reveal that the Caribbean had the highest homicide rate in the world.

The 2014 AmericasBarometer report has revealed that 1 in every 3 adults in the Americas has claimed that the most important problem facing their country is crime, violence or insecurity. A majority of citizens feel a lack of security within their own country. Inequality in the region has led many, specifically young males, to fall into a life of crime due to lack of opportunities and a sense of inadequacy (Van Wilsem, De Graaf and Wittebrood).

One of the problems that contributes to the lack of information in region, is the number of crimes that go unreported. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime conducted a study comparing the number of break-ins and robberies along with the number of police recordings among various countries of different regions (Hinton, Montalvo). Interestingly, the Caribbean had ranked low in the number of break-ins and robberies reported. This may be due to a number of reasons. First, the increasing loss of trust in the police and other forms of law enforcement which has resulted in the victim’s unlikeness to report an incident of crime. Second, pressure on law enforcement agencies to alter reports. Third, varying definitions of crime across countries and International institutions.

Even in terms of homicide rates, the variation in the definitions of crime, even among trusted institutions like the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, and the UNODC, and the consequent variation in the measurement of this phenomenon, can pose an important threat to the ability to make valid comparisons of levels of crime across time and space. (Hinton, Montalvo 9)
Although there are many who do report having been victimized, there is a problem of underreporting in the region. This is a problem in itself because these crimes of theft and violence are even more difficult to address without proper track records.

According to Albuquerque and McElroy there is a link between the breakup of traditional norms and crime rates, they argue that industrialization has created more potential targets and less guardians to protect those targets (442). With growing urban areas, property crime has increased in the region (Ibid). Property crime is a grave issue in the region that continues to increase especially with the growing number of visitors. The Caribbean is a tourist destination visited by many. Unfortunately this has created greater targets for crime. Criminals thrive off of tourists because they are unfamiliar with the area, carrying valuables and wealth with them often wandering into unguarded crime spots (Harriot). Many Caribbean countries are highly dependent on tourism and 25-25% of the total economy derives from it (UNDP). As a result some countries actually have a higher property crime rate in comparison to violent crime. It is important to note that a majority of property crime in the Caribbean is associated with low social status of perpetrators, usually a result of inequality within the region (UNDP).

1. B. Inequality and growth rates

Unemployment, income inequality and low levels of education within the region is associated with the increase of violent and property crimes. “Results from Multi-level analyses on theft and violent victimization indicate that the national level of income inequality is positively related to risk, independent of compositional (i.e. micro- and meso-level) differences” (Van Wilsem, Graaf and Wittebrood 125). This is not only an issue for the welfare of citizens in the region but also for development as citizens fear of being victimized arises. The increase in crime and violence is a threat to citizen security. According to UNODC and World Bank studies, there are similarities between global crime trends and those found within the Caribbean, for example crime rates have been found to be lower in countries with high growth rates than in countries with low growth rates (UNODC and World Bank).

Although the Caribbean is very different than most regions in the world, this information is useful because it reveals that there is a direct correlation between a country’s growth rate and its level of crime. Robbery rates, as well as homicide rates, are higher in Caribbean countries that possess low economic growth (Caribbean Human Development Report).

1. C. Who are the victims of violent crimes?

Violent crimes are very different from theft crimes in a number of ways. For the most part, income and education levels are irrelevant characteristics when it comes to violent crimes, as perpetrators don’t take income or education levels into consideration when attacking and therefore anyone can be targeted. As mentioned above, individuals who participate in nocturnal activities are prone to be victims of homicide, rape, assault and other violent crimes. Women are most vulnerable to violence yet are less likely to report being a victim. A 1991 study done in
Jamaica indicated that of 640 victims of interpersonal violence, 74.5% were women who had been victimized by a male (Mansingh, Ramphal). According to Contreras, violence against women in the region can be explained by the patriarchal society which has been present in the Latin American Caribbean region for centuries in which men are expected to be the head of the household (Contreras). Violence against women today may be used as a backlash against their rising levels of education, independence and occupational status (Albuquerque and McElroy). However, it is important to recognize that this information may be prone to error because many women are often victims of domestic violence and have failed to report their incidents out of fear. The information available is scarce due to lack of recording processes by law enforcement. Thus we can imagine that this number would be higher if all incidents had been reported.

Young, underprivileged male adults have also been identified as vulnerable to violent crime victimization, specifically the unemployed and those with low levels of education (Hinton, Montalvo 25). In Jamaica for example, the age group with the most prevalent number of victims against interpersonal violence were 15 to 39 year olds (Mansingh, Ramphal). Data collected from hospitals indicate that many times these serious injuries are between ordinary citizens who are victims of violent altercations that may arise in day to day activities (Harriott). Weapons used are usually guns, knives or home appliances.

1. D. Who are the victims of property crime?

There are a number of factors that help to determine target attractiveness of property crimes. One factor is education. Countries with high levels of education tend to have a higher level of theft crimes in comparison to violent crimes. This is due to the fact that individuals who have had higher education usually have stable jobs which results in a higher income and economic status. “Victims of property crime…tend to also be young males, but are more likely to be those who have more education and frequently use public transportation” (Hinton, Montalvo 25). When studied globally, 28,250 respondents of a national survey which included 18 countries had a higher risk of becoming the victim of theft, the more years of education they had and if their household income was above the means (Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Witterbrood 137). In 2014 the AmericasBarometer revealed that a majority of the respondents, 34.6%, had reported feeling “a lot” of fear and insecurity for a family member being assaulted while using public transportation (Hinton, Montalvo 26).

Location is also a key factor. Some areas are more likely to be affected by crime than others. For example, urban neighborhoods attract criminals usually because the residents are of a higher socioeconomic level. As seen in graph below, when comparing victims of crime by location, results indicate that 20.2% of victims were residents of urban neighborhoods, while 11.8% of victims were residents of rural neighborhoods (Hinton, Montalvo 26).
This is because those living in urban areas tend to be of middle or high class, which is seen as attractive to criminals of theft. However this also indicates that persons of greater wealth are more likely to report victimization.

Although urban neighborhoods attract thieves, studies have shown that neighborhoods who protect each other and enjoy guardianship are less likely to be targeted both for property and violent crimes (Van Wijsem, De Graaf, and Witterbrood 137). Guardianship can be explained as the sense of community and social cohesion among neighbors. Once an individual steps outside his neighborhood, they run the risk of victimization. Students and high paid workers using public transportation are at risk of theft, while those who participate in nighttime activities are at risk of violence. Although higher levels of education and urban residents attract perpetrators, this population is more likely to report being victims of such crimes and thus more information is available. As stated by Hinton and Montalvo,

…those who live in urban areas are more likely to report having been victimized by crime: on average across the Americas, approximately 1 out of every 5 adults living in an urban area reports having been victimized by crime, while approximately just 1 out of every 10 rural residents reports the same phenomenon (a statistically significant difference). (Minton and Montalvo 15)

Recently, evidence has shown that as wealth increases, so does the ability to ensure protection of oneself and one’s property. This as a result makes it more difficult for criminals to target wealthy individuals, indicating that the middle class is their preferred target. (Hinton, Montalvo 25). Levels of theft and robbery also increase in cities with high levels of tourism because tourists appear as attractive and easier targets. Tourism has been a determinant of property crime for many years. A 1999 study done by Albuquerque and McElroy revealed that most robberies in
Barbados were perpetrated against tourists and that they were five – six times more likely to be targeted than residents. In 2004 the level of crime in Jamaica had put a strain on tourism as the number of tourists diminished due to fear of becoming a victim. Recently more people are likely to stay at an all-inclusive hotel where there is no need to leave the hotel and the tourist feels more security (World Bank).

1. E. Who are the perpetrators?

Young men who have dropped out of school and fail to meet the standards of education play a major role in violent and property crimes and have created a sense of fear in civilians (Albuquerque and McElroy). The International Crime Victims Survey revealed that countries that are high in violence have lower education levels when compared to countries with lower levels of violence (Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Witterbrood). The survey also revealed that typically young, single, males are the most vulnerable to fall into a life of crime. Jamaican studies have determined that mostly 15 to 29 year olds are perpetrators of violent crime.

Perpetrators of crime can usually be traced to the disadvantaged population of a country, where opportunities and resources are scarce. High victimization rates usually result from underprivileged individuals who lack accessibility of resources and therefore try to overcome their frustrations through acts of violence (Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Witterbrood 140). Studies have shown that high levels of inequality in a country stimulate victimization rates (Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Witterbrood). As depicted in graph below, murder and robbery rates increase as inequality rises in a country.

(UNODC/World Bank 2007)

It is argued that criminal activity is induced the more unequal material resources are distributed in a society. Theft and violence become more probable under such circumstances, as they are directed towards a reduction of relative deprivation (theft), and the expression of frustration caused by the inaccessibility of material resources (violence). Indeed, many cross-national
studies have found a positive association between the amount of income inequality and national homicide rates. (Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Wittebrood 130)

Those who feel the effects of a country's inequality the most are urban youth from lower levels of society. As a result of this they are likely to become perpetrators of theft crimes because although illegitimate, it becomes a means of survival. Frustrated and unable to acquire the same resources as others, they are prone to take part in violent activity.

1. F. Why do we have this issue?

Since the 1980s there has been an escalating crime rate in the region. Albuquerque and McElroy argue that this was due to the large amounts of firearms and drugs present in the area during the time, as well as low levels of education among young males, (Albuquerque and McElroy). There are various reasons associated with this and many scholars have done their best to examine the issue and its cause. One’s level of education can determine whether one will be prone to a life of crime. Low levels of education, which fail to prepare students for skills required in jobs, often leave youth unemployed or underemployed, which places them at lower scale of society. Countries with high violence are made up of lower education levels, in comparison to countries with low violence (Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Witterbrood). From 1992 to 1997 the International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) collected data from 18 different countries revealing that where there is an uneven distribution of resources, or where there are high numbers of people with low material resources, there is likely to be higher victimization rates (Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Witterbrood).

Economic instability in the region continues to exist which can lead to poverty, resulting in an increase in crime trends. As a result, there is a sense of fear among the regions citizens consequently leading to a lack of community and social ties within neighborhoods. As mentioned above, neighborhoods that have a sense of guardianship are less likely to be victimized by theft offenders, as criminals prefer the unguarded victims. Van Wilsem, De Graaf, and Witterbrood describe this as the social disorganization theory, explaining that cross nationally the absence of social ties among neighborhoods leads to an increase in crime. With a lack of community, there is an escalating number of crime, leaving individuals with a strong desire to feel protected.

Fear of crime has played a significant role in the influx of criminals and serious crimes. This is called the “broken window hypothesis” (Doran), which is the hypothesis that describes the relationship between fear of individuals and the effect it has on high crime rates. Disorder and insecurity in a community create fear in individuals and as a result people withdraw from that community in order to avoid unsafe areas and situations. However, according to the broken window hypothesis, this fear is actually contributing to the increasing level of crime and therefore is creating an ongoing cycle of crime and violence.

Jamaica has been categorized as having one of highest homicide rates in the world. Fear in the region has resulted in the desire to feel protected, which is why many citizens own guns.
the late 1990s, 10,000 Jamaicans applied for a gun license (Albuquerque and McElroy). Since then, Jamaica has seen an increase in violent crime. From 1970 to 1977, the average murder rate was 16 per 100,000 inhabitants, by the 1990s it was at 27.7. Although rise in crime led Jamaicans to buy guns, the increased access to guns and firearms has consequently led to an increase in the number of crimes. In 1996, 68% of murders in Jamaica were committed with the use of a firearm (Albuquerque and McElroy).

The claim that urbanization and industrialization has led to an increase in crime, specifically theft crime has also been examined. Albuquerque and McElroy have stressed that development has led to an increase of crime in the region because development brings about a break-up of traditions leading to displaced youth and economic instability.

Although there is no proof of causation, the high level of drugs and gangs in the region, specifically in Jamaica, have played a role in the recent increase of violent crimes. Drug trafficking and other illegal and corrupt acts can certainly hinder the progress of supportive solutions.

1. G. Summary

Escalating crime trends in the Caribbean is an important issue of concern for the Latin American Caribbean region. According to the UNODC, the Caribbean murder rate in 2007 was the highest in the world with a rate of 30 per 100,000. As further research has concluded, crime and violence has continued to increase in the past two decades, threatening the security and welfare of the Caribbean countries, as well as the overall development. There are several challenges which the region faces, such as the need for improved crime reports and the failed relationship between law enforcement officers and citizens. The implementation of new policies designed specifically to incorporate crime and violence prevention in the Caribbean region is needed in order to address this phenomena.

Part Two: Solutions and Crime Prevention Strategies

Part two examines types of prevention and control policies. It offers possible solutions that have been implemented to reduce crime both in the Caribbean region and globally. This part of the study provides three possible prevention strategies: situational prevention, policing strategies and incarceration. Situational prevention aims to create an environment in which crime seems less appealing to potential predators. These include, CCTV Cameras, environmental strategies and street lighting. Policing strategies used by the police and law enforcement help to prevent crime such as hot spot policing and police presence. And finally incarceration which has provided harsher and stricter punishments for crime offenders. Whether or not these crime prevention strategies have been successful in combatting crime and violence is discussed in the following sections.

2. A. Situational Prevention:
CCTV Cameras

Program Description: In recent years the installation of cameras in high crime areas has been used to reduce crime activity in some cities. Promoters of the cameras have claimed that although expensive, they are an effective and powerful tool for crime prevention. From 2006 to 2007 the City of Philadelphia, PA saw a 13% decrease in the number of crimes as a result of public closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras (Ratcliffe). They help capture crimes that are in progress, vehicles that drive off from the scene of the crime, and also serve to identify witnesses. When cameras are placed throughout a city, criminal offenders are less likely to commit a crime for two reasons. First, offenders will hesitate to commit a crime because they know they are being watched and second, the offenders perceive that being caught outweighs the benefits from the crime that they would commit. This fear of being caught is beneficial, not only for the city in which the cameras are located, but also in neighboring areas. This spread of crime prevention is called a diffusion of benefits (Ratcliffe).

Implementation Experiences: In 2005 studies were done by the Urban Institute in United States cities, Baltimore and Chicago. They conducted their studies by installing over 500 cameras around downtown Baltimore and 2,000 in Chicago, examining whether the cameras were effective in reducing crime and whether the cameras were worth the cost. Overall they concluded that the effectiveness of the installation of cameras depends on how the system is set up as well as the location (La Vigne). Strategic placement of the cameras is key. This method of prevention is most effective in places where crime was high. Baltimore for example, highly benefited from the installations. In 2005 crime in Baltimore had dropped by 30 incidents per month in the span of four months. From 2003 to 2008 Baltimore had a drop in the number of total crimes and there is no proof that the crime had been displaced to other areas (La Vigne). After the surveillance cameras were installed in Chicago, the number of criminal offenses including drug related crime and burglaries had fallen by nearly one third. Violent crime in the city had decreased by 20% (La Vigne).

Outcomes: Both Chicago and Baltimore found that the cameras were effective and well worth the installation costs as both cities benefited greatly and actually saved money as a result of the decrease criminal justice costs and victimization emotional cost; Chicago for instance, saved an estimated $800,000 per month. Thus, the use of cameras in street intersections with much criminal activity would be of great advantage for Caribbean countries because it creates a perception that the camera can capture beyond the target area.

Assessment of Evidence: Although the study done by the Urban Institute found positive results in decreasing crime in Chicago and Baltimore, a contradicting argument is that the presence of CCTV cameras can actually negatively impact surrounding neighborhoods where there is no sight of cameras. This movement of crime from one neighborhood to another is called displacement (Ratcliffe). Sites were evaluated by cameras in areas that police believed would
benefit from such crime prevention strategies. Each live video was monitored by police, however some had reported that visibility during late hours of the night was inadequate. Studies done in the Chicago community, West Garfield Park saw no change in criminal activity. Residents questioned how well police monitoring was in this particular area.

**Environmental Strategies**

**Program Description:** In order to see an end to violence in the communities, strong interpersonal trust among neighbors is vital. This argument is based off of a theory developed by the Inter-American Development Bank which has been implemented in Cali, Colombia in order to create a more peaceful environment in the city (Cuesta). Like the Caribbean, Colombia is a country that has experienced a high number of violent crimes for many decades. The theory of social learning argues that since violence has been a part of daily life in violent societies, individuals are no longer effected by the consequences and may lead some to believe that violence is a means for resolving conflicts (Cuesta).

**Implementation Experiences:** The IADB study was aimed to test whether there was a relation between social capital formation and violence reduction. They have done this by analyzing an action plan created in Cali in the early 90s called DESEPAZ which aims to diminish violence and crime by encouraging coexistence. The program continues to do this by improving law enforcement and justice, the promotion of peace building, social development and citizen empowerment. The police have been targeted and trained in human rights and like programs. Casas de justicia (houses of justice) within the community reinforced criminal justice practices in order reduce the level of freedom among criminals impunity. Educational campaigns have been specifically targeting the younger populations since a majority of crimes are done by young men and young adults. DESEPAZ was created for the purpose of creating peace within communities in order to reduce victimization rates in Cali.

**Outcomes:** As a result of the implementation and success of DESEPAZ, the IADB study concluded that public interventions aimed to build trust creates a decrease in the levels of victimization. The improvement of policing and the perception that there is a public presence reduces victimization and improves trust in the neighborhood (Cuesta). The city of Cali as a result of this program had seen a reduction in the homicide rates from 124 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1994 to 88 in 1998 (Cuesta). “An increase of 1% in the interpersonal trust index will lead to a decrease of 4.8% in the index of victimization. This implies that an average increase of 17% in the index of interpersonal trust is associated with a reduction of one victimization episode a year. In other words, there is a strong case for strengthening interpersonal trust as a means to combat victimization” (Cuesta 8).

**Assessment of the evidence:** Surveys were conducted in 2005 targeting an estimated 1,200 households in Cali. The purpose of the survey was to gain knowledge on the effects of community activities. Researchers then used empirical evidence to test the relationship between
violence and social capital. They concluded that an increase in interpersonal trust led to a decrease in victimization levels (Cuesta). Although there was a decrease in crime due to the interpersonal trust which DESEPAZ aimed to create, crime in Cali increased in 1999. Cali has experienced unsteady crime trends therefore further analysis on the role of interpersonal trust that similar programs address is needed to determine the effect it has on the community.

Street Lighting

Program Description: lighting in crime areas was a popular method of combatting crime in the 1970s and continues to be a common approach in the U.S. and in the U.K. Brandon C. Welsh and David P. Farrington theorize that darkness leads to insecurity among neighborhoods. As a result criminals thrive off of it because they are less likely to be seen. Welsh and Farrington explain that darkness creates an increase in the number of crimes which eventually leads to a low quality of life due to fear of being victimized. When lighting has been placed in a community there is a sense of pride and cohesiveness (Welsh, Farrington).

Implementation Experiences: Welsh and Farrington conducted 13 total evaluations in the United States and the United Kingdom for a period of four decades, to observe the effects that street lighting would have produced. They did this by examining crime trends by day and by night before and after the implementation of street lights.

Outcomes: Their studies concluded that street lighting did in fact have a positive effect on the reduction of property and personal crime. Crime in the experimented areas decreased by 20% (Welsh, Farrington). Lighting increased surveillance of criminals, and had positive results on the neighborhood as a whole (Welsh, Farrington). Similarly, a 2000-2011 IDB report which evaluated eight studies in different countries saw a decrease in crime after street lighting programs were implemented (Pousadela).

Assessment of the Evidence: Welsh and Farrington conducted a systematic meta-analysis combining results from previous studies in order to examine the effects lighting has on preventing crime. However the study only examines studies done in the United States and the United Kingdom, therefore the effects street lighting would have on a developing country is unknown. Often times, street lights are implemented for the sake of pedestrians or for traffic purposes, however the use of increased lighting in streets has been thought to be effective in helping to reduce crime because it reduces the level of fear. “Despite the contrary evidence, particularly in the U.S. studies, improved lighting schemes remain popular. The reason for this involves the issue of fear. Even if relighting does not reduce crime, the ability to see better makes people feel safer” (Lab 63).

2. B. Policing strategies:

Hot spot Strategies

Program Description: The argument that the presence of police in high crime locations has an effect on the number of crime has been evaluated in recent years. A 2000-2011 study done
by the IDB concluded that police presence showed positive results so long as it is applied to practices that have been effective in the past (Pousadela). Hot spots are targeted by patrol units and thought to work because they target crime locations and jurisdictions where gang and criminal activity usually occur.

**Implementation Experiences:** Hot spots policing has been conducted in Trinidad and Tobago, the study is known as The Trinidad & Tobago Police Service Hot Spots Patrol Strategy (HSPS). The 2013 study observed 40 police districts which had ranked highest for violent crime rates from January 2012 to July 2013. The hypothesis of the study is that the more time spent in hot spots, the less the harm levels produced as a result of violent crime. The experiment lasted for a period of 90 days observing crime trends from June to August 2013. Overall citizens were pleased to see the police frequently patrolling their communities. The hypothesis of this study is that the more patrol time given to hot spots, the less harm from that crime. As a result, this maximizes the effectiveness of control of crime (Sherman 2).

**Outcomes:** Two decades worth of studies by Sherman and Weisburd (1995) have revealed that hot spots have been associated with the reduction of crime. Increase in police presences can lead to a reduction in crime and disorder (Sherman). In 2011 a study was conducted in Sacramento, California which tested the result of increased patrol presences in high crime areas for a period of 90 days. Police officers had been instructed to visit hot spots and patrol for about fifteen minutes each. Essentially the hot spot was patrolled about every other hour. As a result, Part 1 offenses dropped by 25% (Stroud). There was a decrease in crime, not only in the targeted areas but also in the surrounding neighborhoods which demonstrates just how effective hot spot deployment can be.

**Assessment:** Hot spot policing decreases the number of property crime in public places but it may be more difficult to control violent crimes such as rape and domestic assaults. Adding more police to the street can be more costly and the argument can be made that more police is not an efficient means to solving the root of the problem. The study in Trinidad and Tobago used evidence based policing in order to rank the top 40 districts that had reported violent crime. They did this by handwritten reports by police later sent to HQ for entry of data. However, many times the officers had reported being in the hot spot when in reality they were only near the hot spot. Although citizens felt safe with the presence of police, it is questionable how reliable and effective hot spot policing was in Trinidad and Tobago since some police did not properly record their presence in these areas.

**Community Policing**

**Program description:** As previously mentioned in Part one, guardianship among neighbors is likely to reduce property crime in a given location. The theory that community engagement in neighborhoods can help to reduce crime is particularly common among United States cities. This is a unique form of crime prevention because law enforcement agencies
interact with citizens by training them on how to properly patrol crime by identifying and resolving problems. Specialized community policing creates a great amount of trust between the community and the local police officers.

**Implementation experiences:** Community policing has been implemented in Dallas, Texas, where the police department sponsors a police academy for the citizens. They have helped keep vigilant watch for potential perpetrators, serving as school liaisons, keeping the community contact present, as well as providing assistance to patrol services (Hoover). The need for community policing in the Caribbean has been emphasized as well however, there is also animosity towards the implementation of foreign policies (Deosoran). As Floyd McDonald, Guyana’s Commissioner of Police, had stated during the Meeting of the CARICOM (Caribbean Community) Task Force on Crime and Security in 2003, the Caribbean needs to be thoughtful when introducing these policing strategies and not rush to apply them. There is not a fixed solution as there are many countries within the region, each having its own culture and traditional norms.

**Outcomes:** This method of crime prevention has proven to help law enforcement officers. As a result of the societal involvement that had taken place in Dallas, the police did not patrol the neighborhoods, because of the community policing that was in effect (Hoover). Although there are claims that this strategy had been effective in reducing crime, the actual impact is difficult to measure. “It should be noted that reported drops in crime ‘due to community policing’ occurred during the 1990s, when crime was decreasing everywhere nationally” (Hoover 60). In the Caribbean, the Association of Caribbean Commissioners of Police (ACCP) conducted interviews with senior personnel and sent questionnaires to each jurisdiction. They only received about 50% of responses however, they were able to conclude that community policing was ineffective due to fixed structures in law enforcement, the lack of support for the new approaches and a lack concern by senior officers of citizens’ needs (Deosoran).

**Assessment:** The concept of societal participation in community policing creates a sense of authority over others therefore community policing can easily be misused and abused. While at a crime conference in Barbados of 2002, Police Commissioner Watson (Barbados) had revealed that citizens who had been providing advice to the police had proven to be inappropriate and counterproductive (Deosoran). The ACCP had sent out questionnaires to the jurisdictions however this type of research can be prone to error as it can be argued that respondents are not being truthful in their responses. Community policing in the Caribbean can be challenging as each country in the Caribbean is different and has specific characteristics that need to be addressed before implementation.

2. C. Incarceration:
Program description: Complete incapacitation of an offender is believed to prevent future crimes and is thought to be the greatest form of deterrence (Lab). The public has been more likely to demand that perpetrators be behind bars for longer periods of time in order to prevent crime, particularly violent crime (Hoover).

Implementation experiences: In 1991 the United States had a murder rate of 9.8 per 100,000 people (Von Drehle). This explains the increasing incarceration rates in the U.S. during the 80s and 90s. Subsequently crime decreased, and in 1992 crime rates in Houston, Texas dropped due to the increase in the number of arrests (Hoover). In the past 20 years the United States has seen a decrease in the number of crime. When a city has more aggressive police programs, crime consequently drops (Hoover). Proactive enforcement of police officers results in a decrease in crime. Since 1991 violent crime has declined by 51% and property crime by 43% (Roeder). However, whether or not incarceration rates have been responsible for this has been debated.

Outcome: Incarceration rates in the United States has increased in the past 20 years from 300/100,000 to 500/100,000 (Hoover). The theory that increased incarceration was responsible for the crime decline has significantly changed from the 1990s to the 2000s. As seen in the graphs below, the theory that increased incarceration is a possible causation of crime decline fell from an estimated 7% in the 1990s to an estimated 1% in the 2000s.

![Popular Theories on Crime Decline: 1990-1999](chart.png)
In recent years, increased incarceration rates are no longer a popular theory of crime reduction. “A 2014 report from the Brookings Institution’s Hamilton Project explained that incarceration has ‘diminished marginal returns’. In other words, Incarceration becomes less effective the more it is used” (Roeder 7).

**Assessment:** The effects that incarceration has on crime reduction is unclear. It is true that incarceration can affect crime (Roeder) but was the crime decline in the 90s a direct result of the increased incarceration rates? The answer is debatable. However, Nearly 1 in every 100 U.S. adults is incarcerated (Roeder) which serves as evidence that the United States has been dealing with a mass incarceration dilemma.

2. **E Summary**
Crime prevention strategies, as the ones mentioned have in one way or another helped communities and countries combat crime. Even when implementation experiences have been challenging, the efforts made have helped to determine what works and what does not work. Having a reputation for high crime and violence, the Caribbean region could benefit from similar crime control policies and prevention strategies. However, as has been stated by top law enforcers of the region, implementation of these strategies must be done with high regard for the cultural differences and diversity found within each country of the Caribbean. When introducing possible solutions to crime and violence in the region, we must keep in mind that what works in the U.S. and U.K. may not have the same results for the Caribbean countries. Therefore, applying similar prevention strategies with methods aimed specifically for each country is vital to seeing a decrease in the presence of crime and violence.

**Conclusion**
Crime and violence in the Caribbean is of critical importance. Escalating criminal activity continues to harm society in various forms, specifically effecting the economic and social
development of the Caribbean region. There are many factors that play a role in Caribbean crime trends. High levels of inequality and instability in the region have created possible means for criminal activity, as the lifestyle, although illegitimate, attracts unemployed youth whose opportunities are scarce. This problem needs to be urgently addressed by local communities and policy makers in order to avoid a worsening situation. The implementation of crime prevention strategies, can serve as a positive means to reducing and preventing criminal and violent activities which for decades have impeded the development of the Caribbean Region.

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Chapter 2 Crime and Business
Shuo (Patrick) Wang

Introduction
Crime and violence is an overarching element across the development of various aspects of the society, from youth development to gender dynamics. In terms of private sector development, businesses may be extorted, operations may be hindered, and the prevalence of crime may transform the ecology of business as well. However, understanding the interaction of crime and businesses and measure the costs of crime can be difficult. In the following section we will discuss about quantitative measurement of the impact of crime and violence to the society and to businesses particularly, with an example of the tourism sector, and then review on what actions may be taken by a firm to counter crime and violence.

Assessing the Cost of Crime to Society
The prevalence of crime and violence has direct and indirect impact on the firms through various mechanisms. In terms of direct impact, firms may suffer from exclusion from economic activities (e.g. participation impeded by gangs) and loss of investment and customers (due to direct violence or increased difficulty in doing business). In a broader sense, private sector development may be hindered indirectly by the impact on the society due to crime and violence, such as productivity loss (such as a business culture that all stores close before dusk for safety concern), supply chain interruptions, and brain drain (Goldberg, Kim and Ariano, 2014: 13-4).

Buvinic and Morrison (1999) categorized the wider macroeconomic indicators such as lower employment participation rate, lower productivity and lower savings and investment rate as the “economic multiplier effects”, as these factors modify the direct costs of violence.

Because of the complex mechanism of impact, scholars developed different approaches to assess the impact of crime. Some address a narrowly defined issues with costs specific to that sector and region, while some others look at the impact measured with units from monetary value to healthy years lost on the entire economy from an aggregated level. According to UNODC (2007: 42-59), there are five somewhat overlapping approaches in the studies of the cost of crime:1) assessing specific costs, 2) using the “accounting approach”, 3) estimating “willingness to pay” as an instrument, 4) measuring the cost as Disability-Adjusted Life Years (DALYs) lost, and 5) estimating the total cost in terms of economic growth.

Specific costs of crime covers a specific topic – be it the impact of crimes on tourism or the non-monetary effects in poor urban neighborhood in Jamaica. The key difference here is that scholars use this method to analyze the effects of crime on particular sectors or groups without trying to calculate the total cost of crime to society. A good example is a CDC (2003) report estimated the costs of violence from intimate partner against women exceed $5.8 billion (in 1995 dollars), among which $4.1 was direct costs of medical and mental care, and the rest due to loss
of productivity and earnings. The non-homicide data were collected via 8,000 phone interviews, and the costs were calculated by estimating the direct and indirect costs. Indirect costs include present value of lifetime earnings for homicides, and lost productivity as measured by the number of days victims were unable to perform paid work and/or household chores due to illness, injury, or disability related to IPV victimization. The actual calculation is the same as the accounting approach, which aggregate all itemed expense for each case and then estimate for the entire population (see below).

The accounting approach breaks down the total cost of crime to various categories and sums up to one single monetary figure, including direct costs like health care and security expenditure, and indirect costs such as loss of job. An early research on six Latin American countries by the IADB (Gaviria, Guerrero and Londoño 2000:27) shows that direct costs of violence range from 2.9% to 11.4% of their respective GDP, while total costs account for 5.1% to 24.9% of their GDP. The calculation included medical expense, loss of life years, material loss, and intangible loss such as employment and disability. There is a reference point for each type of impact, for example, with the data on average cost of hospital stay and treatment multiplied by the number of incidence of violence-related hospitalized injuries, we can estimate the total private health costs from violence-related hospitalization (Francis et al., 2003). The accounting method makes it easier for economists and business people who are used to deal with numbers to communicate with each other, and serves well as a basis for cost-effectiveness analysis. However, it is “extremely difficult” (Day, McKenna and Bowlus, 2005: 30) to properly catalog and obtain the vast quantity of different types of data. It is more often than not that specific data do not exist, particularly in developing countries.

Willingness to pay refers to how much people are willing to pay in exchange for reductions in crime, which could serve as an estimate for costs of crime. It includes two methods: the hedonic housing models and the Contingent Valuation Methodology. The hedonic housing models value the willingness to pay for housing facing different levels of crime while controlling other factors for real estate pricing (Dubin and Goodman 1982:177). For example, Brookshire et al. (1992) found that when crime rate doubles in a neighborhood, house pricing in the neighborhood decreases between 8 and 10 percent, after controlling for other key factors for the price of houses. Contingent Valuation Methodology interviews a sample of the population and asks how much the respondents were willing to pay for safety. Gegax, Gerking and Schulze (1991) asked a group of workers what percentage of a salary reduction would they be willing to take in exchange for lower risk of a fatal accident on the job, and calculated that to save one life the workers are willing to give up $2.8 million in salary. Disability-Adjusted Life Years (DALYs) lost are calculated from the death and injury directly caused by crime activities, expressing the health impact of crime and violence, and could derive a monetary figure when multiplied by the value of labor. DALY is the sum of two components: the Years of Life Lost (as
number of deaths multiplied by standard life expectancy) and Years Lost due to Disability (as number of incident cases multiplied by disability weight and average duration of the case until remission or death in years). The "disability weight" reflects the severity of the disease on a scale from 0 (perfect health) to 1 (death). One DALY is similar to one lost year of "healthy" life, and zero DALYs lost means that the entire population lives to an advanced age with no disease or disability. UNODC (2007: 55) compared the DALYs lost in some of the Caribbean countries with other diseases and unintentional injuries, and found that the direct health cost of violence, as measured by DALYs lost according to the WHO, is 0.37% of all DALYs lost and almost negligible. However, this approach requires high accuracy and reliability of data and difference in data quality makes cross-country comparison less viable (see Krug et al. 2002: 7-9).

In the last approach, economists use dynamic panel regression to capture the long-run macroeconomic cost of crime on growth. For example, World Bank (2006: 27) regressed a growth model that includes homicide rate, based on data for 28 to 43 countries, and estimates that a reduction of 10 per 100,000 people in completed homicide rate would increase GDP per capita in the next five years by 0.7-2.9 percent, depending on the specification. It is worth noting the possible mutual causality between growth and crime rates: low growth leads to more crimes, and crimes worsen growth opportunities.

As we can see, the methodologies above are not mutually exclusive. A study can focus on a specific sector and use one of the four estimation methods above. Suppose one is to estimate the costs of crime to businesses, DALYs would be harder to perform, as most relevant crimes are property crimes which are less relevant to health. Willingness to pay can be a good method, as most firms spend on security. The accounting method would be harder to use, particularly in the Caribbean region, due to lack of data on price and costs, although with careful research it is certainly possible. Economic regression at macroeconomic level should be fairly easy to perform, however, due to the aggregated nature, it cannot contribute as much as other methods to the current understanding of how crime interacts with businesses. Simply put, although each method has its own merit, the accounting method and willingness to pay may be the best instrument to research on the mechanism of how crime interacts with businesses. Nonetheless, there is a sixth method to understand the impact of crime on business – self-reported victimization surveys.

Available data
The various methods require different types of data. The main data for crime and violence can be categorized into two types: those from administrative records and those from victimization surveys. More specifically, the previous are usually crime prevalence data from national and local police authority, while the latter are usually conducted by non-profit organizations. According to UNDP (2013: 42), the administrative records are usually collected across different levels (national, provincial and municipal) in one country, but internationally such information
can be absent in some countries or incomparable due to difference in design or inappropriate execution. The administrative records on crime tend to be underreported as well, and the hidden figures tend to be high. An example of using administrative data would be the regression of tourism prosperity against homicide rates. Victimization surveys, on the other hand, are usually in the form of interviews during which the interviewees would voluntarily report any crime they suffered lately and what consequence it had. These surveys are particularly useful for information that are not normally (or not properly) publicly recorded, such as the security expense of firms. While victimization surveys helps to uncover those hidden figures, especially in those areas that is not officially recorded, it does require a cautious examination to the methodological design of these surveys.

Two international organizations have compiled administrative records on crime and violence for easier access. As citizen security draws more and more attention in recent years, regional collaboration on collecting relevant information. The Organization of American States established a Hemispheric Security Observatory, which constantly gathers and publishes official information on crime and violence for all the countries in the hemisphere since 2000. The data repository includes homicide rates, death by causes, other crime prevalence data and limited victimization surveys data. In 2007 the IDB launched an initiative called Standardized Regional System of Indicators for Citizen Security and Violence Prevention (SES), attempting to enhance the quality of the information on crime and violence, and publishing visualized data on its website. The SES now (Feb. 2015) includes 19 countries and two cities, among which are two Caribbean countries: Jamaica and Guyana. The public can visit the website find crime related indicators dated from 2008, however no surveys data are currently available.

Besides international efforts, at least 15 countries in Latin America have created their own observatories for crime and violence, with the years of observation range from one to 24. (UNDP 2013: 63) Some of the observatories may take their own victimization surveys. For example, in Chile the Ministry of Interior and the National Institute of Statistics performs the National Urban Citizen Security Survey (ENUSC) from 2003 to date. In Mexico, the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), conducts the National Survey on Victimization and Perception of Public Safety (ENVIPE) since 2011. This survey replaced the National Crime Survey conducted by the Citizen Institute for Studies on Insecurity.

Furthermore, there are also four victimization surveys that are particularly helpful for research on the impact of crime on business: Latinobarómetro, LAPOP, Executive Opinion Survey, and the Enterprise Surveys.

A private non-profit organization based in Santiago, Chile conducts an annual public opinion survey called Latinobarómetro and interview with 20,000 individuals in 18 Latin American countries. These countries do not include Caribbean countries, and the survey questions cover a variety of areas, including democracy, economy as well as society. One
question, nonetheless, has been consistently asked since 1995: “Have you or a relative been assaulted, attacked, or the victim of a crime in the last 12 months?”

Another similar source is the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) hosted by Vanderbilt University. One of the major surveys carried out by the Project is the bi-annual AmericasBarometer survey, which now covers 26 nations in North, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. The data from 2004 onward can be accessed online and downloaded for free, and earlier survey data are available for purchase. The surveys include several questions on crime victimization for individuals, such as whether the interviewee suffered from an act of crime in the last 12 months, and what type of crime it was. The sample size of most surveys is between 1000 and 2000.

The World Economic Forum carries out an annual Executive Opinion Survey, as the main source of information for the Global Competitiveness Report which was first released in 1979. In 2014 the Survey captured the opinions of over 14,000 business leaders in 148 economies. To our interest, there is one question asking for a subjective rank from 1 to 7 that describes the cost crime and violence impose on businesses in his/her country. The survey covers many countries and thus allows for cross-sectional comparison, but insights may be limited.

So far probably the best surveys data for researches on the impact of crime and violence on businesses are from the World Bank’s Enterprise Surveys. These are firm-level random surveys stratified across regions, firm sizes and business sectors. The surveys take place in the form of interviews, and depending on the size of the country, the sample size is between 150 and 1800. Among all Caribbean countries, Jamaica is the only country that has two data points (2005 and 2010), while the rest were surveyed only in 2010. The earliest year of data is 2002, when 27 countries participated in the survey, and 135 countries were surveyed at some point in the past. However, countries joined the surveys in different years, and the time interval between surveys vary from country to country, while some participated once and never returned. The firm-level data is available for research if the researcher comply with the Data Access Protocol (“Confidentiality Agreement”) and submit a request to the World Bank.

The Enterprise Surveys includes a section of five questions directly about crime. Questions include: the percentage of annual sales spent on security; losses as a percentage of annual sales due to theft, robbery, vandalism or arson; and a subjective question on how much of an obstacle is crime, theft and disorder to the operation of the business. Enterprise Surveys provides well designed survey data that are consistently collected across the world and thus comparable between states. Different survey results may be used for time-series analysis, such as the impact over time of certain policy. However, the losses reported in the Enterprise Surveys

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2 http://www.enterprisesurveys.org/methodology
only includes loss due to theft, robbery, vandalism or arson. In other words, loss of employees, bribery, divestment, and other business costs may not be reflected in the surveys.

**The Magnitude of Impact**

As we discussed earlier, there are several methods that are appropriate for assessing the impact of crime on businesses. However, because different crime types affect businesses in different ways, and different businesses take the impact differently, it is difficult to model how exactly crime interact with the private sector and thus estimate the impact. Victimization surveys, on the other hand, provide a much straightforward view on the magnitude of the impact. Here we would use the best source available (the Enterprise Surveys) and present the impact of crime to business, with a special focus on the Caribbean region.

First of all, most firms spend on security systems, and many suffer from property crimes. If we take a quick look at security expenditure and loss from property crime reported by the firms around the world (Chart 1), the latest data shows that 71 percent of firms in the Caribbean pay for security, and 26 percent of them experienced loss from property crime, both figures significantly higher than the rest of the world, but less than Latin America. The data also shows that if a firm in the Caribbean spent on security (or suffered from property crime), then on average the firm spends 2.4 percent of its annual sales on security (or suffers a loss of 3.4 percent of its annual sales due to property crimes). The rate is higher for Latin America (3.8 percent and 4.7 percent, respectively), and even higher for the rest of the world (4.3 percent and 6.1 percent, respectively). If we multiply the percentage of firms answering yes to the questions with the size of loss, then for a firm in the Caribbean about 2.6 percent of the annual sales would be either spent on security or lost from property crime. If we assume the profit margin for the firm is 10 percent, it means one quarter of the potential profit would be directly compromised by crime and violence. For comparison, in 2015 profit tax rate in the Caribbean region is 23.0 percent (PwC and World Bank, 2015: 30), which is lower than the direct cost of crime here.

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3 In this analysis we selected The Bahamas, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Guyana and Suriname to represent the Caribbean region, and Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela for Latin America. The data were calculated as an arithmetic average.
The cost of crime apparently differs from country to country, and as one may expect, the higher the crime rate, the higher the cost is. Some of the countries in Latin America with high rates of crime (Venezuela, Honduras) also ranked highest in cost of crime, but it is less obvious for Caribbean countries. The security expense is usually lower than loss from property theft, again this does not hold true for Guyana and Bahamas.

Chart 2. Cross-country comparison on the cost of crime as a percentage of annual sales compared with homicide prevalence, in Latin America and major Caribbean countries. Source: Enterprise Surveys (2006-2014, each country represented by latest available data) and UNODC (2013, using latest data from 2000-2012)
Selectiveness of the Impact

Some businesses are more vulnerable to crime and violence than others. From 2003 to 2012, while traditional crimes including robbery, rape, homicide, burglary and motor vehicle theft became less prevalent globally, crime rates per population for drug possession and drug trafficking went up (UNODC 2014:20). It is particularly a challenge for the Caribbean countries, which are geographically located between the world’s largest market and the world’s largest producers of cocaine, and suffers from an above-average level of cocaine use inside the region (UNODC 2011:37). About 0.4-1.2 percent of the population aged 15-64 consumes cocaine in the Caribbean while the global average is 0.3-0.5 percent.

The prevalence of illicit drugs changes the business environment in the Caribbean countries. Drug transactions encourage a market of firearms, corruption, and money laundering. Drug cartels may be structured as a business organization, and may even operate legitimate businesses. Some Caribbean countries, such as The Bahamas, are offshore financial centers and have a large tourism sector, but do not have sufficient oversight capability. The drug proceeds can be laundered there through numerous cash-based businesses in tourism (UNODC & World Bank 2007:22), or through “a complex web of legitimate businesses and international business companies (IBCs) registered in the offshore financial sector” (U.S. Department of States 2014b:67).

The impact of crime and violence on businesses varies by the size of firm and sector, among other factors. Some research shows the small firms are more vulnerable, but other literature contradicts the argument. For example, Islam (2014) focused on whether economic growth in developing countries alleviates the burden of crime, especially for small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). The author used data on 12,000 firms in 27 developing countries from Enterprise Surveys, linearly regressed the loss due to crime to a number of variables, and found that each percent of growth in real GDP per capita is associated with 0.30 percent reduction in the losses due to crime in all countries, and this reduction is higher for SMEs (0.33) and lower for larger firms (0.20). One possible explanation is that economic growth lead to higher performance of SMEs and allowing them to be better equipped against crimes and violence. The correlation between growth and losses due to crime is hardly causal, but it indicates that pro-growth policies may have indirect impact of reducing crime and violence. On the contrary, some believe (Goldberg, Kim and Ariano, 2014) that international buyers from SMEs (e.g. small firms in Jamaica) have lower switching costs to shift orders to less-violent countries, whereas large

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4 In 2013, the US State Department (U.S. Department of State 2014a) estimated that about 5% of all drugs destined for the US passed through The Bahamas, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Jamaica.
5 The prevalence for the rest of the Americas: Central America, 0.5-0.6; South America, 0.9-1.0; North America, 1.9-1.9.
6 UNODC 2007: 15.
firms with heavy capital investment (e.g. extractive industries in Guatemala) tend to tolerate high rates of crime and violence.

In terms of Latin America, Amin (2009) examined 6,000 manufacturing firms in 14 Latin American countries, using the data from Enterprise Surveys in 2007, and found that larger firms are more likely to be the victim of crime, but the losses due to crime as a percentage of firms’ annual sales is higher for smaller firms. Cost wise, smaller firms may also be at disadvantage. A survey in Jamaica in 2001 shows that small firms pay out almost 17 percent of their revenue on private security, while medium sized firms spend about 8 percent, and large firms less than 1 percent. The cut off points for the three categories are 20 and 100 employees. (Francis et al. 2009; World Bank 2003: 142)

On the other hand, some sectors may flourish amid high crime rates, such as private security firms or special purpose entities. For instance, when armed insurgency was declared in Nepal in 1996, only 4 private security firms were registered. As major industrial areas experienced repeated looting, extortion and kidnapping, by 2009 there were over 700 private security companies hiring about 25,000 people in Nepal, whereas the total personnel of the Nepal’s Armed Police Force was 25,780 in the same year (Aayushma, 2009: 226; Thapa, 2009: 169)

Impact on Tourism
Among all private businesses in the Caribbean countries, tourism is particularly important. According to World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC, 2012), travel and tourism “drives foreign trade, encourages investment, develops infrastructure and services, and spurs broader economic development.” For many of the Caribbean countries, tourism is crucial to the economy. In 2013, travel and tourism in the Caribbean region directly and indirectly contributed 14.0% of the GDP, highest among all 12 regions in the world. Travel and tourism is also related to 11.3% of total employment as well as 11.3% of capital investment spending in the same year (WTTC, 2014). How does crime and violence impact tourism sector? Different researches show contradictory results.

In the 1990s most researches about the impact of crime on demand of tourism were qualitative in nature, such as Bloom (1996) for economic impact of crime on tourism in South Africa, and Sönmez and Graefe (1998) for the importance of risk perception level to international vacation destination choice. In a quantitative attempt to measure the relations between crime and tourism, Levantis and Gani (2000) selected four Caribbean economies and four Pacific islands and regressed the tourism demand to each country against the relative crime rate for each nation in the region in 1970-1993, while adding lagged crime variable to reflect the time it requires for crime information to disseminate. The results showed that crime has a

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7 The Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago; Fiji, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Tonga.
negative impact on all economies except the Solomon Islands, and for Jamaica for example, if its crime rate increases by 1 percent relative to other Caribbean nations, the tourism demand will fall by 0.75% relative to the other countries.

Scholars soon realized that using the general crime rates may not be appropriate to assess the economic impact of crime, and it may be necessary to differentiate the crimes against tourists and those against local residents. De Albuquerque and McElroy (1999) looked at annual and monthly crime data in Barbados for 1989-1993, and found that visitors are more likely to be victims for certain crimes, including robbery, burglary, and larceny on person or at accommodation than local residents, and while tourists are more likely to suffer from property crimes, residents are more likely to experience violent crimes. Their findings were partially confirmed by Johnny and Jordan (2007) in a case study of St. Lucia between 1996 and 2004: tourists are more likely to be victims of property crime than violent crime, but compared to citizens, they are less likely to suffer from general stealing, and in some places less likely to be robbed. Despite of the consistent findings that tourists are more likely to be the target of property crime than violent crime, it is violent crime that have a negative impact on tourist arrivals, and the aggregate property crime, theft or burglary prevalence has no significant influence (Altindag, 2009).

Further complicating the issue is the advent of all-inclusive hotels which may reduce the exposure of tourists to local communities and thus the risks of suffering from crimes. Alleyne and Boxil (2003) examined the relationship between tourist arrivals and changes in the crime rate in Jamaica as recorded by Jamaica’s Economic and Social Survey for the period of 1962-1999. By using a specific model, they allowed for the modelling of the immediate and delayed effect of crime rates on tourist arrivals, and found that although crime has negative impact on tourist arrivals in general and particularly from Europe, the impact is relatively small for the overall market of tourism. They also found that despite of the increases in crime rate, the Jamaican tourism industry performed well, which the authors suspect may be due to the increased advertising and emergence of all-inclusive hotels that allegedly provide more safety mitigated the negative impact of high crime rates. It is worth noting that the authors assumed in the article that tourists are more affected by the news and media coverage about the total crime rates in the country than by actual crimes against tourists, and based on this assumption they used the total crime rates as the explanatory variable. Nevertheless, with the same model, Lorde and Jackman (2012) collected data for Barbados in 1999-2008, and found that incidents of murder, assault with intent to rob, rape and burglary all have a negative and significant impact on tourism, but the magnitude of response, time before a response occurs and the time required for recovery differ.

In conclusion, most of the researches show that crime has a negative impact on tourist arrivals, but the extent of such impact is difficult to measure. It is also still unclear through what
mechanism does the impact take place, and particularly, how information on crime prevalence influence tourist decisions, and whether certain types of crime mean more than the others.

Coping Strategies
Facing the substantial impact brought by criminal activities, businesses in the world have developed many innovative ways to cope with crime and violence, from the choice of exiting and relocating, to high level of collaboration such as public-private partnerships (PPPs). These strategies involve different actors, and play out differently depending on the local situation. In this section we will present some of the best practices in the world of firms coping with crime and violence that have been documented in literature, as well as a not-so-successful case. What is worth noting is that any counter-crime campaigns by the police would have significant impact on the firms in the area, but in this part we focus on the programs that the firms are capable to initiate. Due to the scarcity of research in the region, we also included some of the cases from regions other than the Caribbean so as to provide some best practices around the world.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question to Ask</th>
<th>Coping Strategy</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is it worth to stay here?</td>
<td>Exit</td>
<td>Relocate or exit entirely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do I adapt my business to crime?</td>
<td>Adaptation of business strategy and operations</td>
<td>Additional security spending, factory-hour decreases, or engage in the criminal activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What can I do to help the neighborhood?</td>
<td>Local corporate social responsibility (local CSR) and alliances with local communities</td>
<td>Establish programs to help with youth education and employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there any other firms that face the same problem?</td>
<td>Collective action among firms</td>
<td>Organize the firms to pay additional tax for private security and policy advocacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to involve the government?</td>
<td>Public-private mechanism or partnership (PPM or PPP)</td>
<td>Businesses set up a hotline to prevent property crime and pass on the information to the police</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exits and Adaptation
First of all, in the macroeconomic level, exit can be a positive condition for local community development. Hirschman (1994) argues that the exits serve as an attempt to influence the society they are rejecting by sending out the message of “deviance and defiance”. He further argues that it was the millions of decisions favoring exit over outright voice that formed the United States and contributed to its rapid growth.
If the firm decides not to exit, when facing turmoil and potential looting, the survival of a firm may largely hinge on whether it can quickly adapt to the environment. McDougal (2010:11) summarized four survival strategies that firms used when facing looting in the Liberian Civil War, a situation where crime rate is extremely high. Depending on the tendency of looting and the main resources required for the firm, they may simply increase material throughput, invest in property rights, accommodate to the crime, or disperse the operation spatially and temporally. Of the eleven firms that he studied, he concluded that successful firms are during wartime are those which continually adapt their production by dispersing their functions spatially and temporally.

However, such adaptation can be quite small and of low cost. A research in Britain (Farrington, 1993) showed that installing electronic tagging device reduced over 75 percent of stolen items in multiple stores from pretest to posttest. The electronic tagging system cost about £10 per day per store, but the savings ranged from £21 per day to £59 per day. Other operational adaptations include hiring unarmed security guard(s), closing before dark, and installing grill. Many firms are already doing so, as shown in the chart below.

![Chart 3. How firms adapted to crime and violence.](Source: 2001 Firm Victimization Survey in Jamaica, described in Francis et al. (2003), as cited in UNODC and World Bank (2007: 48))

**Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)**

When adaptation is not enough, and exit is not an option, some entrepreneurs would take on corporate social responsibilities and actively engage with each other, the local community, as well as the public authority. The original concept of CSR is defined as the obligations for businessmen to pursue policies that are in line with the objectives and values of the society (Carroll, 1999: 270). In this particular context, CSR response of a firm may be interacting with local youth and help in education and employment. Sandals is one of the largest tourism services providers in the Caribbean, with five brands and 24 properties in seven countries including
Antigua, The Bahamas, Grenada, Barbados, Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Turks and Caicos. The very first hotel of the business opened in 1981 near the Montego Bay airport, but also within half a mile of the low-income, occasionally volatile neighborhood of Flankers. The resort cooperated with local community, provided internships to youth from Flankers that are at high risk of crime and violence, allowing them to learn hospitality industry skills including cooking, cleaning, and customer service, which most of the time is their first job in the formal sector. Other programs for the community include support for social activities, special programs for women, animal shelter and literacy and education program (Goldberg, Kim and Ariano (2014: 59-60). Programs like these reduced the risk of crime targeting at the resort, improved the image of the business in the local community, and allowed the resort to welcome tourists from all over the world. From 2009 to 2013, the firm spent $1,641,112 on its education, community and environmental projects (Sandals Foundation, 2013).

CSR, by definition, does not limit the possibility of cooperation with other actors. Some firms decide to work with others, with little direct involvement of government. The numerous Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are examples like this. BIDs are nonprofit organization created by businesses in the same neighborhood to promote local improvements and public safety via services such as security patrols, maintenance of sidewalks, removal of graffiti, improvement of lighting, and marketing of the business district. The BIDs do not intend to substitute but rather to supplement the public service provided by the government, and the exact services provided fully depend on the need of local businesses. According to Brooks (2008: 388), BIDs in the city of Los Angeles are robustly associated with declines of 6 to 10 percent in overall crime. Another research found that the introduction of BIDs in LA reduces overall crime by 11 percent, and 32 percent decline in arrest incidents, over the period of 1994 to 2005 (Cook and MacDonald, 2011: 354). In terms of cost effectiveness, Brooks (2008: 389) conservatively estimates that for each one violent crime avoided by BID expenditure at a cost of $21,000 saves the society $57,000 in tangible and quality-of-life costs for the victim. Cook and MacDonald (2011: 356) shows that an additional spending of $10,000 per neighborhood by BIDs lead to a social cost savings of $149,362 to $155,242 for robberies and $34,217 to $52,812 for assaults. Both research estimated the value of savings based on willing to pay methods developed by Cohen et al. (2004).

Public-Private Partnerships (PPP)
By far the most comprehensive crime-coping strategy is the public-private partnership. Similar to private collective actions, no two public-private partnerships are the same. Some programs involve the police department to pursue criminals (such as Crime Stop Partnership), some may work with the city planning authority to transform a place of crime and violence to a competitive region for businesses (see Ciudad Juárez in the next paragraph), while some others may work on the political structure and aim to provide citizens better access to local governance (Goldberg,
The cooperation between the police department and the private sector may also take form in different levels and on different issues (Minnaar, 2004; DOJ, 2009) such as joint responses to crimes in progress, joint gathering of crime intelligence, joint planning and policing of special events, and sharing of expert knowledge and training. In the United States, public-private partnership in law enforcement has taken place in a variety of forms (IACP, 2012), and the combination of increasing demands and declining local law enforcement resources makes collaboration between law enforcement and the private sector more necessary than ever. When discussing the impact of the economic downturn on American police agencies, the Director of Office of Community Oriented Policing Services Bernard K. Melekian stated that “we believe that the changes that have been occurring across the country are going to continue to have a serious impact on the way American police agencies operate in the years to come”. (DOJ, 2011: iii) In Latin America and the Caribbean, in recent years, such collaboration are also emerging.

There are two successful cases documented in Mexico (Goldberg, Kim and Ariano, 2014: 66-8). Ciudad Juárez is a border city between the United States and Mexico which has long suffered from confrontations among drug cartels. In 2010 an entrepreneur David Alamillo organized 40 local small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and the local government, renamed the neighborhood, and established security checkpoints around the commercial area. A campaign was also launched on both traditional and social media networks to assist participating SMEs in monitoring gang activities, preventing crime, and filing complaints directly with the federal police. From 2010 to 2011 the city witnessed 45 percent reduction in overall crime rate, 40 percent in extortion, and 51 percent in violent crimes (DGIE, n.d.), while national homicide rate increased by 4.5 percent (UNODC, 2013). Before the campaign, 80 percent of SMEs that were operating in the area in 2006 exited by 2009. After the campaign, from September 2011 to spring 2012, SMEs operating in the region rose from 175 to 284. Almost at the same time but in another part of Mexico, 30 firms and 10 local NGOs developed a mobile app in 2009 to help report crime, file complaints and map violent areas. The app was launched in a dynamic area of Mexico City which includes hundreds of small restaurants and retail stores. After the app was introduced, from 2010 to 2011, robberies of local business dropped by 23 percent, car robberies by 53 percent, and key members of the gangs were arrested and prosecuted.

Private firms can work directly with the authority, and one of the most successful story in the Caribbean is Crime Stop Partnership operating in Jamaica since 1989. Two years before its operation, a group of private businesses and service organizations called for improvement in the rule of law and citizen security. The Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ), the national network of associations, companies and individuals that aims to promote a competitive and productive private sector, raised $1.3 million and proposed the partnership between the media,

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8 Please be aware that there may not be causal relations between the reduction in crime rate and the PPP program.
the private sector, the police and the community to counter crime by rewarding anonymous information that lead to the arrest of criminals and the recovery of stolen property, illegal firearms and illegal narcotics.

In the partnership, the media contribute to the program by providing ongoing and regular advertisements. The police set up special office space at the Office of the Commissioner of Police and personnel to respond to the 24/7 telephone hotlines. The PSOJ secretariat provides accounting services, and all cash expenses come from interest of donations received from the private sector. The partnership is managed by originally a fund then shortly a limited liability company that has a board of directors including the media, the PSOJ, the police force and community representatives (PSOJ, n.d.). Each month, the hotline would receive up to 90 calls on average, and the number has been consistent since its inception (Hill, 2015). From 1989 to 2009, information from the Partnership led to 1,942 arrests, recovered about $2 million in property and destroyed narcotics worth $5 million (Goldberg, Kim and Ariano, 2014: 61).

Just as there are successful cases, some public-private partnerships show a mixed result. In 2006, the quasi-government agency Jamaica Social Investment Fund (JSIF) received funding from the World Bank for its Jamaica Inner Cities Basic Services Project that aims to integrate investments in small-scale infrastructure, improve the quality of life of 60,000 poor and vulnerable people in 12 communities, and reduce risk factors for crime and violence (World Bank, 2014: 10; Goldberg, Kim and Ariano, 2014: 61-2). The original objectives include building community basic infrastructure, improving access to financial services, and enhancing public safety. The second objective was designed to be achieved by cooperating with microfinance institutions (MFIs) – the MFIs would offer loans to microbusinesses in high-crime neighborhoods which suffered from limited access to training, employment, and capital resources, and in turn the MFIs would receive subsidy from the JSIF for each loan. However, the JSIF Board members were hesitant to give financial incentives to MFIs, and thus MFIs have little incentive to participate. Culturally the community was also reluctant to accept loans. As a consequence, despite of $570,000 commitment, three MFIs only disbursed loans of $91,000 in the neighborhoods, and the second phase of the microfinance component was cancelled.

Conclusion
In the first part of the section, we discussed five different methods to research on the impact of crime on businesses, identified some of the best administrative data and victimization surveys, and had a brief review of what the situation is like right now. The cost of crime and violence is at least equal to 2.6 percent of a firm’s annual sales, which would be one quarter of all the profit if the firm has a rate of return of 10 percent annually. We can also see that the mechanism of the impact of crime is rather complicated, and academic discussions on whether the size matters, or whether tourism suffer severely from rising crime rates or not, are still controversial.
In the second half of the section, we presented some of the choices firms have when facing crime and violence: they can decide to exit, adapt the business operation and investment, work with the community (CSR), collaborate with other firms, and form a public-private partnership. However, crime and violence is a social phenomenon on which a single firm might have no impact by itself. That is why among all forms of coping strategies, public-private partnership in policing collaboration seems most promising. As we talked earlier, it is an apparent trend that in this age the increasing demand and stagnating resources for law enforcement requires more public-private collaboration. However, as in the case of the Inner City Basic Services for the Poor Project, top-down public-private partnership compared to their bottom-up counterparts may particularly suffer from lack of incentive and unrealistic policy objectives. On the other hand, as in the example of Ciudad Juárez, entrepreneurship may be a key element to the success of organizing such collective action.

Reference


Chapter 3 Violence in the Home
An overview of the Caribbean within the Global Context
Gessye Ginelle Safou-Mat

Abstract
This paper reviews the literature on violence in the home in the Caribbean within the global context. Domestic violence, including violence against women in the home and child abuse is a global issue and of a particularly high impact intergenerational model of domestic violence, a private crime, makes it all the more difficult to eradicate, especially in countries where the legal system, social ties and the economic environment of the individuals nurture a “keep silent” attitude including victims under-reporting or not reporting crimes. Legislations such as the one enacted by the United Nations in 2006, explicitly classifies abuse against women, in the home or elsewhere, as a human rights violation. The 1990 Inter-American Convention goes beyond international instruments by stating a legally binding agreement, recognizing the role of the states in protecting women. Practical awareness programs through the media, shelters and legal systems are used in protecting women, while parenthood programs seek to prevent and alleviate child abuse. There are a number of challenges involved in fighting domestic violence. These challenges include lack of data, costly monitoring and evaluations techniques and distinct cultural context. In section I, we look at the problems of domestic violence, its prevalence, causes and consequences in the Caribbean within the global context. In section II, we identify prevention and intervention schemes for violence against women and child abuse in the Caribbean. Some conclusions and recommendations are finally offered.

PART 1 – UNDERSTANDING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
This section discusses the different definitions and types of Domestic Violence (DV), the causes and consequences of DV and how it is reflected across the regions through prevalence rates. Due to the review being done for the Caribbean region within the global context, information from other countries will also be mentioned.

1) Definitions of types of violence in the home
Domestic violence (DV) is not just limited to physical violence against women. The following definitions are attempts by international organizations to identify and categorize domestic violence. The issues in themselves can be multidimensional and overlapping, they are in no way linear. The following descriptions are provided by the USA National Domestic Violence Hotline and childwelfare.gov website.

- **Domestic Violence**: Pattern of abusive behavior in any relationship used by one partner to gain or maintain power and control over another intimate partner. Physical, sexual, emotional, economic, or psychological actions or threats of actions that influence another
person. Includes any behaviors that intimidate, manipulate, humiliate, isolate, frighten, terrorize, coerce, threaten, blame, hurt, injure, or wound someone.

- **Physical Abuse**: Hitting, slapping, shoving, grabbing, pinching, biting, hair pulling and other similar actions, are types of physical abuse. This type of abuse also includes denying a partner medical care or forcing alcohol and/or drug use upon him or her.

- **Emotional Abuse**: Undermining an individual's sense of self-worth and/or self-esteem is abusive. This may include, but is not limited to constant criticism, diminishing one's abilities, name-calling, damaging one's relationship with his or her children, threats (hurt children/pets, etc.).

- **Sexual Violence/Sexual Abuse**: Coercing or attempting to coerce any sexual contact or behavior without consent. Sexual abuse includes, but not limited to marital rape, attacks on sexual parts of the body, forcing sex after physical violence has occurred, or treating one in a sexually demeaning manner.

- **Intimate partner assault/Violence**: The definition of intimate partner violence used in the NVAW Survey includes rape, physical assault, and stalking perpetrated by current and former dates, spouses, and cohabiting partners, with cohabiting meaning living together at least some of the time as a couple.

- **Economic Abuse**: Is defined as making or attempting to make an individual financially dependent by maintaining total control over financial resources, withholding one's access to money, or forbidding one's attendance at school or employment.

- **Violence against Children**: Any recent act or failure to act on the part of a parent or caretaker which results in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation of the child"; (child is younger than 18 and not emancipated.

- **Psychological Abuse**: Elements of psychological abuse include - but are not limited to - causing fear by intimidation; threatening physical harm to self, partner, children, or partner's family or friends; destruction of pets and property; and forcing isolation from family, friends, or school and/or work.

The UN Women's work on the Caribbean has provided the latest developments on the DV laws that resulted in English-speaking Caribbean countries making substantial improvements in the laws governing gender-based violence with the goal of providing a clearer definition of domestic violence in the legal and judiciary context. All of the English-speaking countries in the Caribbean have currently enacted domestic violence legislation that has expanded the legal definitions of DV.

The first legislation such as the Sexual Offences and Domestic Violence Act 1991 of The Bahamas and the Domestic Violence (Protection Orders) Act 1992 of Barbados did not provide definitions for DV. The Second generation of domestic violence legislation, in Trinidad and Tobago (Domestic Violence Act 1999), Belize (Domestic Violence Act 2007), Bermuda
(Domestic Violence (Protection Orders) Act 1997) and The Bahamas (Domestic Violence (Protection Orders) Act 2007 have improved by providing a definition of domestic violence and by expanding the range of persons who can seek abuse relief. Domestic violence legislation in the English-speaking Caribbean generally protect against physical violence and harassment.

In 1999, Trinidad and Tobago took the lead in providing a comprehensive definition of domestic violence to include physical violence, sexual violence, psychological abuse and financial abuse (people seeking relief now include couples not living together, same sex relationships have limited or prohibited access to relief services available to heterosexual relationships). Belize, Bermuda, The Bahamas, Dominica and Saint Kitts-Nevis have modeled this development.

Concerning child abuse, another component of DV, Trinidad and Tobago has also taken the lead in broadening the definition of child abuse as involving or not actual physical contact, including or not penetrative acts and activities such as exposing children to inappropriate sexual material or involving them in prostitution/pornography. Child sexual abuse occurs in all racial, ethnic, religious and socio-economic groups and affects children of all ages, including infants.

2) Prevalence and Reporting of Domestic Violence
It is estimated that violence causes more than 1.6 million deaths worldwide every year (Krug et al. 2002) and more than 90% of these deaths occur in (LMIC) Low and Middle Income Countries (WHO 2010). In the U.S., the National Crime Victimization Survey reported rates of “severe” husband-to-wife violence of about 30 per thousand. Reported rates of severe wife-to-husband violence are even higher. A recent Canadian data source, the Violence Against Women Survey finds that 29 percent of every married woman and 50 percent of divorced women have been the victims of spousal abuse. Although men are also victims of domestic violence, the usual assumption that men inflict most serious injuries is supported by the National Crime Victimization Survey, which reports much higher rates of violence towards women. This is true for the Caribbean as shown in the graph found in the annex (chart 1.13), provided by the 2010 UNDP Citizen Security Survey on self-reported victims of DV that found that women were more victimized than men on all counts on violence (insult, threats, violence used and injured): for example, in 2010, 10.7% of women were injured, compared with 6.7% of men.

In 2013, the WHO through a survey covering intimate partner violence and sexual non-partner violence globally showed that the Caribbean, as part of the Latin America region (29.8%) is not the worst region according to prevalence rates, but rates fourth globally after South-East Asia (37.7%), Eastern Mediterranean (37.0%) and Africa (36.6%). The world map is included in the annex.

Being fourth in line with the Latin American region does not mean that the prevalence rate in the Caribbean is low. According to Royal Bahamas Police Force (RBPF, 2013) data, 73% of all murders in the Bahamas appear to be the related to a lack of means of conflict resolution
and anger management skills (retaliation, domestic violence and conflict). High dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system to resolve crimes and disputes has led some individuals to take the law into their own hands. According to police statistics from 2010-2012, DV related reports represented an average of 28% of all reported assaults, 26% of cases of causing harm and 18% of cases of causing grievous harm. For the period 1995 to 2013, a total of 5264 people were murdered in Trinidad and Tobago. Of these, 442 cases or 8.4% of all murders were because of domestic violence. In 2013, RBPF figures show that 14% of all homicides resulted from domestic violence.

With regards to these high prevalence rates, it becomes logical to ask the reason why abused individuals are still remaining in problematic relationships and households and why these crimes are under-reported. Societal and cultural ties play an important role in determining whether an abused person leaves. Anyanwu (2011) found that subordination and economic inequality directed the willingness of respondents to leave abusive relationships. It was found that women who experienced higher levels of financial equality expressed greater willingness to leave abusive relationships: women who are economically independent may have the means to allow them to leave such relationships.

In Trinidad and Tobago, the family is seen as a private sphere, and even in cases of domestic violence, the society and women themselves more often resort to personal solutions to resolve family disputes, rather than seeking the intervention of the criminal justice system, so in some cases, the efficiency of the criminal justice system was unrelated to the willingness of the abused to leave. This cultural influence extends to personnel in the criminal justice system that may be unwilling to intervene when incidents of domestic violence occur (Anyanwu, 2011).

Evaluating the prevalence rates is also challenging because of the high rate of unreported intimate crimes. Global estimates suggest that between 60% and 95% of sexual crimes go unreported (depending on the crime and the country) and even those reported are unlikely to be prosecuted. As an example, under Bahamian law, marital rape was not a crime until 2007. Currently it is only a crime if there has been a prior petition for, or agreement of, separation. Rape is largely considered to be the most under-reported violent crime. According to the RBPF figures, the average reported rape rate in the Bahamas, for the last five years (2009-2013), was approximately 27 per 100,000. This number is similar to other countries in the region such as Jamaica - 29.4 (2008-2012) and Trinidad and Tobago - 17.9 (2008-2012). Studies show that self-reported rapes on victimization surveys are generally 25% higher than those reported to the police (Bahamas Baseline Report, 2015). The challenges of non-reporting of crimes makes it harder to limit and reduce Domestic Violence, all the more because these crimes are private and far from public eyes.

In the Caribbean region under study, lack and incomplete data is an issue in evaluating the extent of the problem and the solutions that should be put in place. The lack of victimization
surveys influences the amount of information currently available in the Bahamas and limits the crucial conclusions that could be made on the relationship between victimization and violence, as well as the extent of domestic violence in the country. Burnett-Garraway (2001) found that, of 313 women interviewed at random times at the Accident and Emergency Department of Nassau’s Princess Margaret Hospital, 40.3% reported having been physically abused, 22.4% sexually abused and 39% verbally abused at some point in their lifetime. Estimates of lost productivity from domestic violence against women range from 1-2% of the gross domestic product in Brazil and Tanzania to 2% in Chile (Lancet, 2014).

In the countries under study, the fact that definition of abuse for Bahamians is far less clear makes it likely only to be reported in the most severe cases. Concerning child abuse, one of the types of Domestic violence, the tenuous line between what is considered acceptable “discipline” versus unacceptable “abuse” of children makes it difficult to understand and measure the true prevalence of child abuse in The Bahamas and in the Caribbean in general. The same study indicates that many children were physically hurt as a means of discipline. Children were spanked in 77% of homes where children were present and domestic violence was found in 23% of homes. A correlation was found between homes where children were “spanked often” and domestic violence in the home (Fisher’s exact test, p<0.001). (Jones and Trotman Jemmott, 2009).

These studies however do not show the true prevalence of child sexual abuse in Trinidad and Tobago. Generally this type of abuse is under-reported. During 2000 to 2013, there were 6,950 reported sexual offences against children. Of these the largest proportion were sex with a female between the ages of 14 to 16 (which accounted for 24.2% of all sexual offences against children), sex with a female under 14 (21.9%), rape (17.2%), and grievous sexual assault (16.7%). When data are restricted to the last five years (2009 to 2013) the same offences are the most prevalent. Sex with a female between the ages of 14 to 16 years of age accounted for 26.8% of all reported offences. This was followed by grievous sexual assault (20%), sex with a female under the age of 14 (19.6%) and rape (16.2%). (Jones and Trotman Jemmott, 2009).

The baseline Report also observed statistics from other Caribbean and developed countries, since many of them share similar histories and cultures, some similarities were observed. In Guyana, according to the “Voices of Children” report, 86% of 14–17 year old girls, 50% of 10–13 year old girls and 6% of 6-9 year old girls have been sexually harassed (Cabral and Speek-Warnery, 2005). In Jamaica in 2006, out of a total of 1,389 reported sexual offences, close to a third were committed against children younger than 16. Women and girls remain silent victims of most major crimes in Jamaica as only 20 percent of rapes are reported to the Police (Jones, 2013). In the Eastern Caribbean, a nine-country survey of school-aged children found that 11% girls and 9% of boys reported that they had been sexually abused including through
incest (UNICEF, 2007). In the same survey, 40% of the girls reported they had their first sexual experience forced upon them.

In comparison, child maltreatment (CM) is without question a significant public health problem in the U.S. and elsewhere as well. In 2005 there were 3.3 million referrals of alleged child abuse or neglect and approximately 899,000 child victims of substantiated child abuse or neglect in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services 2007). CM results in costs associated with utilization of administrative services and systems (e.g., child protective services, foster care, judicial system), child treatment services (e.g., healthcare, mental health, educational systems), long-term impact (e.g., psychological and health problems in adulthood), and next generation victimization. Prevent Child Abuse America estimated costs associated with child abuse and neglect in the U.S. to be over $94 billion per year in 2001 dollars (Fromm 2001). These figures likely underestimates the cost because it is based only on official reports of child abuse and neglect and does not take into account the cost of unreported maltreatment.

3) Causes and consequences of violence in the home

Cycle of violence and generational models

The causes of violence in the home or violence against women are rooted in the subconscious and intergenerational cyclic luggage that forms over time (Pollack, 2002). This phenomenon is complex and not easily explained, and it involves external factors not easily accounted for, making it difficult to solve. The simple intergenerational model explains that the prevalence of domestic violence in the long run depends upon both the intergenerational transmission of propensities for violence within families and on patterns of marriage and divorce: the “violence begets violence” hypothesis asserts that abused children are more likely to become abusers, there is a statistical relationship between violence in the parents’ marriage and violence in the child’s. However, witnessing domestic violence in the family of origin is not an inexorable precursor of violence, but it does increase the likelihood of violence (Pollack, 2002). The model rests upon three key assumptions:

* The probability that a husband will be violent depends on whether he grew up in a violent home (If some men are more likely than others to be violent as husbands and some women are more likely than others to remain in violent marriages, then the probability that such individuals marry each other is crucial).

* The probability that a wife will remain with a violent husband depends on whether she grew up in a violent home (divorce: ongoing domestic violence requires the conjunction of a husband who is violent and a wife who stays).

* Individuals who grew up in violent homes tend to marry individuals who grew up in violent homes: variables and policies that reduce the rate of domestic violence in the short run are likely to reduce it even further in the long run because it reduces the fraction of individuals who grew up in violent families (Pollack, 2002).
The cyclical pattern of violence within the home (looking at couples) takes time to build, from the “honeymoon period” to tension building (feel the need to keep abuser calm and walk on eggshells), and serious battering phases, then repeating (Matthews, 2004). At the beginning subtle physical and emotional abuse, threat of violence can be enough to preserve control (the abuser may also threaten or harm the family pets as well (Weiss, 2000).

Wilkins et al (2014) explain the pattern of violence being perpetuated across generations and communities: Children living in a persistently threatening environment are more likely to respond violently (fight) or run away (flight) than children who grow up in safe, stable, and nurturing environments. Fight-or-flight responses are survival skills that people are born with and often override other skills that enable non-violent conflict resolution, such as impulse control, empathy, anger management, and problem-solving skills. Survivors of one form of violence are more likely to be victims or perpetrators of other forms of violence. As an example, Fielding (2012) found that inmates at Her Majesties Prison were typically brought up in homes with higher levels of violence than the general population. Out of 310 inmates who responded to a questionnaire, 112 (36%) were victims of abuse and 49.2% said that they had observed violence in their homes.

In the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study, over 17,000 adults from a Health Maintenance Organization (HMO) were asked about their experiences in childhood and subsequent behavioral and health outcomes. The more ACEs a child is exposed to, the higher likelihood they will experience some of these health and social problems later in life. The life expectancy of people with six or more ACEs is 20 years shorter than those without any ACEs. It was also clear that families and children living in some communities where there are many risk factors (e.g., high poverty, unemployment, and crime) are more likely than families and children living in other communities to experience multiple forms of violence.

The cycle of violence is more likely to remain and to perpetrate across generation because of the external environment surrounding these relationships. Neighborhoods where there is low cohesion, or where residents don’t support and trust each other and are socially isolated are more likely to have residents that also experience child maltreatment, intimate partner violence, and youth violence (Pinchevsky, Wright, 2012). However, conflict within the family is also linked to almost all forms of violence perpetration outside of the home including child maltreatment (children in homes with high conflict are at higher risk for being victims), teen dating violence, intimate partner violence, sexual violence, youth violence, and bullying (Vagi et al, 2013).

Gender dynamics and social norms play an important role in the roots of domestic violence (DV). Although some evidence reports that marital violence is not asymmetric, meaning that the husband is the perpetrator and the wife the victim (Straus and Gelles, p6), the usual assumption that men inflict most serious injuries is supported by the National Crime
Victimization Survey, which reports much higher rates of violence towards women (Bachman and Saltzman). One of the reasons being that men have possibly heterogeneous preferences for violence and can use violence as a mechanism to influence their wives’ behavior (Bowlus and Seitz, 2006): The simplest models predict that, when the out-of-marriage value for women is higher, violence against them is reduced. This prediction was tested and validated by Aizer (2010), who showed that domestic violence against women is lower in areas where the gender wage or equality gap is reduced such as in the United States (Aguero, 2013).

The million-dollar question in DV/Violence against women (VAW) mentioned in the prevalence section is “why do women stay in these relationships?” The section mentioned the legal system not being favorable to reporting. A few studies have sought to provide answers to understand the roles of every party in perpetuating violence. One of the main reasons to stay is safety. A woman who has been abused may fear retaliation from her abuser if she leaves, the abusive environment or makes efforts to improve her situation (Turner, 2002). Women who have limited support from friends, family, or their communities may find it more difficult to leave abusive relationships (Sullivan et al, 1994) but at the same time, abused women tend to be extremely socially isolated (usually by their husbands or geographical conditions), and have no one in their limited social network who can provide the types of support they need (Levendosky, et al 2004).

Educational and professional levels are contributing factors of perpetuation of violence. Additionally, women who are educated are less likely than those who are not to return to an abusive partner. It was hypothesized that higher education can contribute to the presence of social networks (Schutte, Malouff, & Doyle, 1988). In abusive relationships, the abuser will often slowly work to isolate the abused partner socially by not allowing her to work, not allowing her to have a car, or not allowing her to leave the home, geographical isolation and cut family ties. Cultural ideologies such as the husband is in charge can affect the ability to leave as well as the abuser being the only source of financial income such as the (Matthews, 2004). Language can also be a barrier to stopping violence, especially in immigrant communities.

Lack of public awareness is a cause of domestic violence and abused partners remaining in the relationships (Matthews, 2004, Turner, 2002, Sullivan, 1994). For example, around half of abused women seek help from their religious leader (Gordon, 1996). However, members of the clergy also know the abuser in the relationship, and may be sympathetic to him. Additionally, clergy may be committed to maintaining a marriage, even an abusive one, and advise the women against leaving their abusive partners (Gordon, 1996). Police officers have been deemed as unhelpful at times (Sullivan, et al., 1992; Hamilton & Coates, 1993): police reportedly would frequently question the abused partner's story, criticize her for staying in the relationship, or fail to inform her of other agencies that may help her (Hamilton & Coates, 1993).
Bornstein (2006) describes economic dependency (described as "the degree to which one person relies on another for financial support, and is used to describe situations in which one member of a dyad has exclusive ... control over financial resources") as an important cause and enabler of DV: high economic dependency may lead some women to tolerate physical abuse, but repeated abuse may lead to economic dependence as well coupled with defense mechanisms to cope with what is happening in their relationships, such as minimizing, dissociation, and denial (Walker, 1989) making women and abused partners more likely to stay in these relationships. The economic dependency of abused women is shown in Sullivan's sample of many of the women who stay in shelters (Gordon, 1996; Levendosky et al., 2004). They tend to be unemployed; many rely on their partners for financial support and live below the poverty line.

PART 2: PREVENTION, INTERVENTIONS and EVALUATIONS

Due to the cyclical and intertwined nature of violence in the home with the surrounding environments, preventive and intervention measures are key to diminishing the scope of the problem. These measures are being used for the two main population targets for DV: children and women.

1. Reducing Child Abuse

The WHO (2009) recently called for the use of parenting interventions to prevent violence in LMIC. Child maltreatment is a widespread form of violence and parenting programs have been designed as preventive strategies (CDC 2009) and have been shown to be effective at the population level (Prinz et al. 2007). Even though death rates due to child maltreatment in LMIC are comparable with rates in high income countries (Akmatov 2011; Matzopoulos et al. 2008), a recent literature review of parenting programs in LMIC showed that there are few trials of parenting programs carried out in this setting (Knerr et al. 2013).

Ensuring that a child is brought up experiencing warmth, love and encouragement within safe boundaries is far harder for parents who live in the stressful conditions found in poor neighborhoods. As shown in the earlier sections, children victimized in the home tend to become involved in violence in their life times.

Stressful family characteristics are more commonly found in poor areas – such as being a lone parent, experiencing domestic violence, parents suffering from mental health problems such as depression or alcohol/drug dependence. A parenting style characterized by harsh, unpredictable discipline is strongly associated with defiant, antisocial behavior and, later, with criminal outcomes (Patterson et al., 1992). The affected individuals do badly on most indices of success in life – the children are unhappy and have low self-esteem (Harter et al., 1998), evoke criticism and hostility at home, and have few satisfactory Introduction and background relationships or genuine friends (Pope and Bierman, 1999; Shortt et al., 2003). At school they do poorly, typically leaving with no qualifications despite having adequate intelligence (Fergusson...
et al., 2005). There is strong continuity to adulthood criminality, domestic violence, drug and alcohol misuse, unemployment and ending up as an adult living in poverty (Rutter et al., 1998; Krohn et al., 2005). A substantial proportion goes on to develop antisocial personality disorder (Loeber et al., 2002; Simonoff et al., 2004). A substantial body of research shows that the quality of parenting children receive has a major effect on their development (Chamberlain and Patterson 1995; Patterson 1982) and high quality parenting is critical for children to develop into self sufficient, resourceful adults (e.g., Vimpani et al. 2002). Higher levels of depression, conduct disorder, social deficits, and other internalizing and externalizing disorders occur in adolescents who have been physically abused as young children. This is the reason why parenting programs have been developed, tested and implemented.

The most common programmes against child violence and family in the home are Triple P Programs that rely on strengthening positive parenting strategies and also suitable for preventing child maltreatment. Parenting interventions form a key evidence-based strategy for violence prevention in two respects: by reducing violence towards children and by preventing the early development of violent and antisocial behavior in children. (Butchart 2006; Mercy et al. 2008)

**Triple P-Positive (TPS) Parenting Program:**

The five core principles of positive parenting that are promoted throughout the multi-level Triple P system to promote social competence and emotional self-regulation in children are:

1. Ensuring a safe, engaging environment,
2. Promoting a positive learning environment,
3. Using assertive discipline,
4. Maintaining reasonable expectations, and
5. Taking care of oneself as a parent.

The emphasis is on parents learning how to apply these skills to different behavioral, emotional and developmental issues in children, ranging from common child-rearing challenges (e.g., toileting, mealtime behavior, bedtime, behavior in public) to more intense challenges (e.g., child aggressive behavior, fears and anxiety, ADHD difficulties). The five positive parenting principles translate into 35 specific strategies and parenting skills that cluster into several major categories:

(a) Parent–child relationship enhancement,
(b) Encouraging desirable behavior,
(c) Teaching new skills and behaviors,
(d) Managing misbehaviors,
(e) Preventing problems in high-risk situations,
(f) Self-regulation skills,
(g) Parental mood management and coping skills, and
(h) Partner support and communication skills. The TPS comprises of five levels of interventions including a media and communication strategy, a large group positive parenting seminar series, brief primary care interventions, more intensive small group and individual programs, and enhanced family intervention for parents who require more intensive intervention services. The program uses a self-regulation framework for working with parents (Karoly, 1993) by encouraging parents themselves, in consultation with service providers, to determine their own goals and the kinds of behaviors, skills and values they desire to promote in their children. The self-regulation approach is particularly relevant to population level applications in culturally diverse communities, as these goals are informed by parents’ cultural belief. It encourages all parents to take responsibility for their own parenting decisions and has the advantage of being able to be used in universal as well as more tailored and targeted interventions. The program uses different pathways (psychologists, nurses, social workers, guidance officers, counselors, and teachers) as well as different delivery formats (e.g., media, groups, seminars, and individual face to face or phone consultation) and is delivered medical practices, schools, preschools, child care centers and mental health services to avoid contradictory information.

The evidence base for Triple P is extensive. Various components of the Triple P system have been subjected to a series of controlled evaluations, and have consistently shown positive effects on observed and parent-reported child behavior problems, parenting practices, and parents’ adjustment across sites, investigators, family characteristics, cultures, and countries. The substantial evidence base supporting Triple P to date includes 43 controlled trials addressing efficacy, effectiveness, and dissemination, as well as 22 service-based field evaluations (e.g., Morawska and Sanders 2006; Plant and Sanders 2007; Sanders 1999; Sanders et al. 2002, 2004, 2007a, b; Turner and Sanders 2006).

Most of these trials have documented the beneficial effects of Triple P with culturally and linguistically diverse parents including indigenous parents (Turner et al. 2007), Chinese parents, and African American parents and service providers (Prinz et al. under review). A large number of randomized clinical trials have established that Triple P reduces behavioral and emotional problems in children (Sanders et al. 2007), increases parental self-efficacy (Sanders et al. 2000), reduces dysfunctional discipline (Markie-Dadds and Sanders 2006), reduces parental distress including depression, stress and anger (Sanders et al. 2004; Sanders and McFarland 2000), reduces couple conflict over parenting (Dadds et al. 1987), and improves work performance in working parents (Martin and Sanders 2003; Sanders et al. under review).

Hence, the evaluation approach involved 10 intervention communities in southern Brisbane that implemented all five levels of the TPS. These communities were compared to 10 non-randomly assigned care as usual (CAU) communities; five in Melbourne, and five in Sydney. The Evaluation Surveys targeted and reached about 3000 parents. There was a 32%
reduction in coercive parenting in the Triple P communities. However, inability to randomize communities limits the significance of the study results. The main implication here is that any exposure of parents to an evidence-based program yields a reduction in parental and child distress (Scott et al, 2006).

Studies took place in nine countries, eight of which were classified as middle-income (one study each in Brazil, Chile, China, Iran, Jamaica, Pakistan and Turkey; three in South Africa) and one as low-income (two studies in Ethiopia). They reviewed reported results favoring the intervention group on a range of parenting measures, including parent–child interaction, parent attitudes and knowledge, and reductions in harsh parenting. They indicate that parenting interventions can be both feasible and effective in improving parent–child interaction and parental knowledge, respectively.

Triple P has been evaluated as a universal, whole of population strategy and shown to strengthen parenting and reduce the prevalence of conduct problems in preschool-aged children from high-risk neighborhoods (Zubrick et al. 2005), and to reduce coercive parenting practices through the implementation of multiple levels of Triple P (Sanders et al. 2008).

In Panama, where the programme was found to be relevant and culturally acceptable, self directed formats such as having resource centers with materials available on loan and written materials were considered as the most preferred ones. Home visits, which are frequently used in LMIC (e.g. Cooper et al. 2009; Walker et al. 2004) were one of the least preferred formats. The Triple P programme has been replicated, scaled up and has inspired various other programs such as the Every Family, a preventive intervention designed to promote better mental health outcomes in children during the transition to school period.

Fatherhood Programmes

Few parenting interventions address father engagement or men’s roles in parenting and/or child maltreatment; and most evaluated interventions to promote child well-being, development and violence-prevention focus exclusively on mothers. Few have undergone systematic and robust evaluation. Where this has been undertaken, the findings are based on a short-term follow-up, and little is known about longer-term outcomes.

In a sample of 3,000 children and their parents, it was found that fathers who participated in EHS were significantly less likely to use harsh discipline than fathers in the control group. Early Head Start -EHS fathers were also less intrusive and more easily engaged by their children (who were also more attentive) than fathers in the control group.

Early Head Start (EHS) delivers over 700 programmes to 62,000 pre-school children and their low-income parents throughout the United States. Seventeen research sites were selected as representative of parenting contexts across the country, and 3000 children and their parents took part in the impact evaluation. A randomized control trial was constructed, with participants randomly assigned to receive EHS or not. Data were collected when children were 14, 24 and 36
months old. Mothers were asked about children’s fathers and father figures in all 17 sites; the EHS fathers were significantly less likely to use harsh discipline than fathers in the control Group: 25.4% reported spanking children in the last week compared to 36.5% without EHS.

The Father Support Programme (FSP) by ACEV (Turkey) aims ‘for fathers to play a more effective and positive role in the development of their children’ (Population Council, 2009:9). Topics addressed include child development, fathers’ experiences of being fathered, positive discipline, the importance of play and improving communication in families. Fathers who participated in the quantitative and qualitative evaluation of the programme showed an increase in time spent with children, used less shouting and harsh discipline, became more involved in parenting and in housework (mothers’ reports) and showed improved communication with and greater respect towards their wives.

The Becoming a Family Project randomly assigned expectant first time parent couples to a six-month weekly group intervention (with two comparison groups receiving only minimal interventions) across the three months before and the three months after the birth. Decline in couple relationship satisfaction postpartum and over the first six years was experienced by the non-intervention couples. By contrast, by 18 months postpartum the intervention couples were operating more flexibly in terms of division of labor and were more satisfied with it; reported fewer negative changes in their sexual relationship and experienced a smaller decline in couple relationship satisfaction. Over time, the intervention couples’ relationship satisfaction tended to remain stable, while relationship satisfaction in the non-intervention couples continued to decline.

The above mentioned programs were all carried out by Philip and Carolyn Cowan to explore family functioning via randomized controlled trials, carefully incorporating and studying fathers alongside mothers. Among other things, they found that involving both parents in preventive interventions to be more beneficial than working with just one. Changes at home were made more quickly and gains were maintained when both parents were engaged; and the couples-intervention was more successful than the men-only intervention in sustaining fathers’ participation throughout and beyond the programs. The Cowans believe that ‘the question is not whether to intervene with fathers or with couples but, in either approach, how to involve both parents’ (Cowan et al, 2009: 677).

Reaching out to fathers with programmes that encourage their early involvement in their children’s lives (including before they are born) is vital because levels of father-involvement established early on tend to endure (Hwang & Lamb, 1997; Duvander & Jans, 2009).

2. Prevention of violence against women

Legislations
The prevention of violence against women is two fold: through policies/laws and through action plans/programmes:
Domestic violence has been hard to tackle in the international areas. The Regional Action Programme for Latin America and Caribbean states that decades of women’s activism to change the perception of domestic violence have resulted in it being recognized as a human rights concern: violence of all forms, including domestic violence, violates the human rights of women by infringing the right to life, liberty, and security of the person and the right not to be subjected to discrimination on the basis of sex (2001). Legislation concerning domestic violence has a relatively short history. The earliest of these, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is essentially an international bill of rights for women. Its 30 articles define what constitutes discrimination against women and provide a framework for national action to end this discrimination. It does not specifically prohibit gender-based violence nor does it explicitly commit states parties to take action to reduce this.

The most recent and clearest directive from the United Nations on state responsibility with respect to domestic violence is the October 2006 Report issued by the Office of the UN Secretary General. The Report explicitly classifies abuse against women, in the home or elsewhere, as a human rights violation. This is significant because it means that states are obligated by international human rights standards to hold perpetrators accountable for the abuse, whether they are state or non-state actors. Consequently, “a government that does not develop, fund and implement all necessary laws and programs to prevent and to punish this violence violates international human rights law.” (Jefferson, 2006).

In Latin America and the Caribbean, efforts towards the elimination of violence against women have resulted in the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence Against Women or the Convention of Belém do Pará. In 1990, the Inter-American Commission of Women of the Organization of American States (OAS), held the first Inter-American Consultation on Women and Violence (CIM) and in 1994, the Convention of Belem do Para, was approved. At least 26 countries in the Caribbean and Latin America have signed and ratified this convention, including Guyana. The Convention goes one step further than previous international instruments in clearly delineating states’ obligation to protect women’s right to a life without violence. In addition, it is the only legally binding international instrument that specifically addresses the issue of violence against women. The Convention recognizes that women have the right to a life “free from violence in both the public and private spheres” (Article 3), and outlines the obligations of states parties with respect to their role in protecting this right. States must adopt policies and programmes to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women.

Interventions
The basic interventions in domestic violence against women are prevention, care of victims, medical-legal documentation, treatment for abusers, and reports to the authorities. There are three basic levels of prevention: primary, secondary, and tertiary (PAHO).
• **Primary prevention**: Developed through coordination among the health and education sectors and the community on awareness about DV as a social problem and strategies to prevent such occurrences. Without such measures, violent behaviors will continue or even escalate.

• **Secondary prevention**: Aims at stopping violence as soon as it is identified by health services or other entities, to keep the victim or others from suffering further attacks. It is the responsibility of most existing services in both the public and private sectors, and it requires effective inter-institutional coordination to protect victims and their children.

• **Tertiary prevention**: Tertiary prevention aims at reducing injury to affected people through supportive activities to treat physical and psychological damage. It includes counseling, specialized medical care, and support groups.

The Pan American Health Organization, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the International Planned Parenthood Federation/Western Hemisphere Division (IPPF/WHD) have been pioneers in developing an integrated approach for working with violence in the health sector in Latin America. Adapting to local structures and differently from the norm in industrialized countries, most of these programs have a broader focus than simply implementing a screening and referral protocol. At the level of health services, the most common activities carried out include: screening for abuse; risk assessment, medical care; documentation of the violent event and its health consequences; counseling; referrals to a network of service providers; and community-focused prevention initiatives (Morrison et al, 2007).

Civil society has also launched programs to promote community-wide changes in attitudes and practices related to gender norms and violence against women as well as awareness programmes for violence against women. Virtually all Latin American governments have established national commissions for the purpose of improving inter-sectorial coordination and monitoring progress on the development of national plans and policies on violence. Services for survivors of violence frequently provided include telephone hotlines, emergency shelters, police intervention, legal assistance, counseling services, psychological care, support groups, income-generation programs, programs for batterers, shelters and child welfare services (Morrison et al, 2007).

Creative ways have been used to create awareness on domestic violence and prevent abuses by fostering national conversations, especially through the media. In Nicaragua and throughout Central America, two soap television series (Sexto Sentido and Contracorriente) have reached millions of viewers by intertwining story lines for social change with issues in magazines, radio and training (García-Moreno et al., 2014). The results were salient: 59% of the targeted respondent of 13-25 years had regularly watched the shows, 2/3 of them talked with others about VAW issues and viewers had more gender equitable views on gender roles and relationships (García-Moreno et al., 2014).
Most of the in-depth studies on the interventions have been extensively done in high-income countries, with little available input from the Caribbean countries. García Moreno and Colleagues describe these interventions in the Lancet series (2014), summarized below:

- Court mandated programmes to reduce recidivism in male perpetrators: involve 8-24 weeks group education for men involved in assault of their female partners through discussions, therapy and anger management. Report shows a reduction in recidivism in men who complete the full training. Some shortcomings are the lack of consequences for failure to complete the programme, and so dropout rates and absenteeism are very high.

- Health sector one-stop centers: aim at providing comprehensive care for survivors of violence against women and girls. Usually in Latin America, these one stop centers are stand-alone, run by women rights activists or by national/municipal governments – Ciudad Mujer in El Salvador or the Centros Emergencia Mujer in Peru.

- Group based training interventions for women and girls: prevention programmes often done in partnership with sexual health or vocational training programmes. Two successful programmes in Uganda and Kenya were evaluated through randomized controlled trials found a 60% reduction of sexual assaults in girls in the intervention group compared to the control group.

- Cash transfers: they indirectly affect violence against women. Studies of unconditional cash transfers in Kenya and Ecuador reported significant reductions in rates of intimate partner violence. One of the scientific reasons showed a reduction in household stress, thereby affecting the relationship environment.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**
Violence in the home is a global issue that takes a particular toll on developing countries such as those of the Caribbean region. This issue is complex and deeply rooted in individuals and communities. The fact that it is also a private crime makes it all the more complex to tackle. A few international programs have been scaled up and implemented in the Caribbean, but more still needs to be done in the prevention and intervention sides of the issue, especially of violence against women. Some recommendations include: better study design and reporting of data used in evaluating intervention programs or the extent of the problem; need to disseminate existing interventions in a culturally sensitive way in order to promote healthy child development and prevent maltreatment and other forms of violence in LMIC (Scott et al, 2006). More awareness and education must be available to engage communities to help avoid economic abuse, isolation and all other issues that prevent women from reporting crimes.

**References**


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**Appendix**

**Appendix 1**

UNDP (2010): Self-Reported Victims of Domestic Violence in the Caribbean-7
Appendix 2
WHO (2013) – Global estimates of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence

Appendix 3
Domestic Abuse Interventions Program (DAIP) power and control wheel (2015)
POWER AND CONTROL

USING COERCION AND THREATS
Making and/or carrying out threats to do something to hurt her/him
• threatening to leave her/him, to commit suicide, to report her/him to welfare
• making her/him drop charges making her/him do illegal things

USING ECONOMIC ABUSE
Preventing her/him from getting or keeping a job • making her/him ask for money • giving her/him an allowance • taking her/him's money • not letting her/him know about or have access to family income

USING MALE PRIVILEGE
Treating her/him like a servant • making all the big decisions • acting like the "master of the castle" • being the one to define men's and women's roles

USING CHILDREN
Making her/him feel guilty about the children • using the children to relay messages
• using visitation to harass her/him
• threatening to take the children away

USING INTIMIDATION
Making her/him afraid by using looks, actions, gestures • smashing things • destroying her/him's property • abusing pets • displaying weapons

USING EMOTIONAL ABUSE
Putting her/him down • making her/him feel bad about herself/himself • calling her/him names • making her/him think she's/he's crazy • playing mind games • humiliating her/him • making her/him feel guilty

MINIMIZING, DENYING AND BLAMING
Making light of the abuse and not taking her/his concerns about it seriously • saying the abuse didn't happen • shifting responsibility for abusive behavior
• saying she/he caused it

USING ISOLATION
Controlling what she/he does, who she/he see and talks to, what she/he reads, where she/he goes • limiting her/his outside involvement • using jealousy to justify actions
Chapter 4 Youth Violence and Violence in School

This paper discusses the problem of youth violence and violence in school in the Caribbean region, based on a review of existing literature. Furthermore, in an effort to better understand the causality behind youth violence, it highlights risk factors and characteristics that have been identified as potential indicators of delinquent and violent behavior among youth. In part II, the paper showcases intervention programs that have been implemented in several countries around the world to prevent youth violence and delinquent activity.

Part I: Understanding Youth Violence and Violence in School

Youth violence is one of the top priorities facing Caribbean policymakers and civil society, as violence involving youth has reached epidemic levels in the region (H. Moestue, L. Moestue and Muggah, 2013). An escalation of violence has the potential to impede on the progress of effective and efficient democratic governance in Caribbean countries, economic investment in the region and overall growth and security among civil society. Becoming an important development challenge worldwide, declining social and economic development conditions have increased the risk that youth, in particular, may become violent offenders and victims of violence (Shaw, 2012, 45). According to the UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010, the highest proportions of reported youth violence occurred in Saint Lucia (2.7 percent of incidents of violence with weapons, and 4.3 without), followed by Guyana (1.4 percent of incidents of violence with weapons, and 4.2 percent without), Trinidad and Tobago (3 percent of incidents of violence with weapons, and 2.6 percent without) and Barbados (4 percent of incidents of violence with weapons, and 1.3 percent without) (Shaw, 2012, 47).

Youth violence poses a challenge for human development, as expressions of violence among youth create a risk that patterns of persistent violent behavior will emerge and, once entrenched, affect the future of society. The sheer number of youth in the region has meant that crime and violence among youth have already had several negative influences on all sectors of society (Shaw, 2012, 49-50). The direct monetary costs to governments and citizens of corrective measures include budgetary expenses on security, policing, judicial processing and incarceration. Indirect monetary and economic costs include loss of potential revenue from incarcerated youth, loss of life among young productive citizens, lower economic growth and reduced tourism revenues (Shaw, 2012, 49). Estimates show that youth crime might be costing Caribbean countries between 2.8 percent and 4 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) annually, in terms of direct expenses relative to fighting crimes and loss in revenue due to youth incarceration and declines in tourism revenue (Shaw, 2012, 49).

Risk Factors of Youth Violence

Acceptance of violence, particularly non-criminalized social forms of violence, has been a distressing trend, especially in the Caribbean region. Caribbean youth often model the behaviors
of influential persons in their homes, at school, in their communities and in various spheres of national life (Shaw, 2012, 54), who may engage in violent or delinquent behavior. National figures in music and politics have expressed to young people that certain forms of violence may be permissible and, in some cases, worthy of admiration. The profound role of violent criminals in the political sphere of some Caribbean countries provide evidence to this claim, thus reinforcing illegitimate structures, such as gangs, and reduces youth confidence in legitimate structures of political representation (Shaw, 2012, 54). Furthermore, youth may lose faith in formal processes of governance and aim to foster subcultural systems of participation through gangs, becoming practical alternatives to legitimate employment.

The causality behind violence and delinquent behavior among youth in Caribbean countries is a result of themselves being victims of violence and crime. The fear of victimization has resulted in behavioral changes among youth; the changes include self-imposed curfews and decreased participation in community activities (CARICOM, 2010). This fear has also led to an increase in weapons use in and out of school. According to the UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010 administered to youth in seven Caribbean countries (Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago), as many as 21.7 percent of the youth surveyed carried weapons at night, 16.2 percent carried weapons during the day, and 32.5 percent kept weapons at home (Shaw, 49, 2012). This is evidence that youth violence has constrained youth choices, freedom and opportunity, while constructing an environment that is conducive to more violence. Thus the fear of victimization has resulted in a feeling of hopelessness among some youth concerning their prospects for long fulfilling lives (Carter, R., 2008).

At the societal level, Caribbean society presents significant risk to the youth population. Socioeconomic development in the Caribbean is marred by high levels of unemployment, especially among young people. The lack of economic opportunities are seen as a push factor for youth violence. Youth respondents to the UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010 showed concern for four principal socioeconomic issues; those issues being unemployment (27.7 percent), violent crime (20.0 percent), the cost of food (13.2 percent) and the cost of living (10.5 percent).

Community and interpersonal risks that are associated and are likely to contribute to youth violence are exposure to community volatility, abuse and exploitation by adults and a loss of social cohesion in communities (Shaw, 2012, 54). Individual risks that are likely to influence youth violence involve the choice to pursue the use of violence through peer encouragement, low self-esteem or self-worth and status of employment (Shaw, 2012, 56). The risk factors contributing to juvenile delinquency and school dropouts included a breakdown in family structure, violence in the home, drug use and abuse, association with gangs and economic factors such as barriers within the educational system, customs and culture (Maharaj, Nunes and Renwick, 2009). At the general population level, international research has identified extreme
economic deprivation, conflict in the family, a family history of behavioral problems and a lack of a protective environment as common risk factors for most adolescent delinquency and dropping out of school (Maharaj, Nunes and Renwick, 2009). At the individual level, research has been conducted to determine personal characteristics of young people that suggest an increased risk of delinquency. According to Andrews (1989, 1), youth who possess characteristics such as antisocial behavior, family conflict and lack of family cohesion, low levels of affection, exposure to violence in the home, poor performance in school and difficulty establishing positive relationships with parents, siblings, teachers and peers are more likely at risk of partaking in delinquent activity.

Blum (2003, 493-500) points out that there are similarities in the prevalence of risk factors among adolescents in the United States and the Caribbean, with both countries reporting high levels of youth that have been exposed to and have participated in violence. One domain that is not well documented in the international literature is that of rage. Defined as 'almost wanting to hurt another,' rage, or intermittent explosive disorder, tends to be more prevalent among youth who have experienced emotional or physical trauma. Emotional and physical trauma can be attributed to the violent and hostile environment in which most Caribbean youth find themselves. Nearly 5 percent of adolescents reported rage in two studies conducted in the Caribbean studies (Maharaj, Nunes and Renwick, 2009). After conducting a 1997-98 survey on 15,500 youth in nine countries in the Caribbean region, Blum (2004, 494) found that of the three leading risk factors associated with youth violence (abuse, skipping school and reported rage), rage was the strongest risk factor for every health compromising behavior (one of these behaviors being involvement in violent or criminal activity) among youth across gender and all age groups. Outcomes of the survey also found that the absence of the three risk factors resulted in a decrease of violence involvement among males (21.9 percent) and females (8.4 percent); however, when all three risk factors are present, violence involvement increased significantly among males (91.4 percent) and females (76.7 percent) (Blum, 2004, 495). The protective effects of school connectedness and increased religiosity noted in US studies were also applicable in the Caribbean. School connectedness appeared to be the most significant protective factor (Maharaj, Nunes and Renwick, 2009).

Violence in School

School is identified as one of the most important socializing environments for youth and is where they spend the majority of their time interacting with teachers and peers; however, the persistent spillover of community socioeconomic conditions and violence have penetrated the school environment, making them no longer protected places. Studies from the early 2000s showed that

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school grounds share in the day-to-day violence of the urban space (Abramovay, 2002), and documented a significant increase of violence in school in the Caribbean countries (Alda, 2002).

The phenomenon of school violence consists of all incidents in which any member of the school community is subjected to abuse, threatening, intimidating or humiliating behavior, or physical assault from a student, teacher, or staff member (Alda, 2002), and can have adverse effects on youth. Violence in schools is believed to have a lasting impact on children and youth, the family and the community (Morotti and Roberts Jr., 2000) in various ways. Students who are repeatedly victimized tend to show a broad range of both emotional and behavioral problems such as disturbances in sleeping pattern, separation anxiety, physical complaints and irritability and emotional withdrawal (Alda, 2002). The culmination of emotional and behavioral damage from being victimized in school can likely transition into more serious behavior in the future. In fact, research has shown that students witnessing or experiencing violence while young are more likely to engage in violent activity in the future (Gottfredson, 2001). Many students have witnessed violence in the home (45 percent) and school (79 percent) while others had personal experience either causing harm (29 percent), experiencing harm themselves (20 to 34 percent) or having a family member hurt (60 percent) or killed (37 percent). Seventy-eight percent of students indicated that they were worried about their safety in going to and from school. Boys, older students and those with lower socioeconomic status reported higher neighborhood violence. Boys and students from higher socioeconomic status reported higher levels of school violence (Maharaj, Nunes and Renwick, 2009). These statistics indicate the prevalence of violence and its impact on a significant portion of the youth population in the Caribbean region.

School Risk and Protective Factors
Research on school violence has shown that several risk factors increase the probability that students will engage in violent behavior. At the individual level, poor academic performance, unstructured free time and association with delinquent peers, age, gender and access to weapons have been identified as risk factors to violent behavior among youth. Studies from the late 1990s and early 2000s showed that access to weapons and weapons possession, in particular, were serious problems for schools in the Caribbean, as they can create an intimidating and threatening atmosphere, thus making teaching and learning challenging endeavors (Ingersoll and LeBoeuf, 1997). They are also likely to increase the risk of more extreme violence or death. Research on protective factors (assets that benefit the positive development of a child) identify schools as providers of protection against risk factors found at the individual, school, community level that foster violent and delinquent behavior. Individual traits, or characteristics, can also be a risk factor. Impulsiveness, low tolerance threshold and aggressiveness are strong indicators of violent behavior in students (Alda, 2002).

School-based risk factors include school size and student-teacher ratio, gang activity, school governance and environment of the classroom and physical infrastructure. Schools with a
significant number of students, paired with a lack of basic resources and high student-teacher ratio, are more likely to experience disorder, crime and violence. The presence of gangs in or near school increases the risk of students engaging in violent activity, with gangs also using their presence around schools as a means of new member recruitment (Alda, 2002). Community and social risk factors consists of school location, witnessing and/or experiencing violence in the community, family dynamics and other factors such as a lack of adequate role models. Schools that are located in poorer and disorganized communities are more prone to high levels of violence and disorder than schools located in more affluent, organized communities (Abranovay, 2002). Students who have either been victimized or have witnessed violence in their communities are more likely to engage in violent behavior because it is a tool they have learned to apply to resolve problems (Alda, 2002).

Individual protective factors such as caring relationships and a resilient temperament and outgoing personality have been associated with reduced violent activity among students. Positive relationships with parents, teachers and other adults are conducive to fostering resilience among youth and preventing violent behavior. Positive relationships with adults provide in return positive behavior models for youth. Children and youth who are able to quickly adjust to change easily recover from disruption and stress inducing situations are less likely to partake in violent activity. Youth with outgoing personalities are more social and interact more easily with others, which may allow them to avoid violent behavior (Alda, 2002).

Protective factors at the school level, such as pro-social involvement and student teacher ratio, promote positive support and affirmation for students through class participation and necessary nurturing and attention. Students that are given more opportunities to participate in class and are recognized for their contributions are less likely to become alienated and are more likely to establish strong bonds with the school, as opposed to the loss of bonds, which may turn into a precursor of violent behavior. Participation in community networks in which youth belong to groups such as school organizations that encourage development of positive informal and formal rapports with other youth, adults and organizations are less prone to engage in violent or delinquent activity.

Review
It is important to note that there are three important takeaways from this section: (1) understanding that youth violence is a reflection of an environment in which violence is prevalent and most often occurs on or in the vicinity of school grounds, (2) the identification of characteristics that are believed to be associated with violent and delinquent behavior among youth and (3) the importance of risk factors as determinants of violent and aggressive behavior.
Part II: Solutions to Youth Violence and Violence in School

Many interventions have been attempted in an effort to reduce youth violence and violence in school. Among these are programs and physical security measures that act as interventions to decrease the prevalence of violent behavior among youth. This section will highlight some programs that have managed to produce notable results in the reduction of school-related bullying (Olweus Bullying Prevention Program and Steps to Respect Program), criminal behavior and delinquency (Becoming a Man Intervention Program) and antisocial behavior and truancy (Behavioral Monitoring and Reinforcement Program). Although there are programs that have been implemented in the Caribbean to address the issue of youth violence and its presence in school, their efficacy has yet to undergo rigorous evaluation due to a lack of resources and cost. Hence the discussion in this section is limited to programs that have been implemented in Europe and the United States. It is possible that these interventions could be structured to accommodate the specific situations in the Caribbean community.

1. Anti-Bullying Programs

Many school-based intervention programs have been devised and implemented in an attempt to reduce school bullying. These interventions have been targeted on bullies, victims, peers, teachers, or on the school in general. Many anti-bullying programs seem to have been based on commonsense idea about what might reduce bullying rather than on empirically-supported theories of why children bully, why children become victims, or why bullying events occur (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). The first large-scale anti-bullying program was implemented nationally in Norway in 1983; a more intensive version of the national program was evaluated in Bergen by Olweus in 1991 (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). The program continues to be relevant among anti-bullying programs, and has been implemented in various countries including Canada, England, Malaysia and the United States.

**Olweus Bullying Prevention Program**

The Olweus Bully Prevention Program is a multi-level and multi-component program that is designed to reduce and prevent school bullying in elementary and middle schools. Designed and originally implemented in northern Europe, the program is aimed at youth of all races and ethnicities. The program targets the problem of bullying at three levels: the school, the classroom and the individual. At the school level, students are given an anonymous questionnaire, lasting 25-45 minutes, to assess the nature and prevalence of bullying at the school. The survey is administered in the spring of the school year prior to program implementation. The school administration then convenes a conference day during which program consultants and school staff discuss findings from the student questionnaire, familiarize themselves with the program and its effects (through discussions with program consultants, handbooks and videos), form a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, and plan for program implementation. The coordinating committee includes representatives from all
constituencies involved with the school, such as the school administration, teachers, counselors, parents and students. Additionally, the school level component involves increased adult supervision of school vicinities that are frequently the setting for bullying (i.e. the playground, cafeteria and restrooms).

The classroom level component involves the establishment of clear and regularly enforced rules against bullying, along with regular class discussions and activities that are designed to reinforce rules and anti-bullying values and norms. Discussions and activities present the harm caused by bullying and strategies to preventing it. The program encourages parental involvement through meetings and discussion of the problem and efforts to address it. Individual level components include interventions with bullies, victims and their parents. Interventions are designed to ensure an end to the bullying behavior and provide support to victims (Olweus, 2015).

Furthermore, the program addresses risk factors at the individual level (bullying others, early initiation of antisocial behavior, favorable attitudes towards antisocial behavior and victimization) and peer level (interaction with antisocial peers). Protective factors addressed are on at the individual level (problem solving skills, prosocial behavior, prosocial involvement and skills for social interaction), peer level (interaction with social peers), family level (parental involvement in education) and school level (opportunities for prosocial involvement in education and rewards for prosocial involvement in school). The primary source of data for program evaluations presented were self-report data using the Bully/Victimization Questionnaire (or a modified version of it) and teacher surveys (Olweus, 2015).

The theoretical rationale behind the program is that bullying is best addressed through a systematic restructuring of the social environment. Bullying behavior is stopped and redirected by eliminating the opportunities and rewards structures for anti-social behavior and encouraging and rewarding pro-social behavior. All program studies have used quasi-experimental designs. The original Norway study and several replications used comparisons of adjacent age-cohorts; all but the Toronto, Ireland and most Oslo studies had comparison groups, but none used random assignment to treatment and comparison groups. The primary sources of data for evaluations presented were self-report data using the Bully/Victim Questionnaire, or a modified version of it, and teacher surveys (Olweus, 2015).

The program has been evaluated in multiple settings with varying results. The first U.S. replication in South Carolina demonstrated mixed results. The population was predominately African-American, low-income and lived in areas with high rates of delinquency. This suggests that the program may not be generalizable to populations similar to the one in this particular study. The 2007 Seattle-based replication furthers this notion, as findings showed that physical and relational bullying victimization was significantly reduced for Caucasian treatment youth, as oppose to youth of other ethnicities (Olweus, 2015).
Program Results

Student reports from the original trial in Bergen, Norway show that bullying and victimization were significantly reduced, in most cases by 50 percent or more. These reductions were generally consistent across gender and grade subgroups. Teacher and peer reports also indicated a decrease in bully and victim problems. Students reported an improvement in order and discipline, positive social relationships and attitudes toward school, thus indicating reductions in anti-social behavior, such as theft, vandalism and truancy, all of which indicate an improvement in overall school climate (Olweus, 2015).

Steps to Respect Program

Steps to Respect is a program initiative designed to decrease school bullying problems by increasing staff awareness and responsiveness, fostering socially responsible beliefs, and teaching social-emotional skills to counter bullying and promote healthy relationships (Burke, 2015). Teachers, counselors and administrators receive training in how to mentor students involved in bullying. Over a course of 12 to 14 weeks students (ages 5 through 11) are administered an anti-bullying curriculum, consisting of skill and literature based lessons, that is presented by third- through sixth-grade teachers. Ten semi-scripted skill lessons focus on social-emotional skills for positive peer relations, emotion management, and recognizing, refusing and reporting bullying behavior (Burke, 2015). Upon completion of skill lessons, teachers implement a grade-appropriate literature unit. This literature unit is based on children’s books providing further opportunities to explore bullying-related themes. Parents are given information about the program throughout the implementation of the classroom curriculum (Burke, 2015).

The social-ecological model of bullying is the theoretical platform in which the Steps to Respect program is based. This model sees youth behavior as shaped by multiple factors within contextual systems. The program addresses both the social context and individual characteristics that are likely to contribute to the processes underlying bullying and victimization. The theory of the program is that peer attitudes, norms and behaviors influence bullying behavior. Because bullying is a social process that is strongly influenced by the reactions and behaviors of peers, the program aims to change attitudes about the acceptability of bullying through clearly classifying bullying behavior as unjust and wrong, increasing empathy for students who are victims of bullying and educating students about their responsibilities as bystanders to bullying (Burke, 2015).

Steps to Respect has been evaluated twice; in the first evaluation, six elementary schools in two school districts were matched and paired, within each district, and each school in the pair was randomly assigned to the bullying intervention or to control condition. Children in grades 3 to 6 (n = 1,126) completed pre- and posttest surveys of behaviors and teachers rated beliefs and attitudes. Observers coded playground behavior of a random sub-sample (n = 544). The second evaluation matched 33 schools in North Central California and then randomly assigned pairs to
treatment or control conditions. From each of the 33 participating schools, 128 classrooms were selected at random for data collection: grades 3 ($n = 52$), 4 ($n = 62$) and 5 ($n = 11$). There were also two third- and fourth-grade split classrooms and 1 fourth- and fifth-grade classroom. The implementation phase began December, 2008 and ended May, 2009, at which time posttest data was collected (Burke, 2015).

Self-reports from the original evaluation showed that students in intervention schools were significantly less accepting of bullying and aggression, felt more responsibility to intervene with friends who bullied, and reported greater adult responsiveness than those in control schools. Most intervention students in grades 5 and 6 perceived the challenge of responding assertively to bullying to be lower than did their peers in control schools. In terms of self-reported bullying and aggression or teacher ratings of interaction skills, there was no significant difference between intervention and control groups. Increases in observed bullying from pretest to posttest were significantly lower for intervention youth compared to youth in the control group, but there were only marginally significant declines in bystander encouragement of bullying, and there were no effects for victimization of bullying or non-bullying aggression. Children in the intervention group did show significant decreases in argumentative behavior and increases in agreeable behavior (Burke, 2015).

Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT) Programs

Behavioral Monitoring and Reinforcement Program

The Behavioral Monitoring and Reinforcement Program is a school-based intervention that was first implemented in the United States and is designed to change the negative school behavior of middle school adolescents. Students meet in small groups and systematically work through behavior change (Bry, Ph.D., 2015). The two-year intervention consists of four components: the collection of up-to-date information about the school-related behavior of each student; provision of systematic feedback to the student and/or the parents about the student’s behavior; attachment of point values to the student’s behavior to earn incentives; and aid to the student to figure out how he or she can earn more points. The program utilizes cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), which is a short-duration intervention from psychology that helps people recognize and reduce unhelpful automatic behaviors and biased beliefs and promote meta-cognition, or “thinking about thinking” (Heller, et al., 2013). It targets a demographic of middle and junior high school students at risk for increasing school failure experiences. Adolescents are considered to be at-risk if they meet at least two of three of the following criteria: low academic motivation, family problems, and frequent or serious discipline referrals (Bry, Ph.D., 2015). The Behavioral Monitoring and Reinforcement program is based on behavioral modification theory, which has been supported by findings of various research studies indicating that problem behaviors in youth are preceded by increases in cynicism about the
certainty of the world and decreases in the sense of competence to deal with it (Bry, Ph.D., 2015).

The program was evaluated with two sets of forty 7th graders, one from a low-income, inner-city school and one from a middle-class, suburban school, were matched into twenty pairs based on relevant school failure variables. Each pair was then randomly assigned to the intervention or control group condition, with the control group receiving no special program at all. During the one-year follow-up, biweekly booster sessions were available to experimental group; however fewer than 50 percent attended these sessions. The rest were mailed notes from the session. Since there were no differences in race, age, sex, socioeconomic status initial achievement motivation between the schools, data from the two samples was combined for the one-year follow-up. Sixty-six 9th grade subjects out of a possible eighty were the target of the one-year follow-up. Sixty-three of the subjects participated in the interview on employment, drug and alcohol use and criminal behaviors. Court records were also analyzed during a five-year follow-up (Bry, Ph.D., 2015).

Program Results

Intervention effects became evident after a two-year period. Significant differences were found after the second program year when control subjects’ grades and attendance continued to decline while intervention subjects’ grades and attendance improved significantly. However, there were no significant differences for disciplinary actions. One-year posttest showed that intervention youths were significantly more likely to have had a job and were less likely to have been involved in criminal behavior. Additionally, intervention youths reported significantly lower rates of illegal drug use (3%) compared to youth in the control group (16%), with the exception of marijuana and alcohol use, for which the intervention yielded no significant differences. At five years posttest, youths who participated in the intervention were 66% less likely to have a juvenile record than youths in the control group (Bry, Ph.D., 2015).

Becoming a Man (BAM) Intervention Program

Becoming a Man intervention was a large-scale randomized controlled trial (RCT) that took place in 18 Chicago Public Schools (CPS) in some of the city’s most disadvantaged and dangerous south and west side neighborhoods (Heller, et al., 2013). 2,740 male youth grades 7 through 10 were randomly assigned to program or control conditions for the 2009-2010 academic year. The intervention was run by two local non-profits, Youth Guidance (YG) and World Sport Chicago (WSC). Nearly half the youth assigned to treatment participated; the average participant attended 13 one-to-two hour sessions. The intervention’s components include regular exposure to pro-social adults (a critical ingredient for almost any social-policy intervention), after-school programming, and cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT). The in-school curriculum used during the intervention included elements of CBT, such as a self-analysis (“check-in”) to help identify problematic thoughts or behaviors to be addressed. Participants
discuss a cognitive model which emphasizes that emotional reactions to events are endogenous and often influence by automatic thoughts. They are then taught relaxation techniques to help avoid overly automatic reactions (“out of control” behavior). Youth use “behavioral experiments” to empirically test their biased beliefs, during both program sessions and homework in between sessions. Because monitoring automatic thoughts requires effort, CBT helps to focus this effort by enabling people to recognize indicators that some maladaptive automatic thought or biased belief is being triggered (Heller, et al., 2013).

Program Results

Using random assignment as an instrument for participation, evaluation of the intervention found that participation resulted in a reduction of violent crime arrest by 8.1 arrests per 100 youth over the course of the program year, a decline of 44 percent in comparison to participant’s control group counterparts. Non-violent, non-property and non-drug arrests decreased by 11.5 arrests per 100 youth during the program year, a decline of 36 percent, due primarily to reductions in weapons offenses together with vandalism and trespassing (Heller, et al., 2013).

Physical Security

Multiple approaches exist, both in theory and in practice, to reduce the risk of violent victimization among youth while they are in school; among these approaches, a growing number of school districts are opting to install metal detectors (Hankin, Hertz & Simon, 2009). A review of literature was conducted by the American School Health Association (ASHA) to analyze the impacts of metal detectors on school violence and perceptions about school violence. An extensive literature search was performed, including databases for the medical, public health, sociology and political science literature. Of 128 papers that met the search criteria, 7 studies met inclusion criteria for the literature review. Results showed that each of the papers reviewed sourced data that originated from self-report surveys. The studies varied as to the outcome, ranging from student/staff perceptions of safety at school to student self-reports of weapon carrying and/or victimization, and exhibited mixed results (Hankin, MD MPH; Hertz, MS; & Simon, PHD, 2009). One study showed a noteworthy beneficial effect, linking metal detector use to a decrease in the likelihood that student reported carrying a weapon while in school (7.8% vs 13.8%), without a change in weapon carrying in other settings or a decline in participation in physical fights. The review of literature concluded with there being insufficient data to determine whether the presence of metal detectors in schools reduces the risk of violent behavior among students, with some research suggesting that the presence of metal detectors may detrimentally impact student perceptions of safety (Hankin, MD MPH; Hertz, MS; & Simon, PHD, 2009).

The National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) has also documented trends in the use of security measures in schools. Sixty-eight percent of students ages 12 to 18 reported in 2009 the presence of security guards or police officers in their schools; 70 percent reported the
use of security cameras; and 11 percent reported the use of metal detectors (Roberts, Zhang & Truman, 2012). In the 2009-2010 academic year, 61 percent of public schools reported that they used one or more security cameras to monitor their students (up from 19 percent in 1999-2000). By grade level, the rates were 51 percent of primary schools, 73 of middle schools and 84 of high schools (Robers, Zhang & Truman, 2012). There is yet to be clear evidence that the use of metal detectors, security cameras, or guards in schools is effective in preventing school violence (Garcia, 2003; Addington, 2009; Borum, et al., 2010; Casella, 2006), and little is known about the potential for unintended consequences that may accompany their adoption (Addington, 2009).

Review
The three most important takeaways from this section include: (1) the significance of intervention programs as a means of reducing youth violence and its occurrence in the school setting, (2) the need for more assessment of programs and intervention strategies that have already been implemented in the Caribbean community and (3) the plausibility that programs like those mentioned earlier can be applied to the Caribbean context in an effort to improve the problem of youth violence and school violence in the region.

Conclusion
Youth violence is a complex and multifaceted issue that continues to grow around the world. This proves no different in Caribbean countries, as youth delinquency and violent behavior continue to have an adverse effect on the socioeconomic welfare of the region. Ongoing research on the causality of youth violence has led to the identification of various individual characteristics and risk factors that are believed to attribute to delinquent behavior. A culture of violence has also managed to infiltrate the school environment, as youth, in fear of victimization, defend themselves through acts of aggression and violence. In an effort to ameliorate the problem of youth violence and violence in school, a diverse range of programs have been created at the individual, school and community and social level. Programs aimed to discourage bullying and encourage the practice of cognitive behavioral therapy have managed to render significant results among their youth participants. However, most of these programs, if not all, have been conducted in industrialized countries. Thus there exists a paucity in the evaluation of the efficacy of such programs in the Caribbean community. Despite such scarcity, it is plausible that such programs can be manipulated in a way that is accommodative to the Caribbean context.

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Chapter 5 Understanding Gangs and Gang Violence

Abstract
Gangs are a major problem in the Caribbean, and the existence of gangs increases the rates of violence and crimes. Many sources show that gangs are active in much of the Caribbean region, but the intensity of their violent activities differs by country. This paper reviews the existing literature with particular attention to gang studies. The first part discusses definitions of gangs and gang and violence; a comparison between gang membership and gang violence in the Caribbean and other areas of the world; and general risk factors associated with gang membership. In the second part solutions and successful actions to prevent gang formation and gang violence are addressed, describing projects on violence interruption and reintegration of gang members.

Overview of Literature on Gangs

Overview of Gang Characteristics
A wide body of literature from around the world confirms the existence of different types of gangs with diverse characteristics, therefore caution should be taken to avoid oversimplification and, or generalizations.

It is important to distinguish between gangs and organized crime. A widely accepted definition of gang is that of the Eurogang Programme, developed by Americans and European researches, define gang as any durable – have been around longer than a few months, street-oriented youth\textsuperscript{10} group whose involvement in illegal activity is part of their group identity (Klein and Maxson, 2006). Organized crime is connected to enterprise activity, normally drug trafficking, the use of violence, the use of corruption as typical means and exploitable relationships, and are characterized by their organizational sophistication (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012).

Authors have defined different type of gangs according to their actions, as youth gangs constituted by adolescents from 12 to 24 years old, mostly male, and participating in illegal activity (Duffy, M and Gillig, E. 2004); and prison gangs, run and operated from inside prisons which provides a mechanism for cohesion, resulting in networked and highly resilient groups (Small Arms Survey, 2010).

While no two gangs are the same, gang membership motivations tend to be broadly similar across countries. Gangs are usually a product of racial and ethnic conflict, through which gang members aim at economic gain, respect and power. Weak states with weak governments, due the deficiency of state control and lack of opportunity for youths, open for more opportunities of gang to arise (Duffy, M and Gillig, E. 2004; Harriot and Katz. 2014; Small

\textsuperscript{10} Members tend to be in their teens and early 20s
Arms Survey 2010). These social-structural problems are more pronounced in developing nations, particularly when contrasted with those in developed nations such as the United States (Katz, Foz. 2013).

**Overview of gangs around the world**

While much of the existing research on gangs has been conducted in the USA and Europe, which has increased the knowledge about the scope and nature of gang-related phenomena, gangs are a problem around the world (Katz and Fox 2013).

In Europe, the *Eurogang network* has identified gangs in 50 cities in 16 countries, but reports of gang-related homicides are almost entirely absent from the Eurogang studies. As for the formation, European gangs tend to be smaller, less organized and less violent than the USA. Clashes between gang exist but they tend to not use firearms¹¹ (Klein, Weerman, and Thornberry, 2006). Australia’s gangs are comparable with Europeans (Small Arms Survey, 2010), and gang violence is described as ‘highly targeted […] rarely random, and occurring on a frequent basis.’ Lately, however, ethnic and racial conflicts have become more prominent, which can affect the general understanding of gangs in the country (White, 2006).

There is more limited information on Africa and Asia. As for the first, there is a noted presence of gangs in Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, and Uganda and South Africa (Covey, 2003). In South Africa gangs were established after the apartheid, and there is a direct relationship between prison and street gangs (Berg and Kinnes, 2009). Gangs tend to be violent, youth gangs use violence in a wide range of situations, including bribery, territorial disputes, robbery, extortion, assaults, and homicides. Western Cape has 137 gangs who are responsible for 40–60% of the violent crime in that area (Small Arms Survey, 2010; Reckson and Becker, 2005). As for Asia, there is a presence of gangs noted in China, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Taiwan (Covey, 2003), but there is little information on its characteristics and actions. In one of the few attempts to study gangs in China, a survey revealed that the age of Chinese gang members ranges from 15 to 25 years old, are male predominant, and gangs have structured hierarchy divisions, with clear defined leaders and structure division for criminal activities (Zhang et al., 1997).

As for the Americas, the presence of gang and gang violence is well documented. In the United States gangs are well structured, formed by youth who hold weapons and commit violent and property crimes (Harriot and Katz 2014). In Canada gang violence is also present but not on the same scale as the USA, one out of every 13 Canadian homicides was identified as gang-related (Savoie, 2003, p. 5). The violence associated with gangs in Canada has lead to a quick response from the authorities aiming in control and decrease gang violence. (Small Arms Survey, 2010; Katz and Fox 2013). In Latin America gangs are a serious problem that combines high

¹¹ An exception in Manchester (UK) where gangs are known to be more violent
levels of violence, weak government and accessibility of guns and weapons (Small Arms Suvey, 2010).

**Gang Organization and Membership**

Gang structure and organization is very relevant feature when differentiating between gangs. Existing research on gangs in the Caribbean shows that most gangs in the region have some level of organization and structure. In Trinidad and Tobago about 95% of gang members indicated that their gang possessed one or more of the following organizational qualities: name, territory, regular meetings, rules, punishment, special signs, symbols, clothing, drug sale, and other crimes (Katz CM, Fox AM. 2010). In Jamaica, street gangs operate within a hierarchy and division of labor (Harriot and Katz. 2014). Additionally, studies based on data collected from law enforcement in Antigua and Barbuda indicate that street gangs typically have an accepted name, they refer to themselves as a gang or crew, and they do make use of symbols (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012). A report by an officer of the Royal Barbados Police Force suggests that street gangs use symbols and initiation rituals (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012). The higher the level of gang organization, the higher is the level associate to delinquency, violent offenses, drug sales and victimization of gang members. (Pyrooz, et al. 2012; Decker et al. 2008)

As for gang membership, self-reported data from 15,695 school-aged youth on Survey in Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica and Saint Lucia, find that 17–24% of males and 11–16% of females report they have been involved in gangs (Ohene, Ireland, and Blum 2005). Research comparing youth in Arizona\(^{12}\) (USA) with Trinidad and Tobago\(^{13}\) finds that the rate of gang membership was higher in Trinidad: 12.5% in Trinidad compared with 7.6% in the USA; it also finds that gang-involved youth were more likely to be male in both countries (57.5% in USA and 59.1% in Trinidad and Tobago); and as for the age of first gang involvement has been found to start at an average of 12.3 years old in USA, and in Trinidad and Tobago 12.9 years old (Katz CM, Fox AM, 2013).

Overall, gang involvement can start as young as 12 or 13 years old (Duffy, M and Gillig, E. 2004; Katz CM, Fox AM, 2013; Headley J Year). In Jamaica and the USA it has been found that the function of each member varies by age: the older gang members are higher in the hierarchy of the organization than more junior members (Lorna Black; Duffy, M and Gillig, E. 2004).

There is increasingly more evidence of female participation in gangs. However, female gang members are less likely to come to the attention of the police since they usually do not

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\(^{12}\) The data from the United States were collected through the 2006 Arizona Youth Survey (AYS) project. A cross-sectional stratified sampling strategy was used to determine the sample for the AYS to ensure that a proportionate number of schools and students were surveyed from each of Arizona’s fifteen counties

\(^{13}\) The sample from Trinidad and Tobago relied on data obtained through the 2006 Trinidad and Tobago Youth Survey (TTYS)
engage in violent acts, or carry a firearm (Small Arms Survey 2010). The role of girls in gangs ranges from taking care of the male members to drug transportation, since they get less attention from the police (Small Arms Survey, 2010). In a national sample in Trinidad and Tobago, based on self-report information, female gang members formed more than 40% of the data collected (Harriot and Katz 2014). Other research also reported a strong presence of females in Jamaican street gangs (Meeks, 2009). Although there is increasingly more evidence of female participation in gangs, some countries are still more male-dominated, e.g., in Antigua and Barbuda where a study comprised of police data did not find female-dominated gangs (Katz 2008).

Gangs and Communities in the Caribbean

In the Caribbean, where state institutions have limited capacity to control delinquency, the relationship between community and gangs has to be considered. Some gangs may act as protectors of the community, a threat to the community, or occasionally both (Small Arms Survey 2010). For example, it has been reported that citizens in Jamaica were seeking justice from local dons (leader of organized groups) because they did not trust in the legal system of the country. Most dons rule by charismatic authority, they are said to display qualities of individual leadership that inspire loyalty and confidence, they take on the political administration of territory, seeking the approval of the citizens over whom they wish to rule (Harriot and Katz 2014).

The data from the 2012 UNDP Citizen Security Survey in the Caribbean examine the feeling of the residents towards gangs in their neighborhoods. While most respondents stated that gangs made their communities less safe and they fear the gangs and gang violence, a surprisingly share of the respondents in Barbados (14.3%) and Jamaica (14.9%) stated that gangs made their neighborhoods safer. According to the survey analysis, in Jamaica it may reflect the view that the state has failed in protect their citizens; while in Barbados reflects the high risk of victimization, giving a perception that gangs can provide protection. The same Survey analyzed the levels of social cohesion in communities with and without gangs. The findings suggest that people living in neighborhoods with gangs feel isolated, disenfranchised and apathetic and are less supportive of formal mechanisms of social control; therefore the locals become engrained into the local community. Harriott (2008) notes that, leaders of street gangs become role models in some communities, “which necessarily perpetuates a culture that places additional value on these criminal organizations and their positive role in communities” (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012: p. 98).

The Deportees: A Unique Issue in the Caribbean

Central America and the Caribbean face a unique situation of involvement of foreign deportees and/or native returnees. Following the Los Angeles riots in 1992 the USA began implementing new immigration rules, including repatriation and deportation of noncitizens that

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14 They pose threat to community members who do not support the gang, and offer protection for the ones that do.
had served their prison terms in the USA, most of which were involved in gangs in the United States. Consequently, between 2000 and 2004, an estimated 20,000 young people, whose families had settled in the slums of LA in the 80’s, were deported back to a country they barely knew (Arana, 2005). While these numbers have surely fluctuated over time, it is understood that these deportations have continued to occur since the 1990s. The local governments however, have no idea who are the new citizens: the new U.S. immigration rules banned the disclosing of the criminal backgrounds of the deportees; so, upon being extradited back to their country, they laid groundwork for the spread of gangs in these areas (Duffy, M and Gillig, E. 2004; Lorna Black). This immigration enforcement policy has been serving to fuel gang formation (Vigil, 2006), especially because they arrive ‘well-trained’ within gangs in the USA. As the number of USA ‘exports’ grew, so did the gang problems of countries such as El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala (Duffy, M and Gillig, E. 2004; Arana, 2005). In the Caribbean-7, reports from policy makers and residents, claims that the deportees have contributed to the problem of gangs in the region, arguing that these individual learn about criminal behavior in developed nations and after they are deported they become responsible for a large amount of crimes in their home-country. (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012). In Jamaica, the deportees are often depicted as the embodiment of the international criminal linkages, therefore tending to be violent (Harriot and Katz 2014).

Gang and Gang Violence

Most of the literature accepts that involvement in a gang increases the likelihood of involvement with violence and crime. Most gang violence tends to occur between and within gangs (Small Arms Survey, 2010). The lifestyle of a gang member often creates more opportunities for committing a crime, and/or being victimized. (Small Arms Survey 2010; Harriot and Katz 2014; Higginson 2013).

Gang violence is often a response to a threat – real or perceived, and violent events occur irregularly (Small Arms Survey 2010). The way gang-related violence is measured is crucial for accurate measure the amount of gang-related violence. Law enforces use two main approaches to classify acts of gang related violence: first, a member-based approach, which defines a gang-related offense one that occurs when a gang member is an offender or a victim of a violence crime, used in Los Angeles. Second, a motive-based approach, which considers the motivation for the crime, and if the act of violence was driven by economic gain, retaliatory violence, territorial conflict or something that interest the gang; this approach is used in Chicago (Small Arms Survey, 2010; Maxson and Klein 1998). As for some places in the Caribbean, the law enforcement does not have a uniform way of accounting for crimes and violence that are gang related.

Four categories of crimes are more likely to involve gang members: property crime, drug related crimes, robbery, and violent crimes using weapons – homicides (Caribbean Human
In a research paper comparing the USA and Trinidad and Tobago\(^{15}\), gang members in the USA self-reported significantly higher levels of property crime, drug sales and marijuana use (Katz CM, Fox AM, 2013). Another study conducted in Trinidad and Tobago by the Ministry of National Security, showed that gang members, relative to non–gang members, were two times more likely to have been arrested for property crimes, three times more likely to have been arrested for violent, gun, or drug offenses, and five times more likely to have been arrested for drug sales (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012).

As for drug related faults, comparing gang members to non-gang members\(^{16}\), in Trinidad and Tobago gang members were about 10.8 times more likely to participate in selling drugs than non-gang members\(^{17}\); while in the USA, 7.7 times (Karz CM, Fox AM, 2013). Gang members have also been found to use drugs more frequently than non-gang members, which may increase involvement in crime to finance their addiction (Duffy, M and Gillig, E. 2004). In Ireland the emergence of gang violence coincided with the widespread introduction of drugs into the country (Duffy and Gillig 2004). In the Bahamas the job opportunity available in the drug selling is attractive for the youth to join gang (Jill Duba. Marty Jencius 2006). Note however there is an important distinction to be made between gangs and other drug trafficking groups such as Mexican cartels which tend to be formed by older members and are more highly organized than street gangs (Small Arms Survey, 2010).

Gang related crimes are also more likely to occur in public places, and involve young offenders and firearms (Small Arms Survey, 2010; Katz CM and Fox AM, 2013; Irving Spergel 1986). Evidence shows that gang members are more likely to carry a gun than nonmembers, gang member perceive weapons as a way to challenge the State on its enforce of law and order (Small Arms Survey. 2010).

As for the occurrence of gang-related homicides, it varies for each country/area. A range of authors support the hypothesis that the incidence of homicides follows the quantity of firearms, and their availability (Small Arms Survey 2010). In Latin America and the Caribbean, there is a higher availability to guns, especially countries recovering from a civil war (Bevan and Florquin, 2006). Therefore in 2012, the Americas accounted for the highest percentage (36%) of all global homicides, the highest in the world (Global Homicide Book, 2014, UNODC). Organized crime and gang-related homicide accounts for 30% of homicides in the Americas.

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\(^{15}\) This study relies on self-report data collected from independent samples of youth enrolled in and attending school in the United States and Trinidad and Tobago. The sample from the United States includes 21,317 respondents who completed the Arizona Youth Survey in Arizona in 2006. The sample from Trinidad and Tobago included 2,292 respondents who participated in the Trinidad and Tobago Youth Survey, also in 2006. To be clear, while we label respondents as being from either the United States or Trinidad and Tobago, in each case they are exclusively from one large community within that nation: the state of Arizona and the Island of Trinidad.

\(^{16}\) Respondents who did not self-report gang involvement were categorized as non-gang members.

\(^{17}\) Sellers who were no self-reported engaging in gangs.
compared to less than 1% in Asia, Europe and Oceania (UNODC). A number of international organizations have attributed much of the increase in the Caribbean homicide rate to a rising gang problem (Franco 2005). Haiti’s homicide rate doubled from 5.1 in 2007 to 10.2 per 100,000 in 2012, much of it driven by high levels of violence and gang activity in the capital, Port-au-Prince, where 75% of all Haiti’s homicides occurred (UNODC Global Study on Homicide 2013).

As for the Caribbean, surveys of local residents reveal varying levels of gang violence in neighborhoods. Different data sources show that street gangs are active in much of the Caribbean region, but the intensity of their activities differ by country and can’t be accurate measured (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012). As for victimization, regardless of the country in the Caribbean-18, people living in areas with a gang presence were about twice as likely to have been victimized, including violent victimization, property victimization and extortion (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012). In the Caribbean, property crimes are strongly associated with gangs, while in Central America extortion crimes are more likely to be related to gang. As for violent crimes in the Caribbean, almost 10% of residents in neighborhoods with gangs reported having been victims of violent crimes, compared to 3% of the residents with no gangs (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012).

**Risk Factors Associated With Gang Membership**

*Risk factors* are the characteristics or symptoms that increase the odds that an individual will become involved in problem behaviors, as gang membership (Blum et al, 2003; Harriot and Katz 2014). Gang membership is seen as a culmination of structural and process factors. Risk factors help determine the pathways that some children and youth take when they become involved in gangs (Slowikowski, Jeff. 2010).

Risk predictors of gang membership are usually separated into 5 domains: community, family, school, peer group and individual (Decker et al., 2013; Hawkins et al., 2000; Howell, 2012; Howell & Egley, 2005; Katz & Fox, 2010; Klein & Maxson, 2006; O’Brien et al., 2013; Tobin, 2008). These predictors come from psychology and they are identified as the key domains of influence affecting a young person’s behavior (Howell & Egley, 2005).

There are differences in the motivations for participation in gangs from high-middle-low income countries (Higginison 2005). For high-income countries there is evidence of the importance of individual, peer and family domains as predictors of youth gang involvement (O’Brien et al., 2013). Within the family domain, gang membership increased for those who reported a family history of antisocial behavior, parental attitudes favorable toward drug use, and toward antisocial behavior. Within the peer-individual domain, those who reported rewards for pro-social involvement from one’s peers increased the likelihood that a youth would be gang involved (Katz, Choate, Fox 2010). As for low-middle income countries19 as the countries in the

18 Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago
19 In Latin American and the Caribbean: Antigua and Barbuda; Argentina; Aruba; Barbados; Belize; Bolivia; Brazil;
Caribbean, each of the domains is most influential at a particular time of the person’s life. (Howell, Egley’s 1998). For children early rejection by pro-social peers, family factors such as aggressiveness, school factors as poor grades, will affect the later childhood. It increases the likelihood of association with aggressive or delinquent peers. In the adolescence, the influence of community level, as high crimes rates and drug use; and negative family characteristics and poor academic performance, brings the perception that gang membership offers benefits, increasing the likelihood of gang membership. Therefore, gang membership is seen as a culmination of interrelated structural and process factors. (Higginson 2005).

Katz and Fox (2013) examined school youth in Trinidad and Tobago and found several risk factors associated with gang involvement: “(a) parental attitudes favoring anti-social behavior, (b) residency in a neighborhood with a high risk for mobility, (c) wide access to handguns, (d) early-age antisocial behavior, (e) intent to use drugs, (f) antisocial peers, and (g) peers who used drugs”. Interestingly though, they found that for the most part school-related risk factors were not significantly associated with gang involvement (Katz CM, Fox AM, 2013).

Social-structure problems as marginalization within a community, poverty, unemployment, increased crime, abuse, homelessness, lower education and skills, which are more common in developing countries, are being connected to the conditions that increases the likelihood of a youth to be at risk of gang membership (Lorna Black year; Duffy M and Gillig E. 2004).

Another risk factor is the feeling of societal exclusion, the seeking of identity and belonging to a certain area or group. Most of the youth that join gangs are considered marginalized, and gangs become the only accessible and comforting structure available (Lorna Black). For example, in Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Guyana, Saint Lucia, and Trinidad and Tobago, respondents who lived in an area with gangs were significantly less likely to feel a sense of belonging to their nation (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012).

Another relevant factor is deficiency or distorted social-cognitive process. Several social-cognitive deficits or distortions have also been identified as risk-factors for youth gang involvement, such as lack of refusal skills, social disabilities, deviant attitudes, a fatalistic view of the world, and positive attitudes towards antisocial behavior or gang membership (Howell 1998; Maxson 1998; Hill 1999; OJJDP 2004). Some theories of youth gang involvement emphasize these cognitive mechanisms and other individual risk or protective factors.

Some other risk factors may be found in Ohene, Ireland and Blum (2005). The study analyzes the population from 10-18 years old in the Caribbean. For adolescents between

Chile; Colombia; Costa Rica; Cuba; Dominica; Dominican Republic; Ecuador; El Salvador; Grenada; Guatemala; Guyana; Haiti; Honduras; Jamaica; Mexico; Netherlands Antilles (former); Nicaragua; Panama; Paraguay; Peru; Puerto Rico; St Kitts and Nevis; St Lucia; St Vincent and the Grenadines; Suriname; Trinidad and Tobago; Uruguay; Venezuela
13-15 years old, running away from home was strongly associated with gang involvement, especially for girls. For the oldest adolescents from 16-18 years old, early sexual initiation was associated with marijuana use, gang involvement, weapon-related violence and skipping school. Several reasons may be posited for the clustering of these risk behaviors. “Both physical and sexual abuse has been linked to involvement in health-compromising behaviors. With 1 in 7 and 1 in 10 Caribbean adolescents reporting physical and sexual abuse respectively. The correlation of these behaviors may be related to family and other socio-environmental and economic factors. It may also be that sensation-seeking is common to adolescents engaging in the risk behaviors.” It also shows that risk behaviors of gang membership were correlated with the use of alcohol, cigarettes and marijuana. (Ohene, Ireland and Blum 2005)

In brief, gang membership is related to risk factors such as neighborhood social disorganization, neighborhood levels of crime and drug use, lack of attachment to school, poor school performance, unemployment, poor family management, attachment to antisocial peers, and an individual’s prior involvement in delinquency and drug use (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012).

Solutions for Gang and Gang Violence: Prevention and program interventions

Overview

Gang and gang violence is a widespread problem not only in the Caribbean, but also in the world. To prevent its escalation and perpetuation a range of approaches have been implemented. When working with gang and gang violence prevention, intervention and suppression strategies have been used (Spergel, Wa, and Sosa, 2006; Wyrick, 2006; Wyrick and Howell, 2004).

In Latin American and in the Caribbean, the overwhelming majority of programs are focused on law enforcement – suppression strategy. Suppression strategies are typically reactive in nature and make use of criminal law to control behavior. (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012). They involve strict law enforcement towards youth gangs, including the arrest, incarceration and supervision of gang members, usually authorizing the police, the military, or other state-aligned armed actors to use force. However the suppression approach tends to not be very successful, especially in countries with weak law enforcement. For example, Ecuador’s government has responded to gang violence with a number of policies adopting a criminal justice approach that emphasizes incarceration and rehabilitation, these efforts have proved largely ineffective in reducing the gang problem and associated violence in the country. Another example is in El Salvador, where the government launched ‘Mano Dura’ (Iron Fist) in 2003, which allowed the immediate imprisonment of gang members, who could be arrested simply for having gang-related tattoos or flashing signs (Boraz, S. and T. Bruneau. 2006). The strategy caused homicides to escalate, prisons overflow, and the gangs increase their power in both prisons and streets, as evidenced by consolidated gang structures, intensified delinquency, and more lethal and brutal violence (Wolf, S. 2012).
In the Caribbean, lack of infrastructure and capacity to respond effectively to street gangs adds a challenge to suppression approach. There is a lack of confidence in the law enforcement of the country - only 24% of respondents in the Caribbean-7 had confidence in the police to control gang violence (UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010). Furthermore, there is a fear from the police; an example is Jamaica where the Jamaican Constabulary Force has been accused of killing civilians in pursuit of gang members - police is accused of killing 253 civilians in 2009, and another 400 in 2010. (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012: 85).

Additionally, there is a lack of efficiency on the prosecution system, the processes tend to be slow, and many times ineffective; as for Trinidad and Tobago, the Gang/Repeat Offender Task Force made 495 arrests from May 2006 through August 2007; of those arrested, only 110 (22.2%) were charged; the rest were released or transferred (Caribbean Human Development Report UNDP, 2012: 85).

In general, the suppression strategies have not effectively decrease gang violence. However, solutions that incorporate prevention and intervention have shown better results in decrease gang violence, which will be the focus of this paper.

**Prevention and Intervention Programs**

Prevention and intervention programs have shown good results in different places. There are many evidence-based successful prevention and intervention programs implemented in different countries, explained in this paper, which may be suitable for implementation in the Caribbean.

These projects are *violence interrupters* (also known as ceasefire operations), directed toward youth who are at high risk for gang involvement, and to create services and support to the entire community. Identifying evidence-base, location, and success, projects were selected and will be described in this report. Three of the projects are based within the USA: the operation ceasefire (Boston model), the cure violence, and gang resistance education and training (GREAT). Within Latin America, three other projects will be discussed: Afroreggae (Brazil), Peace Management Initiative (Jamaica) and Ser Paz (Ecuador).

**Operation Ceasefire (Boston Model)**

The Boston Project Working Group began operating in January 1995, after a substantial increase in homicides rates and violence, aiming at interrupting the overall dynamic of violence. By fall, the Project’s problem assessment had been completed and the elements of what is now known as the *Operation Ceasefire* intervention mapped out; implementation began in early 1996. The program had its roots in the observation that youth violence in Boston was committed mostly by and against offending gang members (David M. Kennedy Anthony A. Braga Anne M. Piehl. 2001).

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The focused deterrence strategy consisted of reaching out directly to gangs, saying explicitly that violence would no longer be tolerated, and backing up that message by ‘pulling levers’ legally available when violence occurred (Kennedy, David M. et al 1997, Kennedy 2011). The Pulling lever strategy, involved deterring the violent behavior (especially gun violence) of chronic gang offenders by targeting gangs engaged in violent behavior and reaching out directly to members of the targeted gangs (David M. Kennedy Anthony A. Braga Anne M. Piehl. 2001) The deterrence message was a promise to gang members that violent behavior would evoke an immediate and intense response. If gangs committed other crimes but refrained from violence, the normal workings of police, prosecutors, and the rest of the criminal justice system dealt with these matters. The key participants were the Working Groups, and youth workers, probation and parole officers, and later churches and other community groups. (Braga, Anthony A.; Hureau David M.; Papachristos Andrew V. 2013).

The operation marked a turning point, and gang violence in Boston declined abruptly. It is impossible, however, to say with certainty what caused the falloff in youth homicide in Boston or exactly what role Operation Ceasefire played.

The evaluation of the program was randomized controlled experimental approach and generalized linear models were used in a deeper analysis of impacts associated with the Ceasefire intervention to analyze the time series data (Dobson 1990; McCullagh and Nelder 1989). The Ceasefire intervention was associated to a 63% decrease in the monthly number of youth homicides in Boston; a 32% decrease in the monthly number of citywide shots-fired calls; and a 25% decrease in the monthly number of citywide all-age gun assault incidents (David M. Kennedy Anthony A. Braga Anne M. Piehl. 2001); however the real impact of the program can’t be quantified with precision because of the presence of some external factors, and the time frame in which the violence decreased is also not exact (David M. Kennedy Anthony A. Braga Anne M. Piehl. 2001).

Ludwig (2005) suggests that Ceasefire was associated with a large drop in youth homicide but, given the complexities of analyzing city-level homicide trend data, there remained some uncertainty about the extent of Ceasefire’s effect on youth violence in Boston.

Braga, Anthony A.; Hureau David M.; Papachristos Andrew V (2013) developed a quasi-experimental evaluation in which focuses squarely on the gangs that were targeted for treatment. Propensity score matching techniques were used to develop matched Ceasefire treatment gangs and comparison gangs. Growth-curve regression models were then used to estimate the impact of

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22 The analysis of impacts within Boston associated with the Ceasefire intervention follows a basic one-group time series design; it is also used a non-randomized quasi-experiment to compare youth homicide trends in Boston to youth homicide trends in other large U.S. cities

23 To determine if Operation Ceasefire was associated with this decline, the study team conducted a rigorous evaluation of the intervention’s effects on youth violence in the city. Using carefully constructed, generalized linear models that con- trolled for trends and seasonal variations
Ceasefire on gun violence trends for the treatment gangs relative to comparisons gangs (page 6). Their quasi-experimental evaluation finds that the Boston Ceasefire intervention generated a 31% reduction in total shootings for treated gangs relative to total shootings for matched comparison gangs. They find that the Ceasefire intervention was associated with statistically significant reductions in gun violence trends for treatment gangs relative to gun violence trends for the comparison gangs. A supplementary analysis examined the specific timing of the Ceasefire intervention as applied to each matched treatment gang and found that sharp reductions in gun violence immediately followed the intervention.

**Cure Violence (Chicago Model)**

Cure violence, also known as the Chicago Model, approaches violence in a different way: as a contagious disease that can be stopped using the same health strategies employed to fight epidemics. Three main strategies are used in reversing infectious epidemic processes and the Cure Program uses these same principles to fight violence (Nelson and Williams, 2007; Heymann, 2008): 1) Detect and interrupt the transmission of violence by anticipating where violence might occur and intervening before it erupts. 2) Behavior-change: Change the behavior of the highest potential transmitters: identify those at highest risk for violence and work to change their behavior. 3) Change community norms: influence social norms to discourage the use of violence.

Cure Violence is “theory driven.” It is built upon a theory of behavior that emphasizes norms, risks and choices. It aims to change the thinking on violence and to reduce violence through community-led efforts; the main goal is to attempt to mediate gangs disputed before they escalate. The Program started in Chicago, where most of the evidence of success comes from, and later it was expanded to other parts of the world.

An evaluation by Northwestern University researchers shows significant results across the Chicago communities (Wesley G. Skogan, Susan M. Hartnett, Natalie Bump and Jill Dubois 2009). The report analyzes all murders between gangs before and after the introduction of CeaseFire (Wesley G. Skogan, Susan M. Hartnett, Natalie Bump and Jill Dubois. 2009: 7-33). The data used in the creation and analysis of gang homicide networks were taken from homicide records originally compiled by homicide detectives in the Chicago Police Department. The data span from 1994 through 2006 in eight different geographical areas (Wesley G. Skogan, Susan M. Hartnett, Natalie Bump and Jill Dubois. 2009: 7-33).

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24 These are (1) detecting and interrupting ongoing and potentially new infectious events; (2) determining who are most likely to cause further infectious events from the infected population and then reducing their likelihood of developing disease and/or subsequently transmitting; and (3) changing the underlying social and behavioral norms, or environmental conditions, that directly relate to the spread of the infection.

25 The evaluation of CeaseFire had both process and outcome components. The process portion of the project involved documenting how the program actually looked in the field: selecting target neighborhoods, choosing local host organizations, and staffing, training, and management issues. The outcome evaluation used statistical models, hot spot maps and gang network analyses to assess the program’s impact on shootings and killings.

26 The areas are: Auburn-Gresham, Englewood, Logan Square, Rogers Park, Southwest, West Garfield Park, West Humboldt Park, East Garfield Park (which was not evaluated).
M. Hartnett, Natalie Bump and Jill Dubois. 2009). In four areas the findings were inconclusive; while the other four areas displayed a decrease in the number of gang homicides. One statistical measure in the proportion of killings in an area attributable to gangs; by this measure, gang homicide density was down more in two areas - this analysis employed 210-months of data on selected sites and matched comparison areas to examine trends in violence, each CeaseFire site featured initially at least one “hot spot” of violent crime, and the analyses examined what happened to those hot spots over time in the program and comparison areas. A second measure was the proportion of gang homicides that were reciprocal in nature; in four sites reciprocal killings in retaliation for earlier events decreased more in the program beats than in the comparison areas; it utilized social network analysis to examine the effect of the introduction of CeaseFire on networks of within-gang and between-gang homicides, and the number of violent gangs active in the area. A third measure, average gang involvement in homicide, pointed to greater improvements in three of the areas.

The National Institute of Justice form the United States has evaluated the project as promising.

A further evaluation conducted by Johns Hopkins and Center for Disease Control in Baltimore (Daniel W. Webster; Jennifer Mendel Whitehill, Jon S. Vernick, Elizabeth M. Parkers. 2012), shows that there were statistical significant results in all 4 communities with reductions in shootings and killings of 34% to 56% - for this component the primary outcomes of interest were homicides and nonfatal shootings (NFS). Data was obtained from the Baltimore Police Department (BPD). Program effects were estimated using negative binomial regression models appropriate for modeling outcomes represented as counts in which the variance is greater than the mean. Generalized estimating equations were used to adjust the standard errors of the estimates to account for the clustering of the data by police post. These models contrasted changes in the target communities with changes in communities that did not have the program while controlling for baseline levels of gun violence and law enforcement activities directed at controlling violence in specific neighborhoods.

Overall, based on the different surveys, the program has been shown to lead to a decrease in shootings and killings where it was implemented. As for the Caribbean, currently the program is being assessed for implementation in Jamaica; and in Trinidad and Tobago the program started to be implemented this year (2015), with the support of the IADB.

GREAT - Gang Resistance Education and Training

The GREAT program is a gang- and delinquency-prevention program taught by law enforcement officers in middle schools throughout the United States. It was first developed in 1991 by Phoenix-area law enforcement agencies to respond to local gang problems (F.-A.

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Programs or practices have some evidence to indicate they achieve their intended outcomes. Programs or practices have some evidence to indicate they achieve their intended outcomes.
The program has three main goals: “(1) teach[ing] youths to avoid gang membership; (2) prevent[ing] violence and criminal activity; and (3) assist[ing] youths in developing positive relationships with law enforcement.” (GREAT website). The strategy is the use of a school-based gang prevention curriculum, which law enforcement officers offer middle school students a 13-week curriculum that describes the dangers of gang involvement, with interactive teaching techniques in a skills-building, strengths-based approach. The lesson content emphasizes cognitive-behavioral training, social skills development, refusal skills, and conflict resolution (Esbensen, Osgood, et al., 2001; F.-A. Esbensen et al. 2011). The fact that police officers go to the classrooms and teach students each lesson is relevant to build a community partnership between students and officers and to enhance the development of positive attitudes towards the police (Krystle M. Leugoud et al. 2009)

The GREAT program is not intended to prevent or reduce gang involvement in entire communities, but rather among program participants. (F.-A. Esbensen et al. 2011)

Studies conducted within the USA found that it had a relevant impact on reducing gang violence. Esbensen et al. (2012) used an experimental, multisite, longitudinal (5 years) panel design across seven cities in the continental USA to study the impact of GREAT on gang membership, delinquency, and attitudes toward the police. To assess program effectiveness, the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice Missouri-St. Louis University mounted a multi-strategy research design including: 1) assessment of GREAT officer training; 2) surveying of officers teaching the program and teachers and school administrators in whose classrooms and schools the program was delivered; 3) observation of more than 500 classroom sessions; and 4) a randomized control trial involving 3,820 students from 195 classrooms in 31 schools in 7 cities. It adheres a randomized experimental design. The researchers reported that the random assignment was moderately successful and produced comparable treatment and control groups. There were three statistically significant differences that slightly favored the treatment group. The treatment group had a higher awareness of services, more negative attitudes about gangs, and a little less frequency of delinquent acts. However, these slight differences were controlled for in the analyses and had a negligible impact on the size or significance of group differences in the outcomes. Self-report student surveys were used to gather data on each of these outcomes. The survey instrument was built specifically for this study. The results were defined as promising. The program had a moderate positive effect on gang membership. Treatment group students receiving the GREAT program in the sixth grade were 39% less likely than control group students to have joined a gang by the eighth grade. As for delinquency, there were no statistically significant differences between treatment group students and control group students on any of the general delinquency or violent offending outcomes at the 1-year follow-up. The program had a small positive effect on pro-social attitudes toward the police. GREAT students
demonstrated a statistically significant improvement in refusal skills, were better able to resist peer pressure, were less self-centered, and expressed less positive attitudes toward gangs than students in the control group at the 1-year follow-up.

Also, it appears that the program is implemented as intended and the program and officers are viewed favorably by school personnel. The program appears to have short-term effects on the intended goals of reducing gang involvement (but not general delinquency) and improving youth-police relations, as well as on interim risk or skills. Members of the evaluation team observed officers teaching the program at the 31 schools. Based upon 520 observations of GREAT lessons, it was concluded that, if taught with fidelity, the GREAT program is age-appropriate and keeps students interested and engaged in the program throughout all 13 lesson (Krystle M. Leugoud et. Al 2009).

There is no evidence of program effectiveness outside the USA yet. According to GREAT official website, the Regional Training Centers provide training to sworn/certified criminal justice professionals to teach the GREAT curricula in the United States, Canada, Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama. GREAT is considered a promising program, and many scholars have recommended the replication of GREAT in countries with high level of gang violence; as for example, Charles M. Katz, David Choate, Andrew Fox. 2010, recommended its implementation in Trinidad and Tobago believing it could have positive impacts in the country.

AfroReggae (Brazil)

The AfroReggae is a nongovernmental organization, created in 1993 in the Favela28 Vigário Geral in Rio de Janeiro. It aims to promote social justice and inclusion, and to support social transformation using art, afro-Brazilian culture, and education. Its intention is to create entrepreneurs, conflict mediators and social activists; preventing the vulnerable youth to be influenced by the drug trafficking present in the favelas; and creating foundations of sustainability and self esteem (official website).

Afro Reggae emerged after the Massacre of Vigário Geral, (Hernandez, 2013) seeking to use social projects to reduce violence and poverty and to provide the youths with an alternative in the face of organized crime and the high levels of violence in Rio de Janeiro. The homicide rates in the urban centers in Brazil figure among the highest in the continent; since 2003, Brazil surpassed the number of 50 thousand homicides per year. The victims are mainly young black men, residents of favelas and poor neighborhoods of the great urban centers (Ramos S, Musumeci L. 2005). Within this violent reality, Afro Reggae projects are centered in 4 areas (Castro, María G. et al 2012; official website): 1) Afro Reggae Artistic Productions, an arts production company to give support to the professional careers of subgroups formed as a result of its social projects, especially Banda AfroReggae 2) Social Program/Community Cultural

28 A Brazilian shack or shanty town; a slum. (Oxford Dictionary)
Centers to implement music, dance, capoeira, sports and others. 3) Health Program, conducted by Trupe da Saúde, a theatrical group comprised of adolescents from Vigário Geral, which makes use of circus-like presentations to provide important healthcare tips to underprivileged communities. 4) Communication Program, comprised of AfroReggae Notícias (AfroReggae News) newspaper; the radio programs AfroRitmia and Baticum, broadcasted through Viva Rio AM 1180 and through the portal Viva Favela; the AfroReggae.org site; and AfroNet, a service through which fact sheets are sent via e-mail, to all people involved in any of the activities, events and initiatives reaching an average of 300 children.

The public target is primarily children and adolescents in a situation of social vulnerability, residents of the favelas where they work (Castro, Maria G. et al. 2012). The working methods are divided in: 1) Communication, crossing and mediations. 2) Diversity of partnerships. 3) Attention to the individual person. They expended to other 2 favelas in Rio de Janeiro: Cantagalo and Parada De Lucas (Ramos, 2006). The project counts on approximately 41 professionals, and it has scholarship program for the youths who are in training (Castro, Maria G. et al. 2012).

There is no quantitative evidence on the success of the projects. Yet, Afro Reggae has become a point of reference for projects focused on youth; and it was awarded the UNESCO Prize 2000. Also, the group has been invited to present its work in a variety of countries and with a variety of renowned Brazilian musicians (Castro, Maria G. et al. 2012). There is an abundance of testimonials cited in the literature to assess the relevance of the project. Additionally, they strongly count on marketing to show the success of the operations.

Peace Management Initiative (PMI) Jamaica

The central objective of the Peace Management Initiative (PMI) is ‘to head off or defuse, through dialogue, the community violence’ which accounts for a large proportion of the island’s

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29 The change in the behavior of the boys and girls of Afro Reggae serves as an example to the other youths: “He gave this speech in the middle of Holland. Most of them were from Morocco, and you know if you’re Moroccan in Europe, it really sticks. So there was this kid who talked to him after the speech and the next day this kid comes up and turns in 12 guns. [...] So what these kids have done in terms of getting people out of drug dealing, it’s no joke. (Interview with coordination, Rio de Janeiro/RJ)” Through the work with redeeming self-esteem and youth protagonists, the project was able to show the youths an alternative when faced with the attractions of drug dealing, and it became an option instead of engaging in dangerous behaviors: “there’s this other kid [...] On the day, the day he was going to be in the robbery, [...] he called us for this rehearsal with us. He was going to this robbery with this good friend of mine who’s his brother, and this other friend of mine. And if he had gone to this robbery he would have died. His brother, my friend, died, and this other friend too. It’s a boy from the band. He was going to that robbery (Castro, Maria G. et al. 2012): Usually, residents who began working with the group when they were young and, have become teachers and coordinators for the movement, they normally say: “We are the real proof,” says Vasconcelos, who had dropped out of school and was on his way to becoming a trafficker before joining the group. “You look at some guy who was walking around barefoot, hanging around the street, cursing at everyone, not respecting anybody. And now look -- this guy is educated, well-dressed, speaks well, plays percussion, goes around the world, is on the radio and television. People see this transformation -- there’s no better proof" (official website).

Projects as Afro Reggae has given the youth of the favela another way to get involved in the community and to feel a part of something (Evelia 2011).
violent deaths (Peace Management Initiative 2008: 1; Government of Jamaica 2009). Sponsored by the Ministry of National Security and Government of Jamaica, in 2002, the PMI comprises personnel from faith groups, academia, and the two largest political parties (Henry, Asley, 2011). The Program addresses the high homicide levels in the Kingston Metropolitan Area, and in 2005 it expanded to the Western part (IDB Report).

Their approach is made in 3 main areas: Mediation – brokering peace treaties, counseling – therapeutic and psychological assistance, and social development – small scale livelihood grants to ex-combatants. When there is a violence eruption in a certain community, the PMI goes and meets with members intending to begin a mediation process, where parts are persuaded to talk and listen until the violence in the community has subsided, then the counselling team begins to conduct family and house-to-house visits (Henry, A. 2011). Throughout the counselling, the PMI works directly with youth involved in violence, and organizes therapy for both the victims and perpetrators of violence (McLean and Blake Lobban 2009: 45).

Although there is no evaluation of the PMI, it is generally regarded as having contributed to the control and reduction of community conflict (IDB Report), more specific reducing community violence in August Town, Brown’s Town and Mountain View (McLean and Blake Lobban, 2009). Community leaders from at least 11 other communities have credited the PMI with sustaining peace in their communities (Brown, Ingrid. 2009). PMI is also credited for reduction in reprisal violence and its impact on social exclusion its development efforts and by the opportunity that enabled communities to employ restorative justice practices (IDB Report).

PMI’s methods have also generated information on the distinct identity of the corner crew or community gang, forces that brought it into being, and intervention methods likely to be effective. (IDB Report)

**SER PAZ (Ecuador)**

Since 1999, SER PAZ, a local organization based in Guayaquil – Ecuador, founded by Nelsa Curbelo, has been a major player in public discourse about gangs in Ecuador (Klein and Maxson). SER PAZ’s main mission is to help gangs reintegrate into society by providing professional training and education. Its approach to gang violence prevention and reduction is: (1) replacing suppressive strategies with the strategic use of gang attributes for positive social ends; (2) involving the broader community, including state institutions, in the development and implementation of gang programmes; and (3) providing gangs with alternative ways to earn a livelihood and social recognition. Gangs are usually perceived as violent, for SER PAZ gang is a consequence of an unequal and unjust society. Therefore, they can become negative social forces, but can also contribute positively to their communities.

Curbelo’s first action to begin working with the police was arranging a meeting with the provincial governor in Guayaquil to negotiate an agreement between two gangs, and the
government. This initiative brought different parts to work together, and public recognition to the gang members and community engagement. Curbelo affirms that community involvement and alternative livelihood are extremely necessary. Currently, in Guayaquil, gangs run ten different businesses. In order to obtain funding for businesses, gangs had to submit to two conditions: to cease all criminal activity and to agree to work with rival gang members (El Universo, 2009). In addition to SER PAZ, the Barrio de Paz projects received support from several other organizations, including the Inter-American Foundation, the Civilian Security Corporation of the Guayaquil Municipality, the Ministry of Labour, the Ecuadorian Occupational Training Service, and the University of Cataluña (Salazar, 2008, p. 19). SER PAZ also established a relationship with the Colegio Virtual Iberoamericano, established a project to obtain scholarships from the Ministry of Labour to study in the Ecuadorian Vocational Training Service (Santillán and Varea, 2008, p. 9).

As for gang disarmament, SER PAZ did not oblige the reformed gang participants to give up on their weapons. However, the youth involved in the programs approached Curbelo expressing desire to relinquish their weapon. Then, an agreement with the authorities was reached, and the surrendered weapons were public destroyed. (El Universo, 2007).

Curbelo has claimed that neighborhood crime decreased by 60 per cent in the first six months of the project and that this reduction encouraged those working for SER PAZ to continue with the project. Due to the absence of neighbourhood-specific data, however, this statistic could not be verified, nor could the specific relationship between the project and violence rates. What is known is that the number of homicides in Guayaquil dropped in the years after the project’s launch in 2006, from 331 to 224 and 259 in 2007 and 2008, respectively. The SER PAZ successes appear grounded in the limited economic means of most Ecuadorian gangs, the absence of the threat of police action, and the commitment of a wide spectrum of public and private stakeholders. However, without any systematic evaluation of the SER PAZ programmes, it is difficult to determine their exact impact on gang violence, and whether similar efforts could be successful elsewhere.

Reference

Part 1:

30 The gang leaders asked the governor to cease discriminatory measures, in particular the policy action of arresting them for merely being on the streets. They also requested an area to paint graffiti and practice break-dancing, as well as financial assistance to produce an album of songs in the style of hip-hop, rap, and reggae. In exchange, gangs said they would stop the violence on the streets and keep the parks where they congregated clean. To implement the project, the local police offered the gangs wall space on police station grounds and at a hospital to paint graffiti. Several private businesses and embassies donated paint supplies and other equipment to the project.


Black, Lorna. Jamaica Teen Gangs. A global View


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