Chapter 2

Mapping Armed violence reduction and prevention programming trends

This chapter considers the general characteristics of armed violence reduction and prevention (AVRP) activites in Brazil, Burundi, Colombia, Liberia, South Africa and Timor-Leste. It detects a surge in policies and programmes over the past five years and some innovative shifts in programming theory and practice. It features a comparative analysis of direct, indirect and broader AVRP activities in each setting, the types of armed violence specific interventions aim to redress, their gender dimensions, their timelines, approaches to monitoring and evaluation, and budgets.

Between March and November 2010, Six case studies were generated between March and November 2010 based on an intensive online survey and key informant interviews. The surveys were adminsitered in multiple languages (English, French, Portuguese and Spanish). A total of 570 armed violence reduction and prevention (AVRP) interventions were short-listed, including 179 initiatives in Brazil, 45 from Burundi, 219 in Colombia, 44 in Liberia, 58 in South Africa, and 25 from Timor-Leste.

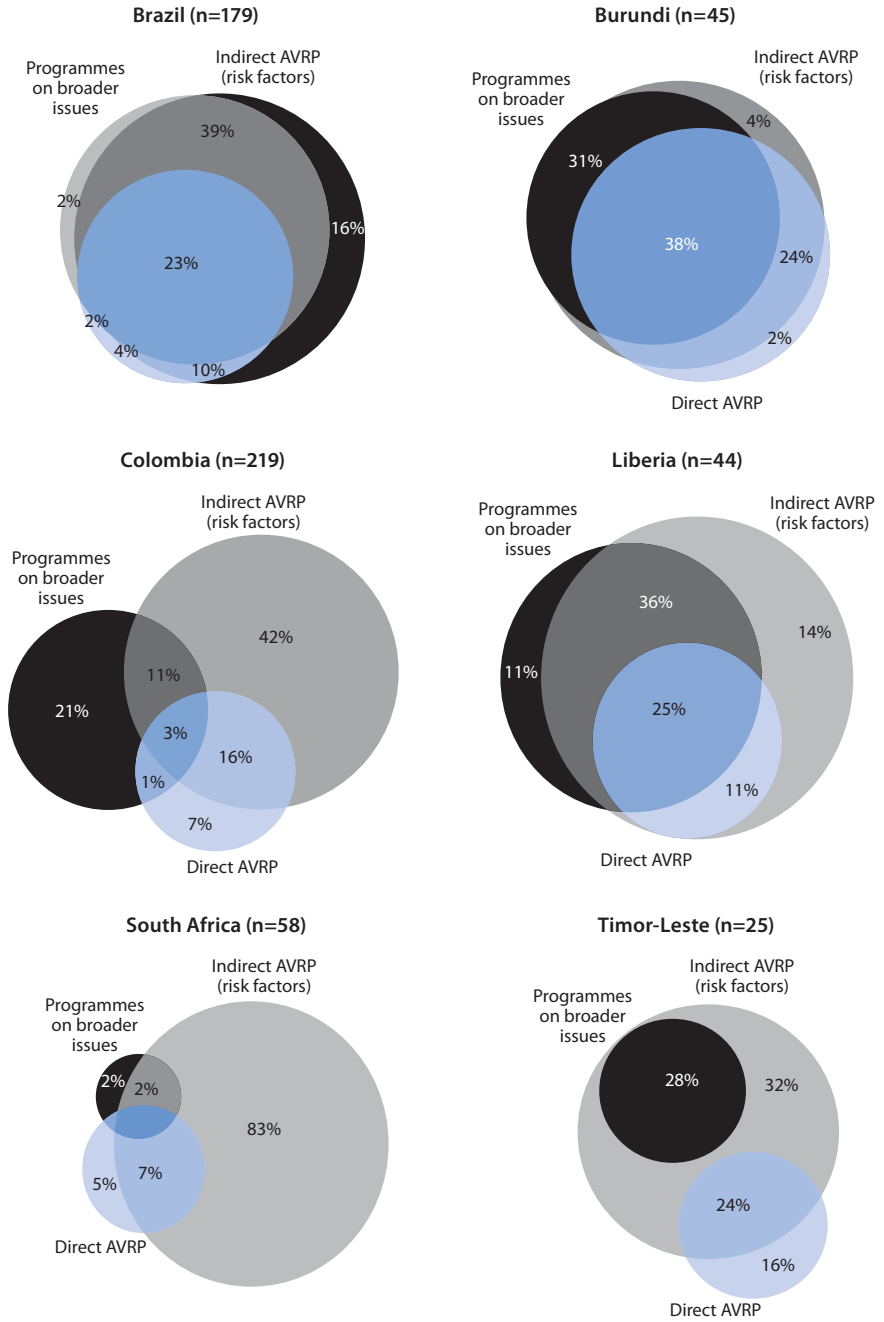
The report revealed that there are more programmes targeting risks that give rise to armed violence ("indirect") than those tackling firearms, armed perpetrators or enabling institutions ("direct"). Figure 2.1 presents the relative distribution of programming types between 1990 and 2010. It shows how many implementing agencies are adopting integrated approaches – combining "direct" and "indirect" activities. Indeed, OECD members and partners would do well to acknowledge (and further support) the prominence of comprehensive approaches that sequence direct AVRP interventions with medium- and longer-term indirect components.

AVRP initiatives have been ongoing in Brazil, Burundi, Colombia, and South Africa since the early 1990s. Programmes were introduced to address the escalating rates of violence and widespread insecurity, especially in the rapidly urbanising cities of Bujumbura, Bogota, Cali, Medellin, Rio de Janeiro, São Paolo, Cape Town and Johannesburg. Many of these interventions combined enforcement with conflict prevention, peacebuilding, crime reduction, and citizen security priorities.

A significant increase in AVRP programming was detected in all six case studies since the mid-2000s, with roughly two-thirds occurring between 2006 and 2010 (Figure 2.2). More than three quarters of all AVRP activities in Brazil occurred during the past five years. Likewise, in Burundi, Colombia, Liberia, and Timor-Leste, almost all registered programmes were initiated after 2005. This recent surge in AVRP activity could have various explanations. For example, in Brazil, the national public and citizen security initiative (PRONASCI) and the upcoming World Cup (2014) and the Olympics (2016), could have influenced the increase.

The scope and scale of AVRP programming appears to be changing over time. In Brazil, for example, the first AVRP activities were initiated at the time of a military dictatorship and focused on ensuring national security through enforcement and repression (the national slogan since the 1960s has been "order and progress"). However, over the past few decades the domestic agenda has shifted from national to municipal public safety. By 2000, public security had become a central component of presidential campaigns and by the end of the decade, public safety policies emphasised participatory approaches and citizen or civic safety.

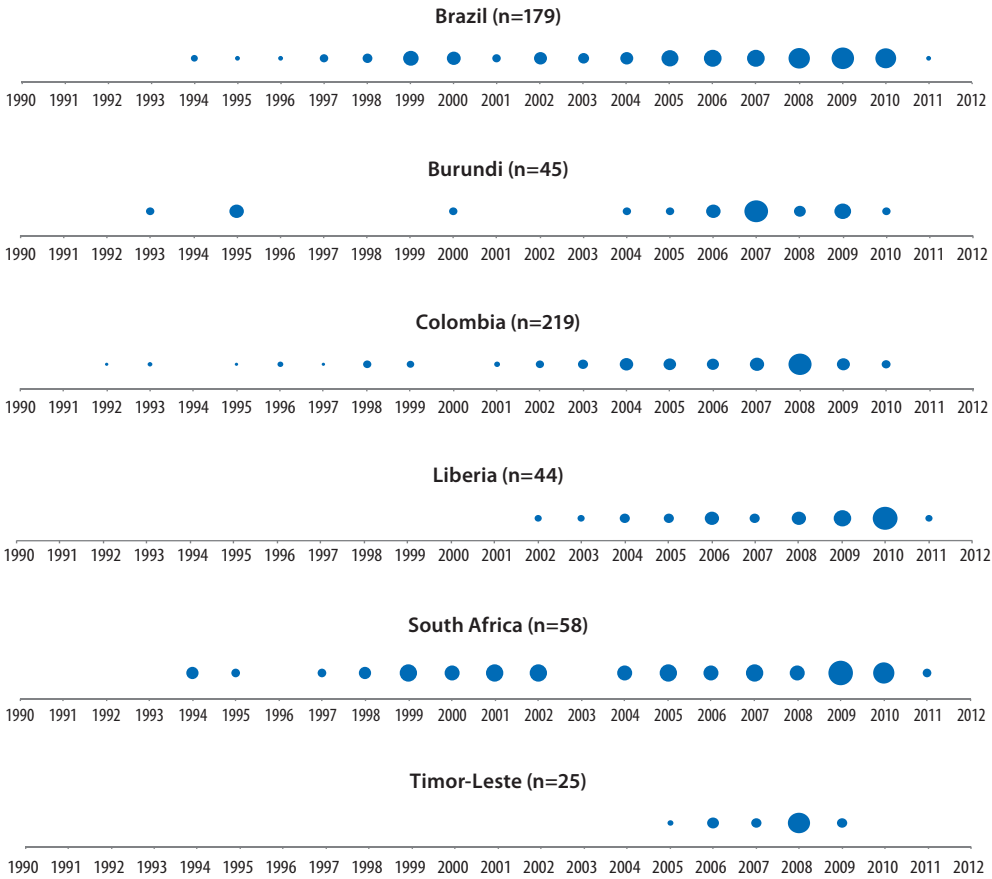
Figure 2.1. **"Direct" and "indirect" programming in six case studies, 1990-2010**



In Colombia, pre-1990s programmes were heavily influenced by national security considerations, particularly in light of the ongoing war against guerrillas and paramilitaries. By the mid-1990s, interventions were influenced by the government-led decentralisation process as well as increases in armed violence across most of Colombia's major cities. Since 2003, however, activity has increased tremendously, partly resulting from the disarmament and demobilisation of paramilitaries and growing civil society engagement. This is mirrored somewhat in Liberia and Timor-Leste where a post-conflict disarmament and demobilisation focus has expanded to a wider consideration of security sector institutions.

The case studies revealed the relationship between donor investment and geographic location. AVRP interventions in Latin America (Brazil and Colombia) tend to feature more public sector involvement, particularly at the

Figure 2.2. **Evolution of programming in selected cases, 1990-2012**



municipal level with metropolitan authorities (including mayors and associated state-level policing authorities). Thus, bilateral donors and international development agencies appear to be comparatively smaller players in the region.[1] In Africa, however (Burundi, Liberia and South Africa), the key actors remain international and local non-governmental agencies.

In sub-Saharan Africa, many AVRP programmes are typically financed and administered by bilateral donors, international agencies, non-governmental and community-based agencies, or private organisations, with less engagement by national and municipal public sector counterparts. This partially reflects the role of the state in promoting public security and the relative capacities of governmental institutions.

The case studies noted several overlapping trends regarding the direction and objectives of AVRP programming. For example, the most common categories of armed violence addressed by all 570 interventions are youth, domestic, interpersonal, urban and sexual violence (Table 2.1). Armed violence occurring within or between communities or in the household is given high priority, whereas violence generated by security forces, insurgent groups or organised crime receives less attention.

Table 2.1. **Most common types of armed violence addressed across all cases**

Number of responses

Type of armed violence	Brazil	Burundi	Colombia	Liberia	South Africa	Timor-Leste	Total responses
Youth violence	113	29	58	27	38	14	279
Domestic violence	92	28	46	29	43	5	243
Interpersonal violence	72	34	48	23	42	13	232
Urban violence	99	11	77	6	27	2	222
Sexual violence	81	30	13	32	45	5	206
Gang violence	51	12	37	10	34	11	155
School violence	76	2	18	11	34	2	143
Physical and sexual violence against children and adolescents	77	8	8	1	43	4	141
Intra-state armed conflict	1	22	106	6	0	5	140
Violent organised crime	45	11	27	6	24	1	114

In all case studies, the AVRP programmes ran for three years, with a few extending beyond that (Figure 2.3). Annual budgets for AVRP programmes appear to fall into two general categories. In Brazil and Colombia, for example, budgets are between USD 100 000-500 000 per year. However, Burundi, Liberia, and South Africa have a significant number of large-scale AVRP programmes (more than USD 1 million) but also smaller scale programmes (less than USD 100 000) (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.3. **Time horizons of AVRP programming**

Number of responses

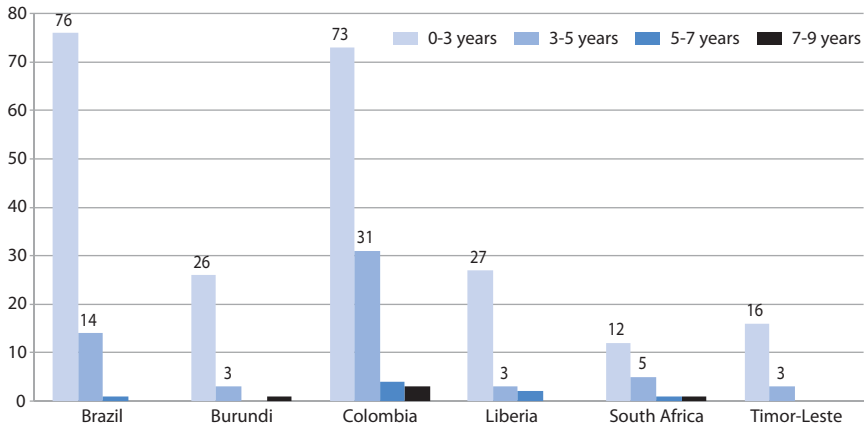
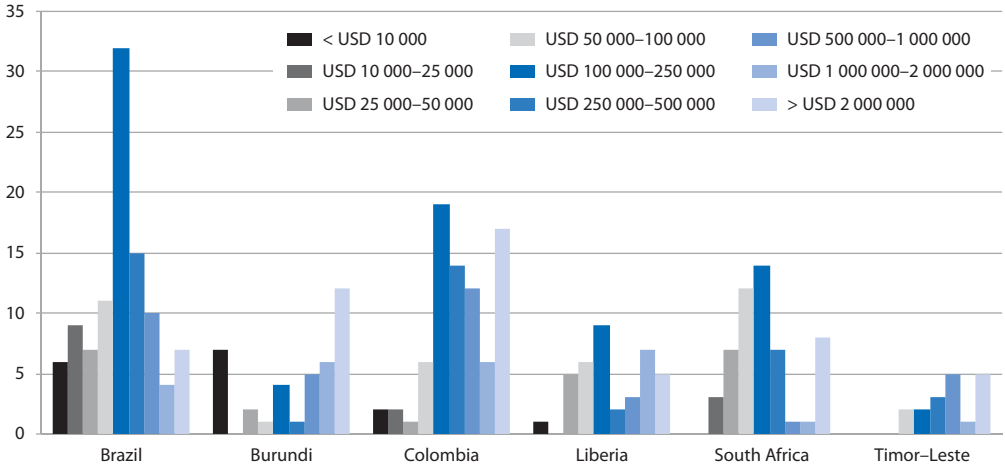


Figure 2.4. **Budget ranges of AVRP programming**

Number of responses



The studies also revealed that direct AVRP interventions targeted a combination of instruments, perpetrators or associated institutions, though no clear trend emerged (Table 2.2).[2] For example, the most common efforts targeting instruments are firearms collection/destruction and weapons seizures, whilst the most common activities targeting perpetrators are those involving informal mediation and education, which focus on "at-risk" youth.[3] Meanwhile,

Table 2.2. **Direct AVRP interventions**

Number of responses

	Brazil	Burundi	Colombia	Liberia	South Africa	Timor-Leste	Total response
Interventions targeting instruments							
Weapons collection and destruction	18	13	9	1	3	3	47
Weapons seizure	12	11	0	0	3	0	26
Weapons amnesties and buyback programmes	7	7	3	1	3	0	21
Voluntary gun-free zones	4	0	6	3	2	0	15
Securing armouries	0	6	0	0	0	0	6
Armourer training	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Law enforcement	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Interventions targeting perpetrators							
Informal mediation	10	13	17	11	4	1	56
Education	0	13	0	6	2	0	21
Checkpoints	6	0	5	1	0	2	14
Neighbourhood watch	0	0	5	2	1	4	12
Private security actors	3	0	3	0	0	1	7
Local militias or home guards units	5	0	0	0	0	1	6
Peer pressure	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Prosecution of perpetrators	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Formal mediation	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Interventions targeting institutions							
Improved local/urban/national governance	24	16	24	7	1	5	77
Better law enforcement	27	12	10	8	5	5	67
Justice and security sector reform (JSSR)	31	10	0	5	5	3	54
Community policing	28	4	7	2	3	2	46
Local or traditional courts and dispute resolution mechanisms	5	8	10	6	3	1	33
Public administration reform	10	1	1	0	2	3	17
Education interventions	0	3	0	1	1	0	5
More professional military and police	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Community structures	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Crime prevention information	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

strategies designed to promote the rule of law and access to justice were commonly used with institutions.

"Direct" programming tended to be sensitive to gender-related issues (Figure 2.5), with the bulk of interventions showing no discrimination between the sexes. This is interesting in South Africa and Liberia, where one would expect a series of initiatives focusing on male perpetrators and female victims,

Figure 2.5. **Gender dimensions of all AVRP programmes**

Percentage of responses

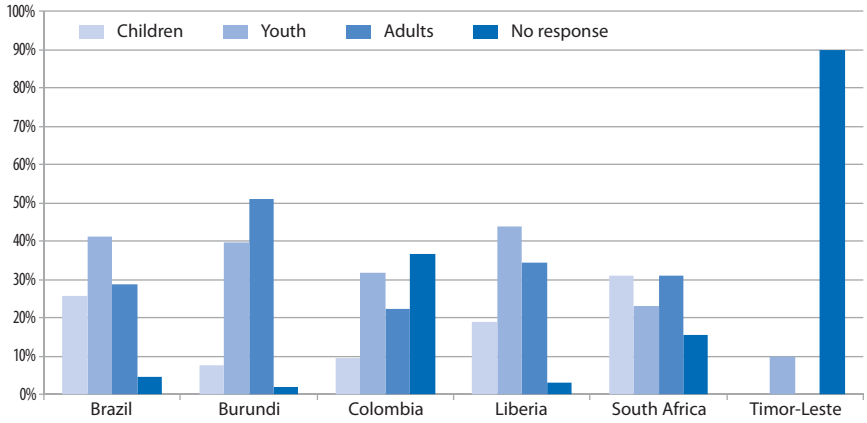


Table 2.3. **Most frequently cited risk factors**

Number of responses

Type of proximate risk factor	Brazil	Burundi	Colombia	Liberia	South Africa	Timor-Leste	Total responses
Legacies of violence	101	40	96	18	27	13	295
Marginalised youth	108	19	47	25	35	11	245
Gender-based discrimination	74	22	0	28	35	5	164
Rising inequality	91	14	0	14	17	6	142
Presence of armed groups	45	5	62	5	11	2	130
Availability of weapons	40	12	17	6	14	1	90
Economic crises	36	6	0	17	10	8	77
Trauma	16	15	0	21	23	0	75
Family problems	0	0	26	0	6	0	32
Cross-border trafficking	19	0	0	11	1	0	31
Exposure to recent violent events	0	0	24	0	3	0	27
Forced recruitment	0	0	15	0	0	0	15

given the rates of sexual violence.[4] Meanwhile, in Brazil, many "direct" AVRP interventions focusing on males also register substantial female participation, suggesting a broadening of selection criteria.

Table 2.4. **"Indirect" AVRP programmes**

Number of responses

	Brazil	Burundi	Colombia	Liberia	South Africa	Timor-Leste	Total response
Informal/formal voluntary strategies							
Youth programming activities	108	13	64	16	26	6	233
Media and civil awareness campaigns	90	31	36	28	20	2	207
Skills development programmes	85	13	35	14	34	3	184
Education interventions	7	12	101	19	35	6	180
Community empowerment interventions	13	13	46	22	17	1	112
After-school activities	74	0	9	4	19	4	110
Home visits, care groups and social service delivery	78	2	13	9	5	0	107
Targeted employment schemes	65	7	14	7	7	3	103
Interventions designed to address income inequality and social marginalisation	61	12	11	7	6	1	98
Treatment and rehabilitation of individuals	19	11	35	10	19	1	95
Job creation and employment programmes	43	5	20	10	13	3	94
Group therapy and treatment	28	4	24	6	20	0	82
Public or private health interventions	39	4	7	7	11	1	69
Incentive-based DDR	31	9	23	3	0	2	68
Environmental or urban design	36	1	0	3	6	1	47
Urban/slum upgrading and renewal	30	1	4	1	5	0	41
Research	0	2	21	0	1	0	24
Informal/formal enforced interventions							
Better security monitoring	59	11	15	7	5	4	101
Justice and penal reform	5	11	3	7	10	6	42
Reducing the availability and consumption of alcohol	15	0	7	4	12	0	38
Community prohibitions and ordinances	3	2	2	4	2	1	14
Mine action	2	2	7	1	0	0	12
Strengthening formal institutions	0	8	0	0	2	0	10

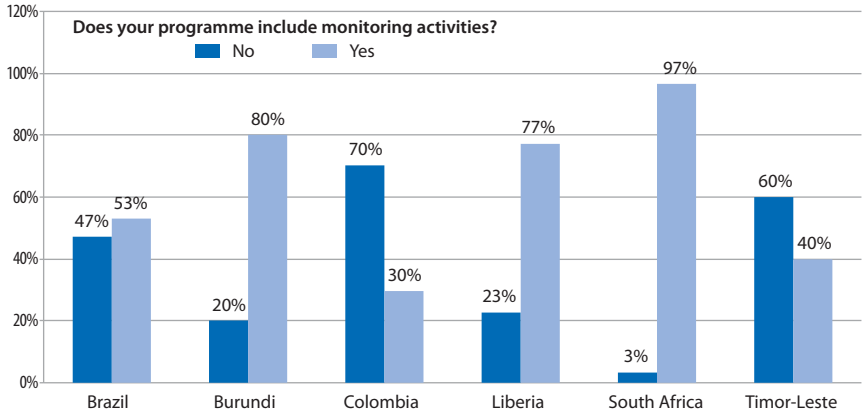
In comparison, "indirect" AVRP programmes tended to be extremely diverse (Table 2.3). While all six countries focus on a wide range of proximate and structural risk factors, they additionally concentrate on legacies of armed violence, marginalised youth, gender-based discrimination, and rising inequality. Several important risk factors, such as family challenges, exposure to recent violent events, unemployment, and lack of education, are less well represented, however, this may be at least partly attributable to the design and translation of the survey.[5] Future surveys could also focus on risk factors at the individual, relational, communal, and societal levels.

The vast majority of "indirect" AVRP programmes under review also showed a tendency towards voluntary (rather than enforcement-based) approaches.[6] Table 2.4 illustrates a series of different types of interventions led by "at-risk" youth programming, media and civil awareness campaigns, skills and livelihood development programmes, and educational interventions. Strategies that drew on enforcement tactics emphasised enhanced crime and "hot spot" monitoring and reforms to the justice and penal sectors, including increasing penalties and incarceration periods.

The review also established that AVRP monitoring and evaluation is not consistent (Figure 2.6). This may be because many interventions are short-term while outcomes and impacts are long-term, making a systematic assessment within existing project-cycles difficult. Additionally, to determine programme effectiveness, routine monitoring requires good surveillance, analysis capacities and evidence, which may not be available in every intervention. Even in countries with robust public-surveillance capacities, such as Brazil and Colombia, 47% and 70% of respective responses indicated that AVRP activities claimed not to have had monitoring and evaluation capacities.

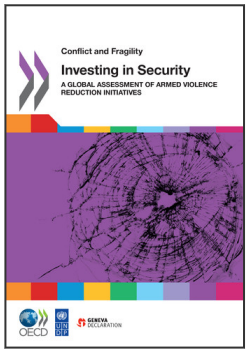
Figure 2.6. **AVRP monitoring and evaluation**

Percentage of responses



Notes

1. This stands in contrast to the "global review" earlier in the paper that highlighted the relatively significant role of the IADB and World Bank in financing AVRP activities across Latin America. These findings may reveal an underlying bias in reporting – most international financing is nevertheless channelled to public institutions (and not NGOs) suggesting that there may in fact have been a lagged effect of their investment.
2. This is in part due to a high non-response rate for this question.
3. A review of all programming contexts suggests that "direct" AVRP programmes principally target children and youth. It was not possible to identify clear trends in relation to how "direct" programmes addressed specific categories of "armed groups" because the perceptions of armed violence "types" and related "perpetrators" varied widely between the six cases.
4. It is possible that different trends may emerge if the caseload of respondents is expanded in future rounds of this mapping.
5. The options on the questionnaire were a choice of known risk factors, as well as an "other" option for additional categories. The risk factors included departed from the notion that, from the perspective of a state, there are external and internal risk factors. External risk factors include, *inter alia*, economic and environmental crises, cross-border trafficking, external interference; internal risk factors include rising economic inequality, marginalised youth, gender based discrimination, legacies of violence, presence of armed groups, availability of weapons, and trauma. (OECD DAC/INCAF, 2010b).
6. As with the review of direct AVRP programming approaches, responses to indirect AVRP efforts also yielded a high no-response rate.



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