

**WORKING AGAINST VIOLENCE:  
PROMISING PRACTICES IN ARMED VIOLENCE  
REDUCTION AND PREVENTION**



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By Paul Eavis

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WORKING PAPER



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PROMISING PRACTICES IN ARMED VIOLENCE  
REDUCTION AND PREVENTION**

By **Paul Eavis**





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## The Geneva Declaration

The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, endorsed by more than 100 countries, commits signatories to supporting initiatives intended to measure the human, social, and economic costs of armed violence, to assess risks and vulnerabilities, to evaluate the effectiveness of armed violence reduction programmes, and to disseminate knowledge of best practices. The Declaration calls upon states to achieve measurable reductions in the global burden of armed violence and tangible improvements in human security by 2015. Affiliated organizations include the Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery (BCPR) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the Quaker United Nations Office (QUONO).

For more information about the Geneva Declaration, related activities, and publications, please visit [www.genevadeclaration.org](http://www.genevadeclaration.org).



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The regional meetings brought together state representatives and civil society organizations and were organized in cooperation with the Geneva Declaration Secretariat, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific (UNRCPD), and with the Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO). Moreover, the UN Regional Centres for Peace and Disarmament in Latin America and the Caribbean (UNLIREC) and Africa (UNREC) also provided valuable support to these events.

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## Abbreviations and acronyms

ADR	Alternative dispute resolution
APEDI	Adakar Peace and Development Initiatives
AVRP	Armed violence reduction and prevention
BRL	Brazilian real
CBO	Community-based organization
CDD	Community-driven Development
COPRODEP	Development committees/councils
CRMA	Crisis and Recovery Mapping Analysis
CSO	Civil society organization
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration
DESEPAZ	Desarrollo, Seguridad y Paz
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESPA	Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement
IMAGE	Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity
JJAP	Juvenile Justice Alternatives Project
MoYAS	Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports
NCDDR	National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPC	National Peace Council
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PMI	Peace Management Initiative
PRODEP PAP	Projet Pilote de Développement Participatif à Port-au-Prince/Urban Community Driven Development Pilot Project in Port-au-Prince
PRONASCI	National Programme for Public Security with Citizenship
QUNO	Quaker United Nations Office
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
USAID	US Agency for International Development
USD	US dollar
WHO	World Health Organization



Whether in situations of armed conflict or of crime, armed violence has a devastating impact on development and threatens the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. At the same time, persistent inequality and underdevelopment are among its underlying causes. It is estimated that more than 740,000 men, women, youths, and children are killed each year as a result of armed violence (Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2008, p. 2). Many more lives have been devastated through injury, trauma, and the loss of economic opportunities. These deaths and injuries mostly occur in non-war situations.

### **Box 1** What is armed violence?

*Armed violence is the intentional use of illegitimate force (actual or threatened) with arms or explosives, against a person, group, community, or state, that undermines people-centred security and/or sustainable development.*

Geneva Declaration Secretariat (2008, p. 2)

This working definition covers armed violence perpetrated in both armed conflict and non-conflict settings.

The international community is becoming increasingly aware of the impact of armed violence. Governments, local authorities, civil society organizations (CSOs), and the private sector are undertaking a number of encouraging actions to prevent and reduce such violence (OECD, 2011a). Agencies such as the Inter-American Development Bank and the UN Development Programme (UNDP) have launched an array of operational efforts to promote security and safety in specific regions.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, high-level diplomatic processes such as the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development<sup>2</sup> are drawing attention to possible solutions.

Yet in spite of the growing involvement of various actors on this issue, there seems to be a dearth of research regarding the best practices to reduce and prevent armed violence. Thus, the aim of this working paper is to fill this gap

by documenting promising practices in armed violence reduction and prevention (AVRP). Drawing from experiences across multiple sectors and organizations, it will seek to generate a better understanding of what is working and, in so doing, encourage more effective and efficient AVRP policies and programmes.

A number of challenges arise when seeking to identify promising AVRP activities. Firstly, since AVRP is a relatively new concept, many agencies and practitioners do not describe their activities as such. Secondly, in the absence of a scientifically robust evaluation, it is difficult to know whether specific interventions actually work or can be considered effective. Determining causal attribution in processes related to violence prevention and reduction is a complex task. Thirdly, while AVRP activities can lead to short-term reductions in various forms of violence, when it comes to addressing structural risk factors that lead to violence, the outcomes of AVRP interventions may take a longer time to materialize. This requires a certain level of support and sensitivity to processes of change and a corresponding adjustment of expectations and indicators for measuring progress. Fourthly, measuring the success of initiatives is especially challenging, since many AVRP programmes lack a clear theory of change.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, the number of credible monitoring and evaluation mechanisms is often limited.

Over the past few years, many efforts have been made to evaluate the impact of AVRP practices more effectively.<sup>4</sup> Because developed countries have more resources to support evaluation processes, they are still providing the most evidence. However, the evidence base from low- and middle-income countries is on the rise.

The selection of promising practice examples contained in this working paper are drawn from a wide range of sources, including the findings of a series of regional ‘promising-/good-practice’ meetings<sup>5</sup> that were held in Brazil, Guatemala, Kenya, Nigeria, Nepal, and Croatia throughout 2010 and 2011, as well as from academic evidence and international experience of AVRP.<sup>6</sup>

The following section sets out a brief characterization of the different categories of AVRP interventions. The subsequent section provides an overview of promising practices, focusing on both direct and indirect AVRP programmes. The final section outlines a number of key recommendations for future AVRP programming.



## Categorizing AVRП interventions

Despite the existence of common drivers and patterns of armed violence (see Box 2), countries experience different types and levels of armed violence and have devised a range of responses.

### **Box 2** Key risk factors of armed violence

There is no single cause of armed violence, but rather a range of factors that can increase risks of violence. These risk factors can be divided into at least four interrelated categories:

- *individual (e.g. youth, male, poor behaviour control, history of aggressive behaviour, low education achievement, substance abuse, exposure to violence);*
- *relationship (e.g. poor family supervision, exposure to punishment, low family attachment, low socio-economic status, association with delinquents);*
- *community (e.g. low social capital, high levels of unemployment, gangs, guns and narcotics, access to alcohol); and*
- *societal (e.g. quality of governance, laws on social protection, income inequality, urban growth and cultures sanctioning violence)*

Excerpt: OECD (2011a, p. 18)

AVRP interventions cover a wide range of disciplines, such as crime prevention, rule of law and justice, public health, urban planning and design, conflict prevention, and peace building. While AVRП is a relatively new concept, initiatives that fall under its umbrella are not necessarily new. Rather, it constitutes a range of policies, programmes, and projects that have long been evolving on the ground. To help with the categorization of these initiatives, this working paper uses the typology developed in an Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) policy paper and subsequent mapping study<sup>7</sup> that distinguishes interventions according to whether they are:

- **direct programmes** that seek to address the instruments, actors, and institutional environments enabling or protecting against armed violence, e.g. arms collection, the demobilization of armed groups, the reform of law enforcement agencies, and peace-building initiatives;
- **indirect programmes** that address proximate and structural risk factors giving rise to armed violence, e.g. youth programming schemes, comprehensive rule-of-law programmes, targeted education interventions, and urban renewal initiatives; or
- **broader development programming** that, while not having the prevention and reduction of armed violence as a key objective, can nevertheless produce additional benefits. Examples include education, health, and economic livelihoods support programmes.

Figure 1.1 provides an illustration of the ways in which ‘direct’, ‘indirect’, and broader development initiatives can be distinguished. In practice, the lines between ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ approaches are blurred, with many cutting-edge AVRP programmes combining elements of both approaches.

**FIGURE 1** Categorizing AVRP activities





## Overview of promising practices

This section provides an overview of promising AVRPP practices. Because of the importance of ensuring that any AVRPP programmes are evidence based, the section starts with an overview of promising practices in monitoring and assessing the nature of armed violence. Promising programmes are then presented according to whether they are direct or indirect interventions.

As outlined above, in the absence of thorough evaluations, it is difficult to know whether specific interventions actually work or can be considered effective. However, a number of key AVRPP attributes have been identified as contributing to promising practices and have helped in the selection of programmes presented.<sup>8</sup> These attributes include:

- ensuring **evidence-based programming** by conducting baseline assessments, developing indicators that can measure levels of armed violence, and supporting monitoring and evaluation;
- adopting an **integrated multi-sectoral approach** to armed violence that can purposefully bridge security and development efforts, and address both the symptoms and the causes/risk factors of armed violence;
- fostering multi-partner **co-operation** among governmental authorities and civil society, national agencies, and regional organizations;
- strengthening the **active participation of civil society** (including faith-based and customary institutions) in programming efforts;
- strengthening **institutional capacities** for AVRPP, including the security and justice institutions, their oversight bodies, and civil society;
- adopting a **multi-level approach** ('bottom-up' and 'top-down') to address armed violence;
- involving, where relevant, **traditional authorities** in the design and implementation of AVRPP programmes; and
- including **women and marginalized groups** in the design and conduct of programming.

## Monitoring and understanding the nature of armed violence

The particular constellation of drivers and risk factors of armed violence is context specific. Effective AVRP interventions require a clear diagnosis of these drivers and risk factors and a careful understanding of how they have changed over time. Governments, law enforcement agencies, international organizations, academic institutions, and NGOs have established numerous data collection, mapping, and analysis systems to gain a better understanding of the extent and distribution of armed violence and to inform policy and programmatic responses (Gilgen and Tracey, 2011). In Colombia, for example, injury surveillance systems have been established by a number of municipalities to inform government attempts to address high rates of crime and violence (see Box 3).

### Box 3 The DESEPAZ Programme in Colombia

In the city of Cali, Colombia, the Programa de Desarrollo, Seguridad y Paz (DESEPAZ Programme, or Development, Security, and Peace Programme) was established in 1993 to address high rates of crime and violence. The programme included the development of a surveillance system that facilitates the collection of data on incidents of armed violence, helps to characterize the context of violence, identifies risk and protective factors, and monitors the impact of violence reduction programmes on homicide rates. A permanent working group was established that included representatives from the police, district attorney's office, forensic medicine, and municipal government departments of traffic and public health. Violent incidents that occurred in the city were reviewed and analysed on a weekly basis, and data was used to develop a range of coordinated violence reduction strategies. One intervention involved a ban on firearms being carried at certain times, including public holidays. This information and reporting system has since been copied and implemented across Colombia as a series of 'crime observatories' coordinated by the Institute for Peace Promotion and Injury and Violence Prevention. An evaluation of the impact of the DESEPAZ Programme associates it with a significant reduction in the homicide rate.<sup>9</sup>

Source: Guerrero (1999); Gutierrez-Martinez et al. (2007)

Many other low- and middle-income countries, regions, and cities are establishing sophisticated databases and crime and violence observatories to map and monitor the incidence of crime and violence. With the revolution of computer and information technologies, geographic information systems are now commonly used to publish data graphically. In Sudan, for example, UNDP has developed a knowledge management system called the Crisis and Recovery Mapping and Analysis (CRMA) project that combines a set of databases on basic service provision and community perceptions of risks to



human security with maps and simple software tools to generate a geo-referenced evidence base to assist state governors and UN agencies to address conflict risks (see UNDP Sudan, 2011); see Box 4.

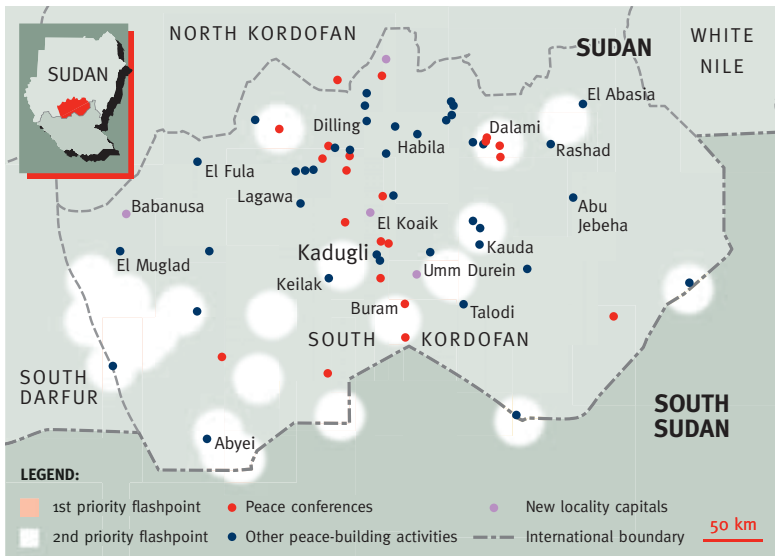
#### Box 4 Crisis and Recovery Mapping and Analysis project in Sudan

The CRMA project utilizes a knowledge-management system that issues geo-referenced evidence for UN and partner programming. It includes a relational database and simple software to generate maps and outputs to enable planning. It is operational in a range of Sudanese states (i.e. the east, three protocol states, Darfur). The CRMA project has a wide variety of applications in shaping UNDP approaches to AVRP in terms of:

- government development planning, by facilitating state-level diagnostics and strategic reviews;
- coordination and multi-sector planning, by showing how programmes are connected to needs and infrastructure;
- conflict-sensitive programming, by identifying ‘hot spots’ and ‘hot issues’; and
- emergency response planning, by identifying proximate and structural risks on the ground, from ground water availability, soil fertility, and flood zones to government services.

Source: UNDP (n.d.)

MAP 1 Flashpoints and peace-building activities in South Kordofan, Sudan



Source: UNDP (n.d.)

In Honduras, the government, working in collaboration with a range of stakeholders, has established a crime observatory (see Box 5).

Recent advances in computer software and website development are radically changing the ways in which armed violence can be monitored by enabling the collection of eyewitness reports of violence sent by email and text message and placing them on a Google map. Known as ‘crowd-sourcing’, the idea is that events can be monitored by any eyewitness, and, with a large-enough volume of reports, they can be described relatively accurately and in a timely manner.<sup>10</sup> In Kenya, for example, the early warning system established in the lead-up to the 2011 vote on a new constitution is based on the Ushahidi website and software. The Crisis Map of Haiti is also based on Ushahidi and maps incidents of violence in near-real time, reflecting reports coming from inside Haiti via text message, the Internet, email, radio, telephone, Twitter, Facebook, television, live streams, and so on. While opening up important opportunities for citizens to participate actively in violence-monitoring mechanisms, crowd-sourcing techniques have received some criticism from the humanitarian community for being susceptible to biases and manipulation of reporting that may limit its effectiveness in terms of preventing and reducing violence.<sup>11</sup>

### **Box 5** Establishing a crime observatory in Honduras

The Observatory of Violence in Honduras was launched in 2006 as a joint initiative of the Honduran government; the Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Security at the Autonomous National University of Honduras; UNDP; and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. The Honduran State Secretary on Security, Health, and Education; the public prosecutor; and the National Institute for Women are the observatory’s national partners. The observatory works with the school hospital, the head of criminal investigation, and the head of preventive police to gather information and build capacity for data collection and management. Information is cross-referenced from police, hospital, university, and media data to establish reliable statistics. The partner institutions meet weekly to analyse the findings, and a regular bulletin is published with key data to help influence public policy at the local and national levels. The observatory’s information has helped challenge some incorrect assumptions about crime. For example, the police believed that street gangs were responsible for most killings, but the new data showed that organized narcotics traffickers were mainly responsible.

Source: UNDP Honduras (n.d.)



A signpost declares a 'gun free space' on the road approaching Burao, Somaliland, July 2007.

© Andrew McConnell/Panos Pictures

## Direct programming

As outlined above, direct programmes include those focused predominantly on the instruments of violence (e.g. firearms), the actors (perpetrators and victims), and the wider institutional/cultural environment that enables or protects against armed violence.

### Measures to reduce access to firearms

'There are at least 875 million firearms in the world today of which 75% are owned by civilians' (WHO, 2009a). The use of firearms accounts for some 60 per cent of homicides (WHO, 2009a). Firearms control measures are a key direct form of armed violence prevention. A broad range of measures have been undertaken by governments and CSOs around the world to reduce access to firearms by controlling their sale, purchase, and use. Indeed, evidence from middle- and high-income countries suggests that countries with more-restrictive firearms policies and lower civilian ownership tend to experience lower levels of armed violence.<sup>12</sup>

Many countries have undertaken legislative reforms to strengthen controls over firearms. In the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes region of Africa, for

example, the governments of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, and Uganda have introduced, or are in the process of developing, new firearms legislation. These national efforts are being supported by regional organizations, including the Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Small Arms Control Programme, which are supporting the harmonization of legislation in their respective sub-regions in order to improve prospects for bilateral and regional cooperation to combat illicit trafficking. Similar initiatives are under way in Europe, the Caribbean, and Latin America.<sup>13</sup>

A number of municipalities have also introduced local regulations to introduce bans on firearms in specific places and at certain times. For example, in the cities of Bogota, Medellin, and Cali in Colombia, the introduction of bans on

### **Box 6** Strengthening firearms legislation in Brazil and Kosovo

*In Brazil, firearms legislation was reformed in 2003 to raise the minimum firearm purchase age to 25, make it illegal to own unregistered firearms, prevent firearm carrying outside the home or workplace, introduce purchaser background checks, mark ammunition used by the police and armed forces, and control the flow of firearms into the country. Tougher penalties were introduced for firearms offences and a voluntary disarmament scheme was implemented that returned over 450,000 firearms. A study suggested that, between 2003 and 2005, the reforms contributed to an 8.8 per cent decrease in firearms mortality.<sup>14</sup> Other factors, including improved law enforcement and community initiatives, are also likely to have contributed to the decline in firearms mortality. However, reductions in mortality were not seen in all areas. [Marinho de Souza et al. (2007)] note that firearms control measures would have been difficult to implement in sparsely populated, hard to access areas that suffer from on-going conflicts over property rights.* Excerpt: Bellis (2010, p. 11)

As a part of a broader Rule of Law Global Programme, between 2008 and 2010 UNDP supported the authorities and civil society in Kosovo to implement the Kosovo Small Arms and Light Weapons Control Project. This project was designed to reduce armed violence in Kosovo by providing technical support and assistance for initiatives to counter the illicit use, possession, and immediate availability of illicit weapons. During the three-year period, firearms legislation was strengthened, a weapons and explosives section was established within the Department for Public Safety, a database was developed to track armed violence, and more than 2,300 weapons were destroyed. An evaluation concluded that the project contributed to a significant reduction in armed homicides, weapons- and explosives-related incidents, and armed robbery during the project period.

Source: Small Arms Survey (2009); UNDP Kosovo (2011)

carrying weapons on public holidays and weekends following paydays coincided with a drop in the incidence of homicides in these cities on days when the ban was in force (Villaveces et al., 2000). Other cities or communities have established gun-free zones in a variety of public places (including schools, hospitals, and community centres) in order to create public spaces in which local residents can feel safe and to challenge commonly held beliefs that firearms create security (see Box 7). Lower firearms crime and violence has been reported in some locations where the approach has been successfully implemented.<sup>15</sup> See also the section entitled 'Improved urban/local governance and environmental design', below, for a discussion of improved urban governance and environmental design.

A number of municipality-led gun control initiatives have also been combined with regulations on the sale of alcohol (see Box 8) since, globally, 30 per cent of violent deaths are related to alcohol and studies have shown that alcohol use commonly precedes aggressive behaviour (WHO, 2009b).

Other important measures to reduce the availability and misuse of firearms include weapons collection programmes through the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants or civilian disarmament

### **Box 7** Arms-free municipalities in El Salvador

*Municipalities in an Arms-Free Municipalities project, which began in August 2005, have made it illegal to carry firearms in parks, schools, plazas, recreation centres and other locations. The project also aimed to increase police capacity to enforce firearms bans, run a media campaign on the danger of guns and the nature of new regulations, implement a voluntary firearms surrender and collection scheme and evaluate the project. Despite some difficulties in implementation, the project initially reported a 47% reduction in homicides in participating municipalities, among other successes; however, reductions in homicides were not sustained over the first year of the project.*

Excerpt: WHO (2009a)

### **Box 8** Reducing alcohol sales hours in Brazil

In the city of Diadema, Brazil, the local by-laws on the sale of alcohol and guns were changed in 2002 so that alcohol retailers could not sell alcohol after 11 p.m. at night, alongside measures to promote non-violent conflict resolution and public education on preventing crime and violence. Before that date, an estimated 65 per cent of murders were alcohol related. A review of the new law estimated that it reduced homicides by almost nine per month. This represented a 44 per cent reduction from expected levels and prevented an estimated 319 homicides over three years.

Source: Duailibi et al. (2007)

processes such as amnesties (voluntary or coercive), buy-backs, or weapons-for-development programmes. A key element of any successful firearms collection programme is selecting an appropriately targeted incentive that can appeal to the target group, whether at the individual or community level. Disincentives, such as legal repercussions for non-compliance, are also important in encouraging individuals to surrender or legalize their weapons.

Experiences in several countries have demonstrated that many such programmes, especially when carried out alongside legislative reforms and awareness-raising campaigns, can contribute to reducing armed violence (see Box 9). There is little evidence, however, indicating the effectiveness of buy-back schemes as stand-alone measures. Indeed, studies have found no

**Box 9** Disarmament programmes in Brazil, Cambodia, Colombia, and South Africa<sup>17</sup>

*In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, a study measured the effects of a buy-back campaign implemented as part of legislative reforms. A total of 8,534 weapons were collected. Most people who returned guns said they did so to prevent them from ‘falling into wrong hands.’ Estimates say the buy-back campaign has possibly contributed to an 11 per cent decrease in firearm-related mortality in the city. However, it is widely believed that people involved in organized crime did not hand in guns.*

Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 15)

*In Cambodia, weapons collection efforts following the end of the civil war removed 130,000 non-government controlled firearms between 1998 and 2006. The measures were set in motion with international assistance and combined with development assistance and support for government and police weapons registration and stockpile storage systems. Data analysis suggested the measures contributed to reducing both firearms deaths and overall homicides.*

Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 15)

*In Colombia, disarmament processes were part of broader disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration ... efforts that collected over 18,000 weapons between 2003 and 2006. This was thought to account for over a third of the insurgent weapons in the country. The programme was believed to have reduced homicides by 13 per cent in areas where demobilized groups had been operating, preventing between 650 and 2,300 homicides in its first year.*

Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 15)

*In South Africa, a national firearms amnesty took place in 2005 following legislative reforms to strengthen firearm controls. Over 100,000 firearms were handed in during the amnesty without any financial or other incentives. Combined with other efforts, disarmament programmes in South Africa are estimated to have reduced civilian firearms by around 440,000. There has been no evaluation of the disarmament efforts, but trends suggest that firearm homicide rates are falling.*

Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 14)



Two young men learn how to make furniture from machine guns following a disarmament programme in Cambodia. © Markus Matzel/Das Fotoarchiv/Lineair

significant crime or violence reduction associated with buy-back schemes and that, without measures preventing access to new weapons, such schemes only reduce the number of firearms in circulation temporarily and may actually increase firearms holdings by lowering ownership costs and stimulating demand for new weapons.<sup>16</sup>

For maximum effect, however, such measures need to be combined with initiatives to limit access to new weapons, stigmatize weapons ownership, and address the factors driving demand for firearms, i.e. arms control initiatives should take place within a broader AVRPP programme.

Poorly secured and managed stocks of state-held weapons can be a major point of access to illicit firearms through theft or unlawful sales. In Papua New Guinea, for example, auditing efforts suggested that some 30 per cent of police guns had fallen into criminal hands (Alpers, 2005, p. 26). Stockpile management initiatives, including strengthening storage facilities, marking weapons, and destroying surplus stocks, are being conducted in many countries and are likely to contribute to reducing armed violence by reducing risks of diversion to the illicit market.<sup>18</sup>

## Public education and awareness campaigns

Many arms control measures are undertaken alongside public education and awareness-raising campaigns that aim to increase understanding of the risks and impacts of armed violence. Many such programmes seek to promote awareness about the dangers of small arms and bring about changes in attitudes to gun possession and gun safety, while others aim to challenge

### **Box 10** Brazil's 'Choose Gun Free! It's Your Weapon or Me' campaign<sup>19</sup>

*In Brazil, the campaign 'Arma Não! Ela Ou Eu' (Choose gun free! It's your weapon or me) targeted women, and aimed to make men with guns less attractive, as well as mobilize women around the concept of disarmament. The campaign involved well-known and respected female music and television celebrities presenting radio and television public service announcements to increase awareness of armed violence, and to humorously link the use of firearms with sexual performance. Campaign messages included: 'A good man is one who does not expire before his time', and 'Guys who use guns must have a little problem'. The organizers hoped that women would use arguments and evidence from the campaign to persuade their male partners to disarm. There are no formal evaluations, but the campaign was considered successful in creating female support for disarmament.*

Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 23)

### **Box 11** Fica Vivo!, Brazil

*In Brazil, the Fica Vivo! (Stay Alive) programme is a comprehensive community programme with the primary objective of reducing homicides. Based largely on Boston's Operation Ceasefire initiative, it targets at-risk youths, and combines problem-oriented and 'hot-spot' policing with extensive activities for young people (e.g. art, sports and culture workshops). In doing so, the programme aims to improve coordination between law enforcement and social service providers.*

*Meanwhile, in the Brazilian city of Belo Horizonte a pilot programme was implemented in the Morro das Pedras district, one of the city's most violent areas. Between 1997 and 2001, Belo Horizonte experienced a steep rise in the number of homicides, and analysis revealed that most crime was concentrated in a few areas of the city. Analysis of Fica Vivo! is still at a preliminary stage, but it shows that since it started the number of homicides, attempted murders and robberies within Morro das Pedras has fallen; a 47 percent reduction in the homicide rate occurred in the first five months of the programme.*

Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 22)



often deeply held beliefs that violence is an acceptable way to resolve differences. Awareness campaigns are also used to challenge concepts of violent masculinity and the use of the gun as a symbol of power and status. In Brazil, the ‘Choose Gun Free! It’s Your Weapon or Me’ campaign is one such example; see Box 10.

## Measures targeting the perpetrators and victims of armed violence

A wide range of AVRP programmes focus on the perpetrators and/or victims of armed violence, for example, ‘at-risk’ children and youths, male and female perpetrators, gangs and criminal groups, and non-state armed groups.

### *Addressing gang violence*

Across the world, youth gangs are strongly associated with violent behaviour and the use of firearms (Small Arms Survey, 2010). A variety of different strategies have been used to address youth gangs, ranging from ‘zero tolerance’ enforcement activities to targeted problem-oriented policing, youth outreach services, and targeted livelihood programmes. A number of these initiatives are discussed in more detail below and also under the section entitled ‘Youth programming’, below.

Available evidence from the United States and Latin America would suggest that community-oriented, multi-strategy programmes that incorporate law enforcement initiatives alongside measures to encourage gang members to find alternative lifestyles and to prevent young people from joining gangs are the most promising in reducing gang violence (de la Brière and Rawlings, 2006). For example, the US-based Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention’s comprehensive gang prevention and intervention model has reported some successful findings (OJJDP, 2008). Innovative interventions targeting at-risk youths and former narco-traffickers and gang members are also being supported by Brazilian public authorities, municipalities, and NGOs (see Box 11). In Rio de Janeiro, for example, large-scale pacification programmes have already targeted 18 *favelas* with a combination of police and social welfare programmes to positive effect.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, organizations such as Afroreggae and Viva Rio are involved in direct mentorship and accompaniment to assist young men formerly affiliated with armed groups. Other initiatives, such as the US Operation Ceasefire (see Box 21), have shown some success in reducing gang violence. By contrast, evidence suggests that ‘zero tolerance’ enforcement activities focusing solely on incarcerating gang members have not proved very successful in preventing or reducing gang violence (Rodgers, Muggah, and Stevenson, 2009).

### Box 12 UNDP support for DDR in eastern Sudan

The Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement (ESPA) was signed in October 2006 between the Sudanese Government of National Unity and the Eastern Front. This agreement aimed at ending 11 years of low-intensity conflict stemming from regional insecurity and overwhelming poverty. As part of the early implementation of the ESPA, Eastern Front combatants who had not been integrated into the Sudan Armed Forces were to be rapidly disarmed, demobilized, and given basic reinsertion support, alongside efforts to address other security risks, such as tackling the prevalence of firearms among the population. In response, the North Sudan Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Commission, with support from UNDP, developed the Support to Human Security in Eastern Sudan Project in 2007. During Phase One, 1,700 Eastern Front members and approximately 300 children associated with armed forces and groups were demobilized and provided with reinsertion support. UNDP also supported a reintegration opportunities mapping programme and training in arms control, conflict resolution, and mediation; as well as providing resources to address priority security and development needs identified by ex-combatants and communities (through peace development committees). The second phase of the project was initiated in July 2008 and resulted in the demobilization and reintegration of 2,254 ex-combatants, including 200 with disabilities. In June 2011 UNDP undertook a review of the project. The review noted that the project had contributed to increased levels of community security and social cohesion, as evidenced by perception-based surveys.

Source: UNDP (2011a)

### Box 13 Lessons learned from DDR programmes

Key lessons learned from evaluations of DDR programmes over the last decade suggest that DDR measures and associated support packages should:

- be based on a thorough analysis of conflict dynamics and the needs and interests of the various stakeholders;
- be targeted at non-combatants as well as combatants and other armed groups;
- support a wide range of skills training and awareness raising;
- include clear approaches to building trust and confidence;
- address gender issues, including the different experiences and needs of women;
- support community sensitization and benefits programmes;
- increase family acceptance of returning ex-combatants;
- ensure that the programmes reach and address the special needs of vulnerable groups and women; and
- include adequate resources to support the reintegration of ex-combatants.

Source: Adapted from OECD (2011b, p. 43)

### *Addressing ex-combatants and armed groups*

In many post-conflict societies, a critical challenge in consolidating the peace and preventing the re-emergence of violence is how to deal with ex-combatants, including those associated with former armed groups. The international community has supported numerous DDR programmes to help countries make the transition from war to peace by assisting former combatants to put down their weapons and gain the skills to pursue alternative income opportunities. In 2010, for example, UNDP was supporting DDR programmes in 21 countries.<sup>21</sup>

A review of the literature on DDR suggests that DDR programmes have been successful in demobilizing hundreds of thousands of ex-combatants over the past decade (Muggah, 2009, p. 11). However, less success has been achieved in ensuring the reintegration of ex-combatants into communities, partly due to less funds being made available to support the reintegration effort. This said, numerous programmes have been developed to create employment for ex-combatants and other war-affected populations (see Box 14), and the UN is seeking to implement a system-wide approach to encourage employment, income generation, and reintegration (UN, 2008). Many CSOs are also implementing innovative programmes to support the reintegration of former combatants and women associated with armed groups.<sup>22</sup>

### *Support for the victims of violence*

In addition to physical injury and life-long mental-health problems, being a victim of armed violence can also increase an individual's risk of becoming a perpetrator of violence. Identifying, caring for, and supporting victims of violence, including victims of gender-based violence (see below), is thus crucial in protecting health and breaking cycles of violence.

Meeting the needs of armed violence victims requires adequate health, justice, and social and economic inclusion policies and services. Unfortunately, injury patterns from firearms are often complex 'and generally consume disproportionately high levels of medical resources per patient' (Moyes, 2010, p. 6). In turn, the impact of this high cost often makes both the victim and his/her family much poorer.<sup>23</sup>

Promising initiatives for victim support include programmes offering trauma care, psychosocial support, legal services (such as access to courts and dispute resolution—see below), and hospital-based programmes that deal with the physical and emotional consequences of armed violence. The US-based Cradle to Grave programme (see Box 15) has reported promising effects in terms of improving adolescent attitudes towards guns and violence (Goldberg et al., 2010).

## **Box 14** Creating job opportunities for demobilized ex-combatants

### **Stop-gap projects in Sierra Leone:**

*In 2002, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and the National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (NCDDDR) implemented the Early Warning—Proactive Response Stop-gap Programme to support the reintegration process through reconstruction and rehabilitation of infrastructure and short-term jobs creation .... Community-based, labor-intensive, quick impact projects were implemented in places identified as key areas of unrest and instability ... in an effort to bridge the gap between the payment of conventional reinsertion benefits and the implementation of the Reintegration Opportunities Programme, which was progressing slowly. UNAMSIL and the NCDDDR also recognized the need to provide economic opportunities as an alternative to violence, while improving access to rural areas for economic revitalization. Former combatants and vulnerable community members received wages and food aid for labor in the rehabilitation of infrastructure and agriculture. In addition to improving the security situation, evaluations also indicate that the programme ... helped to build a culture of peaceful conflict resolution and fostered reconciliation by having community members and ex-combatants work side-by-side.*

Excerpt: UN DPKO (2010, p. 44)

### **Infrastructure projects in Liberia:**

In 2006 the Government of Liberia, with the support of the UN Mission in Liberia, UNDP, and the World Bank, prioritized the creation of short-term job opportunities for communities and demobilized ex-combatants in recognition of the effect of unemployment on stability and the sustainability of DDR:

*The collaboration has undertaken several labor-intensive road rehabilitation projects to provide short-term employment for community members and war-affected populations, while simultaneously opening up important market routes that are necessary for economic recovery and promoting social cohesion.... One such project, the rehabilitation of the Gbaranga-Zorzor and Zwedru-Tappita roadways, produced more than 8,000 jobs and opened up access to markets needed to revitalize economic activity. An evaluation of projects indicated that petty crimes and domestic violence incidences were reduced, and many beneficiaries invested a portion of their earnings into income generation ventures, suggesting links to longer-term employment.*

Excerpt: UN DPKO (2010, p. 43)

Improving hospital and clinic protocols for identifying victims of violence and referring victims to other services, such as psychosocial support and legal services, are also important in ensuring that victims of violence are dealt with in a timely manner. With this in mind, a range of training programmes have

### **Box 15** The Cradle to Grave violence prevention programme

In the US city of Philadelphia, the hospital-based programme Cradle to Grave was developed to address the rising levels of young firearm victims being treated at the hospital. Youths aged 13–15 from low-income and working-class backgrounds were invited to take part in a two-hour programme held in the emergency department. The young people followed the past treatment of a young gunshot victim from the time he entered the trauma department through the failed attempts at resuscitation until his death. This was accompanied by education about inner-city violence, photographs of the effects of gunshots, and discussions around the questions ‘Who would you die for?’ and ‘How much is your life worth?’ An evaluation of the programme found that it was effective in improving attitudes towards guns and violence. It was also particularly valuable in diminishing the belief that violence is the only effective way for people to repair damaged self-esteem.

Source: Goldberg et al. (2010)

been developed for health-care staff to aid their understanding of violence and increase victim identification and subsequent support and referral. For example, in Cambodia and Iraq, in pre-hospital contexts, training village first-responders and paramedics proved effective in reducing death from injuries (including landmine and unexploded ordnance incidents, road traffic accidents, and other causes) from 40 per cent to 9 per cent (Moyes, 2008, p. 7).

Evaluations of two other intimate-partner-violence programmes suggest that training can improve knowledge of and attitudes towards screening for intimate-partner violence, as well as perceived self-efficacy in supporting victims (Harwell et al., 1998; Roberts et al., 1997). Overall, however, scientific evaluations of the long-term effects of care and support programmes are currently limited, with most evidence coming from the United States.

### *Addressing gender-based violence*

Armed violence is deeply gendered. Across all societies, young males are the most common perpetrators, as well as direct victims, of armed violence. Although women, boys, and girls suffer as direct victims, many more emerge as survivors of non-lethal attacks and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), caretakers of male victims, and new heads of households.

The relationship between gender and violence is complex. Evidence suggests, however, that gender inequalities increase the risk of violence by men against

women and inhibit the ability of those affected to remove themselves from abusive situations and seek protection (WHO, 2009c). Although violence against women does not always involve firearms, studies have shown that the majority of women who die from intimate-partner violence are shot or knifed.<sup>24</sup> The use or threat of arms is also involved in incidents of sexual violence directed against women and girls in situations of armed conflict, crime, and interpersonal violence.<sup>25</sup> Promoting gender equality is, therefore, a critical part of AVRP (IRC, 2009).

### **Box 16** Addressing gender-based violence in Côte d'Ivoire

*The project, Protection from Gender-Based Violence in Côte d'Ivoire, implemented by International Rescue Committee, aimed to prevent sexual violence against women by (i) raising awareness about the issue, (ii) providing assistance to victims and (iii) improving co-ordination between and the capacity of local organisations and state institutions to respond to and prevent violence, including the armed forces, UN agencies and government ministries. The project was implemented from May 2008 to November 2009.*

*A key element of the project's success was its focus on co-ordination among international agencies, local groups and multiple levels of government ... An evaluation determined that 711 survivors had been served and 46 000 reached through awareness-raising activities. The number of survivors receiving assistance increased by 48.6 percent between 2008 and 2009. Additionally, the percentage of people surveyed who indicated that awareness campaigns contributed to changing their attitude towards sexual violence against women reached 83.1 per cent.*

Excerpt: OECD (2010, p. 32)

### **Box 17** The Safe Dates programme

The Safe Dates programme is a school and community initiative for 13–15-year-old boys and girls. A ten-session programme targets attitudes and behaviours associated with dating abuse and violence among peers. The sessions cover subjects such as defining caring relationships and dating abuse, means of helping friends, equalizing power through communication, and preventing sexual assault. Participants in the programme produce a play and posters for community communication, and there is also a parental component. The programme was originally funded by the University of North Carolina and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. In randomized controlled trials, the programme has been shown to have lasting effects on dating-partner violence. Originating in the United States, the Safe Dates programme is now being implemented in an adapted form in South Africa.

Source: Foshee et al. (1998); WHO (2009c, p. 5)

A wide range of programmes are in place to address gender-based violence. Programming options include, among others, school-based programmes that address entrenched beliefs and gender norms and attitudes, awareness raising to prevent domestic violence and challenge concepts of violent masculinities, community empowerment programmes, support for the provision of legal aid and strengthening the representation of survivors of SGBV, the training of criminal justice actors on gender-based violence, and psychosocial support to the victims of SGBV.

With school- and university-based interventions, a number of programmes have been developed to address gender norms, issues of equality, and sexual abuse. Positive impacts have been reported, for example, for the Safe Dates programme in the United States; see Box 17. Initiatives that work solely with male peer groups such as the Men's Program in the United States have also been shown to change violence-related attitudes in the short term, especially towards rape, and to promote new ideas of masculinity based on respect for women (Foubert and Newberry, 2006).

Community interventions to reduce gender inequality usually seek to empower women and to increase their social and economic position in society. Promising initiatives in developing countries have involved micro-finance schemes that provide small loans to mobilize resources for income-generation projects. One of the most rigorously evaluated and successful programmes is the Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE) in South Africa; see Box 18.

### **Box 18** South Africa's Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity

The IMAGE programme has been proven to reduce intimate-partner violence. Conducted in rural South Africa, it combines a microfinance programme that focuses on the poorest women in a given community with Sisters for Life, which is a series of participatory education sessions on gender awareness and HIV/AIDS. It thus combines microfinance with training for loan recipients to enable them to confront their husbands about sexual and intimate-partner violence. The Sisters for Life sessions are made obligatory for receiving a loan; they are accompanied by activities to encourage wider community participation to engage men and boys. A rare and important feature of the programme is that it integrates prospective, randomized community intervention trials to evaluate and document the impact of the programme at the individual, household, and community levels. IMAGE has been shown to lead to a reduction of more than 55 per cent in intimate-partner violence.

Source: Pronyk et al. (2006)

Although most programmes aimed at reducing gender inequality still tend to focus on women, some education and community programmes work solely with male peer groups to address concepts of masculinity, gender norms, and violence. This reflects a growing recognition of the importance of engaging men and boys in interventions to stop violence against women, but also to address issues of violent masculinities (UNDP, 2011c). In Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the United States, the Men as Partners programme provides education skills-building workshops for men to explore their attitudes towards sexuality and promote gender equality in relationships (EngenderHealth, 2011). However, few evaluations have been undertaken to assess the impact of these programmes on violence.

Another category of programmes are those aimed at ensuring that effective systems and services are in place to provide adequate care and legal support for the victims of gender-based violence. Services can range from providing information and counselling to providing care and treatment for abused children, access to women's shelters, psychosocial interventions, and assistance in dealing with legal services. A number of international organizations, including UNDP, UN Women, and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), are actively supporting such measures in a number of countries; see Box 19.

## **Measures targeting the institutional environment that enables armed violence**

Interventions focusing on the institutional environment in which violence occurs address the formal laws and informal social norms and practices governing violent behaviour. This includes the role and practices of formal institutions such as the criminal justice system, as well as the role of informal and community institutions, such as youth groups or elders. Programmatic interventions can range from informal mediation and neighbourhood watch associations, to checkpoints and search and seizure activities, and the reform of law enforcement agencies.

### *Improved law enforcement and criminal justice interventions*

Many view the criminal justice sector as the principal sector to prevent and reduce violence. Responsible for the arrest and prosecution of violent perpetrators, the police, the judiciary, and correctional services play a critical role both in the prevention of crime and violence and in dealing with its consequences, including supporting victims of violence. If formal criminal justice systems are weak or corrupt, individuals or communities may deem it necessary to take security into their own hands, including through the acquisition of firearms, or turn to alternative systems of justice



### Box 19 UNDP support to address SGBV

*In **Sierra Leone**, UNDP supported the establishment of a legal aid mechanism through which six local CSOs provided legal aid to survivors of SGBV. To date, 1,879 SGBV survivors have received legal support through the programme. This, in turn, has resulted in 45 convictions (compared to just 10 in 2009 and zero in 2008, according to the government).*

Excerpt: UNDP (2011b, p. 18)

*In **Nepal**, UNDP facilitated and supported informal legal aid desks. Four SGBV-orientated legal aid desks operating in police stations provided information and legal assistance to 790 claimants, with 403 of the cases related to domestic violence. Mobile legal aid clinics in three Districts provided a range of free legal services and information to 1,524 people (80 percent of whom were women). At the community level, the paralegal programme was expanded to 360 wards of 70 Village Development Committees and over 2,000 paralegal committee members received training on SGBV and justice.*

Excerpt: UNDP (2011b, p. 19)

*In **Somalia**, since tensions between formal and traditional legal systems can perpetuate gender inequality, a referral system was established in Somaliland, through which Clan Elders refer cases of SGBV to formal courts. These referral systems have resulted in a 44 per cent increase in sexual violence cases reaching the formal courts since the previous year. The Sexual Assault Referral Centre in Hargeisa dealt with 107 cases (59 rape cases and 48 attempted rapes), 89 involving minors.*

Excerpt: UNDP (2011b, p. 19)

and protection, such as criminal groups. An effective criminal justice system can also reduce the likelihood of perpetrators reoffending.

Experience has shown that the most-effective interventions in the criminal justice sector are those that address the entire criminal justice system through comprehensive, multi-sector crime and violence prevention programmes, framed within a broad approach aimed at (re-)establishing the rule of law (UNODC and World Bank, 2007). A good example is Brazil's National Programme for Public Security with Citizenship (PRONASCI); see Box 20.

The police are viewed by many as a particularly important actor in AVRPs, as they provide the entry point for many citizens to the criminal justice system. Promising law enforcement strategies to prevent and reduce crime and violence include 'hot-spot' policing, problem-oriented (or result-oriented) policing, and community-based policing (OECD, 2010). 'Hot-spot' policing is based on the premise that crime and violence tend to be concentrated in

particular places and occur at particular times of day, and relies on victimization data to target law enforcement activities on high-crime areas. The approach often uses targeted ‘stop and search’ techniques to target suspicious vehicles and individuals. Evaluations carried out in the United States suggest that this targeted approach was associated with reduced gun crime,

### **Box 20** Brazil’s National Programme for Public Security with Citizenship

In Brazil, PRONASCI was created in 2007 to reduce armed violence by coordinating public security and social policies in partnership with various federal, state, and municipal government bodies, as well as with civil society. The approach includes improving public and prison security, stronger measures to fight organized crime and corruption, and a critical preventive/rehabilitative focus on young adults who are at risk of committing crimes or who have already offended. Multi-disciplinary teams that include social workers, psychologists, educators, and other specialists support the effort. To date, PRONASCI has engaged 150 municipalities and 22 states. The federal government plans to invest BRL 6.71 billion (USD 3.81 billion) in the national programme by the end of 2012.

Source: Ministry of Justice, Brazil (n.d.)

### **Box 21** Operation Ceasefire in Boston, United States<sup>26</sup>

*Operation Ceasefire was developed as part of the Boston Gun Project to address increasing levels of youth homicide in the city. The project brought together a multi-agency partnership of criminal justice agencies, social services and others to examine the nature of youth homicide and develop appropriate responses. Operation Ceasefire used research and firearms tracing data to target police enforcement and deterrence measures at firearms traffickers and violent gang members. Police adopted a zero tolerance approach to violence and firearms offences and communicated this to gang members through meetings and outreach work. Violent and firearms crimes would be subjected to focused and enhanced enforcement, although non-violent crimes would be dealt with routinely within the criminal justice system. Gang members were also offered support to move away from a life of violence, including job referrals and access to social services. Evaluation of the programme found a significant reduction in youth homicides, firearms assaults and police service call-outs for gunshots. Other researchers have highlighted limitations of the evaluations conducted on Operation Ceasefire, although studies of later programmes based on this strategy concluded it offered at least short-term effectiveness.*

Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 19)

although the long-term effects of these strategies are unknown (McGarrell, Chermak, and Weiss, 2002).

Problem-oriented policing is a broader approach that seeks to identify a specific problem, such as gun crime, in a community and then to tailor multi-agency responses to bring about a solution. Such an approach has been implemented in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, through the Fica Vivo! (Stay Alive!) programme (see Box 11); in Boston, United States, through Operation Ceasefire (see Box 21); and through the Barrio Seguro (Neighbourhood Security) programme in the Dominican Republic (see Box 27).

Community-based policing seeks to reduce crime by developing partnerships and trust between the police and communities so both can work more pro-actively together to identify and respond to crimes that affect the community. Different community-based policing models have been implemented in high-, middle-, and low-income countries, including Brazil, Croatia, Haiti, Kenya, South Africa, and Uganda, with various degrees of success (Bellis et al., 2010). In some other countries, community policing has been interpreted as members

### **Box 22** Croatia: support for community policing and safer communities

The Croatian Ministry of the Interior, with support from UNDP, is working with the police and communities on a Safer Communities Project aimed at enhancing safety and security within local communities. The project focuses on two main strategies: increasing community safety through the formation of community crime prevention councils and small infrastructure projects implemented in cooperation with community police, local government, citizens, and other major community stakeholders, and increasing the visibility of community police officers through awareness-raising and information campaigns. To date, the project has been implemented in four Croatian towns and has led to the refurbishment of the biggest children's playground in Vukovar, the design and construction of the Creative Industry Centre in Varaždin, the construction of a traffic polygon for cyclists and motorists in Bjelovar, and an awareness-raising campaign and community police visibility project in Čakovec and Medimurje county. The community police visibility project involves cooperation with the Prometaj Association (for the promotion of the Internet in education) and has led to the creation of 22 community police websites covering Medimurje county. The portal enables students, teachers, and parents to communicate with police over web mail or through direct phone contact in case of potential safety and security issues arising in or around schools. Preliminary reviews of the project suggest that it has resulted in increases in safety and security and improved trust and cooperation among the police, civil society, and communities.

Source: UNDP Croatia (n.d.)

of the community taking policing into their own hands, rather than the community working in partnership with the police to tackle crime (Wisler and Onwudiwe, 2009). Research has shown that the most effective community-based policing efforts are those that have high-level support (i.e. from the commissioner of police and the minister of internal security), have a clear focus on crime risk factors, and have the involvement of well-established community organizations (Bellis et al., 2010, p. 15).

Critical to the effective functioning of the criminal justice system is ensuring that victims of crime and violence are able to access a range of justice services in order to address grievances and deeply felt injustices and to reduce the likelihood of perpetrators reoffending. Access to justice programmes aim to improve the ability of citizens and communities to use the courts or to access other justice services to resolve disputes. Some of the programmes in place to provide legal support for the victims of gender-based violence have been outlined above. The section entitled ‘Youth programming’, below, touches on the important role played by juvenile justice systems in helping to provide alternatives to custody, to rehabilitate youths, and to reduce the chances of youth reoffending.

Another category of programmes are those aimed at supporting community conflict resolution through alternative dispute resolution (ADR) methods. In the last two decades, ADR initiatives have mushroomed in developing and developed countries alike, with an interest in ADR in some countries stemming from a desire to revive and reform traditional mediation mechanisms (World Bank, n.d.). ADR mechanisms typically refer to the processes and techniques for resolving disputes short of formal litigation, and fall into two broad categories: court-annexed mechanisms and community-based dispute resolution mechanisms. Court-annexed ADR includes mediation/conciliation in which a neutral third party assists disputants in reaching a mutually acceptable solution. Community-based ADR is often designed to be independent of a formal court system that may be (or is perceived to be) biased, expensive, or otherwise inaccessible to a population. Although the evidence base for ADR mechanisms is still weak, they have been shown to have some success in resolving conflicts and preventing violence.<sup>27</sup>

Programming options in the ADR field include, among others, support for community-based mediation and arbitration centres (see Box 23); village-level people’s courts, in which trained mediators seek to resolve problems that may have previously gone to a council of elders or religious leaders (Whitson, 1991–92); community-based mediation and conflict resolution processes aimed at bringing conflicting communities together to talk about their differences and resolve them in non-violent ways (see Box 24); and

### Box 23 Casas de Justicia

*Many Latin American countries, including Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, and Costa Rica, have developed Casas de Justicia (Houses of Justice) that provide information on the law and justice system so that people have a better understanding of their rights. Casas de Justicia also offer conflict resolution services, which involve professionals from various sectors, such as educators, psychologists, lawyers and police officers. Colombia first launched Casas de Justicia in 1995. Today, there are 40 Casas de Justicia providing services, including conflict resolution, to the most marginalised populations. With their services, people are able to resolve their disputes peacefully. They have served over 90 000 people, exceeding the original expectation. In Bolivia, Centros Integrados de Justicia (Integrated Justice Centres) have been established in remote regions to provide access to law and justice and other services to marginalised populations, particularly Indigenous Peoples. Honduras has developed ‘mobile justice of the peace courts,’ consisting of buses operating as mobile judicial offices that serve marginal areas of Tegucigalpa and San Pedro.* Excerpt: OECD (2010, p. 29)

### Box 24 Peace Management Initiative (PMI), Jamaica<sup>28</sup>

*In locations where killings and shootings occurred, PMI used volunteer staff to liaise with inner city communities to provide mediation and conflict resolution services. Once a ceasefire had been agreed, additional interventions were developed to build skills and community cohesion and to promote peace. These included counselling sessions, life skills training, theatre programmes, a radio station, a dance hall intervention, and other cultural activities. There have been no formal evaluations of the initiative, but UNICEF has called the work ‘innovative and promising’.* Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 26)

A joint donor–Government of Jamaica assessment of community security programmes in 2010 concluded that the PMI ‘is a small organisation having a large impact’ (McLean, 2009).

family group conferencing processes aimed at bringing together families of the affected person and of the perpetrator to discuss the impacts of the criminal action and determine appropriate reparations (OECD, 2010, p. 29). Many such initiatives are undertaken by CSOs in cooperation with relevant government agencies.

International organizations, such as the World Bank and UNDP, can play a key role in providing technical and financial assistance for access to justice projects in low- and middle-income countries (see Box 25).

**Box 25** UNDP support for improving criminal justice services

*In **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, to increase justice delivery, efficiency of case proceedings, and advice and representation for victims and witnesses, UNDP supported the establishment of the Witness Support Offices in two cantonal courts and prosecutor's offices.*

Excerpt: UNDP (2011b, p. 14)

*In **Burundi**, six courts were completely rehabilitated and equipped. In the northern provinces of Burundi, where UNDP implemented a pilot project on court administration, judicial performance improved significantly. All magistrates in Burundi (over 4,000) were trained in the use of a 'guide des infractions electorales' during the contentious electoral period, with 82 electoral offences subsequently processed. Electoral courts played an important role in peacefully resolving disputes during the electoral period.*

Excerpt: UNDP (2011b, p. 14)

*In **Sierra Leone**, UNDP funded mobile courts in the Southern Province, bringing magistrates and judges to three new towns for the first time as part of the Southern court circuit. In their first three months in service, 77 cases were heard and 31 concluded.*

Excerpt: UNDP (2011b, p. 14)

**Box 26** Enhancing community safety in Somaliland

The Danish Demining Group is working with community and district safety committees in Somaliland to support the development and implementation of community and district safety plans and to enhance controls over firearms. Activities include undertaking comprehensive baseline surveys, supporting broad-based consultations to support the development of community and district safety plans, training members of district safety committees in conflict management, encouraging the adoption of procedures for the safe handling and storage of firearms, and supporting explosive ordnance disposal and the destruction of private stockpiles of mines and explosive remnants of war. The project has reported positive results in its initial phase of implementation, contributing to increased perceptions of safety and security in target communities and a reduction in the number of victims of armed violence.

Source: DDG (n.d.)

*Community safety and security programmes*

Many promising AVRPs initiatives from low-, middle-, and high-income countries use community-based approaches that involve multiple sectors and combine a range of prevention strategies. As an emerging-practice area, community safety and security programmes seek to encourage community members to identify their own safety and security needs and to work with

### **Box 27** Barrio Seguro (Neighbourhood Security) programme in the Dominican Republic

Capotillo is one of Santo Domingo's highest crime and drug-trafficking areas. In August 2005 a pilot programme, Barrio Seguro, was implemented there with the aim of reducing and preventing violence. Key interventions implemented included increased police patrols in crime 'hot spots'; the addition of specially trained police patrols; situational crime prevention measures, for example street lighting and new public recreational areas; investments that targeted young people, such as building new classrooms in schools and developing cultural workshops and sports clinics; and general prevention programmes, including literacy and civic education programmes. During the first two months of the programme, assaults and robberies declined by 85 per cent, and during an eight-month period, a 70 per cent reduction in homicides was noted. The programme has since been copied and implemented in other neighbourhoods within the city.

Source: UNODC and World Bank (2007)

### **Box 28** Community-driven safety and development in Port-au-Prince, Haiti

*The World Bank implemented a pilot Community-driven Development (CDD) project in Cité Soleil and Bel-Air, two slums in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area. The pilot project, *Projet Pilote de Développement Participatif à Port-au-Prince/Urban Community Driven Development Pilot Project in Port-au-Prince (PRODEP PAP)* aimed to mitigate conflict/violence and support stabilisation in targeted slum areas by (i) quickly providing improved access to basic services and income generation opportunities to beneficiary community groups or associations; and (ii) contributing to strengthen the social cohesion and capital in the targeted communities.*

*An evaluation of the pilot concluded that PRODEP PAP was successful in helping to create and strengthen social cohesion through the creation of development committees/councils (COPRODEPs), made up of representatives from 138 community-based organisations (CBOs) from Cité-Soleil and 105 CBOs from Bel-Air. The COPRODEPs were able to successfully prioritise and allocate resources for the implementation of community subprojects that were proposed and implemented by CBO members themselves through a participatory and inclusive process. The project was also able to achieve participation of local government authorities, which served to improve the relationship between local government and civil society, in terms of helping local government representatives to better understand and address their constituents' needs. Based on the success of the pilot, a national-level urban CDD project was launched in 2009.*

Excerpt: OECD (2010, p. 37)

law enforcement and criminal justice agencies and social and community organizations to formulate and implement appropriate responses. These programmes aim to increase public perceptions of safety and security in communities and to increase trust among communities, law enforcement agencies, and local government. They also tend to include elements that more broadly seek to address the political, economic, and social drivers of violence, for example through improving access to basic services.

Comprehensive community security programmes have been implemented in a variety of post-conflict settings, including Kosovo, Liberia, Macedonia, Somaliland (see Box 26), South Sudan, and various municipalities in the Caribbean and Latin America (see Boxes 27 and 28) (UNDP, 2009; DDG, n.d.). They tend to be most effective when targeted work at the community level is undertaken in the context of a national strategy and the development of coordinating governance structures at the national and municipal levels (UNDP, 2009).

### *Conflict prevention and peace building*

In pre- and post-conflict environments, a number of conflict prevention and peace-building initiatives have proved promising in averting conflict and strengthening prospects for peace among potential or former antagonists. Preventing violent conflict and sustaining peace require that key actors in a country possess the skills, forums, and institutions to work together across political and sectarian lines to manage conflicts constructively and engage peacefully in political transitions. As such, many conflict prevention and peace-building initiatives seek to strengthen the capacities of national and local institutions and those in leadership positions to address these challenges. For example, UNDP's work on preventing violent conflicts focuses on supporting these capacities, with a particular focus on supporting local conflict management capabilities, such as district peace committees and CSOs (see Box 29).

Other promising initiatives have focused on measures to defuse inter- or intra-community violence by encouraging dialogue and reconciliation processes between conflicting parties. In Somaliland, for example, a multitude of peace conferences and meetings have taken place to build peace between conflicting clans and to establish local institutions of governance (see Box 30). CSOs are undertaking many reconciliation initiatives (see Box 31), either on their own or in cooperation with relevant government agencies and authorities.

A number of promising conflict prevention programmes in Africa and Latin America have sought to engage young men directly in violence prevention and peace-building activities as a fairly direct means of preventing them from



being drawn into armed groups or gangs. These programmes include training in peace building and conflict resolution and the direct involvement of youths in election-monitoring and violence prevention initiatives.

### **Box 29** UNDP-supported programmes to build local capacities for peace

In **Ghana** in 2010 the National Peace Council (NPC), with the support of UNDP, successfully mediated the Bawku conflict, which had started to claim lives. This has paved the way for economic and civic activities to resume, such as the opening of markets, schools, and health facilities and the holding of local elections. Earlier, in December 2008, the NPC mediated a successful political transition following one of the closest elections in Ghanaian history and one where the potential for violent tensions was high. These successes prompted a unanimous vote in the Ghanaian parliament in April 2011 establishing the NPC as an autonomous statutory body with the power to convene all actors for mediation and dialogue.

In **Kenya** in 2010 UNDP pursued a three-pronged strategy to support national actors in ensuring that the constitutional referendum was violence free, following the disastrous national poll in 2008. Firstly, it assisted the National Steering Committee on Conflict Management and Peacebuilding and Kenyan CSOs to ensure that district peace committees, especially in violence-prone areas, were fully functional and able to conduct violence prevention and mitigation activities. Secondly, it supported the informal facilitation of dialogue among the key political actors, especially through the relevant parliamentary committee, in reaching consensus on the draft constitution in advance of the referendum. Thirdly, a national early warning and response platform—Uwiano—was convened with UNDP support in partnership with the National Commission on Integrity and Cohesion to respond through analysis and the targeted deployment of monitors and mediators to text messages received from the public. Nearly 250 potentially violent incidents were identified and defused. When it happened, the referendum was entirely peaceful, with not a single life lost.

In **Nigeria** in April 2011 post-election violence was successfully prevented in Plateau state (which has seen 12,000 lives lost to inter-communal violence over the past decade) through a UNDP-assisted effort to engage local civil society and law enforcement in a functioning early warning and response system (similar to the Uwiano platform in Kenya) first launched in 2010, linked with a platform for political dialogue. This model of early warning and response combined with dialogue will now be extended through UNDP support to the neighbouring states of Bauchi, Kaduna, and Kano, which have all experienced violence.

Sources: Jonah David Jang, governor, Plateau state, Nigeria; Mzalendo Kibunja, chair, National Commission on Integrity and Cohesion, Kenya; correspondence from Chetan Kuman, senior adviser, Conflict Prevention, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, UNDP

**Box 30** Reconciliation efforts in Sanaag, Somaliland

Sanaag is located in the remote eastern region of Somaliland, bordering Puntland to the east and the Red Sea to the north. Sanaag's harsh environment has contributed to tensions and conflicts between clans as they compete for access to grazing and water resources. These conflicts are particularly pronounced between groups who share land or boundaries. 'Between 1988 and mid-1991, it has been estimated that 3,000 people in the region were killed, 7,000 wounded, 30,000 heads of livestock and 2,000 houses were destroyed' (Interpeace and Academy for Peace and Development, 2008, p. 65). The process of building a viable peace in Sanaag involved a total of some 15 small conferences between June 1991 and July 1993 and culminated in a grand conference in Erigavo between August and October 1993. The peace process involved the resolution of conflicts between four clans (two Isaaq and two Harti). In common with a number of Somali reconciliation efforts, the pattern tended to be for two clans to meet and agree terms before the negotiations moved on to other clans. Local issues tended to be dealt with first, followed by a gradual escalation to higher-level issues of governance and inter-clan accommodation. Women played a crucial role in the peace process by carrying messages between warring parties, creating bridges, and defusing hostilities. The whole process was locally initiated and driven. At the conclusion of the Erigavo conference, a peace charter consisting of 19 articles was adopted. Clan elders took responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the peace charter.

Source: Interpeace and Academy for Peace and Development (2008)

**Box 31** A selection of NGO-supported reconciliation initiatives

During the regional best-practice meetings organized by civil society in Africa, several reconciliation projects, although not evaluated, were highlighted as contributing to armed violence reduction and prevention. Examples include the Trauma, Healing, and Reconciliation Services in Burundi, which runs workshops to promote community reconciliation and recovery from trauma; the Development Initiative Access Link in Somalia, which brings together clan elders, political and community leaders, youth groups, and women's organizations to promote community reconciliation; and the Turkana Development Forum in Kenya, which promotes cross-border dialogue and reconciliation between clan leaders and government officials to promote peaceful cross-border peace agreements and cooperation.

Source: Comunidad Segura (2010c; 2010d; 2010e)

**Box 32** Conflict prevention for youths and their communities in Guinea

Between 2005 and 2007 the US Agency for International Development (USAID) funded an initiative in the conflict-prone south-eastern border regions of Guinea. Its objectives were: (i) to improve community capacity to manage conflict through the training of community management committees and numerous CBOs in conflict resolution, community reconciliation, and mediation and the provision of small grants for projects to link youths and their communities in conflict prevention; and (ii) to build youth and community capacity to resist violence through the training of youth animators in a range of violence prevention, facilitation, and other skills; the training of 5,000 at-risk youths in life skills, numeracy, and literacy; and the provision of follow-on apprenticeship schemes and microenterprise start-up grants. As a result of the project—and in spite of a period of strikes, political instability, and proactive recruitment by armed groups—the project reported a small decrease in the incidence of violence in target communities. This was reinforced by a community perception that youth involvement in violence had decreased. There was also an increase in the peaceful resolution of less-serious incidents of crime and violence with the increased involvement of community management committee members and community leaders.

Source: Harrelson, Macaulay, and Campion (2007)

**Box 33** Violence reduction in pastoralist communities in Kenya

Armed violence and insecurity is particularly visible in many semi-arid pastoral communities in north-eastern and north-western Kenya. A history of tensions, fierce competition for scarce resources, the widespread availability and ownership of firearms, the low capacity of rule-of-law institutions, and general socioeconomic misery have produced a fragile environment that is highly conducive to armed violence. In 2004, with support from UNDP, the Kenyan government piloted a project to explore ways to address these issues in Garissa district. The project has expanded into a three-year programme. It used existing structures such as district peace committees and the district security and intelligence committee to gradually build up the capacity of both the local administration and communities (including the development of women's peace forums) to address local security and safety issues, including the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. It also worked with NGOs to address development priorities such as livelihood support and access to water resources. A review of the project showed that it had addressed the root causes of tensions in the district and had contributed to a reduction in levels of armed violence. The project has since been expanded to other districts in Kenya (Wajir, Mandera, Moyale, Marsabit, and Isiola) and the approach is reflected in the Kenya National Policy on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management.

Source: UNDP Kenya (2010)



Examples of these types of programmes include an initiative to train youth in violence prevention and facilitation skills in Guinea (see Box 32) and the recruitment of 528 youth to carry out peace-monitoring and peace-building activities linked with district peace committees in Kenya, following the electoral violence in early 2009 (UNDP Kenya, 2011).

Around the world, a significant driver of violence is competition over resources such as land, water, or oil. In the regional promising/good-practice seminars in Africa, particular attention was paid to the issue of cattle rustling and pastoral conflicts involving conflict between sedentary farmers and pastoralists and between different pastoral groups, often across borders. A number of initiatives are under way to seek to prevent and reduce violence in semi-arid areas.<sup>29</sup> In Gambia, for example, a Cattle Farmers' Association has been established with branches across the country to help anticipate where cattle rustling may take place, and to work with law enforcement officials to prevent clashes and prosecute perpetrators.<sup>30</sup> In Kenya, UNDP is supporting a comprehensive programme to address the problem in Kenya's semi-arid areas



A Masai leader approaches a group of Kikuyus to broker a peace agreement following post-election violence in Naivasha, Kenya, January 2008.  
© Frederic Courbet/Panos Pictures

(see Box 33). Several CSOs, including, for example, Pastoralist Community Initiatives and Development Assistance in Kenya, are engaged in local peace-building initiatives among nomadic cattle herders in northern Kenya and along the Kenya–Ethiopia border (Comunidad Segura, 2010a).

### *Cross-border initiatives*

Many border areas in low- and middle-income countries are susceptible to armed violence. Often seen as peripheral areas by central government, border areas can be under-governed and lack government services (including health, education, and security services) and hence are vulnerable to the growth of criminal activities, including the illicit trafficking of a range of commodities, organized crime, and banditry. In addition, border areas can be subjected to an influx of refugees, which can further threaten local peace and stability. These problems are exacerbated by corruption among law enforcement officials and the lack of cross-border cooperation.

A number of innovative programmes are seeking to address cross-border conflict/crime dynamics by encouraging greater cooperation among law enforcement agencies and dialogue between communities, combined with coordinated efforts to support socioeconomic development. For example, in West Africa, the governments of Gambia, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, and Guinea, in cooperation with civil society, have established joint security and development programmes.<sup>31</sup> Regional cooperation frameworks and protocols, such as those developed by ECOWAS and the Southern African Development Community in West Africa and Southern Africa, respectively, can support the development of cross-border measures, including joint police operations.<sup>32</sup>

## Indirect programming

Indirect AVRPP programmes address a wide variety of proximate and structural risk factors, including the presence of armed groups, legacies of violence, marginalized youths, gender-based discrimination, and rising income inequality. Interventions range from voluntary to enforcement-based activities and can include youth-programming schemes, media and civil awareness campaigns,

### Box 34 Conflict prevention along the Kenya–Sudan border

Ethnic conflict along the Kenya–Sudan border has been worsened in recent years by tensions over pasture and scarce water resources and an abundance of illegal arms along the border.

Adakar Peace and Development Initiatives (APEDI) was founded in 2006 with the aim of brokering peace through cross-border mediation and conflict-resolution workshops. The program serves 8 kraals, or communities with an estimated 120,000–150,000 beneficiaries, forming peace committees among women and youths, facilitating of cross-border dialogue, and tracking stolen property. APEDI monitors and reports potential sources of conflict and provides ambulance services, basic health care and food to rural beneficiaries ...

APEDI has enjoyed substantial success, including a sharp reduction in crime in the areas in which it works, restitution of property, and reunification of abductees with their families. The organization has also helped create a safer environment for aid workers, established trade between communities, and has helped to pacify previously disputed territories. Between 2005 and 2007, APEDI oversaw peaceful disarmament in Lokichoggio, Oropoi, and Kakuma divisions, leading to the recovery of over 2,600 rifles.

Source: Comunidad Segura (2010b)

(formal and informal) skills development programmes, employment schemes, targeted education interventions, and urban renewal/environmental design activities.

## Youth programming

In violent contexts, youths confront a variety of incentives to engage in violence, whether to achieve a sense of status and belonging or to secure an income or livelihood opportunity.<sup>33</sup> While most youths do not engage in significant or repeated acts of violence, evidence suggests that unemployed and out-of-school youths are at greater risk of becoming perpetrators and victims of violence and crime, as well as youths who suffer from economic and social deprivation, marginalization, neglect, and abuse (Hilker and Fraser, 2009). Young people are often involved in armed violence simultaneously as perpetrators, victims, and witnesses.

Much research has been undertaken on the risk factors for youth violence and on those factors that can prevent youths from engaging in violence.<sup>34</sup> A key conclusion is that intervention at the infant and early childhood stages



Children take part in a 'Goals for a Better Life' training session, an initiative set up to keep young people in school and out of gangs, Bogotá, May 2007. © Peter Dench/Corbis

can be critical, as are strategies that seek to provide constructive alternatives to violence and joining violent groups.

### *Supporting parents and early childhood development*

Evidence from programmes in various countries demonstrates that investing in early-childhood development programmes—including health care, nutritional support, mental stimulation, parenting training, and educational activities—can yield some of the strongest impacts on risky behaviours ranging from violence to criminal activity and substance abuse.<sup>35</sup>

According to the World Health Organization (WHO) and research institutes, safe, stable, and nurturing relationships with parents and other caregivers are central to a child’s healthy development. In the absence of these relationships, children and adolescents are at greater risk of being involved in anti-social behaviour and the perpetration of violence in later years (WHO, 2009d). Promising programmes that can improve parent–child relationships include parenting training, the provision of social support for parents and families, and the creation of social environments that support and protect children. Programmes such as the Triple P-Positive Parenting Programme (Sanders, Bor, and Morawska, 2007), Early Head Start (Love et al., 2005), and the Chicago Child–Parent Center (Reynolds et al., 2001) have all been associated with addressing children’s behavioural problems, including aggressive behaviour.

Evidence from developed countries also suggests that programmes aimed at developing children’s life skills by building social, emotional, and behavioural competencies can prevent youth violence (see Box 36). Pre-school enrichment programmes, which provide children with academic and social skills at an early stage, including how to deal with conflict non-violently, also appear promising, although more evidence is needed on the impacts of these programmes in low- and middle-income countries.

#### **Box 35** Colombia: supporting parents

*A programme supported by the Canadian International Development Agency ... in Colombia worked with over 4 000 vulnerable individuals and families to deliver support services and training in health education, counselling, and conflict management, which reportedly had positive impacts on adolescent behaviour and family violence levels. Similarly, in Angola, a USAID-supported programme with the Christian Children’s Fund worked with children, adolescents and parents to promote healing, social reintegration and positive parenting and to provide skills training and small grants.<sup>36</sup>*

Excerpt: OECD (2011b, p. 38)



### Box 36 Life-skills training in Colombia

*In 1993, the Ministry of Health in Colombia commissioned the NGO Fe Y Alegria (Faith and Joy) to develop and pilot a life-skills training programme for schools, based on WHO's life-skills education materials adapted to the situation in Colombia. The programme covered violence prevention and alcohol and tobacco use, and aimed to approach these problems through developing young people's interpersonal skills and meeting their social and emotional needs. It was to be particularly targeted at marginalized youth. The initial programme had three main themes: expressing and managing feelings; assertiveness; and managing conflict. This has since been expanded to include critical thinking and decision-making skills. The programme also included a training component for teachers to enable them to deliver the curriculum. The teacher training covered theories of adolescent psychology, the course curriculum and teaching methods. Teachers were also taught to provide teacher training to other teachers.*

*In primary schools, the life-skills training programme was conducted as part of the standard curriculum, and taught for two hours per week. The impact of the pilot project was not fully evaluated, but interviews with both teachers and parents revealed they felt their children's behaviour improved; they were more polite, attended school more often, and reduced their aggression in the classroom. In 1999, the life-skills training programme materials were circulated more widely to schools in Colombia.*

*These programmes have also been developed and implemented in several other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean.*

Excerpt: Bellis et al. (2010, p. 29)

### Supporting education programmes

Interventions in the education sector can be important indirect interventions to reduce armed violence by helping to instil values of citizenship and responsibility in children and to prepare them for work. Indeed, feeling a sense of bonding to one's school has been shown to be an important protective factor against violent behaviour, making schools an important site for violence prevention initiatives (World Bank, 2008).

School-based armed violence prevention programmes can include training in non-violent conflict resolution and positive social skills (see Boxes 37 and 38). Such programmes often teach social skills, including anger management, problem solving, and how to develop and maintain healthy relationships. There is strong evidence that these types of programmes are effective in reducing aggression in young people (WHO, 2009d). Programmes to improve school enrolment and reduce dropouts can also help to reduce armed violence among

**Box 37** Safe School—Safe Community campaign, Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress, Costa Rica

*The ‘Safe School—Safe Community’ is a five-year pilot project (2005–2010) developed in response to the increase in violence in Costa Rica. It aims to encourage increased participation of the local government, the community (families), schools (teachers, elementary school and high school students), and NGOs. Eleven municipalities out of the 81 in the country (that is, 13.6 per cent) are involved in the project. All these actors participate in the elaboration of a violence prevention plan for schools, which includes training workshops for school community members, institutional assessment, prevention teams, and a local implementation plan. The activities proposed were included in the municipalities’ budgets, so as to guarantee their sustainability.*

Excerpt: Zavala (2011)

youth, since leaving school early is recognized as an important risk factor for youth violence. Some governments and international institutions have also offered conditional cash transfer programmes to provide incentives for children to stay in school (de la Brière and Rawlings, 2006).

In terms of such programmes:

Key programming options include delivering emergency education for conflict-affected and displaced populations; supporting the rehabilitation, equipping and staffing of schools; supporting accelerated ‘catch-up’ programmes; [and] supporting non-formal, vocational education linked to employment programmes, secondary and tertiary education (OECD, 2011b, p. 40).

*Supporting livelihood opportunities for youth*

Unemployment or underemployment and lack of viable livelihood opportunities are among the most common factors underlying youth exclusion and the frustrations that can lead to violence. Ensuring that there are opportunities for gainful employment and secure livelihoods is a key violence prevention and post-conflict recovery strategy. Promising programmes in this area include developing enabling labour policies, supporting rapid job creation and employment-intensive public works, supporting income generation and micro-finance projects, and providing evidence-based employment and livelihood advice and support to youths (see Box 39) (UN, 2008).

*Supporting youths participation in society*

Other important programmatic interventions are those aimed at building youth resistance to involvement in gangs and violent groups by promoting

### Box 38 After-school programme to reduce violence in Brazil

The Open Schools (Abrindo Espaços) Programme was launched by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in 2001 and adopted by the Brazilian Ministry of Education in 2004 as a public policy entitled Open School: Education, Culture, Sport and Work Programme. The programme offers sports, cultural, arts, and leisure activities, and initial work training for youths on week-ends. Preliminary evaluations suggest that the programme has had a positive effect on levels of violence, both in schools and their surroundings. In São Paulo, the Open Schools Programme, known locally as Family School, was implemented in 5,306 schools between 2003 and 2006 and helped to reduce criminal acts by 45 per cent.

Source: World Bank (2008); UNESCO (2007)

### Box 39 Youth empowerment and employment in Kenya

The Government of Kenya, with the support of the World Bank, has developed a youth empowerment and employment programme:

*This aims to increase access to youth-targeted temporary employment programmes and to improve youth employability. There are three components to the project:*

- *Labour-intensive works and social services: ... The component will finance labour-intensive projects that provide income opportunities to between 200 000 and 300 000 participating youth .... At the same time the projects will also enhance the communities' access to social and economic infrastructure (e.g., water dams and irrigation, roads, forestry resources, waste management systems).*
- *Private sector internships and training: ... This pilot component will provide unemployed youth aged 15-29, who have at least eight years of schooling and have been out of school for at least a year, with an opportunity to acquire relevant experience through a private sector internship and training programme.*
- *Capacity building and policy development: The main objective of this component is to enhance the capacity of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (MoYAS) to implement the national youth policy and increase the institutional capacity for youth policy planning. This will be done through training of MoYAS staff, particularly the district youth officers; communication activities to increase awareness of the project; and policy development, through the provision of technical assistance to the National Youth Council and youth policy development.*

Excerpt: OECD (2011b, p. 40)

resilience through the greater participation and inclusion of young people in their societies. Promising programmes include supporting youth leadership, youth centres, and recreation initiatives (see Box 40).

### *Supporting juvenile justice*

Various studies have highlighted the important role played by juvenile justice systems in helping to provide alternatives to custody, and to rehabilitate youths and reduce the chances of youths reoffending. Programming in this

#### **Box 40** Youth inclusion in Liberia

*In post-conflict Liberia, the Youth Education for Life Skills programme combined training in nonviolent conflict resolution and strengthening self-esteem with a media and outreach campaign to educate older residents about the situations of youth. Over time, people in the communities began to see youth as a positive force for development and give youth more access to assets and opportunities in the community. Greater integration of youth also means giving youth—often a majority group—a stronger voice in decisions that affect them, by supporting greater political participation and youth-led initiatives. Projects may include youth members on their decision or implementation boards, for example. The project was evaluated and determined to have been successful in improving youths' knowledge and life skills and their integration in the community. The project was not evaluated on violence outcomes, but perceptions of the community were that the training had changed attitudes of youth about violence and contributed to reductions in violent behaviour.*

Excerpt: Mercy Corps and USAID (2006) in OECD (2010, p. 38)

#### **Box 41** UNICEF support for reforming juvenile justice systems

*In Montenegro, a capacity-building project reinforced the role of the Ombudsmen's office in ensuring legal reforms met international standards for the protection of child rights. In Ukraine, the pilot Kharkiv Public Defence Office provided free legal aid to needy people including youth. Its involvement has reduced levels of pre-trial detention and diverted a number of young offender cases into mediation, avoiding criminal prosecution. Similarly, a UNICEF-funded project in Kenya engaged 335 lawyers to volunteer to provide free legal counselling and representation to around 2 500 children in conflict with the law each year. As a result, in September 2009, the Justice Ministry launched a pilot Legal Aid and Education Programme to provide free legal representation to children and adults in six districts.<sup>37</sup>*

Excerpt: OECD (2011b, p. 45)

area can include supporting policy development, legislative reform, legal aid services, and community rehabilitation projects. UNICEF supports numerous programmes to reform juvenile justice systems in different parts of the world (see Box 41). These and similar programmes rely on close cooperation among ministries of justice/interior, local authorities, the police, and CSOs. See, for example, the Hope Station project in Chile (Box 42).

Other promising initiatives in this field include efforts to support the adoption of and compliance with UN conventions that address juvenile justice, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which obliges signatory states to establish a separate juvenile justice system for youths under the age of 18 that promotes prevention, diversion, and community rehabilitation (see Box 43).

## Improved urban/local governance and environmental design

‘Urban centres are home to half the world’s population and are expected to absorb almost all new population growth over the next 25 years’ (OECD, 2010, p. 13). A growing number of urban areas are afflicted by high levels of armed violence. Rapidly urbanizing areas often experience a convergence of several risk factors for violence, for example limited or unequal basic service provision,

**Box 42** Estación Esperanza (Hope Station), Department of Public Security, Estación Central Municipality, Santiago de Chile, Chile

*Estación Esperanza is implemented in the Estación Central Municipality, central-northern part of Santiago de Chile. It was developed as an answer to the need for special psychological care of minors under the age of 14 involved in illegal acts, identified by the police (Carabineros), and whose rights have been infringed. Within the framework of this project, the age limit is important: after the age of 14, a new and stricter law on juvenile responsibility is applied. That is why it is essential to work with this group of vulnerable children so as to strengthen and foster social behaviours, thus discouraging violence and crime-associated risk behaviours. This is a multi-institutional project that benefits from the participation of the municipal government, the police force (Carabineros) and the Ministry of the Interior. Specific strategies have been developed with a view to strengthening pro-social behaviours in vulnerable children and teenagers, taking into account their own experiences, and offering them psychological counselling as a way to identify the strengths and weaknesses that may impact the development of such behaviours. Likewise, a community network focused on children and youth was created, so as to identify social inclusion opportunities that may foster pro-social behaviours. During the process, a role model figure or the family is invited to participate if needed.*

Excerpt: Zavala (2011)

### **Box 43** The Juvenile Justice Alternatives Project (JJAP) in Tajikistan

*To comply with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Tajikistan introduced its JJAP project for youth between the ages of 10 and 18 to provide alternatives to prosecution and detention when youth were charged with criminal offences. Five JJAP projects provided non-residential community-based rehabilitation programmes that used both state run Child and Youth Centres and NGOs as resources to provide support and assistance. Each project was staffed by a project co-ordinator, lawyer, two social workers and one psychologist who provided individually tailored programmes of psychosocial and practical assistance for each child and their families. Interventions included individual psychological assessment and support; therapy and family work, including parental skill development; legal support; social services support; and remedial education. Some activities were offered to all local children through the Child and Youth Centres, including vocational classes, classes in 'soft skills' such as civic education, healthy living and social activities such as sports and excursions. The JJAP staff worked with schools to return project participants to mainstream classes and aimed for full attendance. The JJAPs also formed links with a range of NGOs to expand activity options, such as vocational training, job assistance and social assistance including prevention of violence against women .... The JJAP projects accepted more than 250 youth who would otherwise have been charged with a crime and prosecuted. Over 250 youth participated, with an average drop of 42% in the rate of juveniles offending in districts where projects operated, while juvenile offending rose by 3% in areas not offering a JJAP. Only six young people had reoffended by April 2008.*

Excerpt: OECD (2011b, pp. 30–31)

### **Box 44** UNDP support for municipal citizen security plans in Guatemala

*UNDP worked with the local government to support the establishment of a Municipal Citizen Security Commission in Santa Lucia. A survey was carried out of the main threats to citizen security, and a plan was developed that included action to ban carrying guns in bars, control alcohol sales, improve street lighting, introduce community-based policing, reclaim public spaces, address vagrancy and reduce violence in brothels. Within two years, the homicide rate dropped from 80/100,000 people to under 50/100,000. As a result of the success of this pilot project, a new national law has been introduced that establishes a National Security Council to coordinate the reform of the security sector, and mandates the development of citizen security plans in each municipality in Guatemala. UNDP is supporting the implementation of this new legislation.*

Excerpt: UNDP (2009, p. 24)

inadequate law enforcement, perceptions of inequality across groups, young people frustrated by a lack of social and economic opportunities, and the disruption of social networks (kinship, family, and ethnic networks). As a result, urban-centred AVRP has emerged as an important programming area, and many municipal-based programmes—often called ‘safer-city’ or ‘citizen-security’ programmes—have achieved tangible improvements in the reduction of crime and armed violence.

Urban-focused AVRP programmes require the direct engagement and leadership of local governance structures. Mayors and local authorities are often well placed to lead and coordinate integrated policy and programmatic efforts that target the security and safety needs of their citizens. In recognition of this, the Mexican government launched a national programme in 2010 called the Mayors for Peace Network,<sup>38</sup> which involves agreements between the government and municipalities on the implementation of projects that address risk factors for armed violence. Municipal AVRP programmes also rely on close cooperation among local authorities, law enforcement agencies, CSOs, and members of the community, in both planning and implementing responses.

Typical programming options to address urban violence include policy development (e.g. development of ‘safer-city’ plans); establishing and enforcing public decrees and regulations (such as early closure of bars and tightening controls on the carrying of firearms); initiating urban renewal schemes (such as through the provision public lighting and recreational spaces); enhancing municipal service delivery (including access to water, sanitation, waste collection, etc.); and building institutional capacity for sustained actions. Examples of promising urban-centred AVRP initiatives include programmes led by the mayors and municipal authorities in cities in the Dominican Republic (see Box 27), Colombia (see Box 3), Guatemala (see Box 44), and Macedonia (see Box 45).

Increasingly, environmental design is being seen as an important programming approach that seeks to transform the built environment (such as recreational spaces and bus terminals) and institute urban environmental renewal programmes to reduce opportunities for crime and violence. For example, in South Africa, the environmental designs including the improvement of lighting in public transportation, reorganization of bus terminals, and reducing the distance between services alleviated the feeling of insecurity among citizens (OECD, 2010, p. 36).

‘In Kenya, Adopt-A-Light is a slum and street lighting initiative that has improved security in the slums of Nairobi’ (Bellis et al., 2010, p. 27).

UN-HABITAT’s Safer Cities Programme is another example of a comprehensive approach that seeks to address crime and violence prevention through

improved city governance, environmental design, and social prevention, and by supporting new and alternative forms of justice.<sup>39</sup> Although lacking any formal evaluation, the programme has delivered some encouraging results (see Box 46).

## Broader development programming

Social and economic inequality among groups in society is an important risk factor for armed violence (Rutherford et al., 2007). Development programmes that aim to reduce inequalities by, for example, reducing poverty and improv-

### Box 45 A community safety plan in Skopje, Macedonia

The community of Old Town in Skopje, Macedonia, suffered from high levels of armed crime and distrust in the police. The NGO Saferworld implemented a community safety programme that brought together various community stakeholders in nine focus group meetings to identify priority safety and security concerns. These group meetings were followed by the establishment of an Action Working Group on Safety and Security in the Skopje Old Town that addressed the identified priorities, such as more-frequent police patrols, the removal of stalls from illegal vendors that narrowed passageways, the installation of anonymous crime-reporting boards, and the hiring of a private security group as an additional crime deterrent measure. A review of the programme found that the combination of measures led to a modest decrease in recorded criminal incidents and armed violence.

Source: Saferworld (2006, pp. 29–34)

### Box 46 Safer cities: the Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, experience

In Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, the Safer Cities Programme was established in 1999, and victimization surveys were undertaken in 2000 and 2004. A coalition involving grassroots participants (ward leaders, the police, community members, and organizations) receives political and financial support from government. The resulting programme has supported the development of a crime prevention strategy and several pilot projects (youth livelihood, sensitization, ward tribunals, and a drug campaign). The programme has strong support from the city commission and the police, with the result that the project and its approach, objectives, and activities were included in the municipal restructuring plan. As part of these efforts, a Safer Cities unit has been set up within Dar es Salaam's city structure, which has helped to make these concepts permanent. Currently, the Dar es Salaam unit is providing guidance to other municipal Safer Cities units and the project is being replicated in other towns in Tanzania.

Source: UN-HABITAT (1996–2007, p. 17)



ing access to health and education services are likely to help to prevent and reduce armed violence, especially if they contain elements that target specific risk factors for armed violence in a given context. To date, however, it would

**Box 47** Examples of armed violence reduction components in poverty reduction, health, and education development programmes

Armed violence reduction components in poverty reduction, health, and education development programmes include the following:

- improved service delivery (e.g. access to safe drinking water and sanitation) to areas affected by or at risk of armed violence (e.g. under-governed peripheral areas);
- employment and alternative livelihood programming for youths at risk of armed violence;
- programmes for alternative livelihoods and resource and land management in areas where armed violence is linked to narrowing livelihood options and competition for scarce resources;
- rural development programmes in areas that feed rural-to-urban-slum migration;
- programmes to ensure the equal access of girls to schooling and to prevent them from dropping out;
- assistance to armed violence victims, including outreach to victims of domestic and gender-based violence;
- ensuring safe access to and delivery of education and health services to areas and populations that are excluded from and/or are experiencing/at risk of armed violence;
- education- and health-related programmes that encourage social cohesion and community development;
- early childhood education and the development of primary school curricula that encourage the non-violent resolution of disputes;
- programmes to improve the educational prospects of at-risk children and youths, especially activities likely to result in viable employment;
- health and education programmes to reduce and prevent domestic violence and gender-based violence;
- developing public health systems' capacities for violence and crime reporting (data collection, analysis, reporting), including reporting of domestic and gender-based violence; and
- reforming education curricula to nurture a culture of peace, gender equality, respect for people's differences, peace building, and social inclusion.

Source: OECD (2009)

appear that no evaluations have been undertaken on programmes that address the link between reducing inequalities and armed violence.

The OECD policy paper on *Armed Violence Reduction: Enabling Development* provides some useful indicative examples of how programmes that address poverty reduction and health and education can be adapted to include AVRP components (see Box 47) (OECD, 2009). As with all the measures contained in this report, it is important to ensure that inequalities are properly understood and mapped so that (area-based) development programmes can respond to and target these inequalities.



This working paper has attempted to present some of the promising practices that can be drawn from the enormous numbers of programmes and activities being undertaken around the world to prevent and reduce armed violence. While by no means exhaustive, it has sought to demonstrate that governments, local authorities, civil society, and the private sector are pursuing many innovative measures. This concluding section seeks to present a number of lessons and implications for future practice (OECD, 2011a):

- *Many promising interventions combine both 'direct' and 'indirect' programming.* Although many activities are being undertaken discretely to control and reduce access to weapons, engage perpetrators and victims, and reform the practices of law enforcement agencies (i.e. direct programming), the most promising interventions are those that combine both direct and indirect approaches by targeting both the symptoms and the broader drivers of armed violence.
- *AVRP covers a diverse range of programmatic interventions.* Although not always described as AVRP per se, a vast array of interventions are underway emphasizing conflict prevention, peace building, the rule of law, crime prevention, security and justice, and public health that are reducing insecurity and enhancing safety.
- *Efforts to reduce and prevent armed violence effectively require the clear diagnosis of its scope, distribution, and drivers.* Effective strategies to prevent and reduce violence need to target context-specific drivers and risk factors of violence and hence need to be informed by a clear analysis of its nature and scope. The use of baseline assessments and the development of national and sub-national capacities to monitor, measure, and analyse the scope, scale, and distribution of armed violence (through, for example, crime and violence observatories) are making important contributions to AVRP efforts.
- *Effective AVRP programmes involve a combination of sectors and approaches.* Experience suggests that the most promising AVRP programmes are those that bring together a range of violence prevention and reduction

strategies across a number of sectors and purposefully target the key risk factors that give rise to armed violence. Such programmes tend to be most effective when they have a clearly articulated, overarching framework and work according to a clear theory of change.

- *Effective AVRPP programmes require both local and national ownership and partnership.* Many promising AVRPP programmes are being undertaken at the community and municipal levels, but they require support at the national level to be sustainable. The most promising strategies are those that work at multiple levels (community, sub-national, national), create linkages among these levels, and rely on extensive partnerships between government agencies, local authorities, CSOs, and the private sector.
- *There is a need to integrate AVRPP objectives and actions into regional, national, and sub-national development plans and programmes.* Development programmes that seek to reduce poverty and inequality have significant potential to address the root causes of armed violence if they purposefully target the risk factors of violence. To maximize their impact, such programmes should be developed on the basis of consultative processes that include groups particularly affected by armed violence. Their implementation must be supported by relevant sub-national, national, regional, and international actors.
- *Promoting gender equality is a critical part of AVRPP.* Effective AVRPP interventions are those based on a clear understanding of the gendered dimensions of violence and which seek to address gender inequalities. Too often, however, girls and women are under-represented in AVRPP and development policies and programmes. It is critical to analyse the different needs of men and women and to ensure that programmes meet these needs effectively.
- *Short- and long-term approaches should be combined.* Addressing the symptoms and drivers of armed violence requires short- and long-term measures. This necessitates multi-year AVRPP programmes that can help build the necessary institutional capacities to prevent armed violence in the long term.
- *There is a need to strengthen efforts to document good or promising practices with reliable evaluations.* In order to strengthen the evidence base of ‘what works’, especially in low- and middle-income settings, development practitioners need to undertake robust programme evaluations. There is currently a lack of evidence from low- and middle-income countries on preventing and reducing armed violence.

- *There is a need to develop common indicators and methodologies for measuring and monitoring change.* Practitioners should be encouraged to develop common measurement systems to allow the comparison of reductions in armed violence and thus the assessment of what works best in particular contexts.
- *Sustaining the impact of AVRPs programmes requires strengthening institutional capacities for AVRPs.* Sustainability continues to be a major challenge. Promising programmes for AVRPs (over the medium to long term) include components to strengthen institutional capacities for AVRPs, including security and justice institutions, their oversight bodies, and civil society.



## Endnotes

- 1 See IADB (2011); UNDP (2009).
- 2 The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, endorsed by more than 100 countries, commits signatories to supporting initiatives intended to measure the human, social, and economic costs of armed violence; to assess risks and vulnerabilities; to evaluate the effectiveness of armed violence reduction programmes; and to disseminate knowledge of best practices. The Declaration calls on states to achieve measurable reductions in the global burden of armed violence and tangible improvements in human security by 2015. For more information about the Geneva Declaration, related activities, and publications, see Geneva Declaration Secretariat (n.d.).
- 3 See ActKnowledge (2009).
- 4 See Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University and WHO (n.d.); HKS (n.d.).
- 5 The regional meetings, a collaboration among the host government, the Geneva Declaration, and UNDP, aimed to review the development and progress of the implementation of armed violence prevention policies and strategies, to share experiences and lessons learnt at the regional level, and to identify promising and innovative AVR P practices. These meetings focused on key regional patterns of armed violence, including youth and urban violence, resource-based community conflicts, cross-border issues, organized crime, gender-based violence, and the instruments of violence (in particular, small arms and light weapons). Each meeting was preceded by a 'good-practice' regional civil society meeting organized by the Quaker United Nations Office. For each of these civil society meetings, a 'good-practices' magazine was produced by Comunidad Segura, available on its website, Comunidad Segura (n.d.).
- 6 See Bellis et al. (2010); OECD (2010; 2011b); and Comunidad Segura (n.d.) for its 'good-practices' magazines.
- 7 See OECD (2009; 2011a).
- 8 The principles have been drawn from the forthcoming reports of the regional seminars on Promising Practices on Armed Violence Reduction, organized by the Secretariat of the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development and UNDP. See Geneva Declaration Secretariat (n.d.).
- 9 In Cali, the homicide rate during the intervention period (November 1993–December 1994) was 89 per 100,000, compared to 107.5 per 100,000 during non-intervention periods (Zavala and Hazen, 2009, p. 24).
- 10 See IRIN (2010); Ushahidi (n.d.).

- 11 For more information on correcting crowd-sourcing in a crisis, see Humanitarian Info (2009).
- 12 See, for example, Richardson and Hemenway (2011); Miller, Hemenway, and Azrael (2007); Ajdacic-Gross et al. (2006); Killias, van Kesteren, and Rindlisbacher (2001); Rosengart et al. (2005).
- 13 For an overview of legislation on firearms, see GunPolicy.org (n.d.); Small Arms Survey (2011).
- 14 According to Antonio Rangel Bandeira of Viva Rio and figures released by the Ministry of Justice in 2010, the reforms have contributed to an 11 per cent decrease in firearms mortality, saving 5,000 lives.
- 15 See Kirsten (2004; 2006).
- 16 See Callahan, Rivara, and Keopsell (1994); Kuhn et al. (2002); Mullin (2001).
- 17 See also Dreyfus et al. (2008); Wille (2005); Lamb (2008).
- 18 For more information on stockpile management programmes, see Regional Approach to Stockpile Reduction (n.d.); SEESAC (n.d.).
- 19 See also Small Arms Survey (2006, p. 315).
- 20 See IPP (2011).
- 21 In 2010 UNDP provided technical assistance to DDR initiatives in 21 countries, including Afghanistan, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Indonesia (Aceh), Kosovo, Liberia, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, the Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, and Uganda.
- 22 See the 'good-practices' magazines produced by Comunidad Segura (n.d.).
- 23 A 2004 Médecins Sans Frontières survey in Burundi states that three out of four patients need to go into debt or sell belongings to pay medical bills, while 17.4 per cent of people requiring treatment had no access to health care, primarily due to financial considerations (Small Arms Survey, 2007, p. 215).
- 24 Canadian statistics, for example, indicate that, between 1998 and 2007, women were three to five times more likely than men to be killed by their intimate partners. Approximately 30 per cent of the solved homicides against women involved stabbing and 28 per cent involved shooting (Ogrodnik, 2009). Another study from the Dominican Republic found that 70 per cent of female homicides in 2000 were intimate-partner homicides and, of these, 50 per cent were perpetrated using bladed weapons and 39 per cent using firearms (Pola, 2008, p. 53).
- 25 For example, in a recent study of sexual assault in South Korea, 30 per cent of the attacks examined involved weapons (Soo et al., 2009). A Canadian study found that weapons were used in 24 per cent of sexual assaults against women committed by strangers and 13 per cent of assaults committed by perpetrators known to the female victims (Stermac, du Mont, and Kalemba, 1995, p. 1092).
- 26 See also Braga et al. (2001); Corsaro and McGarrell (2009).
- 27 See World Bank (2000). This includes results of ADR evaluations conducted in developing countries and in the United States by the Conflict Management Group, Stanford law professor Deborah Hensler, and District of Columbia superior court judge Nan Shuker.

- 28 See also Levy et al. (2009).
- 29 See the reports of the best-practice seminars published by the Geneva Declaration Secretariat (n.d.) and the 'good-practices' magazines produced by Comunidad Segura (n.d.).
- 30 See the forthcoming report of the promising-practices regional seminar held in Nigeria at Geneva Declaration Secretariat (n.d.).
- 31 See the forthcoming report of the promising-practices regional seminar held in Nigeria at Geneva Declaration Secretariat (n.d.).
- 32 See SADC (2001); ECOWAS (1992).
- 33 This section draws on research conducted by Peggy Ochandarena and Lyndsay McLean Hilker and published in OECD (2011b).
- 34 See WHO (2002); Hilker and Fraser (2009).
- 35 See Schweinhart et al. (2005); World Bank (2008).
- 36 See also CIDA (2007); Whitson and Adelski (1999).
- 37 See also UNICEF (2009a; 2009b).
- 38 See Mayors for Peace 2020 Vision Campaign (2011).
- 39 See UN-HABITAT (2005).





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