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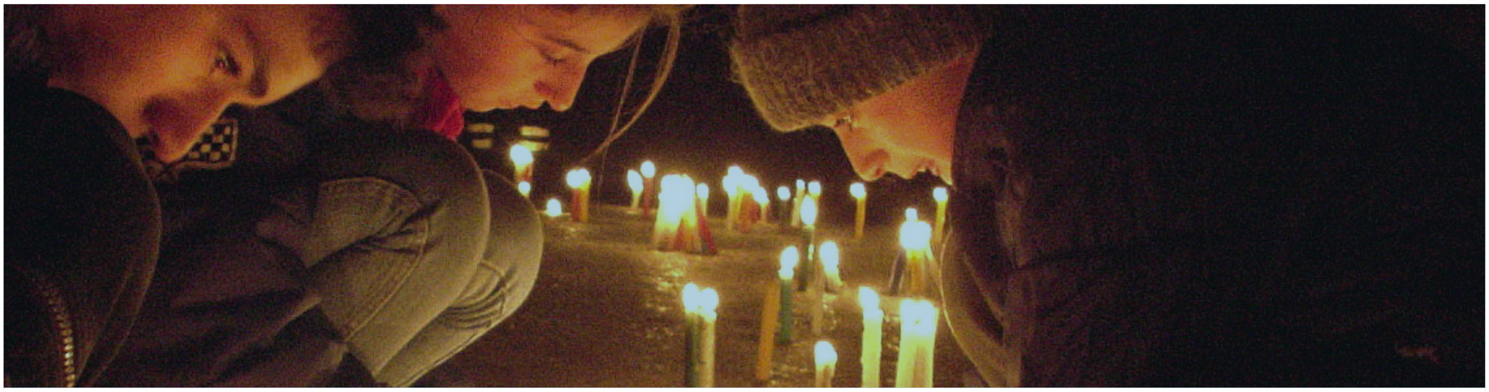
A Review of the Evidence and a Global Strategy for Violence Prevention



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PATHFINDERS FOR PEACEFUL, JUST AND INCLUSIVE SOCIETIES

Acronyms

AIPR	Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation
CBT	Cognitive Behavioral Therapy
CPTED	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
C&V	Crime and Violence
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GReVD	Global Registry of Violent Deaths
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IP	Interpersonal Violence
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
KVC	Know Violence in Childhood
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NET	Narrative Exposure Therapy
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
PVE	Preventing Violent Extremism
RCT	Randomized Control Trial
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SV	Sexual Violence
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
VAC	Violence Against Children
VAW	Violence Against Women
VAWG	Violence against Women and Girls
VE	Violent Extremism
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization

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Executive Summary

Violence affects one in every six people globally, with immense economic and social cost to societies.[1] Its impacts reach far further than the thousands of lives lost every year worldwide; violence leaves behind a trail of trauma, broken political and social structures and infrastructure, fueling a continuous cycle that not only hinders development, but threatens social and economic progress already achieved.

The recognition of violence as a major development challenge led the international community to include ambitious targets to achieve "peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence"[2] as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.1, specifically, aims to "significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere".[3] But how can that be done? How can the international community work together to make prevention more effective and achieve such goals?

Addressing violence is a complex task because violence itself is a multifaceted phenomenon driven by several factors. However, there are reasons for optimism. While there is still a lot that we don't know, a growing body of research has evolved showing that violence can be prevented. Policy innovation and an increasing volume of rigorous evaluations have been demonstrating ways to reduce and prevent violence in its various forms. These are no quick fixes or simple solutions. Addressing different forms of violence, from warfare to violence in the domestic space, requires a combination of multidisciplinary actions and continuous multistakeholder engagement and partnerships in order for peace to be sustainable over time.

This research aims to contribute to SDG16 efforts by bringing together data and evidence across five domains: conflict; mass atrocities and human rights abuses; violent extremism (VE); urban violence and organized crime; and interpersonal violence (IP), focused specifically on Violence Against Women (VAW) and Violence Against Children (VAC).[4] Based on a vast review of the literature and on interviews with several experts from the different fields,[5] the analysis identifies convergences and divergences across them that could help inform integrated prevention implementation in order to scale up impact, and packages knowledge together with complementary research on effective global strategies that could inspire a movement focused on violence prevention.

This report draws heavily on two recent global reviews produced through cross-disciplinary collaborations of experts. The 2018 *Pathways for Peace* report – a joint effort of the United Nations and World Bank convening dozens of donor agencies, think tanks and academic institutions – informed the chapters on conflict, mass atrocities, and violent extremism.[6] The sections on interpersonal violence and urban violence have been informed by the World Health Organization's INSPIRE initiative, convening 10 agencies with decades of experience in violence prevention, and producing a technical package and guidebook aligned along seven key strategies for preventing VAC.[7]

State of the Problem

The study shows alarming trends in some regions and of specific types of violence in recent decades, undermining democracies and threatening the global order.[8] It also demonstrates similar movements and convergences between the different forms of violence in specific areas.

Violent conflict, one of the most brutal and devastating forms of violence, has become more complex and protracted. During the last ten years, armed conflicts took on average almost 82,000 lives per year, 87 percent more than in the preceding decade. Although this number has been declining since 2014, the absolute number of conflicts has been on the rise, reaching 52 armed conflicts worldwide in 2018. This was the highest level since 1946.[9] Even as conflict deaths have decreased overall, the number of deaths from conflicts involving non-state actors, on the other hand, has increased, with the total of civilian victims jumping 52 percent between 2014-2018. Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, and Nigeria accounted for 85 percent of the world's battle-related deaths in 2018.

Conflict today is also displacing people in numbers not seen since the Second World War. In 2018, the number of newly displaced increased by 13.6 million people, reaching a new record high of 70.8 million people displaced due to conflict, generalized violence, and human rights abuses, an increase of 57 percent since 2012. This was mainly fueled by the Syrian conflict but also by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), South Sudan, Yemen, and Nigeria, among others.

Armed conflicts often coincide with mass atrocities and human rights abuses, although the latter often occur in the absence of armed conflicts, and not all conflicts lead to mass atrocities.[10] A global study of all conflicts between 1900 and 2006 found that two-thirds of mass atrocities happened within ongoing violent conflicts.[11] The 2010s saw several examples of mass atrocities occurring, such as in Libya, Côte d'Ivoire, South Sudan, and Kenya. In Syria, beyond the number of casualties, all types of human rights violations have been recorded over the past decade, including at least 85 chemical weapons attacks, torture, arbitrary executions, sexual violence, and rape.[12]

State forces often remain the most powerful and deadly conflict actors. Given the repressive measures taken by governments as a response to protests in several countries in 2019 in Latin America and the Middle East, which resulted in the death of hundreds of civilians in some episodes, that year will likely register new cases of mass atrocities and human rights abuses.[13] State violence is also a concern in some non-conflict contexts, where police brutality, extrajudicial killings, and disappearances are often justified as a response to urban violence and organized crime.

Most violence related to Violent Extremist (VE) groups also happens within conflict settings. In 2018, 95 percent of all deaths related to terrorism happened in countries with at least one ongoing violent conflict; the ten countries most affected by terrorist attacks in 2018 all have an ongoing armed conflict. While the number of attacks and associated deaths have declined steadily since its peak in 2014 – from 45,000 people to 22,980 deaths in 2018 – extremist activity is spreading to a growing number of countries and becoming more embedded within some of the world's most protracted conflicts. ISIL continues to be the deadliest VE group, despite significant decline in power and territory. With the loss of its major stronghold in Syria in 2018, ISIL has dispersed activities elsewhere. In addition, its influence continues to spread globally; groups affiliated with ISIL carried out attacks in 34 countries in 2018, out of a total of 56 countries that have ever experienced an attack by an ISIL affiliate group.[14]

While conflict, mass atrocities, and violent extremism often make headlines, 80 percent of lethal violence takes place outside of conflict zones, with much of that occurring in urban contexts.[15] In 2017, 464,000 intentional homicides took place around the world,[16] a rate of 6.1 per 100,000 inhabitants. The Americas and Africa were the most violent regions in 2017, both in terms of number of casualties (37 percent and 35 percent of the global total, respectively) as well as by homicide rates per 100,000 (17.2 and 13, respectively).

Urban violence is also highly clustered, affecting specific places and populations disproportionately. Eighteen out of the 20 most violent countries in the world exhibit urban violence as the primary expression of violence, and these are all located in Latin America and the Caribbean. With homicide rates of 25.9 and 24.2 per 100,000 people in 2017, Central American and South American homicide rates are 300 percent above the world average. At a city level, violence also concentrates in specific neighborhoods and even street segments. Young males comprise the vast majority of victims and perpetrators of homicides globally.

Women and children are some of the most vulnerable populations to different forms of violence, from conflict to urban and interpersonal violence. Taking into consideration the gaps in data collection, levels of interpersonal violence seem to be widespread throughout the world, with significant numbers of women (35 percent globally) experiencing physical, sexual, and psychological abuse regardless of the region or country's socioeconomic or fragility condition, and children (three out of four globally) experiencing child abuse and maltreatment. Although there is no quality quantitative data demonstrating a causality between areas with higher levels of conflict, for example, and violence against women, there is significant qualitative and country level data suggesting a correlation between the two. Interpersonal and urban violence also often occur together and involve many of the same actors. Women are more likely than men to be assaulted or killed by someone they know, and to be sexually assaulted or exploited. Most of the murders of women and girls are perpetrated by an intimate partner (or ex-partner) or family member. Of a total of 87,000 women and girls killed in 2017, 58 percent were victims of a partner or former partner or another family member.

What Works to Prevent Different Forms of Violence

Despite the size and complexity of the challenge discussed above, decades of research and innovation have led to indications of what works and what doesn't work to prevent those different forms of violence. The evidence base is varied and uneven across the different types of violence. This is necessarily so, since the scale and complexity of violence influences the extent to which interventions can be rigorously evaluated. A VAW intervention can be designed and tracked with a control group. In contrast, efforts to build state capacity for conflict resolution, or create alternatives for youth at risk of joining gangs or extremist groups, do not easily lend themselves to evaluations with experimental design, and success is harder to define and track. Rigorous evaluations can also be expensive, which makes them more challenging to apply at very large scales. This makes it difficult to compare interventions for different kinds of violence in a meaningful way, or to say whether the evidence base is necessarily stronger for one field of prevention over another. In addition, different communities of practice built around specific forms of violence tend to operate in silos. This can hinder comparability of interventions and miss the ways different forms of violence overlap and interact.

The analysis of the existing evidence reveals important convergences on the drivers of different forms of violence, and some common principles and elements that are key to successful prevention.

The common elements and principles identified are:

1. **Address drivers throughout the life cycle**

   Early exposure to violence has been associated with long-term trauma, impacts on brain development, and the development of learned behaviors that use violence to enforce power relations or handle conflict. During adolescence and early adulthood – when perpetration and victimization of violent behaviors peaks – in the case of boys and men, interventions to prevent violence in the community are needed. Therefore, preventing violence requires actions throughout the life cycle.

2. **Build and consolidate state capacity and legitimacy**

   Investments in strengthening state legitimacy and improving the social contract can build resilience against all forms of violence. In particular, it is important to address perceptions of exclusion and marginalization through more equitable service delivery, especially in key sectors such as security, justice, health, and education. This leaves less space for grievances to emerge and fester and creates room for more people-centered conflict resolution mechanisms that avoid violence. Increasing accountability of the state, by promoting inclusive and participatory approaches to government and building trust and legitimacy can also go a long way toward prevention.

3. Support community cohesion and resilience

Bottom-up, people-centered approaches work closely with community stakeholders to design, implement, and monitor programs based on local understandings of violence and its drivers, thereby earning their confidence and ownership and supporting existing resilience factors. While the global evidence base offers insights and lessons from different contexts that can inform interventions, these need to be designed in partnership with the target communities to ensure effectiveness and sustainability.

4. Invest in changing norms and behaviors

Social norms that promote the use of violence as a means of exerting power, enforcing discipline or resolving conflict underlie all forms of violence. Some of the most successful prevention programs for all types of violence – from VAW and VAC to the prevention of VE – include components to change norms by promoting inclusion, participation, and dialogue.

5. Engage multiple stakeholders at all levels in multisector, multiagency, integrated responses

Given the complexity of violence, and its multifactorial origins, addressing it requires engaging stakeholders at all levels and getting buy-in from actors across society, from community and religious leaders to non-profits, to government officials at various levels and sectors (from security to education), to the private sector. The international community also often plays a role.

6. Combining quick wins with longer term change

Finally, the implementation of successful and sustainable prevention efforts to build resilience, social cohesion, and structural changes that will address the root causes of all forms of violence need to be aligned with more short-term stabilization efforts and quick security wins on all fronts. This is seen very clearly in all dimensions; perhaps less clearly in interpersonal violence, although in this area, improving service delivery to survivors is also a needed, quicker response.

Table 1 below summarizes some of the common principles discussed in the report, showing how some of them are incorporated in the prevention of most of the dimensions of violence analyzed.

Table 1. Converging Principles to Prevent Different Forms of Violence

Principles for Effective Prevention	Dimension of violence				
	Conflict	Mass Atrocities and Human Rights Abuses	Violent Extremism	Urban Violence and Organized Crime	Interpersonal Violence
Build state capacity, institutional strengthening and promote state-society trust	X	X	X	X	X
Promote inclusive and participatory approaches to government	X	X	X	X	X
Strengthen community social cohesion and resilience	X	X	X	X	X
Promote peaceful, inclusive, and gender balanced shared norms	X	X	X	X	X
Promote mediation and negotiation	X		X	X	
Implement targeted interventions at risk places, people, and behaviors	X		X	X	X
Build multisectoral partnerships and coalitions	X	X	X	X	X

Specific Elements that Need to be Taken into Account

At the same time, this research also shows that addressing different forms of violence, especially at the programmatic level, requires strategies and technical capacity that are linked to specific fields. The design of appropriate interventions is heavily influenced by factors specific to different types of violence, such as the scale of people involved (individuals to large groups); the impacts they generate; the role played by state institutions in perpetrating and/or responding to violence and its impacts; the length and complexity; and the existence of facilitating factors, such as weapons and a history of violence/conflict.

Preventing all forms of violence is not as simple as addressing common risk factors. To begin with, some forms of violence are driven more by factors that may not be relevant for other forms. As one example, the availability of alcohol and drugs can be a proximate driver for IPV and VAC, as well as gang violence, but is largely irrelevant for larger-scale collective violence like armed conflict, VE, or mass atrocities.

There is also a divergence based on the scale and complexity of different forms of violence. Long-standing armed conflicts involving multiple actors are infinitely more complex, as is organized crime, compared to local youth gang conflict or domestic violence. This implies that solutions to prevent larger-scale forms of violence must also be more multidimensional, involving a greater range of actors, more resources, and potentially longer time frames.

Scale and complexity also relate to the target population affected by a specific form of violence. For instance, addressing VAC means dealing with an extremely vulnerable population without political representation or means of action. Likewise, addressing VAW, and specifically sexual violence, requires a set of technical tools and capacity to deal with survivors and avoid recurrence.

Finally, different sociopolitical and cultural contexts may also have an influence on how violence is perceived and understood. They will also affect the levels of preparedness and perceived need to address some of these issues in certain contexts (e.g. discussing corporal punishment in contexts where there are massive levels of youth homicide may not be seen as a priority to some governments).

Challenges and Opportunities to Take Prevention to Scale

Taking into consideration both convergences as well as the specific elements for the effective prevention of different forms of violence, the research also identifies specific challenges to scaling such efforts. These include:

- **Resources for effectiveness.** Evidence abounds that prevention works and can be more cost effective than dealing with violence once it has taken root. However, the bulk of resources still tend to go toward repressive measures to control and suppress violence and dealing with the consequences of violence. Most governments tend to spend more on security and law enforcement than in the sectors critical to early prevention.
- **Political timing and sustainability.** Many interventions to prevent violence will bear fruit only over longer time periods, certainly beyond most political cycles. For this reason, it is often difficult to mobilize the necessary political will to move beyond responding to ongoing violence or targeting at-risk populations through repressive measures, to address the structural drivers.
- **Gaps in the understanding of how to scale up pilot programs.** Much of the evidence base is drawn from evaluations of small-scale, pilot programs that lend themselves more easily to rigorous evaluation methods. In addition, few evaluations include a cost-benefit analysis. These realities make it difficult to assess how to scale up successful pilot programs.
- **Inter-agency cooperation.** As a complex multifactor problem that requires action by multiple stakeholders and across sectors, violence prevention faces the challenge of ensuring inter-agency cooperation at the international (between different communities), national (different levels of governments and sectors), and sub-national levels (different sectors, civil society, communities).
- **Need for more data and evidence and better ways to communicate them.** There is still a need to better understand the connections between the different forms of violence (e.g. conflict, VE, and urban or interpersonal violence), and how they may reinforce one another. And despite all the existing evidence, there is also still a need for more data driven and evidence-based violence prevention strategies, especially those related to strengthening protective factors against conflict, VE, and mass atrocities. There is also a need for better ways to communicate them and improve their translation to policymakers and the general public.
- **Analytical framework.** The use of different analytical frameworks, language, and terminology by different communities of practice (e.g. public health, criminology, peace building, etc.) may be necessary, though sometimes it makes it harder to connect them.

With all those caveats in mind, many experts agree that integrating donor approaches may contribute to take efforts to scale and accelerate development impact, and the SDGs offer an opportunity and platform for a variety of actors to work together on that front. Communities of practice that work in different violence domains tend to work in isolation. Given the interconnections between different forms of violence, bridging the silos could not only help to further generate evidence on what works, but also contribute to promote the use of effective policies, making the violence prevention agenda one led more by evidence-based strategies and less by fear and ideological approaches that have proven ineffective and even harmful in the past.

While the segregation of the work may be justified by the specificities that are needed at the programmatic level to address them, several experts see these silos as something mostly driven by the way funding is structured. In most cases, the convergence in principles and approaches at a broader policy level, which also comes from the commonalities found among the drivers of violence, justify the promotion of more dialogue and integrated action.

There seems to be somewhat of a consensus among a large part of the international community about the need to start talking about violence in an integrated manner, to move the conversation towards “global violence”. Even if at the program level, operationally, divisions occur and are needed in specific interventions, the conversation needs to be an integrated and cohesive one.

SDG16 seems to offer a good platform for the creation of a global movement that may be able to capture the attention and support of different stakeholders – citizens, governments, civil society organizations, and donors.

Recommendations for a Global Strategy to Prevent Violence and Accelerate Development Impact

The report concludes with lessons and recommendations for the development of a global strategy focused on violence prevention. Based on a review of selected global strategies that have been created to address different development challenges (One Campaign, Instinct for Life, Me Too, No More, Ni Una a Menos, Change Starts Here, and Black Lives Matter), the research found that mobilization has changed considerably, and that new tools and strategies have scaled the potential of global movements around specific ideas having significant impacts in setting policy priorities, action, and changes in behavior.

The comparative analysis of the cases combined with recommendations provided by the experts interviewed for this report led to the following key takeaways:

1. **Having broad goals facilitates dialogue with strategic partners**

   Broader and global goals, such as those established by the SDGs, can be useful frameworks to direct priorities, metrics, and targeted outcomes. In addition, SDGs are largely accepted and shared globally. For this reason, linking them to specific campaigns helps in the dialogue and engagement of strategic partners such as governments, policymakers, and funders.

2. **But to be global, you need to go local**

   At the same time, broad goals can also be distant and abstract for a regular citizen or even policymaker. Therefore, tailoring the problem to local contexts is key.

3. **Framing a powerful and simple message and defining the problem clearly**

   The strategies analyzed, especially in their awareness raising campaigns, had in common one single, simple message, consolidating even in the campaign name itself a powerful statement that could be catchy and useful for social media dissemination. This implies having the problem to be addressed and its definition clearly defined and stated.

4. **Relying on the most recent and reliable data and research and disseminating what works**

   It is the research and data that will provide the details needed to build the best strategic approach for any global movement. They may also offer several alternatives for interventions (in terms of public policies, for example), so having a good understanding of them, also to be able to offer adaptable options to different contexts, is crucial. This point relates to the message of “giving people a sense of the possible" and translating that into a set of concrete operational actions that can be taken. In the case of a potential global strategy focused on different forms of violence, this means reinforcing the message that there is significant evidence to demonstrate that violence can be prevented, and that we all have a role to play to make that happen.

5. **Setting a specific objective is needed, but defining a precise target goal is not necessarily the best strategy**

   Choosing a campaign-associated precise goal has advantage and disadvantages. The target helps to promote dialogue with governments and can help to guide public policy. On the other hand, having specific ambitious goals (e.g. reducing 50 percent of Latin American homicides in ten years, as stated by Instinct for Life campaign) can also lead to a social perception of campaign failure or demotivate or demobilize its members.

6. **Beyond raising awareness, strategies need to give partners and people a guideline and option for action**

   To engage people and strategic partners effectively, it is necessary to build an informational "package" that goes from problem awareness to pointing out the necessary action of this specific partner that will contribute to overcoming the problem.

7. **The most effective global strategies will include a combination of strategic actions, such as advocacy and awareness campaigns**

   Different strategies to raise funds, achieve institutional and legal changes, or shift public consciousness need to be implemented in order for any global effort to be effective. The selection and timing of each will also depend on the specific issue to be addressed and the specific actors to be mobilized.

8. **Selecting messengers and champions**

   The use of celebrities and social influencers in campaigns can help to broaden the reach of the message, providing legitimacy and confidence to the campaign and also raising resources for its development. Beyond that, identifying champions in the political sphere – governments, politicians, and legislators – is crucial to be able to scale the message, ensure leadership and vision, and promote more policy actions at the national and local levels.

9. **Challenges for sustaining a global strategy or network**

   The report concludes by highlighting the challenges raised by Shiffman (2017) in his review of several public health networks, which offer relevant insights for any potential global strategy. These challenges are: (i) problem definition, and the degree to which there can be a consensus on how to define the issue to be addressed and solutions to be proposed; (ii) positioning, which relates to how it frames the issue and makes the case for action to the public; (iii) coalition-building, which refers to building alliances beyond its particular sector; and (iv) governance, which is linked to all of the above as it relates to institutions that will have to be built or strengthened to facilitate collective action. While two of these challenges – sustaining a cohesive frame and building a broad coalition – can be often in tension, since the former "demands focus, the latter wide appeal", in Shiffman's view, effective networks find ways to balance them.

Our hope is that the report's findings, combined with the lessons of specific global strategies and recommendations from experts, will provide significant inputs for the design of a collective global effort that can help prevent all forms of violence and accelerate development impact.

1. Introduction

Crime, violence, and insecurity, in its most diverse forms, represent one of the biggest challenges facing sustainable development. Violence affects one in every six people globally, with immense economic and social cost to societies.[17] Its impacts reach far further than the thousands of lives lost every year worldwide; violence leaves behind a trail of trauma, broken political and social structures and infrastructure, fueling a continuous cycle that not only hinders development, but threatens social and economic progress already achieved.

The face of violence has also changed, posing new challenges to governments, researchers, the international community and, most importantly, citizens who are directly impacted by these threats on a daily basis. Violence today is much less linked to wars between states or intra states, and increasingly driven by organized crime, gangs, state brutality, murders by non-state actors, and growing levels of interpersonal violence.[18]

The recognition of violence as a major development challenge led the international community to include ambitious targets to achieve “peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence”[19] as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.1, specifically, aims to “significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere”.[20] But how can that be done? How can the international community work together to make prevention more effective and achieve such goals?

While there is still a lot that we don’t know, and while global data has shown alarming trends in some specific regions and of specific types of violence in recent decades, undermining democracies and threatening the global order,[21] a growing body of research has evolved parallel to that showing that violence can also be prevented. Policy innovation and an increasing volume of rigorous evaluations have been demonstrating ways to reduce and prevent violence in its various forms. These are not quick fixes or solutions; responding to violence is as complex a task as the problem in itself. Addressing different forms of violence, from warfare to violence in the domestic space, requires a combination of multidisciplinary actions and continuous multistakeholder engagement and partnerships to be sustainable overtime.

However, communities of practice that work in different violence domains tend to work in isolation. Given the interconnections between different forms of violence, bridging the silos between different communities could not only help to further generate evidence on what works, but also contribute to promote the use of effective policies, making the violence prevention agenda one led more by evidence-based strategies and less by fear and ideological approaches that have proven ineffective and even harmful in the past. The SDGs offer an opportunity and platform for a variety of actors to work together on that front.

This research aims to contribute to the challenge by bringing together evidence across five domains of violence: conflict; mass atrocities and human rights abuses; violent extremism (VE); urban violence and organized crime; and interpersonal violence (IP).[22] It identifies convergences and divergences across them that could help inform integrated prevention implementation in order to scale up impact, and packages knowledge together with complementary research on effective global strategies that could inspire a movement focused on violence prevention.

Challenges and Limitations

Analyzing different domains of violence all together poses a challenge in itself. The evidence base is different for the various types of violence, and the scale of people involved and affected is very different. To a certain extent, the evidence base for preventing some types of violence will always be more limited than for others. Some of the fields (interpersonal violence, urban) have a substantial programming evidence base, which gives us information about causal relationships. For other types of violence (conflict, violent extremism, mass atrocities) prevention involves – among other things – reforming institutions, which is much harder to evaluate because there is often no way to establish causality.

Added to this is the issue of scale – the more people that are involved in committing violence, and that are affected by it, the broader the coalition of stakeholders required to prevent and address it. Programs to prevent intimate partner violence or child abuse have often been successful through improving relationships and communication within families. Preventing violent conflict, or mass atrocities, requires buy in from diverse actors at the family, community, state, national, and potentially international level. While it is impossible to secure ownership from everyone at every level, it is possible, and critical, to understand who can be mobilized, and mitigate the risks posed by those who may oppose change. These realities make comparisons of interventions across different types of violence problematic.

What is clear is that there are common principles behind the science of prevention, and that preventing violence in all of its forms requires actions throughout the life cycle and at the state, society, community, family/relationship, and individual levels.

Methodology

For the review of trends, the research relied on secondary data collection and analysis. Existing global data on the five dimensions of violence were reviewed and the most relevant indicators for each dimension of violence selected based on their availability. When no geographical comparisons or trend analysis could be made, specific case studies were reviewed.

The analysis of evidence-based solutions to respond to the different forms of violence was primarily based on a thorough review of the existing literature. Meta-analyses and systematic reviews were first prioritized, focusing on rigorous evaluations. However, and especially for some specific types of violence where the literature is less prescriptive or more limited (e.g. conflict, mass atrocities, violent extremism), the review also relied substantially on case studies. The analysis of global strategies was primarily based on online research and complemented by interviews with representatives of those strategies in three out of seven cases analyzed.

Finally, the data analysis, literature review and global strategies assessment were complemented by interviews with key international experts from different fields, who helped to validate findings and develop recommendations (see Annex 1 for the list of experts interviewed).

Structure of the Report

This report is divided into five chapters. After this introduction, Chapter 2 introduces the definition of each domain of violence to be addressed and presents a snapshot of their current state and global trends. It also analyses to what extent there are geographic and trend convergences between them according to the available data, and points to the most pressing data gaps in each of these areas. Chapter 3 brings together the existing evidence on how to prevent the five different types of violence prioritized by the research. Drawing on the first two, Chapter 4 analyses any potential convergences in solutions to address the different forms of violence, focusing on key principles that seem to cut across all of them, while also highlighting specificities that need to be taken into consideration. It also discusses the opportunities and challenges for bringing together different communities of practice who work in violence prevention and scaling prevention. Finally, Chapter 5 looks at different global strategies that have been used to address different development challenges, drawing lessons that could inform the design of a strategy to prevent violence and accelerate global impact.

2. World Security Challenges & Distribution Across the Globe

In order to discuss the existing evidence to prevent different types of violence and influence public policy, we first need to comprehend how prevalent they are and where they are concentrated. Based on existing global data and, whenever not possible, selected case studies, this chapter provides an overview of recent trends of armed conflict, mass atrocities and human rights abuses, violent extremism, urban violence and organized crime, and interpersonal violence. It also includes a definition of the dimension of the type of violence being discussed in order to explain the metrics utilized to measure it.

It should be mentioned that trend and cross-sectional analysis at the global level is challenging for several reasons (see Box 1). First, some regions and countries lack reliable data. For example, estimates of homicide rates by gender and age in Africa and its sub-regions are very conservative and longitudinal data is missing. Second, time and cross-sectional comparisons pose some caveats as definitions and collection methodologies applied for each dimension of violence can differ, making it impossible to aggregate or subtract victims to produce specific numbers.

With those constraints in mind, it is possible to draw some conclusions of potential areas of convergence of different types of violence requiring greater investment, and recommendations for further research to fill existing data gaps. These are presented at the end of this chapter.

Box 1: The Challenge of Counting and Comparing Violent Deaths Globally

Measuring violence is a daunting effort. Although several indicators exist, even for those that are considered most reliable – violent deaths – there is no trustworthy global picture, given existing discrepancies in how homicides and conflict deaths are monitored and measured. Existing datasets are high quality and can help identify trends over time; however, comparisons across datasets or between source types are not compatible (for example, administrative data and media-based data may not be comparable). This gives only a fragmented picture of the problem, and makes it hard to assess overall progress in reducing violence.[23] Overcoming the gaps and overlaps in counting violent deaths will require actions that address definitional and methodological issues (e.g. that all countries define and register homicide equally) and contribute to more harmonized collection methods, among others.

In this context, a consortium of twelve leading institutions, convened by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the Brookings Institution, have created the Global Registry of Violent Deaths (GReVD).[24] The platform will contain a single entry for every violent death, with details of time and place of occurrence and disaggregated by type of violence and actors' characteristics. The initiative was launched in early 2019 and is taking shape. The consortium members have defined a common framework to code violent conflict. GReVD will use five comprehensive channels for detecting all possible events: 1) administrative data from state institutions and intergovernmental bodies; 2) media reporting; 3) monitoring by expert groups/observatories; 4) representative surveys; and 5) direct reporting by the public (including through social media). Using algorithmic methods, nine possible stages of coding will be used to identify them uniquely. At this stage, GReVD is working on improving its coding, testing algorithms to increment precision, and building an integrated database through consortium partners. The initiative is certainly very ambitious, but it combines leading institutions and experts that aim to develop a common research infrastructure and exploit state-of-the-art technology to build the first comprehensive free database in the coming decade.

It should be mentioned that there have been previous efforts to address this challenge and improve measuring and monitoring of violent deaths globally. The most comprehensive one is the Global Burden of Armed Violence report, published intermittently (2008, 2011, 2015) by the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, UNDP, and Small Arms Survey since 2008.[25] For example, the latest report provides information on trends since 2007, bringing additional disaggregated data, such as gender, crime characteristics (e.g. involvement of firearms), and information on economic costs of lethal violence.[26]

Source: GReVD, BRIEF #1 Introducing the GReVD Initiative; GReVD, Gaps Report: Challenges of counting all violent deaths everywhere; Geneva Declaration.

2.1 Conflict

In this section, in accordance with the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), armed conflict is defined as a setting where at least 25 fatalities occur in one year,[27] caused either by: (i) state-based or battle-related conflict, where at least one of the parties is the government of a state, meaning violence between two states or between the government and a rebel group;[28] (ii) one-sided conflict, where the government of a state or a formally organized group is targeting unarmed civilians; and (iii) non-state violence, which involves the use of armed force between two organized groups, such as rebel groups or ethnic groups, neither of which is the government of a state. There are complementary definitions and databases that provide alternative disaggregated data. For instance, the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data (ACLED) Project[29] records individual violent and non-conflict events worldwide, and local organizations build highly disaggregated databases that could shed light on local conflict dynamics and human lives lost indirectly due to conflict.[30] To ensure standardization and international comparability, this section adopts the UCDP definition.

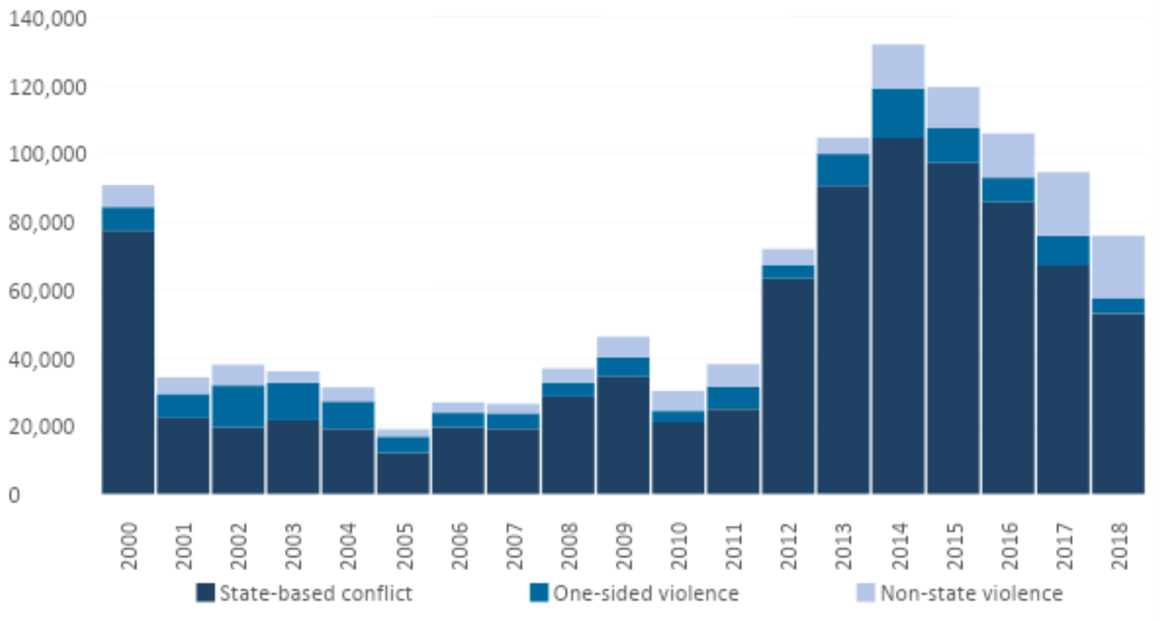
Trends in Armed Conflict

In line with the definition above, violent conflicts account for more than 1.1 million lives lost worldwide since the beginning of the 21st century. During the last ten years, armed conflicts accounted for, on average, almost 82,000 lives per year, which is 87 percent above the preceding decade. During 2018 alone, armed conflict across the world caused 75,884 deaths, most of them (53,081) victims of state-based conflict, followed by non-state violence (18,288) and one-sided conflict (4,515).

Since 2014, however, deaths from violent conflict have been declining, largely driven by a reduction in the number of deaths within conflicts involving state actors. As Figure 1 shows, 2018 marked the fourth consecutive year of reduction in the overall number of victims since its peak of 132,000 in 2014. Two of the world's most intense state-based conflicts – Iraq and Syria – saw 9,000 fewer deaths in each case in 2018 compared to the previous year.

Even as conflict deaths have decreased overall, the number of deaths from conflicts involving non-state actors, on the other hand, has increased, with the number of civilian victims jumping 52 percent between 2014-2018.

Figure 1. Fatalities due to conflict, 2000-2018



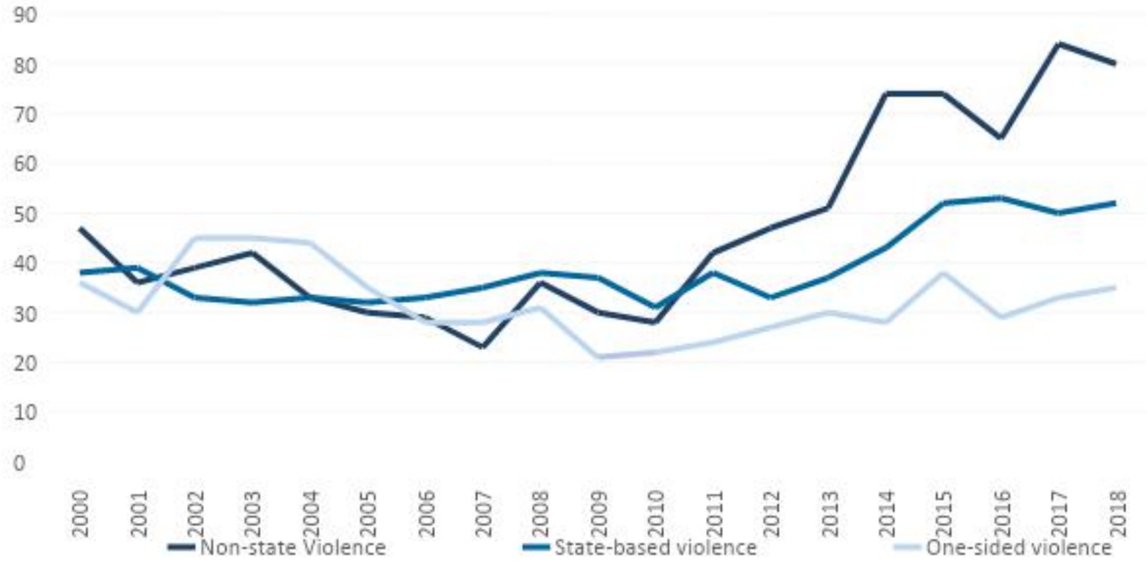
Source: Authors' calculation based on UCDP database.

However, state security forces continue to be the deadliest conflict actors worldwide. In 2018, across all countries, domestic state forces were responsible for more deaths than other actors in four of the five most active conflicts. All of these conflicts are in the Middle East; three out of five of these forces operate in Yemen. These trends prompted ACLED to report that, "even as conventional interstate wars become less common, and non-state armed groups become increasingly sophisticated conflict actors, state forces often remain the most powerful and deadly conflict actors."[31]

While the number of conflict victims has decreased, the absolute number of conflicts has been on the rise. This is driven, to a large extent, by an increase in state-based conflict in 2018, reaching 52 armed conflicts worldwide. This was the highest level since 1946,[32] and is largely due to the expansion of ISIL.[33] Six out of the 52 conflicts were classified as wars by their intensity – state-based conflict with at least 1,000 deaths.[34]

There was a slight decrease in the overall number of non-state conflicts, from 84 to 80 in 2018; even so, this number is high when put in historical perspective.[35] These conflicts caused just under 18,300 deaths, explained mainly by inter-rebel conflict in Syria, communal conflict in Nigeria, and inter-cartel conflict in Mexico.[36]

Figure 2. Number of countries in conflict

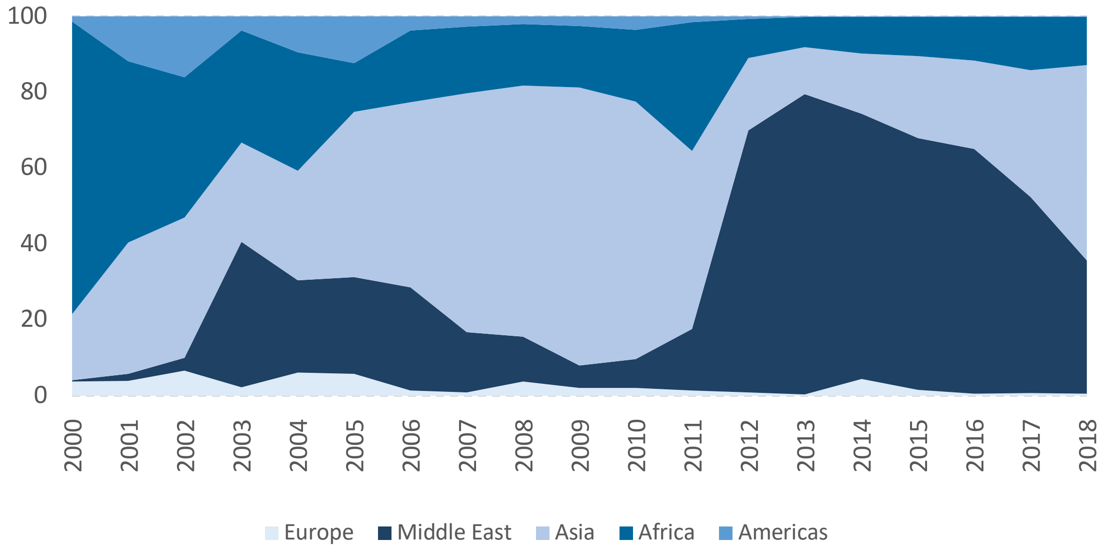


Source: Authors' calculation based on UCDP database.

Geographic Distribution

Battled-related deaths have been shifting in recent years from the Middle East to Asia. As Figure 3 shows, for the first time since 2011, Asia surpassed the Middle East in terms of fatalities. In fact, while the Middle East accounted for 35 percent of the world's conflict-related deaths in 2018, Asia recorded 50 percent, almost entirely explained by a new high recorded in Afghanistan. In absolute terms, while the Middle East registered 18,674 fatalities due to conflict in 2018 – a drop of 46 percent from 2017 – Asia experienced 27,280 deaths, which represents a 21 percent increase from the previous year.

Figure 3. Share (%) of total battle-related deaths, by region, 2000-2018



Source: Authors' calculation based on UCDP database.

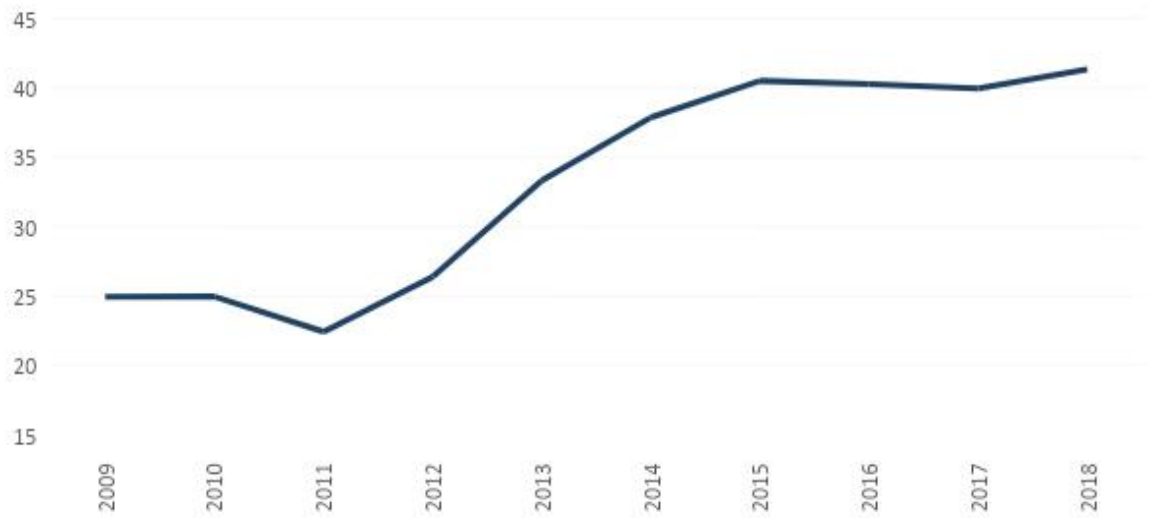
In 2018, Afghanistan led the world in battle-related deaths with a 35 percent increase from 2017 and a total of 25,679 victims. Syria lost 11,500 people to violent conflict, representing a 44 percent reduction over the same period, while Yemen, with 4,523 casualties, almost doubled its number of battle-related deaths. Somalia and Nigeria with 2,207 and 1,171 deaths respectively, completed the ranking of countries with more than 1,000 victims in conflicts where governments were involved. Together, these five countries accounted for 85 percent of the world's battle-related deaths in 2018. Finally, with 831 fatalities, Iraq experienced a remarkable de-escalation in conflict, reflected in a 92 percent decrease in fatalities.

Other Consequences of Conflict: Forced Displacement

The impacts of conflicts on societies expand beyond the lives lost. Armed conflicts will often damage the social fabric, erode political and economic institutions, destroy infrastructure, and leave behind trauma and other consequences that can fuel additional cycles of violence. In addition, conflict today is displacing people in numbers not seen since the Second World War.

In 2018, the number of newly displaced increased by 13.6 million people, reaching a new record high of 70.8 million people displaced due to conflict, generalized violence and human rights abuses.[37] As Figure 4 shows, a majority of all displaced people stay within the borders of their countries, becoming internally displaced. The number of internally displaced persons (IDP) has increased significantly since 2012, by 57 percent. This was mainly fueled by the Syrian conflict but also by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), South Sudan, Yemen, and Nigeria, among others.

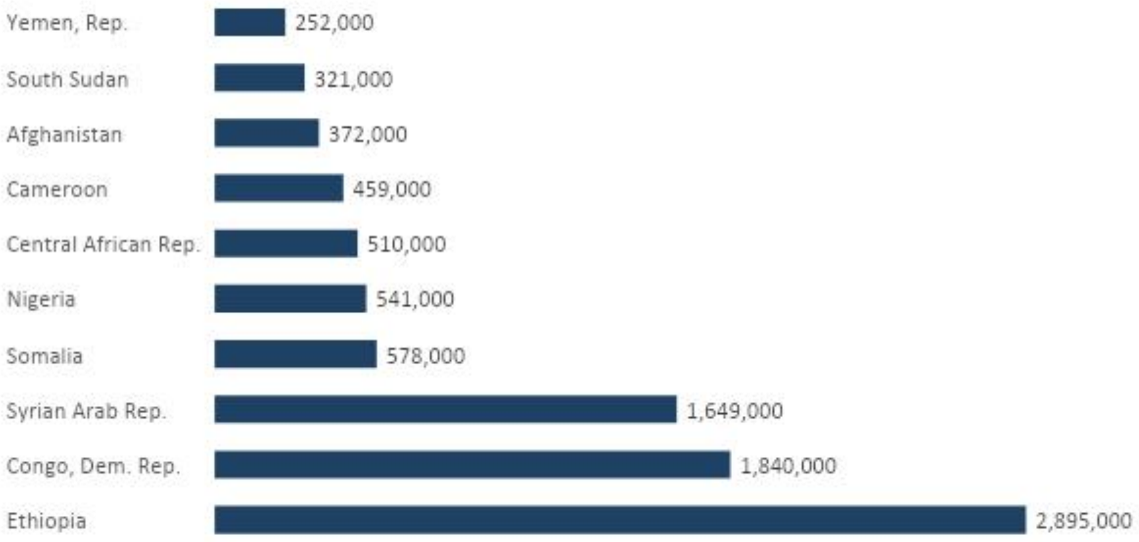
Figure 4. Internally Displaced People, World, 2009-2018 (in millions)



Source: Authors' calculation based on IDMC database.

It is possible that newly displaced may outnumber the total of displaced populations because the former counts people every time they flee their habitual residence, a refugee center or are relocated to a new settlement location, while the latter count them only once people are forced to flee their habitual residence. In other words, it could refer to the same people moving again, which would explain, for example, why Ethiopia shows such high levels of new IDPs surpassing the total number of IDPs, as Figure 5 and 6 shows. The country had a dramatic increase in the incidents of new internal displacements in 2018.

Figure 5. New Internally Displaced People, selected countries, 2018



Source: Authors' calculation based on IDMC database.

Out of the total number of forcibly displaced people in 2018, 41.3 million were internally displaced.[38] The largest number was in Syria, with 6,119,000 IDPs.[39] For the first time, Colombia has been outnumbered and is now in second place with 5,761,000 IDPs. Table 2 summarizes the countries with more than 1 million IDPs. These twelve countries account for 82 percent of the world's internally displaced population due to conflict.

Table 2: Countries with more than 1 million inhabitants internally displaced, 2018

Country	Total Internally Displaced People
Syrian Arab Republic	6,119,000
Colombia	5,761,000
Congo, Dem. Rep.	3,081,000
Somalia	2,648,000
Afghanistan	2,598,000
Yemen, Rep.	2,324,000
Nigeria	2,216,000
Ethiopia	2,137,000
Sudan	2,072,000
Iraq	1,962,000
South Sudan	1,869,000
Turkey	1,097,000

Source: IDMC database.

Syrians also continued to be the largest forcibly displaced population in the world, including 6,654,000 refugees. During 2018, over half a million new refugee and asylum applications from this country were registered. Venezuelans accounted for the second largest flow of new international displacements in 2018, with 341,800 new asylum applications.[40]

As was the case in 2018, in 2019 and 2020, conflicts will continue to be the main cause of displacement and the main destination of humanitarian resources. This view is shared by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.[41] The Office states that protracted violence in countries including Syria, DRC, Central African Republic, and Yemen is likely to continue, hampering governments' capacities and increasing fragility both at home and in neighboring countries.

2.2 Mass Atrocities and Human Rights Abuses

Mass atrocities are considered the most serious acts against humankind under international law. They fall into three legally defined crimes: (1) genocides, when members of a national, ethnical, racial or religious group are targeted for extermination;[42] (2) war crimes, which include a large variety of acts inflicted on both combatants and non-combatants within the context of international and domestic armed conflicts;[43] and (3) crimes against humanity, characterized by large-scale, systematic attacks on the civilian population.[44] When part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population, torture can also be considered a crime against humanity.

Even though ethnic cleansing has not been recognized as an independent type of crime under international law, in 2005, the UN World Summit Outcome Document included ethnic cleansing under the umbrella of atrocity crimes. What differentiates genocide from ethnic cleansing is that the former entails the purpose of group elimination, while in the latter the intent is the group's physical removal. In practice, cleansing may be part of a genocide or be assimilated to specific war crimes and it falls under the concept of crimes against humanity.

The definitions of atrocity crimes discussed above do not often lend themselves easily to measurement. Various definitions of mass atrocities inform different databases to measure them. Some definitions limit atrocity events to those perpetrated against civilians only, for example the Worldwide Atrocities Dataset. Others include events where the state, or a group supported by the state, is a perpetrator, as in the Social Conflict Analysis database.[45]

One of the most widely respected definitions is that used by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in the Early Warning Project, which considers that mass killings occur when the deliberate actions of armed groups – including but not limited to state security forces, rebel armies, and other militias – result in the deaths of at least 1,000 noncombatant civilians who are targeted as part of a specific group, over a period of one year. Mass killings are considered to have ended when fewer than 100 civilians of the target group are killed for three consecutive years. According to this definition, in 2018 there were 21 ongoing mass killings in the world, of which, ten were state-led, and 11 were led by non-state actors, in 16 countries.[46] Looking at the last 28 years, mass killings perpetrated by the state have steadily decreased since 1990 up until 2012. The same statement is valid for all mass killings' episodes: they peaked in 1993 with 40 conflicts and decreased to 14 in 2012.[47]

International Responses to Mass Atrocities

The occurrence of mass atrocities tends to be highly context specific, as do the conditions under which atrocities end. For that reason, most of the literature focuses on specific cases. From a historical perspective, it is clear that the genocide committed during the Second World War changed the way the international community reacted vis-à-vis state-led mass atrocities. The International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg was the first international court to use the term genocide and sentence individuals for crimes against humanity. Following this, the international community agreed on several UN conventions to provide a framework to prevent and punish crimes against humanity.

In this context, when the international community has to assert that mass atrocities are taking place, two forces come into play: respecting the principle of state sovereignty on one hand and, on the other, the UN mandate to step in. For instance, in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, atrocities raged in Burundi, Nigeria, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, and Guatemala, but major powers viewed the events primarily through the frame of the Cold War and were reluctant to intervene.[48]

Once the Cold War ended, during the 1990s the United States and the UN intervened in various conflicts where mass atrocities occurred or were at risk of occurring. This included Somalia – where civil conflict had led to an estimated 300,000 deaths – Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Human rights violations came up in different forms, including massacres, forced recruitment of boys, and gang rapes against women and their daughters to terrorize and obtain money from Kosovar Albanian civilians.[49]

The 1994 Rwandan genocide, in which an interim government triggered the killing of more than 800,000 Rwandans in just three months, prompted a stronger response to mass atrocities from the international community. About 70 percent of the Tutsi population was killed and between 150,000 and 250,000 women were raped. In addition, it is estimated that over 2 million left the country and 1.5 million Rwandans were internally displaced.[50] By the end of 1994, the UN had set up two ad-hoc criminal tribunals to prosecute genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity in Rwanda as well as the former Yugoslavia. Shortly after, in 1998, 120 states adopted the Rome Statute, calling for an International Criminal Court (ICC), which came into force several years later.

The 2000s were characterized by ad hoc responses to each case. During the Bosnian war, a military intervention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) took place without explicit UN authorization due to Russian veto power. Similarly, after the failure of several UN attempts, the British army launched a military operation in Sierra Leone, where human rights violations multiplied in different forms: beyond the estimated 70,000 casualties and 2.6 million displaced people,[51] at least 215,000 women and girls were victims of sexual violence.[52]

Early days in 2003 saw the onset of the protracted civil war in Darfur. Ten years later the UN estimated that up to 300,000 had died due to hunger, disease, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, including the use of chemical weapons against civilians.[53] Once again, during this conflict, women and young girls were systematically raped.

During the 2010s, the trend of mixed interventions continued. For instance, in Libya and in Côte d'Ivoire, the United Nations authorized the use of force. Meanwhile, in South Sudan and Kenya international actors raised diplomacy pressure to bring conflicts down. The Syrian case was different. As Russia, and to some extent China, opposed coercive action, making use of their veto power at the UN, the US conducted short military strikes in 2011. As it is widely known, the conflict in Syria escalated and according to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, after eight years of conflict, the number of deaths surpassed 511,000. This figure does not include 90,000 people who forcibly disappeared, mostly at the hands of government. Beyond the number of casualties, all types of human rights violations have been recorded, including at least 85 chemical weapons attacks, torture, arbitrary executions, sexual violence, and rape.[54]

Figure 6. Death toll in mass atrocities, selected events

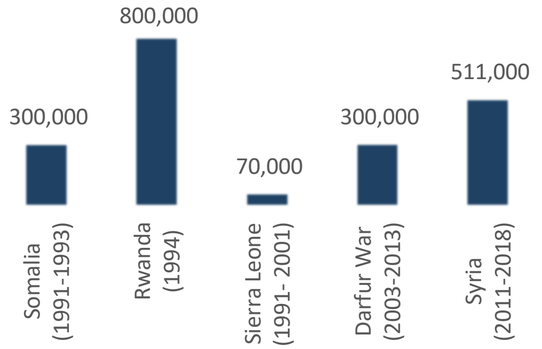
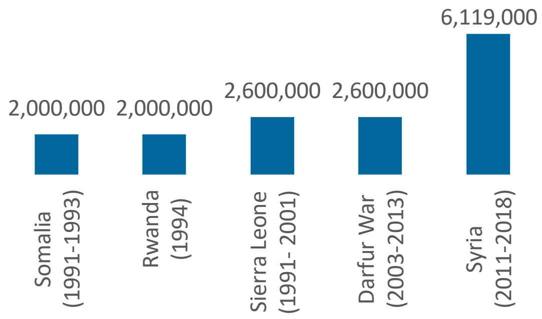


Figure 7. Internally displaced people in mass atrocities, selected events



Sources: Authors' calculation based on Toal and Dahlman, "Bosnia Remade: Ethnic Cleansing and its Reversal"; Human Rights Watch, "Syria Events of 2018"; UNCHR, "The State of the World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action"; Caldor et al., "United Nations Development Programme: Case Study Sierra Leone"; Physicians for Human Rights, "War-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone: A Population-Based Assessment"; Loeb, "Did Sudan use chemical weapons in Darfur last year?".

Finally, given the repressive measures taken by governments as a response to protests in several countries (from Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador to Iran, Iraq, etc.), which resulted in the death of hundreds of civilians in some episodes, 2019 will likely register new cases of mass atrocities and human rights abuses.[55]

2.3 Violent Extremism

There is no agreed definition of violent extremism. Many governments, development agencies, and international organizations intentionally leave the term undefined. Notably, the UN, in its 2015 Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism, states that "violent extremism is a diverse phenomenon, without a clear definition,"[56] allowing member states to develop context-specific definitions. Nor is there an established list of VE groups.[57] Instead, many governments and development agencies have produced working definitions of VE to guide their work.

Violent extremism is often used interchangeably with similar terms, including radicalization and terrorism. However, there is much contestation over whether they are synonymous, distinct from one another (and if so, how), or subcategories of one another.[58] Generally speaking, terrorism is understood as a tactic involving the use of force in order to further political objectives. Definitions differ on whether terrorism is limited to acts perpetrated by non-state actors[59] and whether the violence must be committed against noncombatant targets.[60] Radicalization is often understood as a precursor to engaging in VE, with the caveat that the relationship is not automatic or direct. For this reason, some prefer to speak of "radicalization to violence" in order to differentiate it from VE or terrorism.

Terrorist attacks and associated deaths are often used as proxies for VE activity. This is generally accepted with similar caveats to those associated with using homicide statistics as a proxy for overall levels of violence. For the purposes of this section of the report, VE activity will be measured by the number of terrorist attacks and related casualties or wounded victims. Unless explicitly referenced, all numbers have been constructed using the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), counted as total deaths from terrorist events minus terrorists killed in those events.

Trends in the Number of Attacks and Victims

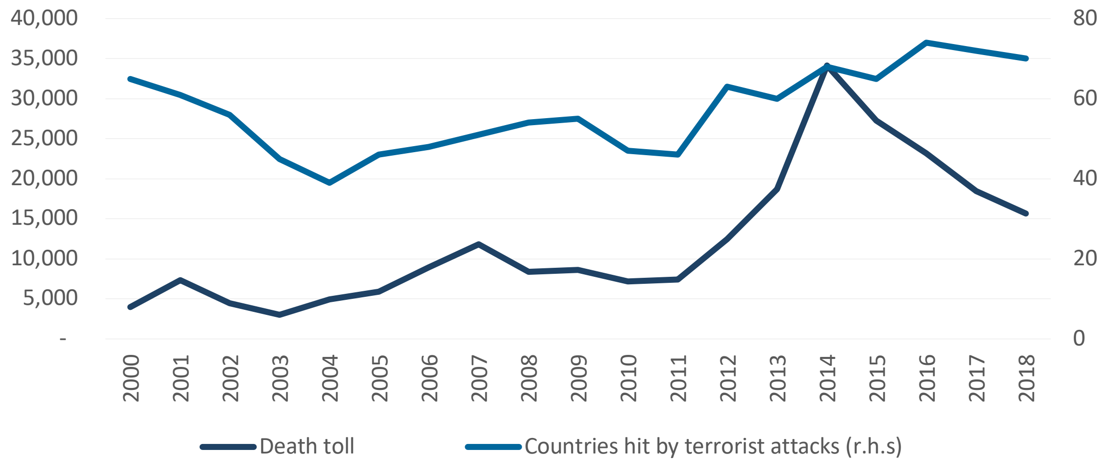
The number of deaths from VE has been on the decline in recent years. In 2018, terrorist attacks declined for the fourth consecutive year, causing 15,952 deaths. This represents a 15 percent drop from 2017, and a 52 percent drop from the 2014 peak in deaths from terrorism.[61]

Much of the drop in deaths stems from military successes against ISIL and Boko Haram; deaths caused by these groups fell by 15.2 percent between 2017 and 2018. Attacks by Al-Shabaab also dropped in 2018, by 24 percent. ISIL continued to lose members, revenue, and territory for the second successive year, with a 69 percent drop in deaths and 63 percent decline in number of attacks. In 2018, ISIL had an estimated 18,000 fighters left in Iraq and Syria, down from over 70,000 in 2014.

However, in spite of achieving four consecutive years of decline, casualties caused by this type of violence remain 33.7 percent above 2013 figures, and the number of deaths from terrorist attacks in 2018 are still almost twice the average experienced between 2000 and 2013.[62] Fatalities ramped up in the aftermath of the Arab Spring from the early 2010s, when the intensity of violent conflict escalated further in high-conflict countries and started spreading to others.

Even as the total number of deaths from VE activity has declined, VE groups have expanded their reach across different regions and countries. In 2018, 101 countries experienced a terrorist attack, with 71 countries suffering at least one fatality as a result. On average, since 2011 a total of 70 countries suffered at least one fatality due to terrorist attacks every year. The year 2011 saw the onset of a sharp expansion in the number of countries affected by terrorism, a trend that then peaked in 2016, as shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Countries and deaths from terrorist attacks, 2000-2018

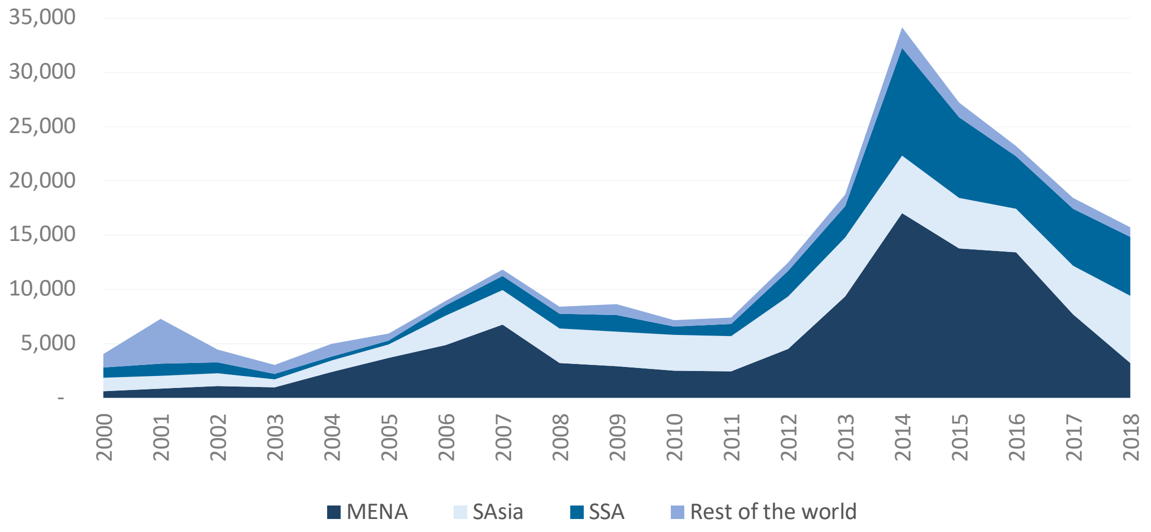


Source: Authors' calculation based on the Global Terrorism Database.

Geographic Distribution and Concentration

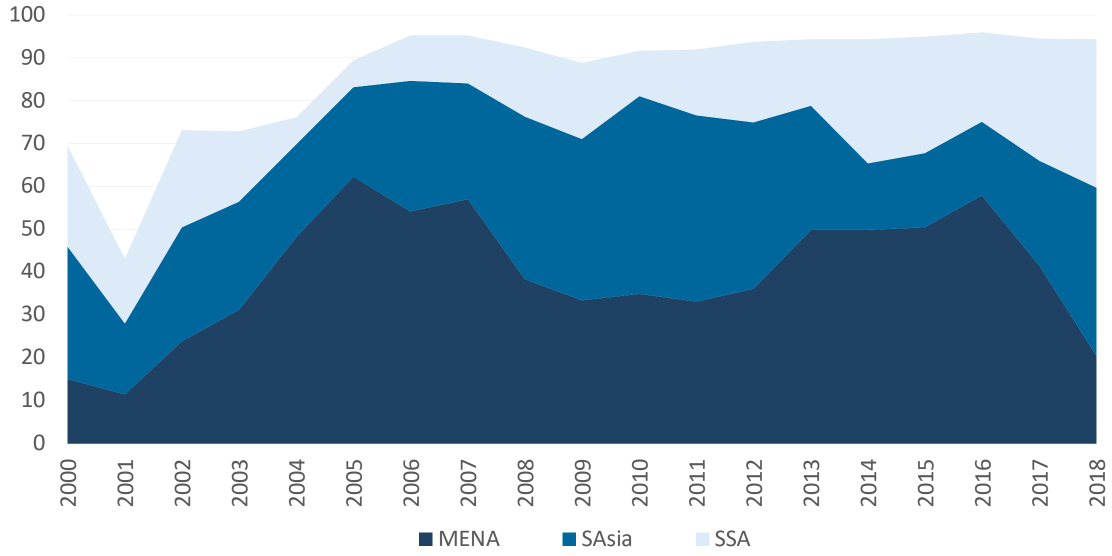
Over the last eight consecutive years, three regions have remained as the most lethal when it comes to VE and terrorism: Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia. Together they account for over 94 percent of the deaths caused by terrorist attacks. Looking closer into each region, a remarkable improvement has been accomplished in the Middle East and North Africa since 2014, when deaths peaked. In 2017, the number of victims more than halved and in 2018 there was another year-on-year decrease of 58 percent. Figures 9 and 10 show these trends and how the negative impact of increasing terrorism in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa in recent years have partially offset the improvement in the Middle East and North Africa.

Figure 9. Deaths from terrorist attacks by region, 2000-2018



Source: Authors' calculation based on the Global Terrorism Database.

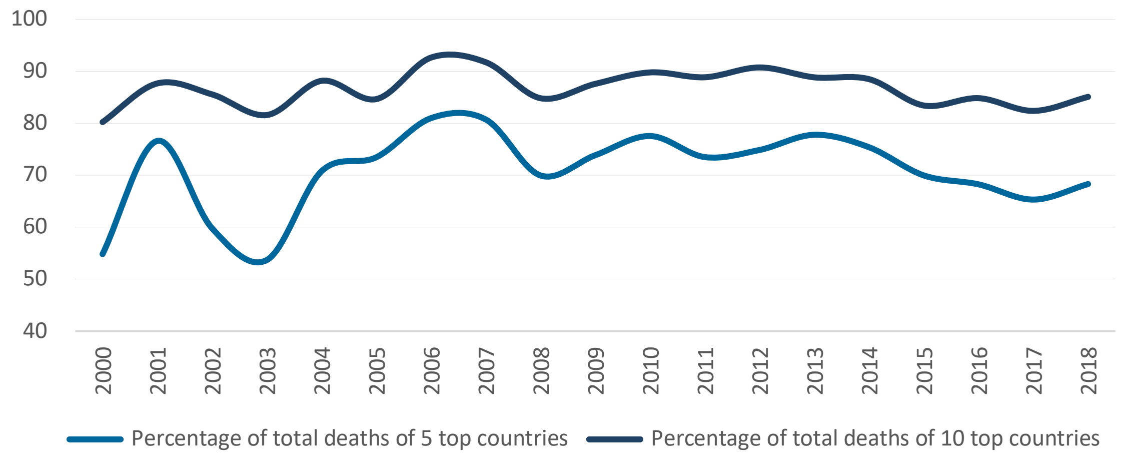
Figure 10. Share of total deaths (%) by region, 2000-2018



Source: Authors' calculation based on the Global Terrorism Database.

Violent extremist activity is also highly concentrated. Since 2000, five countries accounted on average for 71 percent of the total number of victims of terrorism attacks and ten countries from 80 percent to 90 percent[63] of the total number. In 2018, the countries with the highest numbers of terrorist attacks were Afghanistan, Nigeria, Syria, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, Pakistan, Mali, Yemen, and the Philippines.

Figure 11. Share of total deaths (%) due to terrorist attacks, 2000-2018



Source: Authors' calculation based on the Global Terrorism Database.

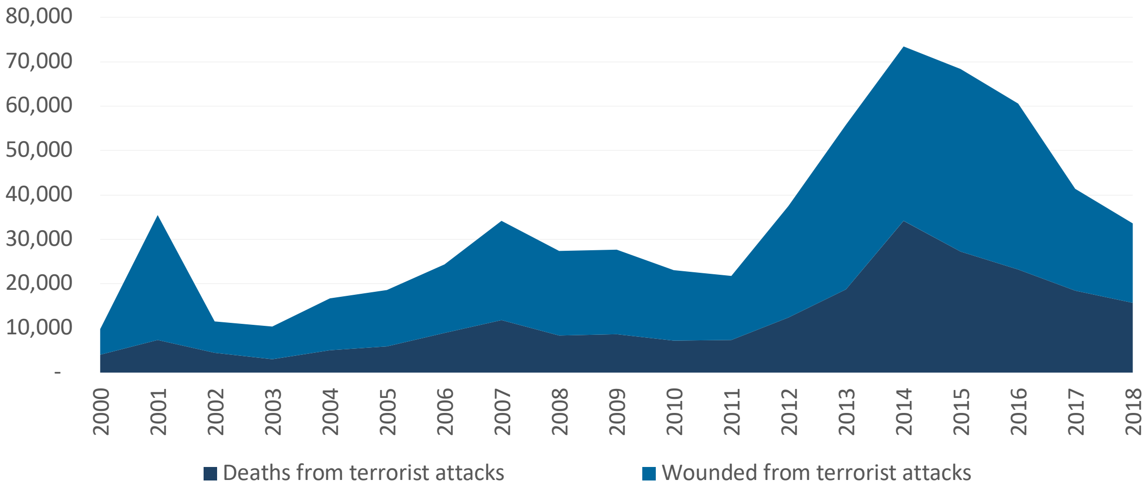
High levels of extremist violence are also consistent and persistent across countries. Eight out of the ten most violent countries in 2018 were also amongst the most violent in 2017, and at least seven of them have appeared every year in this ranking since 2010.

Finally, most VE-related violence happens in conflict settings. In 2018, 95 percent of all deaths related to terrorism happened in countries with at least one ongoing violent conflict; the ten countries most affected by terrorist attacks in 2018 all have ongoing armed conflict.[64] This number rises to 99 percent if countries experiencing high levels of political terror are included.[65]

Wounded Victims

Lost lives are the most direct and brutal consequence of violence extremism. However, for every attack, many more are wounded or exposed to psychological trauma. On average, 1.7 people are wounded for every person killed by a terrorist attack. This means that as attacks have taken more than 231,000 lives over the past nineteen years, the number of wounded climbs to almost 400,000 people worldwide. Figure 12 shows the magnitude of those wounded from terrorism and extremist violence in tandem with deaths from those attacks.

Figure 12. Deaths and wounded by terrorist attacks, 2000-2018



Source: Authors' calculation based on the Global Terrorism Database.

2.4 Urban Violence and Organized Crime

Urban violence has taken the world stage as the primary driver of violent deaths. While conflict is the first form of violence that comes to people's minds when thinking about violent deaths, over 80 percent of them occur today outside of conflict zones.[66] Rapid urbanization processes over recent decades may have contributed to this, allowing the creation of unequal conditions of access to basic services and conflict over resources, with specific areas becoming a welcoming space for criminal groups to take control, although more research and empirical evidence on the relationship between urbanization and violence is still needed.[67] Where governments are unable to keep pace with the service delivery needs of a growing urban population, violence can increase.[68] In addition, armed conflicts are increasingly being fought in the urban space, where civilians bear the brunt of the violence, and infrastructure is often targeted, further complicating service delivery. Schools may close, health clinics maybe inaccessible, and transport infrastructure destroyed, all of which can set back development progress and aggravate grievances that underlie further conflict.[69] Today, 55 percent of the world's population lives in urban areas, and this figure is expected to climb to 68 percent by 2050. Megacities, defined as those with more than 10 million inhabitants, have also been on the rise; there are 33 of them today, with expectations that another 11 will emerge by 2030.[70]

Urban crime and violence can be measured by several different indicators, from homicides to robberies, thefts, and even perceptions of safety. For the purposes of this report, this section mainly focuses on global, regional, national, and city-level intentional homicides,[71] as this remains the most reliable indicator of violent crime for time trend and cross-national analysis.[72] Human trafficking data is also briefly discussed; although reliable data is still emerging, this is an important indicator of organized crime activities.

Although state-sponsored killings are not included in the homicide data presented, police extrajudicial killings and disappearances are mentioned in this section through specific cases, since this is a major concern in several countries. Unfortunately, there is a significant lack of data on this issue, hence these indicators do not provide for global comparability.

It should be mentioned that the relationship between organized crime, gang activity, and urban violence is not straightforward, and a unified trend of homicides remains elusive. According to UNODC estimates, up to 19 percent of all homicides recorded globally in 2017 were related to organized crime and gangs.[73] However, regions, sub-regions, nations, and cities have multiple dynamics, and the operation of organized crime groups does not lead to high levels of violence everywhere. Low levels of violence in South Eastern Europe and the Netherlands are good examples of this. On the other hand, organized crime groups and gangs are largely responsible for the high homicide rates in the Americas.[74]

Demographic Patterns of Homicides

In 2017, 464,000 intentional homicides took place around the world,[75] reaching a rate of 6.1 per 100,000 inhabitants. This rate has been relatively stable over the past decade, oscillating between 6 and 6.2 per 100,000 inhabitants, and is 18 percent lower than the peak of 7.4 registered in 1993, as shown in Figure 13.

Young males comprise the vast majority of victims and perpetrators of homicides. Men have accounted for about 81 percent of the annual number of victims since 1990, as shown in Figure 14, with a rate of 9.9 per 100,000 that peaks for youth and decreases with age (16.6 per 100,000 for men aged 15-29, followed by 14.7 for ages 30-44 and 1.7 and 5.6 per 100,000 for men aged 45-59 and 60+, respectively). Taking into account that convictions represent just a fraction of all perpetrators, between 2010 and 2017, men also made up 94 percent of all people convicted for this type of crime.[76] Meanwhile, the world's female homicide rate was 2.3 per 100,000 in 2017, presenting less variation according to age but higher rates for middle-aged women (2.4 to 3.1 for women aged 60+ and 30-44 respectively, and 2.7 for 15-29 female).

Figure 13. World homicides, count and rate per 100,000, 1990-2017

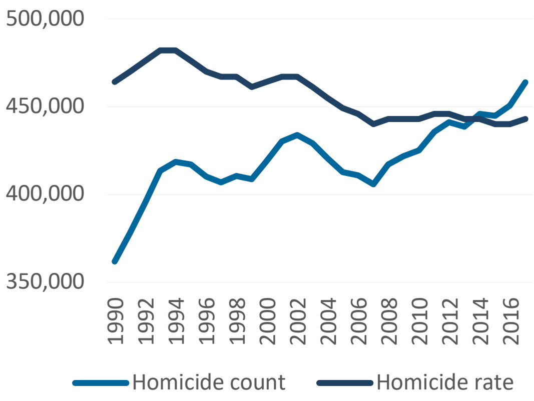
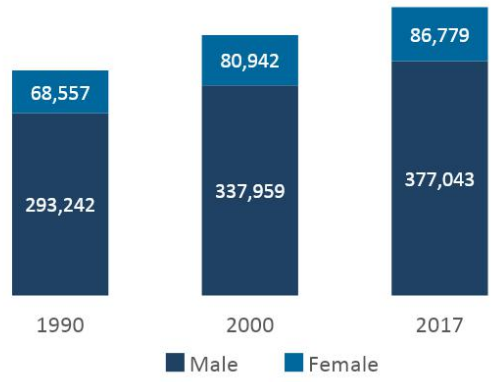


Figure 14. World homicides, count by gender, selected years

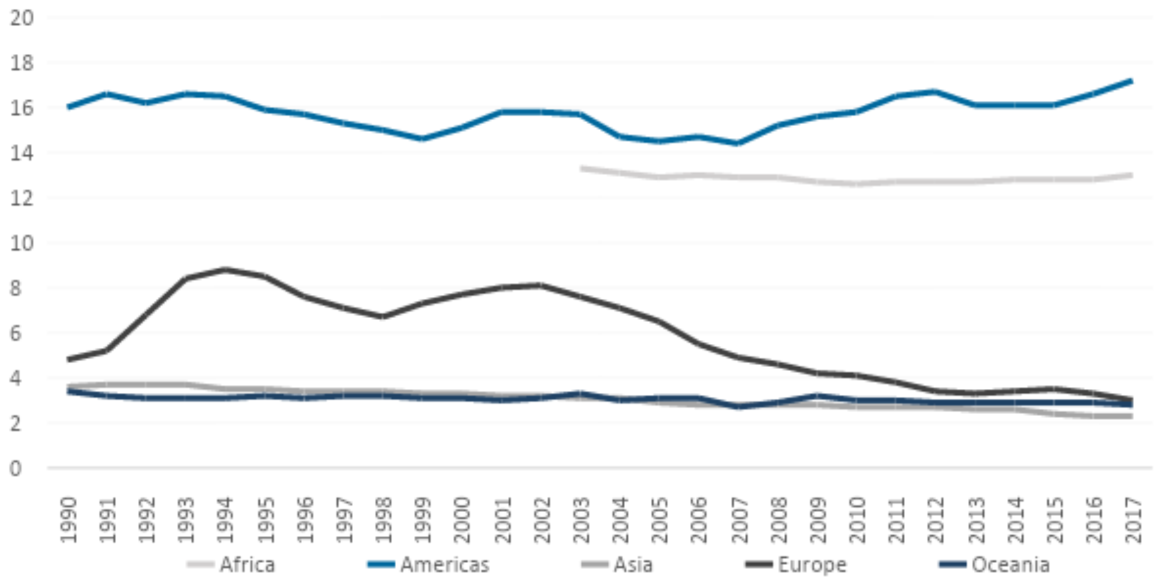


Source: Author's calculation based on UNODC database.

Geographic Distribution and Concentration

When looking at homicides, the Americas and Africa were the most violent regions in 2017, both in terms of number of casualties (37 percent and 35 percent of the global total, respectively) as well as by homicide rates per 100,000 (17.2 and 13, respectively).[77] These numbers also represent an expansion of violence over the past two decades in the two regions, with an increase of their homicide rates of 7.5 percent and 3.2 percent, respectively, when compared to 2000, as Figure 15 shows. On the other hand, the lowest regional homicide rate was recorded in Asia in 2017, with 2.3 per 100,000.

Figure 15. Regional homicide rates per 100,000, 1990-2017



Source: Authors' calculation based on UNODC database.

Focusing in on regional figures, disparities become larger, with a few sub-regions standing out. With homicide rates of 25.9 and 24.2 per 100,000 people in 2017, Central America and South America homicide rates are 300 percent above the world average and even 50 percent above the rate for the Americas as a whole. The Caribbean also had a rate of 15.1, well above the world rate of 6.1. At the other end of the spectrum, the sub-regions of North, West, and South Europe, and Oceania had a rate of about 1-1.5 deaths per 100,000 people. The same outstanding trends can also be found when disaggregating by gender, with males in Central America presenting the highest homicide rates (46.5 per 100,000), followed closely by South America (44.9 per 100,000). It is interesting to note that male homicide rates are between 8 and 11 times higher than rates for females in the Americas, while this difference is between 1.5 and 4 in all other sub-regions.[78]

When looking at trends over time, Central and South America and the Caribbean have also shown the highest increase in homicide rates over the past three decades. This has been driven by an alarming 53 percent increase in male homicide rates in the Caribbean. In comparison, male homicide rates went up by 15 percent in Central and South America. Changes in female homicide rates were much lower – but still significant, at 11 percent in the Caribbean, 19 percent in Central America, and 14 percent in South America over the same period. On the other hand, sub-regions like Eastern Asia, Australia and New Zealand, and Southern Europe were able to significantly reduce homicide rates by between 38 percent and 67 percent across the region for females and between 51 percent and 72 percent for males over the same period, as shown in Figures 16 and 17.

Figure 16. Female homicide rates per 100,000, selected sub-regions, 1990 and 2017

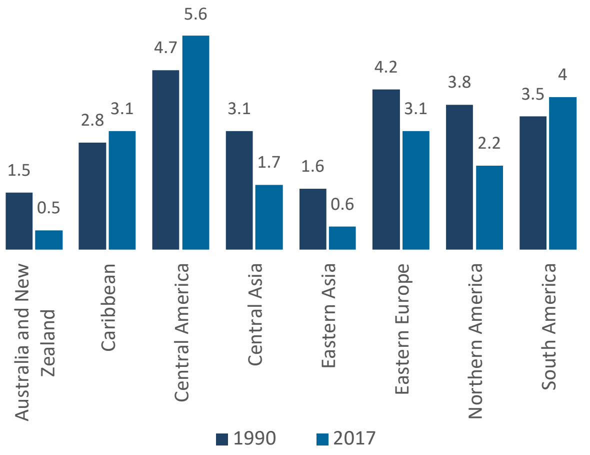
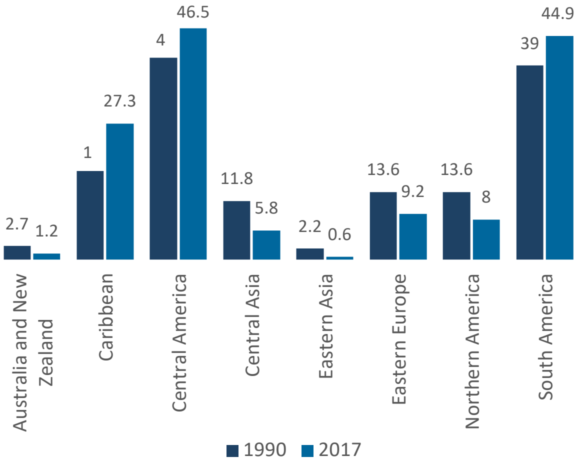


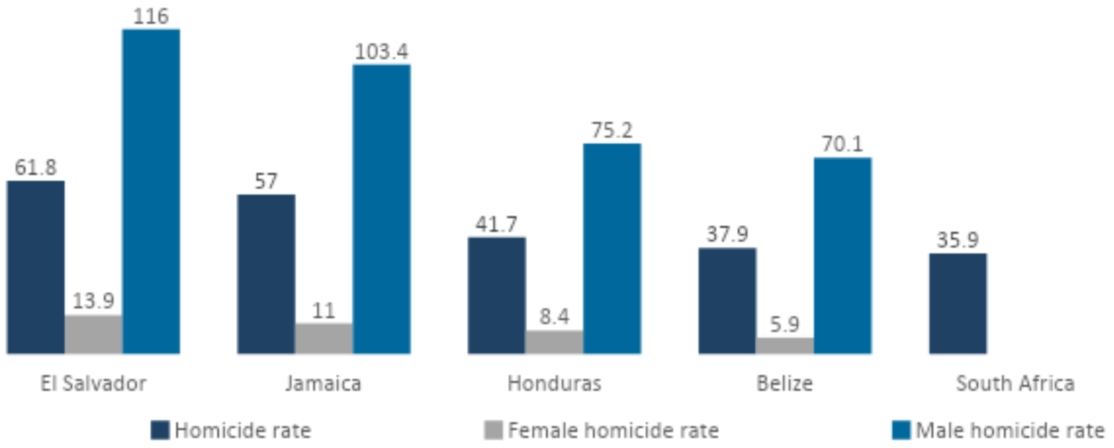
Figure 17. Male homicide rates per 100,000, selected sub-regions, 1990 and 2017



Source: Author's calculation based on UNODC database.

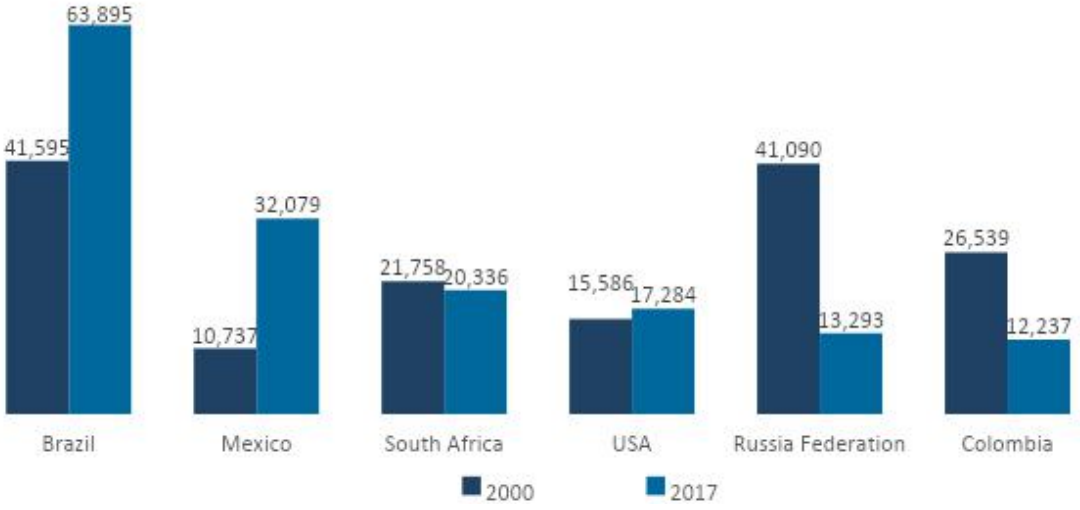
A country-level analysis also shows the high levels of concentration of violence, with eighteen out of the twenty most violent countries in the world being located in Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2017, El Salvador had the highest homicide rate in the world, of 61.8 per 100,000, followed by Jamaica and Honduras, with rates of 57 and 41, respectively.[79] Figure 18 shows these results and homicide rates disaggregated by gender for the five most violent countries. Trends in these countries have remained high over the past decades, still with significant variation according to the dynamics of gangs or drug cartels and policies to address them.[80] Finally, with homicide rates of 30.5 and 24.8 respectively in 2017, Brazil and Mexico had the highest number of homicide victims in the world[81] – 64,000 and 32,000. Together they accounted for up to 40 percent of the world's homicides. Figure 19 exhibits countries that had more than 10,000 homicides in 2017.

Figure 18. Homicide rate per 100,000 of world's five most violent countries, 2017



Source: Author's calculation based on UNODC database

Figure 19. Total homicides in countries with more than 10,000 victims in 2017 (in thousands)



Source: Author's calculation based on UNODC database.

Urban lethal violence is also heavily concentrated within specific cities, neighborhoods, and sometimes even street segments. Although there is no global comparative data to confirm this trend, several studies in different countries and cities have demonstrated how lethal violence is clustered. This is a crucial factor to be considered in the design of prevention policies (see more in Chapter 3). For example, about 44 percent of El Salvador's homicides occurred in just ten municipalities in 2011 (or 3.8 percent of the total).[82] Similarly, in 2016, 2.2 percent of municipalities accounted for over half of all homicides in Brazil and in the most violent cities, half of all homicides occurred in 10 percent of their neighborhoods.[83] A geospatial analysis of crime in five Colombian cities and one Venezuelan city also found that 50 percent of homicides occurred in just 1.59 percent of city blocks.[84] In the United States, it has been estimated that about 50 percent of violent crimes occur in 5-7 percent of street segments in some cities;[85] in all of Latin America, estimates point to 3-7.5 percent.[86]

Looking at a city level, a divergence between city and country-level trends also emerge. Available data for 68 cities in 66 countries show a reduction of 34 percent in their homicide rates between 2003 and 2016, a decrease almost twice that observed for their respective countries over the same period. This divergence between city and country-level trends is explained by the dynamics in the Americas, where national homicide rates experienced an uptick of 2 percent, while in their bigger cities those rates dropped by an average of 29 percent over the same period, suggesting significant increases in secondary cities.[87] In Asia and Europe, cities and national homicide reduction mirrored already low levels. Table 3 shows the 20 cities with the highest homicide rates in the world.

Table 3. City, Country - Homicide rate per 100,000 people, 2016 or latest

No.	City	Homicide rate
1	San Salvador, El Salvador	193
2	La Ceiba, Honduras	130.7
3	San Pedro Sula, Honduras	113.2
4	Tegucigalpa, Honduras	90.5
5	Soyapango, El Salvador	81.6
6	Belize City, Belize	66.4
7	Cali, Colombia	64.8
8	Guatemala City, Guatemala	64.8
9	Santa Ana, El Salvador	64.4
10	Kingston, Jamaica	54.3
11	Salvador, Brazil	47.8
12	Portmore, Jamaica	47.5
13	Escuintla, Guatemala	46
14	Bambari, Central African Republic	45.7
15	Peten, Guatemala	37.4
16	Belmopan, Belize	33.9
17	Al-Basrah, Iraq	22.1
18	San Fernando, Trinidad & Tobago	22.1
19	Georgetown, Guyana	20.4
20	San Jose, Costa Rica	20.1

Source: Authors' calculation based on UNODC Database.

State Violence

Police extrajudicial killings and disappearances are also indicators and part of the problem, often justified as a police response to urban violence and organized crime. In Brazil, killings by the police amounted to 6,220 in 2018, a 27 percent increase when compared to 2017.[88] The spike is attributed by several specialists to the official violent rhetoric of politicians at the national and sub national levels and promotion of hardline measures. In Mexico, although there is no reliable information available about extrajudicial executions, unlawful killings of civilians by security forces have been constantly denounced by the United Nations and Human Rights Watch.[89] In El Salvador, between January and June 2018, for every police officer killed in an alleged confrontation with criminals, 125 civilians lost their lives. Of the more than 1,400 people killed in those episodes of violence, 90 percent of the victims were said to be gang members.[90] In the Philippines, the "war on drugs" launched by the government in 2016 has since led to the execution of approximately 6,600 dealers or users, according to police data, but civil society organizations point to more than 27,000 victims. These alarming rates led the UN Human Rights Council in 2019, to approve the opening of an investigation into those crimes committed by the government during this period.[91]

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is also an important indicator of organized crime activity. The United Nations defines trafficking in persons as the "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation”.[92]

Taking into consideration that the unit of analysis for human trafficking data are detected cases, the figures presented below are a combination of improved data collection, the set-up of anti-trafficking measures, law enforcement efficiency, and organized crime intensity. Hence, they do not necessarily portray an accurate trend in numbers over the years or higher prevalence in the countries with most detected cases.[93]

Annual estimates of trafficked persons based on data provided by 110 countries reached over 24,600 cases in 2016. This figure represents a peak since 2003, when the United Nations Trafficking in Persons Protocol entered into force. UNODC trend analysis shows that in 2016 the number of detected victims of human trafficking increased by 40 percent with respect to 2011, an increase explained by the evolution of detection in the Americas and Asia.[94] By gender and age, most recent numbers[95] show that adult women accounted for 49 percent of total victims and men for 21 percent. Meanwhile, girls and boys represented 23 percent and 7 percent of all detected trafficked people.

Regarding different forms of exploitation, aggregate numbers show that 59 percent of all people trafficked were meant for sexual exploitation and 34 percent for forced labor. Women and girls accounted for 94 percent of all detected victims of sexual exploitation. Meanwhile, most of the victims for forced labor were men. Figures 20 and 21 show these results in detail.

Figure 20. Sexual exploitation: share (%) of all detected victims, 2016

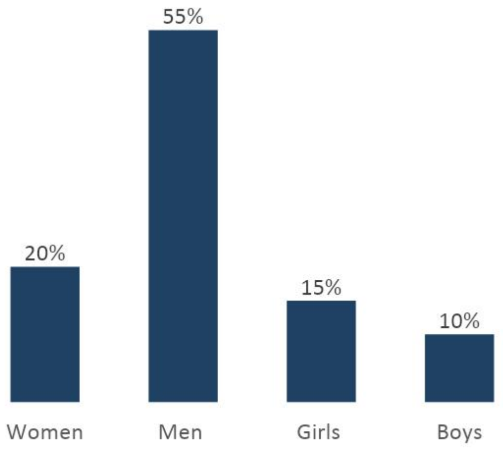
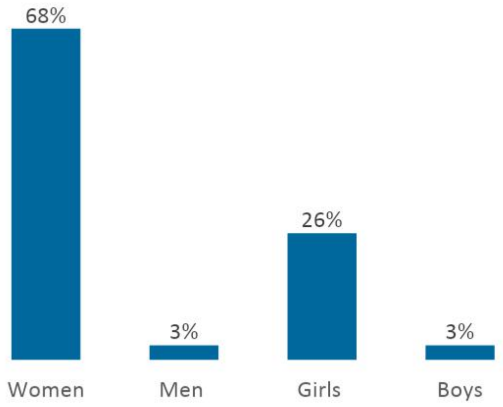


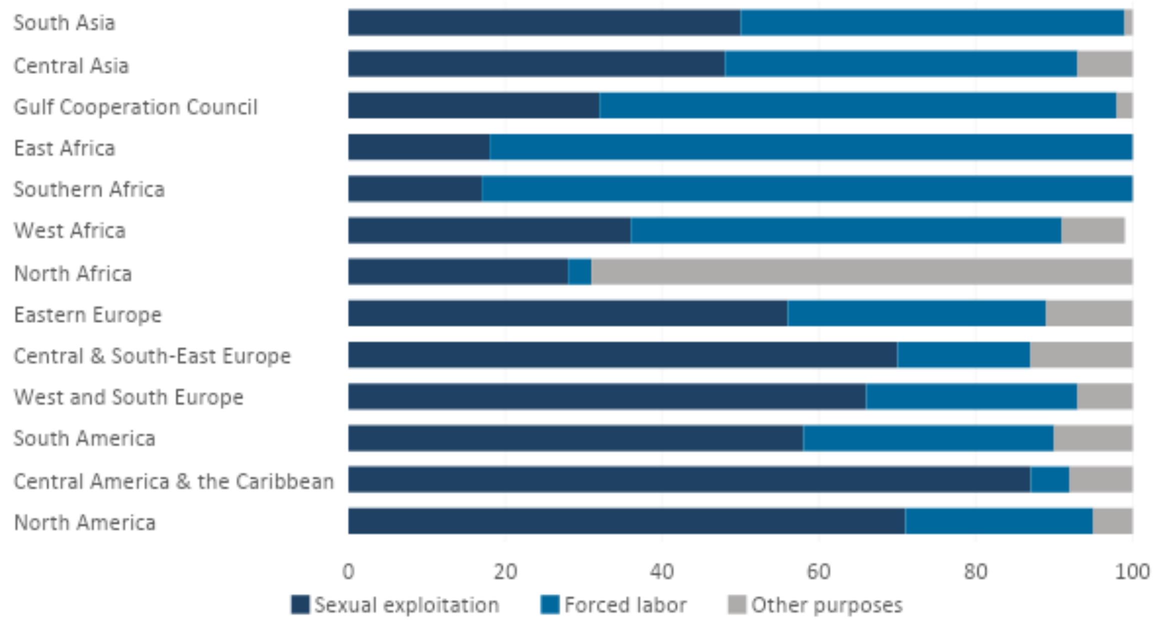
Figure 21. Forced labor: share (%) of all detected victims, 2016



Source: Authors’ production based on the "Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2018”, UNODC.

Geographically, sexual exploitation is concentrated in the Americas and Europe, while forced labor is higher in most parts of Africa. Results for the world’s sub-regions are presented in Figure 22. The highest absolute number of detected victims and its rate per 100,000 people occur in Europe and North America, while the opposite is seen in Africa and the Middle East.

Figure 22. Regional distribution: share of all detected victims, 2016



Source: Authors' production based on the "Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2018", UNODC.

As a result of either increased controls or more trafficking in persons, the world's share of victims detected in their own country of citizenship has been steadily increasing since 2010, and in 2016 up to 58 percent of the victims were detected domestically. However, in Western and Southern Europe just 23 percent of victims are within their own countries' borders. In East Asia and in North America and the Middle East these proportions are 39 percent and 32 percent, respectively.

Finally, it is interesting to highlight that despite relatively low levels in rate detection in East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, the presence of citizens of these regions in others indicate that organized crime groups are well formed.[96]

2.5 Interpersonal Violence

The World Health Organization (WHO) has defined interpersonal violence as "violence between individuals, subdivided into family and intimate partner violence and community violence. The former category includes child maltreatment; intimate partner violence; and elder abuse, while the latter is broken down into acquaintance and stranger violence and includes youth violence; assault by strangers; violence related to property crimes; and violence in workplaces and other institutions".[97]

Within the category of interpersonal violence (IP), this report focuses on Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG) and Violence Against Children (VAC), which can take various forms, including: intimate partner violence (IPV), non-partner sexual assault, female genital mutilation, child marriage, child physical abuse, trafficking, and exploitation. These tend to be some of the most prevalent forms of violence in most contexts. However, quality comparable data for IP across countries is scarce. For this reason, this section also places emphasis on intimate partner or family-related killings, specifically.

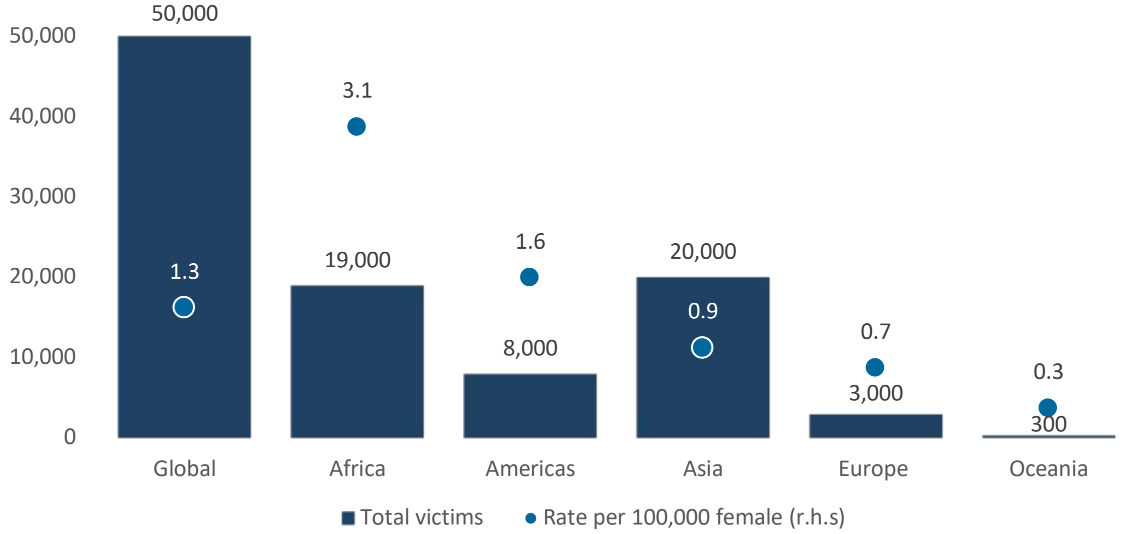
UNODC collects national data on homicides perpetrated by intimate partners or family members.[98] Because the majority of femicides are committed by an intimate partner or family member, UNODC uses this as a good proxy for femicide. Methodologies applied and longitudinal coverage in national and regional surveys, when available, make it extremely hard to identify trends and cross-region or cross-country analysis.[99] Data on non-lethal interpersonal violence usually comes from population-based surveys. Generally, as this data is available for some countries for a few years (at best), it is not possible to produce trend analysis.

Lethal Violence Against Women

Most of the murders of women and girls are perpetrated by an intimate partner (or ex-partner) or family member, and this type of crime seems to be on the rise. Of a total of 87,000 women and girls killed in 2017, 58 percent were victims of a partner or former partner or another family member, a significant increase from the 47 percent registered in 2012. In absolute numbers, 30,000 women and girls were intentionally killed in 2017 by a current or former intimate partner and an additional 20,000 by another family member.[100] Women and girls represented 82 percent of the victims of all intimate partner homicides and 64 percent of homicides carried out by an intimate partner or other family member in 2017.

The highest rate of intimate partner or family related homicides was registered in Africa (3.2 per 100.00), followed by the Americas (1.6); the lowest was registered in Oceania (0.3 per 100,000), as shown in Figure 23. In virtually all regions, intimate partner violence (IPV) was responsible for most female deaths: the perpetrator was an intimate partner or family member in 69 percent of the cases in Africa; 59 percent in Asia; 38 percent in Europe; 46 percent in the Americas; and 63 percent in Oceania.

Figure 23. Intimate partner or family related homicides, by region, 2017



Source: Authors' calculation based on UNODC database. Note: N/A: Not Available.

Non-lethal Violence Against Women

Gender-based homicide rarely takes place as an isolated event. On the contrary, it is usually the ultimate step in a longer pattern of violence.[101] Indeed, a defining characteristic of IPV is that it consists of repeated incidents, often increasing in severity, that leave profound effects on survivors. Assessing the extent of this violence, and comparing across countries, is challenging due to different legal definitions, reporting mechanisms, cultural norms around reporting, and data collection methods.[102] As a result, available survey data for non-lethal violence against women and girls – physical, sexual, psychological, economic[103] – shows great variation across countries that cannot be explained by differences in violence levels alone.[104]

Most VAW is perpetrated by an intimate partner. Cross-country surveys estimate that worldwide, 30 percent of women suffered some sort of violence by an intimate (current or former) partner.[105] In OECD countries this figure is estimated at 22 percent.[106] Other countries with the highest estimates of intimate partner victimization are Turkey, New Zealand, and Finland, at 38 percent, 35 percent, and 32 percent, respectively. At the other end are Switzerland with 9.8 percent, and Poland and Spain with 13 percent.

Victimization by someone other than an intimate partner accounts for a much smaller proportion of VAW. While 30 percent of women worldwide have experienced violence from a partner, about 5 percent were victimized by a non-partner, out of a total of 35 percent ever victimized by physical or sexual violence.[107] Country-level data shows great variation, but the same logic applies: 47 percent of US women who suffered an attempted or completed rape had a current or former intimate partner as the perpetrator.

Physical violence appears to be more common than sexual violence, although there is wide variation across regions. Africa reported the highest level of physical violence, with a lifetime prevalence of 40 percent in almost half of countries surveyed.[108] In half of European Union countries, at least 30 percent of women experienced physical violence in their lifetime.[109] In the United States, one in every four women experienced sexual violence, physical violence, and/or stalking by an intimate partner and reported an IPV-related impact during their lifetime.[110] Asian women exposed to physical violence was lower[111] than African and country-specific figures were narrower. Sexual violence against women and girls is also pervasive in some countries. In Africa, more than 20 percent of women suffered sexual violence in more than half of surveyed countries. Data covering countries in Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean are too few to draw regional conclusions, but country-level data indicates a prevalence that ranges from 4 percent to 13 percent. On the other hand, in the European Union, 10 percent of women over 15 years old have suffered sexual violence and 5 percent have been raped.[112] Estimates for the US show that 36.3 percent of women suffered some form of sexual violence and that 19.1 percent were victims of completed or attempt rape.[113]

Violence Against Children

Violence against children is one of the most common and pervasive forms of violence. It is also one of the hardest to estimate, because under-reporting tends to be very high. According to a meta-analysis of global data, incidence of child abuse may be 30 times higher, and physical abuse 75 times higher, than reported in official sources.[114] Because of the devastating impacts it can inflict, and the high vulnerability of children, all forms of VAC are considered human rights violations.

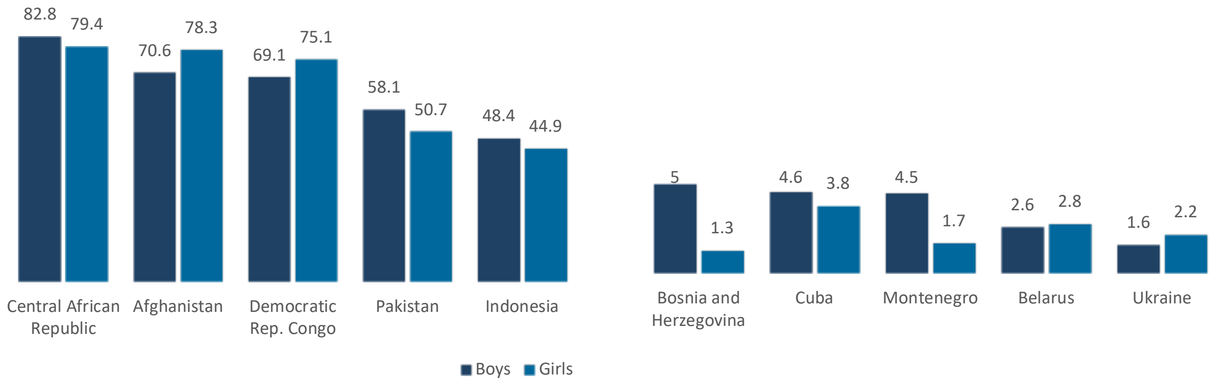
According to Know Violence in Childhood (KVC) estimates for 2015,[115] 1.7 billion (or 75 percent) children worldwide had experienced some form of violence. Moreover, the WHO's INSPIRE initiative[116] reports that 36 percent of children worldwide have been psychologically abused in their lifetime, while 18 percent of girls and 8 percent of boys were victims of some sexual abuse.[117]

KVC's regional analysis of physical violence against girls show that the highest levels of violence occur in Africa, while the lowest take place in industrialized countries and Central and Eastern Europe.[118] In line with these findings, UNICEF estimates violence against girls and boys at their home in the Middle East and North Africa region at 87 percent and in Sub-Saharan Africa at 81 percent. Both regions show almost no difference by gender: girls and boys are equally psychologically or physically abused by caregivers. There are no aggregate estimates for Latin America and the Caribbean, but available country-level data range from 45 percent in Panama to 85 percent in Jamaica.[119]

Violence against children is a pervasive threat in developed countries as well. The lifetime rate of child maltreatment[120] in the US is estimated at 37.4 percent,[121] while 14.3 percent of girls suffered from some sort of sexual assault and 4.5 percent were victims of rape during childhood. In the European Union, 27 percent of women have suffered some sort of physical abuse during their childhood and 12 percent experienced some sort of sexual violence, where males were perpetrators in 97 percent of cases.[122]

Violence against children is related to norms and practices in the home, and often contributes to a belief that violence is justified in some cases. In some developing countries, a large share of boys and girls[123] feel that a husband is justified in beating or hitting their wife. For example, 83 percent of boys and 79 percent of girls in Central African Republic justified violence towards wives. Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo also showed large shares of violence acceptance, with boys at about 70 percent and girls at 78 percent to 75 percent. On the other hand, countries such as Cuba, Montenegro, and Ukraine presented the lowest share of wife beating justification, as shown in Figure 24 for selected countries.

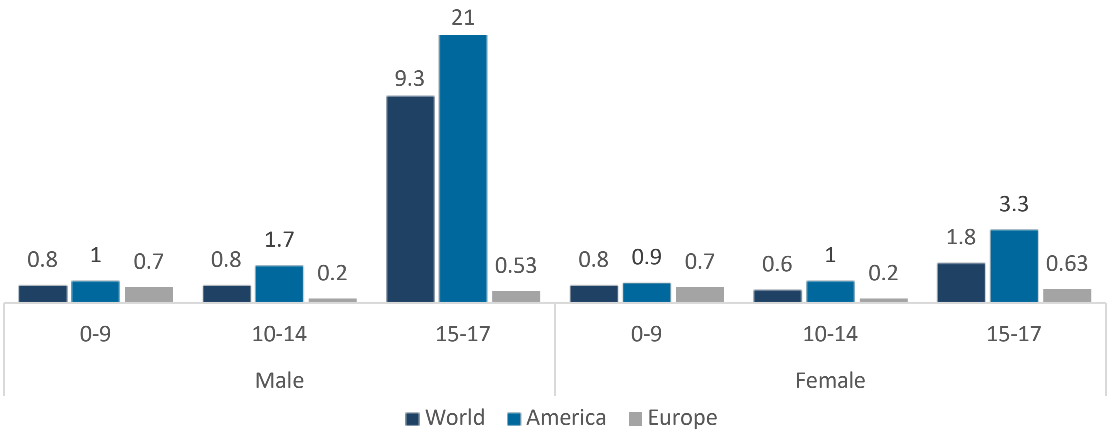
Figure 24. Percentage of children who consider a husband to be justified in hitting or beating his wife, selected countries



Source: UNICEF global databases, 2019.

The most brutal culmination of violence against children is intentional killing. Worldwide, homicide took more than 205,000 children's lives below 15 years old in ten years, between 2008 and 2017. By gender, boys accounted for 59 percent and girls for 41 percent, showing a parity in child homicide that is not seen in other age cohorts and reflecting that at early life stages, when children spend most of their time with caregivers, both genders are vulnerable.[124] Available data for 2016 show a world homicide rate of 1.6 per 100,000 for children below 18 years.

Figure 25. Homicide rate per 100,000 children, by gender and region, 2016



Source: UNODC, "Global Study on Homicide 2019".

Boys start becoming more likely than girls to suffer homicide after 9 years old and their homicide risk increases from the age of 15 onwards, when adolescents spend more time away from caregivers. In fact, 15 to 17 year old male adolescents faced a homicide rate of 9.3 per 100,000 in 2016, while the female rate was 1.8. UNODC found that the global increase is largely explained by increases in violence in the Americas, as shown in Figure 25. This is consistent with the onset of adolescents' exposure to gang violence and organized crime activity.[125] On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in Europe, both boys and girls homicidal risk drops between 9 to 15 years, an age where children start spending less time at home and are therefore less exposed to family members.

Other efforts are being made to draw attention to this issue and promote better and tailored solutions to different contexts. The Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children established in 2016[126] – a public-private organization created as part of the SDG efforts and focused on making the world safe for children, and complemented by the launch of the INSPIRE package with seven strategies to prevent violence against children – has also contributed to more research and data gathering in this area. For example, as part of The Evidence for Better Lives Study,[127] a consortium dedicated to ending violence against children that emerged from the dialogue between the Global Partnerships and a group of researchers, philanthropists, and representatives from WHO, UNICEF, UNODC Office of Research – Innocenti, is launching in 2020 a report on VAC in eight cities in middle-income countries.[128] Building on the INSPIRE framework, the "Addressing Violence against Children: Mapping the Needs and Resources in Eight Cities across the World" report identifies needs and resources for addressing violence against children in those cities. Among its findings, the report shows that 54 percent of pregnant women that participated in the study had been victims of physical violence by a family member when they themselves were a child; 30 percent experienced intimate partner violence during pregnancy; and approximately 40 percent believed that spanking was a sign that parents love their children.

National Violence against Children Surveys have also been implemented by the U.S. Center for Disease and Control,[129] as part of the Together for Girls partnership,[130] to measure physical, emotional, and sexual violence against girls and boys. Through household surveys of children and young adults aged 13 to 24 years, this effort aims to guide programs and policies to prevent violence against children. Twelve countries have completed the surveys and are currently implementing policy responses; reports on the results of the VAC Survey should be released in 2020 for other seven countries, and five countries are currently carrying out their VAC surveys.[131] Some of the results of the most recent surveys indicate, for instance, that in Nigeria, Uganda, and Zambia more than one in ten aged 13 to 24 years who had ever had sex experienced forced sexual initiation, which led to infrequent condom use, recent experiences of violence, and mental health issues, increasing the risks for HIV and other consequences. Preliminary data from the Colombia national survey showed that 40.8 percent of females and 42.1 percent of males suffered from sexual, physical or psychological violence before the age of 18.[132]

2.6 Data Gaps and Convergences

Throughout this section, we provided empirical evidence of violence in each of the five dimensions discussed, at the world, regional, and country-levels whenever available. Such evidence let us draw some conclusions and identify patterns.

The first conclusion that emerges is that further coordination and investment in data collection and harmonization is needed. Despite important achievements obtained in the last decade, the referred dimensions in this section would require particular improvements, and efforts and agreements that would allow institutions and countries to develop harmonized databases would make global comparisons more realistic. Data on conflict and violent extremism would benefit from adjustments that avoid double counting and allow for longitudinal and cross-country aggregation. Basic urban crime reporting data is still especially low in Africa.[133] Moreover, further efforts to collect disaggregated data (age, gender, mechanism/means used, etc.) in Africa and Asia would provide additional valuable information for policymakers. Finally, obtaining city-level data in these regions would be beneficial too, especially considering their rates of rapid urbanization. Interpersonal Violence (IP) data availability varies widely from country to country but estimates on prevalence rates are high across regions. Additional investment in collecting granular data through surveys and administrative data would be essential to understand and design appropriate policy responses.

Looking at time trend and geographic distribution, conflict and violent extremism, through the form of terrorism, appear to be positively correlated. Trend analysis shows that both types of crimes intensified in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, peaking in 2014 and continued to decrease since then. In fact, deaths from violent conflict and terrorism decreased 20 percent and 15 percent respectively in 2018. Moreover, they accumulate reductions of 43 percent and 52 percent with respect to 2014. Geographic convergence in conflict and terrorism appear to be relevant at the region and country level as well, as victims of both crimes shifted from the Middle East to Asia in recent years. In fact, 2018 was the first year that Asia lost more lives than the Middle East due to each of these types of violence. All ten countries with the highest death toll from terrorism were also involved in armed conflict. Additionally, it is interesting to note that the reduction in the number of victims went hand in hand with an increasing trend in the number of countries affected. In the context of these trends and geographic convergences, it would be interesting to explore how violent actors, such as ISIL, move across countries in response to state or international military action and whether victims arise under the form of conflict or extremism depending on local conditions such as state capabilities, political and ethnic fragmentation, amongst others. Finally, conflicts and high intensity of violent extremism usually come hand in hand with weak rule of law and very limited resources. Together, these situations bring fertile terrain for human traffickers, as has been documented in places such as the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The convergence analysis between the crimes referred to above and mass atrocities is complex because, as explained in section 2.2, such episodes are labeled under particular national and international political contexts. However, it is usually the case that mass atrocities take place in the context of protracted violent conflict and acts of terrorism.

Overall, there is no clear pattern across the different forms of violence that would allow for predicting how they might interact. In general, violence is often hard to predict because even in the presence of various risk factors, most people behave non-violently most of the time. It is also hard to say how or when a form of violence will morph into another. In some countries, such as El Salvador and Guatemala, the formal end of civil conflict has given way to even higher levels of violence in peacetime. In others, such as Colombia, political violence has given way to violence by organized crime networks who take advantage of the instability. Nor is there any clear pattern between violent extremism and mass atrocities, or clear indication of why extremism emerges in some communities and countries and not in others. One possible explanation would be that violent actions materialize in either form of violence depending on how actors anticipate the likelihood of success of their objectives.[134]

Finally, taking into consideration the gaps in data collection, levels of interpersonal violence seem to be widespread throughout the world, with significant numbers of women experiencing physical, sexual, and psychological abuse regardless of the region or country's socioeconomic or fragility condition, and children experiencing child abuse and maltreatment. Although there is no quality quantitative data demonstrating a causality between areas with higher levels of conflict, for example, and violence against women, there is significant qualitative and country level data suggesting a correlation between the two (see more in section 3.5).

3. Existing Evidence for Effective Prevention of Different Types of Violence

Having discussed the state of the problem of different forms of violence in chapter 2, in this chapter we examine the existing evidence on what seems to work to prevent them. While for some of these dimensions the literature is robust and clear, and relies more on rigorous impact evaluations, in others the evidence is heavily built on case studies and practitioner's experiences, which also offer significant insights on common trends for effective or promising solutions. For this reason, which also relates to differences in scale and complexity of each of the forms of violence, this section doesn't necessarily follow a systematic structure, but rather flows organically according to how the existing evidence is organized and how the story can be told based on existing research and practice.

3.1 Conflict

The nature of armed conflict has shifted in recent decades, away from inter-state wars toward civil conflict and, increasingly, conflicts involving non-state actors. The traditional war between two states, regulated by international laws, has become less frequent overall, despite an uptick in these kinds of conflicts in 2018, as shown in the first chapter of this report. Conflicts involving non-state actors are accounting for an increasing share of conflict-related deaths. In addition, non-state groups are increasing in number and diversity, encompassing a range of actors from trafficking networks to rebel or paramilitary groups, many of them with transnational affiliations. Thus, war, civil conflicts, and organized crime are often found together, and the lines between them continue to blur.[135]

Several challenges have limited the development of a solid evidence base for conflict prevention. Evaluations are difficult to conduct in many conflict situations, especially with any kind of experimental design. The complexity of many conflicts, involving multiple actors and often spreading over long time periods, means that programs to address conflict are less amenable to evaluation. As a result, most assessments are based on case studies and not on impact evaluations or analyses that follow rigorous quantitative methods. Added to this is the fact that despite the heterogeneity in the size, objectives, organization, and capabilities of armed groups, and the conflicts where they feature, the conflict literature often groups them together when discussing programming solutions.

The immense heterogeneity of conflict settings, and the difficulties in assessing impact of prevention interventions, mean that it is difficult, if not impossible, to compare interventions and say definitively whether one is more effective than another. That said, the literature does allow for the identification of some common elements or principles to prevent or counter diverse types of conflicts.

The role of national governments is central here because national governments are charged with overall conflict prevention and management within their territories. They have responsibility for overall coordination of prevention efforts across various levels of governance and with communities. Therefore, the following discussion places the state at the center of prevention efforts.

Like all human processes, conflict does not conform to a linear progression. Rather, societies tend to move in and out of conflict, with varying degrees of intensity and violence over time, and often revisit the same terrain in the process. While each society's pathway is unique, there are some common experiences that tend to create opportunities for preventive or corrective action at key moments. In general, preventing conflict from devolving into violence requires managing disparities across groups that could solidify into grievances against other groups, and/or against a state that is seen as maintaining them. This section is organized according to particular moments along the spectrum between peace and full-blown conflict, where certain state actions can be more effective.

One overarching lesson for conflict prevention is that sustaining peace requires long-term, consistent investment.[136] Sustainable peace is only built over the longer term, and will not fit into political or programming cycles, though some interventions can generate "quick wins" in the immediate term. Sustaining funding and attention for true reform is a challenge, since national governments, and international actors alike, are often preoccupied with conflicts that have already escalated to crisis situations. Addressing the structural drivers of conflict is often highly contentious and involves renegotiating power relationships, which requires much more time and steady resource flows over the long term.[137]

Preventing Conflict Onset

Generally speaking, the windows of opportunity for addressing conflict dynamics tend to narrow as a country moves toward open violence, and the tendency for repeating episodes of violence increases. In that sense, early action to address structural conditions that can be mobilized as grievances has the greatest chance of heading off violence later. This involves strengthening the capacity of state institutions to address the conditions that feed into grievances, and to manage conflict between various groups in society without violence.[138] Promoting more inclusive participation in the democratic process, and creating spaces for peaceful dialogue, are also key to creating an environment where conflicts can be resolved without violence. Overall, this process involves:

Promoting macroeconomic stability. Many conflicts have been triggered by macroeconomic shocks that suddenly changed the terms of trade, resulted in a fall in tax revenue, or affected prices for key exports – all of which have direct, and often drastic, implications for people's livelihoods. The impacts of macroeconomic instability can be compounded if governments are not able to effectively communicate with the population to manage people's perceptions of why the changes are happening, and who is gaining or losing from the process. Social safety nets can also help people weather shocks, when they are managed effectively.

Enhancing democracy and participation. People are less likely to develop strong grievances and participate in violent movements when they have a say in the processes that affect them. To this end, increasing the participation of civil society can be important in promoting accountability and improving perceptions of the state. An authoritarian government and the absence of functioning institutions can lead to new grievances among the population and promote renewed violent cycles.[139]

A narrowing of space for political dissent and civic participation, especially when it is accompanied by repressive state actions, is widely recognized as an important early warning of the risk of violent conflict.[140] When the state becomes a source of violence, grievances can escalate quickly. Paradoxically, authoritarian states often drive reductions in violence overall, as the state becomes the chief violent actor and uses violence more selectively to maintain order.[141] However, this may backfire, as experience or exposure to violent measures by security forces, especially when these are perceived as targeted at one group, and/or as a means of tamping down dissent, are some of the most powerful push factors into violent groups.[142]

Furthering gender equality. Global, longitudinal studies have established correlations between high gender disparities, including differences in income, employment, and prevalence of VAW, and a country's willingness to use violence as a first response in both domestic and international conflicts;[143] the severity of that violence;[144] human rights abuses; and tendency not to comply with international norms and treaty agreements.[145] Because women tend to be among the first affected when violence and insecurity increase, changes in women's experiences – such as increases in IPV and sexual assault, or in the number of female-headed households or girls attending school – are often viewed as early warnings of violent conflict and mass atrocities.[146] With this in mind, working to reduce gender inequalities overall can contribute to reduced risk of conflict.

Promoting peaceful narratives and norms. Experiences of peace education and intra-community dialogue can be effective in developing shared norms and rules to avoid violence. The actions have to be engaged in a broader institutional and political context and to be sustainable over time, in order to be able to counter destructive narratives that promote violence. Different instruments such as media (radio, TV and digital media, etc.) can positively affect people's attitudes toward peace.[147] These actions increasingly involve electronic media campaigns, including blogs and social media advocacy.[148]

Ensuring fair and quality service delivery. Because service delivery is one of the most direct ways people encounter the state, its quality and distribution affects how they feel about the state generally. Uneven service coverage, when it is seen as benefiting one group at the expense of another, or corruption in service delivery, can feed grievances that can be mobilized toward violence. In contexts where state presence is limited, alternate actors, including armed groups, may fill the void and provide essential services, which can have the effect of further undermining the state. Because of these dynamics, ensuring access to services, and creating mechanisms for citizens to express grievances and give input into improving service delivery, is a key part of creating an enabling environment for peace.[149]

Supporting early warning systems. Composed of real-time information about the different localities, Early Warning Systems are an important tool for early intervention to head off violence (see Box 2 for examples). They can be part of a national government strategy and functioning structure. Evaluation studies point out that early warning systems are usually more efficient when they rely on networks of local prevention and information sharing. Systems that foster collaboration between government teams working at the territorial level, community leaders, grassroots, and civil society organizations can monitor conflict indicators so they can be addressed adequately before violence escalates.[150]

Box 2. Early Warning Systems

Early Warning Systems can have different characteristics, but all have the goal of identifying imminent risks of conflicts and reporting them so that actions can be taken to prevent violence from escalating. Quantitative and qualitative data can compose these systems, which can also have teams moving on the ground of the fragile localities and civil society reporting components. Inter-governmental, governmental, and non-governmental organizations use these systems. The literature points out that those systems present better results when they are part of a multistakeholder strategy, connecting with local people, and gathering different types of information.

For example, the *CEWARN – Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism* is a collaborative effort of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda to mitigate and prevent violent conflicts. The organization has a protocol that allows them to collect information on different areas, identify risks of imminent conflict, and report to the state authorities. It is an example of an early intervention system that allows civil society reports.

In Kenya, different institutions took part in the development of the "Uwiano platform", a multistakeholder platform that promotes information sharing and facilitates early identification and warning of violence risks, which can then be followed by a quick intervention strategy, preventing the escalation of violence.

Sources: CEWARN, "About CEWARN"; UN and World Bank, "Pathways for Peace";
Nyheim, "Early Warning and Response to Violent Conflict. Time for a Rethink?".

Fostering structures for mediation across groups. The creation of permanent national structures of mediation and negotiation in countries that live with disputes and imminent conflicts is also a key prevention effort, with regular follow-up with the different parties that can allow for timely negotiation if potential tensions grow. Also, mediation and negotiation services can be related to the early warning systems. When grievances and disagreements are detected, mediation teams can be deployed to prevent violence escalation.[151] The communication between stakeholders can be strengthened through the creation of committees or councils with representatives of different institutions, including the national authorities, civil society, and the private sector. Box 3 provides some examples.

Box 3. Examples of Multistakeholder Committees and Councils for Mediation

In Kosovo, local safety public committees were established to facilitate communication between the police and the community. It was composed of a wide range of representatives either from the local or national authorities, non-governmental institutions, and the community.

In Kenya, the national government created the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management in early 2000s. The dialogue between different groups was encouraged, and the experience expanded to the whole country. Interestingly, the Committee has its origins in the 1990s Women Peace Committees created by women to mobilize youth and elders to work toward peace. The work was so effective that the local authorities recognized it and turned it into a national policy.

In Ghana, the Northern Regional Peace Advisory Council was set up in 2004 followed by a National Peace Council, ten regional peace councils, and district advisory councils. Religious leaders are key actors of these councils, and they had an essential role in preventing violence in the country in different contexts over the years. Complementing the Council’s action, there are Early Warning Systems implemented and the support of international organizations.

Source: UN and World Bank, “Pathways for Peace”.

Transitioning from a Conflict to a Peaceful Context

The process of rebuilding trust after conflict takes time, patience, and perseverance. Because conflict is so heavily rooted in social context, the measures to help in the transition to peace will not be the same everywhere. There is no single recipe; rather, there are common elements that have featured in many successful transitions, in various combinations. These include:

Managing outbreaks of violence. In many cases, the way states deal with outbreaks of violence determines the degree to which that violence will escalate. Violence often signifies a crossroads for a society, where there is space to consider a shift in direction – toward or away from violence.[152] In these moments, a ceasefire or temporary peace agreement can alter incentives of actors, bringing them into negotiations that can address longer-term challenges.

Promoting inclusive dialogue for the peace process. The more inclusive the dialogue, the greater the chance of building the necessary trust to sustain peace. This may mean including groups that might not be seen as legitimate by all parties, for example criminal or rebel groups. The exclusion of potential spoiler groups has been known to backfire in some cases.[153] Central to this is the presence of a neutral party to facilitate communication across different actors. Moreover, the negotiation will have more chance of success if it considers home-grown solutions for the conflict, instead imposing external ideas.[154]

Fostering power-sharing. Most countries that have been successful in transitioning from conflict to peace have implemented some form of national power-sharing agreement. These arrangements often lead to decentralization of power and/or redistribution of resources.[155] Experience suggests that multi-sector reforms – especially when they include the security sector (see more below) – bear stronger potential for success over the long term.[156] These reforms are often later enshrined in new constitutions and provide a platform for embarking on longer-term structural reforms.

Implementing a Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) process. DDR programs vary extensively in their reach, target populations, and impact. Many countries have followed a phased approach to incentivize armed groups to participate in peacebuilding and foster their reintegration into civilian life (see Box 4). This usually includes initial negotiations to build trust, working up to expressing and negotiating demands, and eventually, a ceasefire.[157] Disarmament and demobilization are often accompanied by enacting new arms control measures. Re-integration increasingly includes efforts to restructure security forces – in some cases retraining ex-combatants to serve in official security forces, as in South Africa's transition. It also may include employment programs, with social services including psychological support, as in Colombia and the Philippines.[158]

A key challenge has been in striking a balance between creating incentives for armed groups to lay down their weapons without feeding perceptions that they are "rewarding" individuals for violent behavior. DDR programs have also struggled with how to incorporate a gender sensitivity, given the often radically different incentives and experiences of men and women in conflict.

Box 4. Impact of Peacebuilding Operations in the Short and Long Term

Analyzing data from 124 post-Second World War civil wars, Doyle and Sambanis (2000) found that multilateral, UN peace operations make a positive difference, and that international peacebuilding has the potential to improve the chances of bringing a civil war to an end. These processes are positively correlated with democratization after the end of the war, and multilateral enforcement is usually successful in ending violence at least two years after the end of the war or the beginning of the peace operation. The study also identifies specific common strategies that should be pursued, such as addressing the local drivers of conflict, targeting the local capacities for change, and assessing the degree of existing international commitment to ensure sustainable peace. These three dimensions are considered by the authors to be the political space or effective capacity for building peace.

In a later work, however, Sambanis (2008) revisited those conclusions, looking for long-standing results of peace operations. While the study reaffirms that in the short term such efforts help parties to implement peace agreements, and indeed bring positive contributions or "quality to the peace", those effects are not necessarily sustainable overtime. According to the author, peace sustainability relies on the development of institutions and policies that will lead to sustainable economic growth, and therefore more emphasis on economic reforms and broader development should be placed in peacebuilding efforts.

Sources: Doyle and Sambanis. "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis"; Sambanis, "Short- and Long-Term Effects of United Nations Peace Operations".

Preventing Recurrence of Violent Conflict

Conflicts have become not only more diverse, with a broader range of actors, but also more protracted in many parts of the world. Permanent peace settlements are increasingly less common, and many of today's conflicts exhibit features that make them particularly resistant to negotiated resolutions. These include the proliferation of armed groups, increased involvement of external actors (usually larger countries), and the deep societal grievances that fuel them. Some conflicts that formally ended years ago continue to extend through a legacy of post-conflict violence, as in El Salvador and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

In this context, it is more critical than ever to prevent the onset of conflict and facilitate transitions to peace when conflict does occur. Toward this end, national governments need to tackle the structural conditions that often underlie grievances. These generally focus on three areas:

1. Redistribution to address economic and social grievances

This often involves directing investment toward regions or populations that have historically been underserved. In Kenya, negotiations following the 2007 election violence prompted the government to prioritize investment in northern, frontier regions that had historically been underserved.[159] These actions took place within a broader effort at devolution of government budget and functions, designed to increase the resources available to subnational governments in peripheral areas.

2. Land and natural resource reform

The post-conflict phase often offers space to revisit some of the most contentious areas of resource sharing. While efforts to redistribute land or access to natural resources can bring risks, resolving them in a fair and transparent way can cement the foundations for peace. Land reform efforts have been pivotal in peace processes in Colombia, Uganda, and Malawi, among others.[160]

3. Security System Reform (SSR)

Often, SSR focuses on reforming, or even building, institutions in the security system of countries of ongoing conflict, such as the police, the judiciary, penal system, and armed forces, under the paradigm of good governance and respect for human rights. Associated with many transition processes, research has placed SSR as having offered varying degrees of contribution to the pacification and development efforts of countries such as Kosovo,[161] Democratic Republic of Congo,[162] Afghanistan, and Iraq.[163] After being criticized for being overly normative and overly focused at the national level, there are efforts[164] to update SSR frameworks and processes seeking to bring it closer to Latin American and Caribbean experiences more associated with the concept of Citizen Security. Among other strategies, these experiences have valued the local context and community participation.

A central challenge in the transition period is that structural reforms often need to be undertaken together with a process of reconciliation to heal the social divisions deepened by conflict. Given that the structural reforms tend to be contentious, there can be serious risks of relapses. National dialogue to address harm done during conflict and promote cohesion across groups is key to building the capacities to avoid further violence. These efforts vary widely – from Truth and Reconciliation Commissions to smaller scale community dialogues, some involving amnesty for perpetrators of violence while others focus on high-level prosecutions of leaders responsible for more serious crimes. Evidence on these measures is limited and varied, making it difficult to say which elements are most strongly associated with the prevention of violence. However, it is clear that they often contribute to increased confidence in the state, which is especially important for new governments working to navigate the transition to peace. [165]

Theory of Change for Conflict Prevention

Based on the review of the literature above, a summarized theory of change for the existing elements of effective conflict prevention could be summarized as follows:

	National level efforts				International level efforts	
Activities	Build state capacity/strengthen institutions	Establish permanent national structure of mediation and negotiation	Peace education and intracommunity dialogue	Establish Early Warning Systems	Mediation and preventive action from international actors	International Development Assistance
Outputs	State reforms implemented, human rights, rule of law, state accountability and improved service delivery promoted	Countries that live with disputes and imminent conflicts create institutional mechanisms to address them	Activities to develop peaceful shared forms and rules	Governments work with grassroot organizations, and civil society to identify risks	Neutral actors bringing different actors to the table	Financial and technical support provided to implement key structural reforms, strengthen prevention and mediation, implement specific conflict resolution programs (e.g. DDR), diplomatic, security and development instruments
Outcomes	Countries better prepared to address state failure and population grievances	Different actors with access to institutional space for peaceful conflict resolution	Improved attitudes toward peace	Conflicts and risk predicted	Dialogue and negotiation between conflicting parties promoted	Countries receive support and incentives to invest in effective prevention mechanisms
Impacts	Strengthened relationship between state and citizens; citizens less likely to resort to violence	Reduced chances of conflict eruption	More peaceful societies	Early intervention responses implemented	Reduced chances of conflict eruption	Fragile countries less vulnerable to eruption of new conflicts
Ultimate Goal	Conflict Prevented					

3.2 Mass Atrocities and Human Rights Abuses

Because they are large-scale events aimed at causing significant loss of human life, mass atrocities and human rights abuses inflict serious harm. They generally occur within the context of broader armed conflict; a global study of all conflicts between 1900 and 2006 found that two-thirds of mass atrocities happened within ongoing violent conflicts.[166] Therefore, preventing them has the potential not only to save lives but also avoid injuries and trauma, and contribute to greater stability and peace.

The building of an evidence base around preventing mass atrocities and human rights abuses is challenging, partly because these types of crimes are rare, and the dynamics surrounding them so complex. That said, there are common risk factors associated with the three main categories of mass atrocity: genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.[167] Prevention entails monitoring the presence of these risk factors and building resilience against them. Because both national governments and the international community play a role in this, this section describes national strategies followed by international actions that can be taken to support resilience and avoid escalation of risk.

According to the United Nations, mass atrocities share eight common risk factors: 1) an existing situation of armed conflict; 2) a record of serious violations of international humanitarian law; 3) weak state structures; 4) motives or incentives for the state to use force and violence against protected groups, populations or individuals; 5) capacity to commit atrocity crimes; 6) absence of preventive and mitigating factors; 7) enabling circumstances or preparatory action; and 8) triggering events or circumstances. These eight items, grouped or isolated, build a higher risk scenario for atrocity crimes to happen and can be monitored by different indicators. The UN monitors the risk of mass atrocities using data collected on ten indicators.[168]

In addition to the common risk factors, there are also specific risk factors for each type of atrocity crime. For example, intergroup tensions or patterns of discrimination and signs of an intention to destroy in whole, or in part, other groups, indicate a higher risk of genocide. Both evidence of a plan to attack civilian populations, as well as the actual carrying out of a widespread or systematic attack, are signs of risks of crimes against humanity. Finally, severe threats to people protected under international law and threats to humanitarian or peacekeeping operations in a war context can point to the risk of war crimes.[169] For these risks, monitoring indicators were also defined by the UN.

The importance of mass atrocities prevention is underscored by international humanitarian law and international human rights law.[170] Countries that ratified the conventions and treaties have committed to taking measures to prevent mass atrocities and human rights abuses in their territories. These laws recommend that state parties should align customary law, national mechanisms, administration, and justice systems with international law to prevent violations.

National Strategies to Prevent Mass Atrocities and Human Rights Abuses

Overall, preventing mass atrocities involves strengthening state institutions and society's resilience to the risk factors for such atrocities by promoting the rule of law, strengthening accountability of institutions, and supporting a diverse and vibrant civil society.[171] National governments play the lead role in this. Having well-structured customary law focused on prevention of atrocities is the first step to prevent human rights abuses. Once having this specific legislation, it is fundamental to enforce the rule of law and human rights protection without discrimination, enhancing the legal framework for human rights and atrocity prevention. To guarantee the implementation of the law, national institutions must be efficient, legitimate, and accountable, guaranteeing its appropriate functioning and eliminating corruption.[172] Finally, it should be stressed that state and non-state actors share the responsibility for preventing atrocities. But differently from other crimes, states are responsible for prevention even out of their territories. If a country in the influence area of another country is under risk, the signatory States of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide should act to prevent the crime.[173]

Strengthening Institutions

National governments play an essential role in preventing mass atrocities and serious human rights violations by organizing and institutionalizing national mechanisms to promote pluralism and participation and accountability. These mechanisms usually take shape as officially established bodies such as Commissions or Committees composed of representatives from different areas of government and civil society to carry out constant risk assessments, the implementation of early warning systems, the development of training programs to their members and civilian servants, the development of policy recommendations, and communication with regional and international organizations.

National Mechanisms can also play a role in strengthening community and local actors' actions, stimulating the expansion of local knowledge about the law, implementing Community-Based Early Warning Systems, and securing human rights documentation and its publicization. However, these kinds of plural institutions face a common challenge of becoming formal bodies with legal support. They often begin as informal initiatives and struggle to be institutionalized by a legislative act with a budget allocation.

Supporting the formalization of these national mechanisms is essential to prevent mass atrocities and the dismantling of these bodies should be seen as a severe threat to peace.[174] The Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) (2018) is emphatic about the importance of parliamentarians and Congress members on developing legislation and initiatives with relevant prevention activities. The legislators are responsible for guaranteeing provision and resource allocation to these initiatives. Finally, they have a role advocating for action on domestic and international risk factors and supervising the implementation of policies and initiatives by executive power. The institutionalization of national mechanisms is a way for the legislators to fulfill the three responsibilities described above.

Box 5. National Mechanisms of Mass Atrocities Prevention

There are many examples of emerging national mechanisms with significative actions on the prevention of mass atrocities: the Commission for International Humanitarian Law of Costa Rica (CCDIH); the Department of General Advisory, Office of the Ombudsman of Ecuador; the Kenya National Committee for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity and All Forms of Discrimination; the Paraguay National Commission for the Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities; the United States Atrocities Prevention Board; the South Sudan National Committee for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity and All Forms of Discrimination; the Tanzania National Committee for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity and All Forms of Discrimination; the Uganda National Committee for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity, and All Forms of Discrimination; and others.

However, until 2018 there was no national mechanism with full legislative institutionalization, guaranteeing it as permanent, sustainable, effective, and legal organs of the state. The Global Center for Responsibility to Protect[175] is one global initiative to promote and strengthen these mechanisms. The network was established in 2010 to improve intra-governmental and inter-governmental efforts to prevent and cease mass atrocities. It has different activities to enhance the creation of national prevention mechanisms and monitor risks of atrocities. The organization has Global Network Focal Points who play an important role in connecting government representatives to stimulate the creation of national mechanisms. It currently includes 59 countries and the European Union.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, influenced by the network discussions, adopted a policy decision on the Responsibility to Protect in June 2016. Still in an informal format (without an established national mechanism of prevention), the Ministry promotes actions and meetings with representatives of different organizations to share achievements and challenges on preventing atrocities in the country. The discussions included the domestic efforts to prevent radicalization and other aspects that increase the risks of atrocity crimes, such as social exclusion, marginalization, and the contemporaneous refugees' crisis (many of whom have escaped mass atrocity).

Source: AIPR, Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, and Yeshica University Benjamin

Another crucial action that national authorities have to guarantee to prevent mass atrocities is a security sector trained on human rights rules engagement and appropriate use of force. Abuses in the use of force are trigger factors for atrocities and human rights violations.[176] A study of effective solutions to prevent serious human rights violations in different countries pointed to the importance of improving procedures in detention centers, for example.[177] The research showed that implementing detention safeguards, fair and improved prosecution, and monitoring systems of detention centers are effective actions to prevent atrocities like systematic torture. Monitoring bodies (which can be part of the National Mechanisms' role mentioned before) are effective for torture prevention, especially when they are part of the national political structure and conduct unannounced visits and interviews in private with prisoners. The study considers these frequent visits as an essential aspect of torture prevention strategies. The international mechanisms are less effective because they are not able to make regular visits. Yet, their focused intervention in specific cases has been effective.[178]

Promoting a Pluralistic and Diverse Civil Society

Supporting strong and diverse civil society and a free and pluralistic media, promoting values of freedom and tolerance is also vital for a community free of atrocities.[179] The prevention of mass atrocities may involve the connection of different actors. The documentation and warning about risk situations and constant abuses can be handled by local doctors, journalists, activists, and others. The information needs to circulate inside a network of actors and institutions to be internalized and absorbed by the national security and justice organs. Indeed, local actors from the community can have an essential role in spreading knowledge about law and rights. Diversified and well-prepared media voices are crucial partners to monitor and warning. If identified, the spreading of hate speech must be considered an early warning and high risk of human rights abuses and crimes against humanity.

International Instruments of Prevention

Cases of mass atrocities are so extreme that, commonly, the international community gets involved. The 2005 World Summit affirmed in its Outcome Document[180] that the international community has the responsibility to prevent atrocity crimes by helping states to build capacity to protect their populations and assist those states before violence escalates. The enforcement of international humanitarian and human rights law is the main way the international community can act. N. Cardozo School of Law's YUBC 2018.

The strengthening of national and international institutions and mechanisms of prevention is key. Continuous capacity building of the UN, Member States, regional, sub-regional organizations, and civil society to a greater understanding of the causes and dynamics of this type of crime is crucial. The best way to do that is by promoting better training in atrocity prevention at different levels, increasing resources to existing entities, and creating incentives for the formalization of prevention structures.[181] Also, there are networks of people and institutions adding efforts and exchanging experiences of prevention around the globe. The Global Network of R2P of Focal Points (see Box 5) and the Latin American Network for Genocide and Mass Atrocities Prevention (La Red Latinoamericana para la Prevención del Genocidio y Atrocidades Masivas) are examples of such initiatives.[182] The international community can be part of the networks and support them with funds and other resources.

Finally, once a country experiences a case of mass atrocity, it is fundamental to guarantee a process of transitional justice. The provision of official recognition of the fact, the redress for victims, and the establishment of historical truths, achieving accountability for abuses and rebuilding civic trust are important conditions to avoid the recurrence of the atrocity crime.[183] As part of the process of transitional justice, crimes should be submitted to a domestic or international court. The International Criminal Court was created to guarantee an appropriate judgment to crimes against humanity, genocides, and war crimes and to create "disincentives" for atrocities perpetrators. Having adequate enforcement would "change the cost-benefit calculus of the would-be perpetrators of atrocities".[184] Other than that, transitional justice is also essential to heal and reconcile a divided society and develop the rule of law after grave abuses.

Theory of Change for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities and Human Rights Abuses

Based on the review of the literature above, a summarized theory of change for the existing elements of effective prevention of mass atrocities and human rights abuses could be summarized as follows:

Activities	Build state capacity/strengthen institutions	Support strong and diverse civil society and peaceful movements	Rebuild trust between citizens and the state
Outputs	Legitimate, democratic, and accountable national institutions and legal frameworks built and strengthened	Plural and less polarized messages and peaceful strategies disseminated; local knowledge of the law and community capacity to identify risks enhanced	Promote transitional justice processes
Outcomes	Improved capacities to understand drivers of violence to resist and to hold countries accountable for the prevention of mass atrocities and abuses	Society more acceptant of different views; civil society with stronger and more effective capacity for action	Achieving accountability for abuses
Impacts	Increased resilience at the broader society level	Increased resilience at the broader society level	Civic trust rebuilt
Ultimate Goal	Mass Atrocities and Human Rights Abuses Prevented		

3.3 Violent Extremism

The evidence base on what works to prevent Violent Extremism (VE) it is more limited than that for other forms of violence. In part, this is a consequence of it being a relatively recent field of focus. The lack of an established definition also contributes to this; many sources simply leave it undefined, leading to some confusion in research, policy, and programming. The sensitivity of VE also means that few evaluations of programs are publicly available, inhibiting the sharing of lessons learned in different contexts.

Because VE sits at the nexus of various disciplines – psychology, sociology, economics, security studies – researchers have approached it from various angles, creating a multidisciplinary depth that lends itself to a range of policy entry points. At the same time, the multifaceted nature of the problem and the multiple angles for approaching it complicate monitoring of results, and contribute to a perception that the field lacks rigor.[185] Added to this are the research challenges associated with working with a population that prefers to remain clandestine; most studies are only able to access the easiest to reach individuals (incarcerated or ex-members of VE groups, and male leaders versus female recruits, for example), leading to some bias in understanding how VE groups function. In addition, because VE tends to be highly context specific, studies of one group or program may not be applicable to other contexts.

These challenges have produced a literature that offers few large-scale evaluations with generalizable findings but is rich in case studies and contextual analysis.[186] As a result, much more is known about the enabling conditions for extremism than about specific programs that work to address it once it has taken root. This section reflects that knowledge base by focusing on the drivers, followed by a brief overview of common elements of programs to address them.

Approaches to Address VE

Interventions to address VE generally fall into one of two main approaches: Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE).

CVE emerged from counterterrorism and is often subsumed under counterterrorism strategies. In contrast to counterterrorism, which focuses on apprehending those who have already engaged in violence, CVE focuses on those individuals and communities that are vulnerable to recruitment by violent extremist groups or already sympathize with them, but have not yet committed acts of violence.[187] CVE generally involves presenting alternatives to violent extremist groups via employment, counter-narrative or social programs, with a view toward providing “exit ramps” for individuals to distance themselves from extremist groups.

PVE grew out of the peacebuilding field and is deliberately positioned outside of the security arena. PVE programs are generally aimed at influencing the environmental factors that enable or protect against violent extremist groups taking root in a particular place.

In recent years, the fields of CVE and PVE have begun to merge into what is often termed Preventing and Countering VE (P/CVE). This approach takes the aspects of CVE applied outside of the security and counterterrorism arenas together with the peacebuilding aspects of PVE; related to this, a VE-sensitive approach developed within the development field to draw on the tools provided by conflict-sensitive development.[188]

Drivers of VE

As with other forms of violence, the presence of VE is the product of the convergence of different factors at the individual, community, and societal level. There is no agreed framework for understanding the drivers of VE, but the literature tends to differentiate between “push factors” (structural conditions conducive to the emergence of VE), and “pull factors” that attract recruits into VE groups.[189] This categorization and many of its elements, are similar to those found in the literature on gang recruitment and violence.

Push factors

The most widely recognized push factors are:

A sense of injustice, often related to violence and humiliation. At the individual level, people – especially youth – are drawn to VE groups primarily by anger over experiences of discrimination and abuse, especially by security forces, that transform into grievances against the state.[190] A cross-country study of Colombia, Afghanistan, and Somalia found that early experiences of violence and humiliation at the hands of security forces were a much more important driver of joining VE groups than economic factors such as unemployment.[191] In a study of over 500 affiliates of VE groups in six African countries, UNDP reported that 71 percent of affiliates were prompted to join a VE group after a government action such as “killing of a family member or friend” or “arrest of a family member or friend”.[192] Collective experiences of repressive state actions are also powerful when they are seen as punishment of particular groups, such as insensitive policing tactics that target ethnic or religious groups.[193] More extreme examples include Ireland’s 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre, the assassination of Nigeria’s Mohamed Yusuf by police forces, or the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia, all of which boosted recruitment into VE groups.[194]

Trauma related to the loss of a loved one. Loss of a family member or partner is one of the strongest push factors for women joining VE groups generally,[195] and for their recruitment as suicide bombers in particular.[196] The loss of a loved one often involves not only an emotional shock but the loss of income or livelihood, an additional aggravating factor.[197]

Existence of ongoing conflict or violence. VE rarely emerges in a vacuum, but tends to surface in environments of active or latent conflict. In some cases, VE groups exploit power vacuums such as a breakdown in governance or the retreat of security forces, as in Afghanistan, Syria, Libya or Somalia. VE groups have often proven adept at hooking into local grievances in conflict areas, as in Yemen and Mali.

Ineffective or exclusionary governance. Areas where state presence is limited or non-existent can turn into a safe haven for VE groups to operate. Perceived neglect by the state also provides fuel for grievances against the state.[198] In cases where state presence is only seen as repressive, or to prioritize the needs of some groups over others, grievances can fester further, and be mobilized by extremist groups toward violence.[199] In a global study, Krueger and Laitin (2008) find restrictions on civil rights to be a stronger push factor than income or poverty rates.[200] Corruption and impunity can also feed grievances and draw support for narratives that justify violence in order to rectify it.[201]

Economic exclusion and limited options for upward mobility. Notably, studies have not demonstrated a clear link between poverty, inequality, and VE activity; in fact, many studies report that higher-income individuals are more likely to join VE groups than poorer ones.[202] However, poverty appears important in increasing vulnerability to recruitment, especially for rank-and-file members (as opposed to leaders). Poverty also increases the attraction of perceived opportunities for economic benefit associated with joining a VE group, via direct payments from the group as well as opportunities for looting or trafficking.[203] Poverty and inequality have a stronger relationship with VE activity when framed by VE leaders as exclusion from upward mobility, especially for young people.[204]

Education level, quality and nature has a mixed relationship with VE. There is no clear relationship between education level and VE activity; the best that can be said is that education affects aspirations, which can be manipulated by VE groups who recruit higher educated people for leadership positions, and those with lower education levels as rank-and-file members.[205] Another common assertion is that religious schools are more likely to promote intolerant views, or to focus on religion at the expense of other skills, such that graduates are ill-equipped for the labor market and thereby more vulnerable to participation in VE groups. The existing evidence is inconclusive; religious education can in some cases promote intolerance and in others it serves as a source of resilience.[206] A related claim is that religious schools may be safer in areas where VE groups are present, because the groups are more likely to attack secular schools.

Pull Factors

The chance to avenge past harm. VE groups are often able to tap into the sense of injustice and exclusion people feel, and channel them toward an out group they claim is responsible. The opportunity to right historical wrongs (real or perceived) converts otherwise mundane grievances into “sacred values” worth fighting for.[207] Various studies of women recruits have shown they join to avenge personal experiences of rape or assault, or the killing of a loved one.[208]

The possibility of upward mobility. For young men in particular, VE groups may promise a pathway to adulthood by demonstrating strength and bravery, and achieving economic independence. VE groups may offer the chance to achieve respect and status as a “big man,” connecting informal power networks or to obtain the resources necessary for key milestones, such as marriage.[209] This is also a strong pull factor for women who hope to take on leadership roles, as they have in resistance movements in Central America, Sri Lanka, Indian Naxalites, and Nepal.[210]

The promise of building a new, more just and inclusive society. VE groups often promise the chance to rebel against the status quo and build a new society.[211] ISIL and Al-Shabaab actively play to this in their recruiting materials, offering young males a place at the table that traditional society often denies them.[212] VE groups promise women the chance to build a more egalitarian society; ISIL promotes this message in its online materials and in its recruiting tactics.[213] In a study of female suicide bombers in Palestine, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Chechnya, and Colombia, Bloom (2005) found that women were motivated by a desire to change the patriarchal norms that limit them, even if they ultimately played into traditional norms by sacrificing themselves.[214]

Community and social networks. Many scholars have noted that VE is a group activity, and social networks play a key role in drawing people in.[215] While social media plays a role, most recruits are initially approached by a friend or family member.[216] VE recruiters are often highly skilled in tailoring ideological narratives to local realities, and making personal connections. ISIL and Al-Shabaab often use technology to build relationships, through encrypted servers or private text messaging.[217]

It is notable that *religious identity* is often cited as a motivating factor for joining VE groups. In reality, religion and religious identity have a complicated relationship with extremism. While religion is often cited by recruits as a reason for joining a group, many studies find that levels of religious education and knowledge are comparatively lower among those who join such groups. For example, religious ideologies were expressed as the primary reason for engaging by the majority (51 percent) of the volunteers in the UNDP (2017) study, yet those who joined had about two fewer years of religious education compared to those who didn't. Rather than a direct driver, it is more likely religion serves as a touchstone for other grievances that is exploited by VE groups and a prism for directing energy toward building a new society.[218]

Lessons for Preventing VE: A Whole of Society Approach

The emerging evidence for addressing the drivers on VE points to the necessity of taking a "whole of society" approach that addresses multiple drivers at various levels and involves a range of stakeholders. In general, countries that have taken a more inclusive and bottom-up approach to countering intolerance appear to have had more success. Indonesia (see Box 6) is one often-cited example. The research suggests the following elements are important:

Preventing repressive security measures, especially mass atrocities. Muscular, repressive responses to citizen concerns tend to isolate moderate voices and drive people to look for equally strong-armed alternatives. Increasing the inclusion and sensitivity of security forces has immense power to address grievances against the state and prevent these from being mobilized for violence. This entails reappraising security interventions, ensuring compliance with rule of law and international norms and standards, and increasing state accountability for human rights violations. It also may mean revisiting policies for particular groups – incarcerated people, or marginalized ethnic or religious groups, for example. Steps toward greater citizen participation are also key in increasing state legitimacy and building trust with at-risk groups.

Improving governance and accountability in service delivery. Because many of the grievances mobilized by VE groups are themselves core development concerns, promoting more inclusive development can go a long way in preventing VE activity. In particular, reforming service delivery, including in the security sector is imperative. Deepening democratic processes, and promoting more inclusive and participatory service delivery, especially in areas where people's confidence in the state is weak, can contribute to the broader social compact needed to sustain peace.[219] Anti-corruption measures are also important in this regard.

Increasing economic inclusion. If they are to compete with the promises of VE groups, governments need to be prepared to offer people, especially young people, a greater stake in economic development and the chance for upward mobility. This requires not only improving the livelihoods of at-risk populations but ensuring they have a stronger voice in decision making and access to the opportunities to follow their aspirations. This also implies being realistic about what those opportunities are, in order to avoid frustrated expectations over the longer term.[220]

Box 6. A Whole-of-Society Approach: Indonesia

A case study of Indonesia reveals lessons for taking a whole of society approach to violent extremism. Indonesia is often noted as a success story because it managed to prevent extremist currents – specifically the terrorist group Jemmah Islamiyyah – from spreading. A case study of 2002-2009 involved interviews with religious organizations, civil society actors, government officials, and ex-Jemmah Islamiyyah members.

In Indonesia, goal-oriented political and cultural leadership at the national level worked in concert with local efforts to carry out the country's successful programming. In so doing, Indonesia has implemented a holistic PVE strategy and also created the civic network to sustain those gains. The case study notes that a critical element of Indonesia's approach was the strong leadership in sending messages to promote tolerance across identity groups, and a commitment to working through social networks, especially with religious leaders who have credibility in different communities. These social organizations were critical to coordinate activities on various levels. Based on the concept of "pancasila," or culture, the strategy helped mobilize a counter-narrative to promote the separation of church and state, and religious tolerance. One organization, LibForAll, enlisted celebrity singers to write songs to counter extremist narratives. The resulting album sold 7 million copies and reached the top of the MTV charts in Asia, giving their anti-extremism messages weeks of continued publicity.

Another key component involved working with schools and universities to ensure that curricula promoted messages of tolerance; that is, sending the right message using the right messenger. The national government supported Muhammadiyah – the oldest Islamist welfare organization in the world, with a membership of 28 million – to create courses in topics such as world religion and to create forums to promote candid discussions with young people on current world events (Palestine, Iraq, Gaza, and so on), which were being mobilized by extremist groups. The work also included partnering with teachers to design more balanced education programs.

Source: Ranstorp, "Preventing Violent Radicalization and Terrorism: The Case of Indonesia."

Supporting space for civil society. When states and communities isolate particular groups, the risk of VE is higher and the overall potential for development is reduced. Increasing civic space is key at all levels, from local to national. Measures for this could include legislative reforms to protect dissent and political expression, as well as initiatives to include diverse voices in policymaking decisions, and capacity building for political actors to better engage with constituents.[221]

Fostering public dialogue to promote tolerance and non-violence. Some countries have been successful in reducing the influence and activity of VE groups by changing the public discourse (see Box 7). This often has involved identifying and supporting critical intermediaries, such as religious leaders or community spokespersons to conduct outreach and engage in critical dialogue on norms and values. While these initiatives vary widely, one important element for success seems to center on having intermediaries who are considered credible by different groups.[222] Intra-faith and inter-faith dialogue about common religious values such as generosity and tolerance have been helpful in this regard in a variety of countries. The media also plays an important role in curbing hate speech, bringing in diverse voices, and avoiding the sensationalization of violence that many VE groups feed upon.[223]

Supporting women's key role in PVE and peacebuilding. Many initiatives – from national strategies to local community plans – include a focus on promoting women's role as facilitators. However, few of these are accompanied by adequate resources and delineation of roles, which has severely limited implementation. This perhaps partly explains why some reviews find no evidence that enhancing women's role in PVE has greater impact.[224] However, the links between gender equality and more peaceful outcomes (discussed previously) underscore the importance of working toward women's full participation in peacebuilding as a way of preventing and responding to VE.

Building regional multi-actor active networks.[225] The cooperation between a variety of organizations with different expertise is seen as a promising way of having access to people in communities, identifying grievances, and acting to prevent their engagement in radical groups, as well as to discuss together the different entry points and possibilities for action.[226]

Box 7. Examples of Network Initiatives to Prevent and Counter Violence Extremism

Youth Civil Activism Network (YouthCAN) is a Norwegian youth-driven network supported by the national government. YouthCAN's main goal is to reach activists around the globe and train them to act, spreading a "counter-narrative" for peace. The initiative takes into consideration technology's role in the lives of youth. It engages tech entrepreneurs to host innovation labs, which train people in counter-speech campaigns and anti-recruitment efforts in a compelling, grassroots style.

Strong Cities Network (SCN) was launched at the United Nations in 2015 and is led by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue. SCN is a global network of local leaderships (mayors, municipal-level policymakers, and practitioners) with the main goal of increasing community resilience to counter violent extremism. The network includes 130 cities' members and works toward "catalyzing, inspiring and multiplying community-centric approaches and actions to counter violent extremism through peer learning and expert training".

Safe Houses in Dutch Cities is a local multi-agency network that aims to establish tailored solutions to specific concerns of local agents. Representatives of welfare, housing, "street workers" and police regularly discuss particular cases of individuals that they consider to be at risk and structure strategies of intervention. Different forms of violence are part of their worries, including P/CVE.

Source: "About the SCN - Strong Cities Network"; "YouthCan".

Theory of Change to Prevent Violent Extremism

Based on the review of the literature above, a summarized theory of change for the existing elements of effective prevention of violent extremism could be summarized as follows:

Activities	Build state capacity/strengthen institutions	Promote space for diverse voices and dialogue	Building community capacity and empowerment (whole community)
Outputs	Improve governance, accountability, and service delivery, guaranteeing human rights compliance	Increased civic space at all levels; critical intermediaries identified to conduct outreach and engage in critical dialogue on norms and values	Cooperation between a variety of organizations with a different expertise promoted
Outcomes	Countries better prepared to address state failures and population grievances	Stronger civil society with positive peaceful narratives	Grievances and risks identified and tailored preventive actions buy in from different stakeholders designed
Impacts	Strengthened relationship between state and citizens	Increased social resilience and tolerance	Engagement in radical groups prevented
Ultimate Goal	Violence Extremism Prevented		

3.4 Urban Violence and Organized Crime

For the purposes of this review, urban violence is understood as violence involving individuals or small groups and taking place primarily in urban public spaces. We have departed from similar categorizations such as Abt (2016) “community violence” by including gang violence.

As the first chapter of this report showed, urban violence is never spread evenly throughout a city. Instead, it tends to concentrate in specific micro-environments, in many cases limited to particular street corners or sections of a neighborhood, and at particular times of the day. Urban violence also tends to be perpetrated by a small number of individuals, especially young men,[227] and associated with certain high-risk behaviors, such as carrying a gun, being intoxicated, and belonging to a gang.[228]

Given these realities, targeting resources toward these geographic “hot spots,” populations, and behaviors can enhance the impact of prevention efforts. This has given rise to three dominant approaches to urban violence prevention: place-based, people-based, and behavior-based. Within these approaches, programs are often categorized according to the public health model based on whether they target the full population (primary prevention), a smaller number of individuals at risk of perpetrating violence (secondary) or those who have already engaged in violence (tertiary). Drawing on the evidence base from the public safety field, Abt (2016) adds the categories of suppression (programs designed to stop or interrupt violence once it begins) and rehabilitation (aimed at reintegrating offenders after adjudication or incarceration). This section describes the evidence for programs within each approach, further broken down by target group.

A note about the state of the evidence base is in order. The proliferation of programs to address urban violence, especially in the past two decades, has produced a robust body of evaluations, many of them with experimental or quasi-experimental design that allows for discerning causal relationships. However, within the literature there is a significant bias both toward programs implemented in high-resource contexts where evaluations form part of program design, and toward smaller-scale programs that lend themselves well to evaluation. Policies and programs to influence systems and institutions are harder to evaluate and therefore less evidence exists on their causal impacts.

An additional blind spot is a lack of evaluation of efforts to address violence perpetrated by state actors in the urban space. Often framed within broader security strategies, such violence can range from excessive use of force to disappearances and summary executions by police. These may be framed as a “legal intervention” within the existing laws, or interpretation of those laws, or they may be extra-judicial measures. In some contexts, such actions have been associated with large reductions in overall violence, but threaten the longer term goals of violence reduction by fomenting distrust of security forces in high-crime communities.[229] In Brazil, for example, homicides dropped by 13 percent nationwide between 2017 and 2018, at the same time that lethal use of force by police climbed by 18 percent.[230]

Place-based Approaches

Place-based approaches take as a point of departure the fact that the built and social environments have a strong influence on behavior.[231] Within primary prevention, a common method in this approach is designing urban environments using Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles. Its applications have evolved substantially from a narrow focus on situational prevention – measures to adapt the built environment in ways that reduce the opportunity for criminal behavior – toward a more holistic approach that incorporates social prevention activities to address social drivers for crime and violence (C&V).[232] While earlier CPTED programs focusing on physical infrastructure had demonstrable impact on certain types of crime – car break-ins, or property crimes in particular – they had little influence on more socially motivated crimes such as youth violence or assault.[233] A particularly troubling finding from various studies is that the implementation of physical components of CPTED without a strong social mobilization component has often contributed to increased surveillance and over fortification or even exclusion and criminalization of marginalized groups, without a substantial decrease in C&V. This is often termed the "dark side" of CPTED.[234]

Subsequent CPTED interventions saw these initial physical upgrades as necessary steps to pave the way for more comprehensive programs to address insecurity, including programs to address social risk factors. Often called "second generation CPTED," or "Urban+" interventions, these projects capitalize on infrastructure upgrades as an entry point to social mobilization around development priorities, and as a way to increase and improve state presence in areas where non-state actors have taken over. CPTED is seen as holding strong potential for violence among youth,[235] especially when they are targeted at micro-locations where violence is highest.[236]

Other place-based interventions focus on control and suppression of violent behavior. Hot spot policing – targeting police attention on specific high-crime neighborhoods – has shown modest to moderate impact on crime. Related to this, problem-oriented policing relies on data collection to tailor law enforcement to community conditions, and is associated with moderate reductions in C&V.[237] However, when these approaches are combined with a community-oriented policing approach that builds and leverages partnerships between communities and the police, there is greater impact both on crime and relationships with residents and police.[238] Notably, more aggressive, zero-tolerance versions of hot spot policing are associated with little impact on crime, and with high risks of damaging community-police relationships.[239]

People-based Approaches

At the level of primary prevention, people-based approaches include many of the same programs directed at preventing Violence Against Women and Violence Against Children. Given that exposure to violence within the home is one of the strongest risk factors for violent behavior later on in life, early childhood interventions hold particular promise, especially when they engage families. Examples include the Perry Preschool Program in the US, focused on teaching self-control and sociability to pre-school kids, which found a reduction in crime arrests for more than 40 years after leaving school, and a return of $12.90 for every dollar invested when reductions in crime were taken into account.[240] Similar outcomes were obtained for early childhood programs in Jamaica.[241]

Programs promoting parent training for developing a safe, stable, and nurturing relationship between children and caregivers have also demonstrated strong impact on youth violence.[242] A study demonstrated that home nurse visitations structured to support families for two years after birth of a child have significant effects on preventing these children from being involved in crimes 15 years later.

The relationship between employment programs and violent behavior is ambiguous, though the literature points to some important elements. Lower education and skill levels can increase vulnerability to recruitment into criminal groups, and with it, violence, by reducing the opportunity cost of involvement in crime. Conversely, programs that offer meaningful alternatives, in the form of sustainable employment, vocations skills or civic engagement, have greater chance at success, at least for the majority of young people. Chioda's 2017 review of Latin America finds that economic alternatives can decrease involvement in crime, especially for low-skilled youth, and that this can bring important decreases in violence, even if many young people will continue to combine illegal and legal work.

Within secondary prevention, the use of Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) for youth at risk of violent behavior, or who have already engaged in violence, has some of the strongest evidence behind it.[243] A review of 58 studies, including 19 randomized control trials (RCTs), found CBT to be associated with reductions in crime recidivism for both youth and adults, in institutional and community settings. These results were consistent when CBT was delivered alone or in combination with other interventions.[244] Evidence from developing country settings indicates that CBT can enhance the efficacy of other programs, such as youth employment or training programs,[245] school-based programs, and family therapy interventions.[246]

Box 8. Interrupting Violence: The Cure Violence model

Cure Violence was founded in 2000 and is now active in 25 cities across the United States and more than a dozen countries in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. The model focuses on community mobilization, and is centered on the training of community members to work as Violence Interrupters, responsible for de-escalating potentially violent conflicts, and Outreach Workers, who connect high-risk individuals with broader services to deter violent behavior and promote norm change. Both are hired from the target communities and chosen for their credibility with and access to those at highest risk. They are trained in detection, mediation, and behavior and norm change, and collaboration with law enforcement.

The Cure Violence (CV) model has been subject to a number of randomized control evaluations, with mixed evidence of impact. Many of these studies report reductions in homicide of 30 percent or more as a result of the intervention. For example, evaluations of the program in US cities found a 63 percent decrease in shootings in New York City,[247] and a 48 percent drop in Chicago.[248] There is also evidence for additional, indirect impacts of the intervention. A study of community perceptions of safety and relationships in project sites in Chicago and New Orleans found that nearly 97 percent of respondents felt their children were exposed to less violence, 91 percent said that the program had made them better role models for their children, and 95 percent said their children were able to play outside more.[249]

However, the positive impacts were not always consistent across all program sites, or for the types of violence targeted by the intervention, prompting one review to suggest that evidence for the CV model is “mixed at best.”[250] For example, in Chicago, researchers acknowledged that while there were declines in shootings in five of the seven sites, in only four could they credibly link the decline to the program.[251] Likewise, in Baltimore, out of four neighborhoods where the program was implemented, only one experienced significant positive effects on both homicides and shootings.[252]

Evaluations of the program in lower-resource contexts have been few in number and of uneven quality. The one exception is a process evaluation and impact evaluation of CV in 16 communities in Trinidad and Tobago, which reported a 45 percent reduction in lethal violence, significant reductions in hospital admissions for gunshot wounds, and a small but significant drop in fear of crime in the target communities.[253] A cost effectiveness evaluation found that the intervention cost an average $3,500 to $4,500 for every violent incident it prevented. In San Pedro Sula, Honduras, the program was implemented in three zones, but data collection efforts were unable to establish a baseline to measure impact, and further delays due to the security situation complicated implementation. An internal evaluation showed an increase in mediation of conflicts, and estimated a reduction in homicides, but with many caveats about the quality of data collection.[254]

Taken together, the evaluations suggest that a key challenge of the CV model is the recruitment and retention of staff who possess the credibility and relationships in the target communities, but who can manage to steer clear of violent interactions and involvement in criminal activities themselves. Many potential interrupters and outreach workers may have a history of conflict with the law or involvement with criminal groups, which presents a risk that they may be targeted by those groups, and can complicate relationships with law enforcement.[255] Some suggest that the risks this brings may undermine overall impact.

People-based tertiary programs focus on individuals involved with the criminal justice system, in order to prevent recidivism. The most promising of these approaches is focused deterrence, consisting of mobilizing specialized police forces, social services, and community stakeholders to address the needs of a narrow group of violent offenders.[256] These interventions have demonstrated impact but require high levels of capacity for implementation, and have only been evaluated in high-resource contexts.

Other people-based approaches include social interventions to “interrupt” the spread of violence by focusing attention on those most prone to violent behavior through the engagement of outreach workers or credible messengers. These approaches typically employ community members, especially gang members or youth workers, to de-escalate and disrupt cycles of violence. The theory of change behind these interventions is that preventing the most extreme form of violence (homicide) will reduce exposure to violence and with it, the harmful outcomes associated with that exposure. The most prominent example is Cure Violence, applied in more than a dozen countries (see Box 8).

Behavior-based Approaches

Measures to limit risky behaviors associated with violence have generated dramatic impacts on levels of violence in some contexts, giving policymakers “quick wins” they can build on. Restricting access to alcohol by raising prices, limiting the hours and locations where it is sold, improving safety of bars and clubs, and enhancing services for substance abusers have all been associated with reductions in violence.[257]

Similarly, restricting access to firearms contributes to violence reduction. While Abt (2016) finds moderate evidence for these programs in his meta-review, studies of Bogotá and Cali in Colombia, and Mixco in Guatemala and other cities show that gun buy back programs, confiscating guns, or banning guns in public places can bring immediate drops in violence that stabilize an environment, paving the way for longer-term reforms.[258]

Rehabilitation of those who have already engaged in violence often involves many of the same elements of programs to prevent violence. Treatment for substance abuse shows some of the strongest evidence for avoiding recidivism.[259]

Restorative justice conferences that bring offenders together with victims, families, and community members for dialogue about harm caused, are showing important potential to reduce recidivism. A meta review of these interventions in the UK found the conferences were associated with a ratio of between 3.7 to 8.1 more benefit in the cost of crimes prevented compared to the cost of delivering restorative justice conferences.[260] When victim and offender are adequately prepared to engage in the intervention, reductions in recidivism are strongest.[261]

Gang Prevention and Suppression: An Integrated Approach

All the discussions above apply to the prevention of involvement in gangs and organized crime. Effective gang violence prevention models require a comprehensive approach that combines primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention efforts and works across disciplines and settings.[262] Community-based gang membership prevention efforts depend on the collaboration of a wide range of stakeholders; this engagement builds on a community’s strengths and addresses its weaknesses (see Box 9). Strategies should be designed around core activities such as tutoring, mentoring, life skills training, case management, parental involvement, connection with schools, supervised recreational activities, and community mobilization.[263]

Box 9. Beyond Suppression: Los Angeles Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD)

Gang violence has been a historical problem in Los Angeles. According to the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), there are over 450 active gangs in the city, with a total of 45,000 engaged members. Despite a declining crime rate overall, approximately half of the homicides in the city involve gangs. In 2007, the Mayor's Office established the Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) with the main objective of reducing gang involvement and violence by providing extensive prevention and intervention services in the city's most vulnerable areas. GRYD follows a comprehensive strategy and whole family approach that includes: (i) *Primary prevention:* activities targeting the entire community to build its resistance to gang joining risk factors and gang violence (e.g. Gun Buy-Back program, education campaigns on gang risk factors to community members at forums typically held at schools); (ii) *Secondary prevention:* direct services to youth aged 10–15 assessed as high-risk for joining gangs, including multigenerational coaching of the family and problem-solving techniques; (iii) *Tertiary prevention:* family case management services for youth aged 14–25 engaged in gang activity to provide alternatives for youth to leave gang life; incident response to gang-related violent incidents when they occur, to control rumors and mitigate tensions that might lead to further retaliatory violence; community engagement with LAPD in a community policing capacity. The development and implementation of assessment tools to target the right youth and their families, monitor and track responses, and also flag both risk and protective factors, are key elements of the program.

A multi-year evaluation of the GRYD program found that: (i) at the *city and community level*, GRYD implementation coincided with declines in gang C&V throughout the City and County of Los Angeles. There was mixed evidence regarding whether the GRYD Zones "outperformed" comparison areas; (ii) at the *individual level*, risk factors for youth benefited by services have been declining across multiple dimensions, even among those who exit the program unsuccessfully; (iii) at the *family level*, qualitative data showed significant changes in behavior and family dynamics.

Source: Cahill et al., "Evaluation of the Los Angeles Gang Reduction and Youth Development Program. Year 4 Evaluation Report".

Dealing with Organized Crime

Despite successful cases of gang violence prevention programs, there is still a significant knowledge gap on how to effectively deal with organized crime. Experiences in Latin America show that dealing with gangs and organized crime is far more complicated than just neutralizing them using forced repression, a tactic that has been tried – and has failed – extensively in the region in recent decades. The policies of mass incarceration combined with longer sentences and worse prison conditions have been counterproductive in many cases, serving only to consolidate prison gangs and criminal organizations.

Corruption in security forces often plays a key role in the rise of organized crime. Efforts at police reform have made progress in some cases, but face serious challenges especially where criminal networks have become heavily embedded in security institutions. In Honduras, for example, police complicity in organized crime contributed to some of the highest homicide rates in the world. Reform efforts, including a special police reform commission established in 2016, sent over 500 cases of corruption to the Attorney-General's office in its first six months. By early 2017, nearly half of security forces were removed on corruption or criminal charges. Prosecuting those responsible for criminal acts has proven difficult, however, and the reform commission itself has been plagued by scandal.[264]

With different approaches, the literature recommends strategies that balance hardline repression and accommodation. It is necessary to acknowledge the existence of the gangs and their power and take advantage of their ability to pacify the territories while the state slowly recovers its authority. Lessing (2016) suggests the use of repression strategically to enforce the rules, creating incentives to avoid violence and anti-social behavior and, simultaneously, organize a coalition between state institutions, civil society, and international actors to recuperate the state authority.[265]

Boer and Bosetti (2015) and Cockayne (2013) also advocate the importance of shifting approach with organized crime groups. First, they argue that it is necessary to understand criminal agendas, define a clear desired end-state, and understand and limit the impact of global illicit flows on local conflict dynamics. Once having a proper diagnostic of the situation, it is important to time and sequence interventions acknowledging the limits of their utilities. For example, to contribute to stopping violence, the criminal networks must remain engaged and feel they have something to gain socially, politically, and economically. While reducing violence levels, invest in long-term solutions to deter illegal activities. The main argument of the authors is the importance of negotiating with organized crime and not just act to repress them. Making agreements with those groups can be fundamental to reinstate safety and need to be contingent and sustain violence reduction. Agreements must go beyond the national arrangements and reach subnational levels.[266]

Finally, Abt also highlighted in an interview to the authors the failures of focusing on eliminating organized crime at once, such as those seen in Mexico.[267] He emphasizes the need to focus on reducing lethal violence first, "pacifying" these contexts, to then move into reducing and eliminating organized crime, while also acknowledging the fact that there is a great knowledge gap on what works to reduce organized violence.

Theory of Change to Prevent Urban Violence and Organized Crime

Based on the review of the literature above, a summarized theory of change for the existing elements of effective prevention of Urban Violence and Organized Crime could be summarized as follows:

Place-based Approach

Activities	Urban+ / CPTED second generation	Hot spot policing	Problem oriented policing	Community policing
Outputs	Improvement of the physical environment combined with social interventions	Policing and public services targeted at more vulnerable areas	Identification of recurring community problems and structural causes	Community engagement with law enforcement
Outcomes	Reduced opportunities and social risks for crime engagement	Dissuade and prevent criminal behavior; reduce risk factors	Reduces immediate situational factors that lead to C&V	Improve trust between citizens and law enforcement
Impacts	Reduction of specific types of crime	Reduction of specific types of crime	Reduced risk factors and crime opportunities	Improved perception of safety and community environment
Ultimate Goal	Urban Violence and Engagement in Organized Crime Prevented and Reduced			

People-based Approach

Activities	Early childhood interventions	Livelihood support to youth	Cognitive Behavioral Therapy	Focused deterrence
Outputs	Teaching self-control and sociability, positive parenting activities, home nurse visitation	Provision of sustainable employment, vocational training, skills and civic engagement	Clinical psychological techniques to alter the behavior and thinking of offenders	Identification of offenders and mobilization of law enforcement, social services and community
Outcomes	Kids with better social and emotional learning abilities, safe and nurturing relationship between children, parents, and caregivers developed	Meaningful alternatives offered	Positive changes in offender's behavior	Prevent specific gang behaviors
Impacts	Lower chance of engagement in C&V during youth and adulthood	Decreased involvement of youth with crime	Reduction of recidivism	Gang violence prevention and reduction
Ultimate Goal	Urban Violence and Engagement in Organized Crime Prevented and Reduced			

Behavior-based Approach

Activities	Restricting access to alcohol and firearms	Drug courts and treatment	Restorative Justice
Outputs	Raising alcohol prices, issue laws restricting drinking hours and access to guns	Connects court trial with drug addiction treatment	Puts together offenders and their victims
Outcomes	Less alcohol consumption and firearm use	Reduce criminal behavior linked to substance abuse	Reconciliation of offer with victims and communities
Impacts	Reduced levels of violence	Reduction of recidivism	Reduction of recidivism
Ultimate Goal	Urban Violence and Engagement in Organized Crime Prevented and Reduced		

3.5 Interpersonal Violence

Violence against Women (VAW) and Violence Against Children (VAC) – the two forms of interpersonal violence to be discussed in this section – are deeply interrelated. They often co-occur in the same household, share several risk factors, and have common and compounding impacts over generations. Exposure to violence, either directly or as a witness, has been linked to involvement in violence later in life.[268] In addition, exposure to violence contributes to other risk factors for violence through, for example: poor health outcomes, mental health challenges, delayed cognitive development, poor school performance and dropout, and early pregnancy.[269] Because of the convergence of risk factors for both types of violence, many interventions to address one form often also impact the other.

Over the past two decades, the evidence base for reducing and preventing VAW and VAC has grown considerably. Decades of research have generated a solid consensus on the risk factors for VAW and VAC. Many of these have been laid out in global strategies such as the INSPIRE initiative.[270] Legislation criminalizing domestic violence and child abuse has allowed for studies of the impact of these societal-level interventions, and provided a framework to guide programming on the community and family levels. Over time, programs and campaigns have broadened from an earlier focus on responding to the needs of survivors and tackling impunity for perpetrators, toward a stronger focus on addressing risk factors in order to prevent violence in the first place. This has generated an evidence base for programming that is more substantial than for other forms of violence.

The evidence base is uneven, with a bias toward experiences in high-resource contexts, which are more likely to include rigorous (often costly) evaluations. In a 2014 review of reviews of programs on VAW, Arango and colleagues report that more than 80 percent of the 58 reviews and 84 evaluations were carried out in six high-income countries (Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, New Zealand, the UK, and the US), accounting for only 6 percent of the global population. Many of these evaluations include narrow sample sizes and focus on programs with high capacity requirements, which limits their generalizability to lower-resource contexts.

The evidence base is also biased toward interventions addressing certain forms of VAW and VAC. In high-income countries, most programs work on intimate partner violence (IPV) and non-partner sexual violence, primarily in university settings; in Arango's review of VAW interventions, these accounted for 77 percent and 22 percent of evaluations, respectively. In low and middle-income countries, half of the available evaluations focused on child marriage or female genital mutilation (FGM), followed by intimate partner violence (38 percent) and only one study focused on non-partner sexual violence. Evaluations of programs addressing trafficking and exploitation are particularly rare.

What Works to Prevent VAW and VAC?

Even given existing constraints, some programs have demonstrated significant impact across relatively short time frames, often within a programmatic cycle, and have addressed various forms of VAW and VAC. These have tended to consist of integrated programs addressing various risk factors for violence perpetration and victimization and involving a variety of stakeholders.

The more effective programs work at various levels. At the societal level, they work to change social norms that tolerate VAW and VAC and discourage help-seeking, and address underlying economic stressors. At the family/relationship level, they work to improve communication, and at the individual level, they build skills for conflict resolution. They commonly include the following elements:

Addressing social norms through community mobilization. The use of violence as a means of exerting power, enforcing discipline or resolving conflict is often deeply rooted in social norms. Additionally, social norms can discourage help-seeking, for example by prioritizing family secrecy, or family reputation over victim needs, or by blaming victims.[271] Changing these norms often requires a long-term, integrated approach that engages the full population.[272] Some of the more successful programs have taken a community mobilization approach, combining components that (i) encourage victims to report violence, such as phone apps, or hotlines; (ii) promote advocacy to change the public conversation around violence, for example by working with public officials, religious leaders, and community leaders to change their discourse; and (iii) raise awareness through communication activities such as TV or radio shows, or social media campaigns. This type of community mobilization approach has been associated with reductions in various forms of violence including IPV, Sexual Violence (SV), VAC, child marriage and FGM. As one example, the SASA! activist program showed a 52 percent reduction in intimate partner violence and reductions in VAC when implemented in Kampala, Uganda (see Box 10).

Community mobilization approaches have been effective in reducing FGM. One example is the Tostan model, developed in Senegal and now replicated in various countries within Sub-Saharan Africa. Within this model, communities prioritize issues for collective action, and FGM and IPV often are listed as key challenges. The program has been associated with community-wide pledges to forego FGM for young girls, and with reductions in FGM for girls under 12 years old. Women in the treatment villages also reported significantly less violence in the previous 12 months than villages in the control groups.[273]

Box 10. SASA!: Community Mobilization to address VAW and VAC

SASA! was designed by the NGO Raising Voices in partnership with the Center for Domestic Violence Prevention in Kampala, Uganda. The intervention mobilizes communities in a phased process of changing attitudes, community norms, and structures that tolerate unequal power relationships and violence. The program works through Community Activists, who are selected and trained to reflect critically on power dynamics and consider new ways of balancing power in their own relationships. Next, the activists engage their communities in the same critical reflection process. Training of service providers, including police officers, health care providers, and community and religious leaders, is also part of the program.

A randomized control trial of SASA! reported a 52 percent reduction in intimate partner violence in the treatment communities. This drop in violence was accompanied by demonstrable changes in attitudes, including the social acceptance of physical violence within intimate relationships, and right to refuse sex to an intimate partner. The program was also associated with a reduction in concurrent sexual relationships, with 27 percent of men in the treatment communities having had other sexual partners in the previous year compared to 45 percent in the control group. A follow up study found a significant impact on VAC in three ways. First, the reduction in VAW had resulted in a 64 percent drop in prevalence of children witnessing violence in the home. Second, women receiving the intervention adjusted their own parenting practices to reject violence as a disciplinary method. Finally, participants reported intervening to protect children from violence in the community. SASA! is now used in over 25 countries in Africa and Latin America.

Source: Arango et al., "Interventions to prevent or reduce violence against women and girls: a systematic review of reviews"; WHO, "Responding to intimate partner violence and sexual violence against women

Training with target groups to improve communication and relationships. A number of successful programs work at the relationship level to improve communication, especially between intimate partners and families. In particular, the use of participatory group training has gained ground over the past decade, especially in low and middle-income countries, as a means of promoting conflict resolution skills and critical reflection on power relations. In contrast to community mobilization that aims to change attitudes in the broader population, participatory trainings seek behavioral change in a smaller target group that is more at risk for violence. These programs usually consist of a series of workshops or meetings. The length and duration of the trainings varies substantially, and increasingly the trainings are implemented as a component within broader livelihood interventions.".

Group trainings convening men only have been associated with reductions in intimate partner violence, sexual violence, and VAC. Program H, developed initially in Brazil, is one of the most visible examples of this type of program. Focusing on education activities, reflection on gender roles, and health conflict resolution skills, Program H has been adapted to 34 countries.[274] A recent evaluation of the Yaari Dosti program in India, based on Program H, found that young men in the program in Gorakhpur were five times less likely to report physical or sexual violence against a partner in the prior three months; in Mumbai, young men were half as likely to report such abuse.[275] Similar programs targeting young men have been implemented in various countries, with many reporting positive changes in attitudes about gender equality and the use of violence in relationships, but assessments show these attitudinal changes did not translate to reductions in violent behavior. Understanding the relationship between changes in attitudes and behavior, and the time and intensity of programming needed for one to affect the other, remains an important area for research.

Group trainings bringing women and men together have been noted as especially promising, promoting dialogue and communication about gendered roles and behaviors, as well as shared household responsibilities and decisions about household income and expenses. The Stepping Stones program (see Box 11) is one of the best known examples and has been implemented in various countries.

Box 11. Stepping Stones: Preventing Intimate Partner Violence by working with young men

Stepping Stones was developed in South Africa, originally as an HIV prevention program. The program works with young men to reflect on attitudes and behavior, using role play and drama and education to build conflict resolution skills. A randomized control trial evaluation of the program in Eastern Cape, South Africa, found a reduction in male violent and exploitative behavior in the 24 months following the end of the program, including rape, intimate partner violence, and transactional sex. Evaluations of the program in other countries show that the reduction in IPV continues after completion of the program, which could mean that positive behaviors are reinforced over time.

In 2013, the Stepping Stones program was paired with a livelihood support program, Creating Futures, in a pilot intervention in Durban, South Africa. In an evaluation based on comparison of baseline to endline surveys only (no control group), men reported increased incomes and assets, reduced depressive symptoms, and better relationships with their partners. Notably, the pilot intervention did not find a reduction in violent behavior; researchers posit this could have been due to a shorter follow-up time (the Eastern Cape results were only found at 24 month follow up).

Source: WHO, "INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children"; Jewkes et al., "Evaluation of Stepping Stones: a gender transformative HIV prevention intervention"; Jewkes et al., "Stepping Stones and Creating Futures Intervention: Shortened interrupted time series evaluation of a behavioral and structural health promotion and violence prevention intervention for young people in informal settlements in Durban, South Africa."

Livelihood support to address underlying stressors combined with critical dialogue on norms. The relationship between economic empowerment and experience of violence is not simple or straightforward, playing out differently depending on context. In some situations, an increase in income or assets enables a woman to leave a violent relationship, or to negotiate a higher status within the household. In others, women's empowerment can be seen as a threat to traditional gender roles, putting her at greater risk of violence. On a more general level, increased income or assets can help decrease household conflict by addressing an underlying economic stressor. When combined with targeted trainings to reflect critically on power dynamics, livelihood programs can have enhanced impact on the use of violence.

For example, rotating credit funds together with targeted training for men and women were associated with reductions in violence in Cote D'Ivoire. Two studies of the intervention found positive changes in attitudes about violence, with one documenting an overall reduction in IPV for couples who attended at least 75 percent of the meetings.[276] However, there was no impact on child marriage. Similarly, a microfinance program, IMAGE, combined microfinance with training on HIV prevention, gender norms, and communication, and was associated a more than 50 percent drop in IPV and sexual violence after 24 months.[277]

Unconditional cash transfers also show particular potential, especially for addressing IPV and child marriage. In Kenya and Ecuador, families receiving these transfers reported economic benefits, increased food security, and significant reductions in intimate partner violence. The Kenya study monitored cortisol levels, finding reduced levels in both men and women receiving the transfers.[278] Some cash transfer programs have also reported positive results on delayed marriage and girls' education.[279] Other programs use asset rewards, such as livestock, school uniforms or savings bonds, to incentivize families to delay marriage of their daughters (see Box 12).

Box 12. India's Apni Beti Apna Dhan Program: Financial Incentives to Prevent Child Marriage

From 1994-98, the Indian state of Haryana conducted the Apni Beti, Apna Dhan (Our Daughter, Our Wealth) to prevent child marriage, targeting girls from disadvantaged caste groups. Families were provided with a savings bond upon the birth of a daughter that would mature to 25,000 rupees (USD 400) once a girl turned 18. The program is one of several conditional cash transfer programs in India which aim to delay marriage for girls. While other conditional cash transfer programs featured periodic payouts when families reached milestones – immunizing girls, or enrolling them in school – the Apni Beta Apna Dhan program awarded the money only as a full sum once the girl reached 18 years of age, if she remained unmarried.

An evaluation of outcomes for the first cohort to graduate from the program found recipients were more likely to have stayed in school, and achieved higher educational attainment, than girls who did not participate in the program. However, the evaluation found that attitudes about gender roles had changed very little, with girls being considered primarily for the value their marriage would bring, and a "very perverse" sex ratio.

Source: Ellsberg et al. "Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?".

Addressing and healing trauma toward behavioral change. Exposure to violence, especially early in life, increases the risk that an individual will continue the cycle of violence later. Some programs have demonstrated solid impact at improving trauma symptoms, offering potential for shifting away from harmful behaviors, including violence. The impact seems to be especially strong when applied to individuals who have already exhibited violent behavior. Among the specific therapies, Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT), designed to reorient distorted thinking and behavior, has been shown to be effective in reducing violent behavior among prior offenders, including child soldiers, in a variety of contexts including post-conflict countries. One review of more than 60 studies and randomized control trials of CBT found the therapy was associated with a 25 percent decrease in recidivism, and when the most effective forms of CBT were employed, this rose to 52 percent.[280] CBT programs have been implemented successfully in low-resource contexts, relying on the training and supervision of lay practitioners.[281] Promising results are also emerging with Narrative Exposure Therapy (NET), which has shown positive impact on trauma symptoms, and been implemented in active conflict contexts, including the Democratic Republic of Congo.[282]

Strengthening legal protections and their enforcement. The number of countries with some kind of legislation on domestic violence and/or violence against children has grown substantially. This high-level policy commitment often brings positive impacts in raising awareness and buttressing legal protections for victims. However, progress on reducing VAW through national policies has in many cases been challenged by a lack of budget allocations, insufficient political will, and the need for culture change within key institutions, such as the police.[283]

For child maltreatment, laws banning corporal punishment have been central in changing attitudes about VAC and reducing abuse. Comparative studies find that countries with bans have decreased support for corporal punishment, and lower rates of abuse.[284] Other laws on specific harmful practices, such as child pornography or trafficking, have not been evaluated for impact.[285]

A secondary area of legal reform centers on addressing risk factors for VAW and VAC, for example by limiting access to firearms, or alcohol. Systematic reviews found directing police efforts toward reducing illegal guns was associated with fewer gun-related crimes, including assault and murder.[286] Limiting access to alcohol by increasing prices, restricting the sale during key times, setting age limits on purchase, and prohibiting the clustering of alcohol outlets are all associated with substantial reductions in interpersonal violence of various kinds, including IPV and child maltreatment.[287]

Home-based caregiver support. For VAC, the use of home visitation programs has been effective. One prominent example is the US Nurse Family Partnership, operating since 1977 and with three randomized control trial evaluations conducted over decades. The model relies on nurses who visit first-time, low-income mothers during the first two years of children's lives. A 15-year follow up found a 48 percent reduction in child abuse and neglect for participant families, and had a cost benefit ratio of 1:4.[288] These programs have been adapted to lower-resource, conflict and post-conflict settings with promising results (see Box 13).

Home visitation programs have had a much more mixed track record on IPV. While they can provide critical psychosocial support and parenting guidance, and can help identify victims of violence, they have not been associated with reductions in IPV.[289]

Box 13. Caregiver support to prevent child maltreatment

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) implements the Parents Make a Difference program in Lofa County, Liberia. The program centers on 10 weekly group sessions and one home visit to each family. Training focuses on discipline practices, stress management, conflict resolution, and promoting child numeracy and literacy. A randomized control trial found significant decreases in caregiver use of physical and psychological violence as punishment, increased positive discipline practices and improved quality of caregiver-child relationships). The IRC has implemented similar programs in Thailand, which showed positive effects on relationships between children and caregivers. Notably, caregivers reported decreases in harsh discipline practices, and impacts on use of positive discipline practices were not significant.

Sources: Sim et al., "Parents make the difference: Findings from a randomized impact evaluation of a parenting program in rural Liberia".

Theory of Change to Prevent Violence Against Women and Children

Based on the review of the literature above, a summarized theory of change for the existing elements of effective prevention of interpersonal violence focused on VAW and VAC could be summarized as follows:

Activities	Community mobilization to address social norms	Livelihood support to address underlying stressors combined with critical dialogue on norms	Strengthening legal protections together with systemic changes to enforce them	Stronger coordination of service provision for women and children
Outputs	Promote mechanisms to report violence (apps, hotlines), combined with advocacy to change discourse by public officials, religious leaders, and community leaders, and communication activities	Provision of job placement services, vocational training combined with interventions to change norms	Protection and support, including safe houses and shelters are made available for VAW/VAC survivors and witnesses	Multisector service providers (health, justice, social protection) assess VAW/VAC survivors and provide specialized assistance (psychosocial treatment, legal support, etc.)
Outcomes	Communities and individual norms and behaviors that accept VAW/VAC and discourage help-seeking transformed	Increase in women's job placement and communities' acceptance of women with more bargaining power	Survivors and witnesses are protected from retaliation	VAW/VAC survivors physically and psychosocially recovered
Impacts	Reductions in IPV, sexual violence, VAC, child marriage, and female genital mutilation	Increased women's income and financial independence in an environment that will welcome such changes in gender power dynamics	Reduced vulnerability of survivors revictimization	VAW/VAC survivors less vulnerable to revictimization
Ultimate Goal	Violence Against Women and Children Prevented			

4. Common Principles and Specific Elements for Effective Prevention

Violence in All of Its Forms

Violence, in all of its forms, is complex and multidimensional, as the review of the evidence detailed in the previous chapter has shown. Single-factor, short-term interventions are likely to fall short if they are not part of a broader, sustained and integrated strategy. This chapter draws on the evidence previously discussed, as well as interviews with over 25 experts in the prevention of conflict, mass atrocities and human rights abuses, violent extremism, urban violence and organized crime, and interpersonal violence.

As one might expect, the evidence base for the different forms of violence is diverse and uneven. This is necessarily so, since the scale and complexity of violence influences the extent to which interventions can be rigorously evaluated. A VAW intervention can be designed and tracked with a control group; efforts to build state capacity for conflict resolution, or create alternatives for youth at risk of joining gangs or extremist groups do not easily lend themselves to evaluations with experimental design, and success is harder to define and track. Rigorous evaluations can also be expensive, which makes them more challenging to apply at very large scales. This makes it difficult to compare interventions for different kinds of violence in a meaningful way, or to say whether the evidence base is necessarily stronger for one field of prevention over another.

In addition, different communities of practice built around specific forms of violence tend to operate in silos, using particular analytical frameworks. Although a unified framework may not be needed – or even possible – this hinders comparability of interventions, and often misses the ways different forms of violence overlap and interact. This is clear both in the literature and in the interviews with experts, who, on some issues, also have diverging views about how to prioritize and address different forms of violence.

With those caveats in mind, analysis of this data reveals important convergences on the drivers of different forms of violence, and some principles and elements that are key to successful prevention. At the end of the day, violence is committed by people and, to some degree, "violence is violence".[290] The review of the literature and interviews with experts reveals that successful interventions have often addressed a number of converging drivers for the different forms of violence. Tackling common drivers can be expected to generate gains in reducing various forms of violence simultaneously. These benefits can be enhanced when interventions target multiple levels (national, state, and local), mobilize a variety of stakeholders, and combine short-term, highly visible interventions with investments in longer-term change.

At the same time, this research shows that addressing different forms of violence, especially at a more programmatic level, requires some strategies and technical capacity that are linked to specific fields. The design of appropriate interventions is heavily influenced by factors specific to different types of violence, for example: the scale of people involved (individuals to large groups); the impacts they generate (e.g. domestic violence versus mass atrocities); the role played by state institutions in perpetrating and/or responding to violence and its impacts; the length and complexity of the conflict provoking the violence; and the existence of facilitating factors, such as weapons and a history of violence/conflict.

This chapter looks at these common and diverging elements in order to discuss challenges and opportunities for looking at these issues in a more integrated way, breaking the silos between different communities of practice, and potentially scaling up efforts to reduce violence and build more peaceful and resilient societies.

Common Principles for the Prevention of All Forms of Violence

A. Common drivers

Several drivers are common to all the five dimensions of violence analyzed in this report. Although the literature review did not focus (intentionally) on drivers for some of the forms of violence, the idea that there are several common drivers, and that addressing them can generate gains in reducing various forms of violence, was a common message from most experts interviewed.

1. **Individual level characteristics and experiences**

   Violence is committed by individuals. Because certain individual level characteristics and experiences are linked to an increased propensity for violence in all forms, addressing them can have impacts on all forms of violence. These characteristics vary throughout the life cycle, offering different entry points at key life stages.

2. **State fragility**

   When the state does not hold up its part of the social contract, the result is often impunity for violence, and a lack of response to survivors, both of which perpetuate the cycle of violence from the household to the battlefield. State fragility can take different forms:

   - *Absent state*: a minimal state presence creates space for other actors to enter and provide services, reshape loyalties and identities, and change norms. Applies to conflict, VE, urban violence, and organized crime.
   - *Exclusionary state*: corrupt, inept, and exclusionary forms of governance result in marginalization, and increase the profile of other, violent actors. When state actions are seen to benefit some groups at the expense of others, grievances can be mobilized by opportunistic actors.
   - *Repressive state*: when state presence is limited to, or dominated by, repressive measures, there is fertile ground for armed conflict, VE, and urban violence. This is especially intense where the state is seen as deliberately targeting certain communities.

   > *"When state absence is combined with state violence and brutality, and when instead of offering protection, the state is deliberately targeting specific communities through violent means, people will turn to violent groups as saviors, problems solvers, and that's when you really see the problem escalating and communities getting attached to violent groups." (Rachel Kleinfeld)*

   The common factor for all three manifestations of state fragility is the need to build legitimacy and trust. However, the measures to do this will vary depending on whether the state is absent, exclusionary or repressive (or some combination of the three).

3. **Exclusion**

   The experience of marginalization and a general sense of disenfranchisement often push individuals to challenge injustices through violent activities. These can range from petty crime against those perceived as better-off economically, to participation in urban gangs or extremist groups, to civil or international war. While the relationship between a sense of exclusion and perpetration of violence is in no way direct or automatic, the risk of one leading to the other is increased when group leaders are able to harness frustrations and channel them toward collective violence.[291] Often, the state is seen as the source of exclusion – whether as a result of corruption, incompetence or discriminatory actions.

4. Gender inequality

Gender inequality is an indicator of a country's overall level of exclusion. Countries with larger gender disparities tend to experience higher levels of all forms of violence, from VAW in the home to involvement in international conflicts.[292] When countries with high gender disparities engage in civil or international armed conflict, they tend to use more severe violence,[293] and to disregard international human rights standards.[294] Because of these relationships, changes in women's status or experiences, such as an increase in number of girls dropping out of school, or VAW, or sudden restrictions on their movement or freedom of expression are often included in early warning systems for conflict and VE.

5. Insufficient community cohesion and resilience

All communities possess some degree of cohesion that protects against violence, and in most cases, it is only a small minority of individuals in a population that engages in violent activity. In some contexts, violent actors take advantage of low levels of cohesion, and the impunity it offers, to embed themselves into the social fabric. In other cases, communities may be highly resilient but the degree of exclusion or repression they face simply overwhelms their coping resources. As violence takes root, it tends to erode community cohesion even further, creating the conditions for further violence in a vicious cycle.

B. Common elements of successful violence prevention strategies

On the opposite side of drivers are the solutions identified as effective or promising to address them and prevent violence from occurring or reoccurring. The more successful prevention experiences tend to share a number of common elements. These are:

1. Address drivers throughout the life cycle

In the early years of life, it is critical to prevent violence in the home. Early exposure to violence has been associated with long-term trauma, impacts on brain development, and the development of learned behaviors that use violence to enforce power relations or handle conflict. Because VAW and VAC often occur together, interventions with households when children are young can have impacts on both types of violence.[295] During adolescence and adulthood, interventions to prevent violence in the community are needed. To some extent, violent behaviors are contagious, and can be passed from one person to the next. For this reason, in conflict settings you can have higher levels of other types of violence, such as IP, VE, and urban violence; while at the same time, experiences of IP in childhood can impact violent behavior later in life.[296]

2. Build and consolidate state capacity and legitimacy

Investments in strengthening state legitimacy and improving the social contract can build resilience against all forms of violence. In particular, it is important to address perceptions of exclusion and marginalization through more equitable service delivery, especially in key sectors such as security, justice, health and education. This leaves less space for grievances to emerge and fester, and creates room for more people-centered conflict resolution mechanisms that avoid violence. Increasing accountability of the state, by promoting inclusive and participatory approaches to government, can also go a long way toward prevention. When people feel they have a say in the decisions that affect them, and can express themselves freely, the pull of violence is less powerful. This also contributes to build or rebuild a sense of trust and legitimacy of the state with its constituencies.

3. Support community cohesion and resilience

Communities are the experts of their environments; the most effective prevention efforts take this as a point of departure, and work to support existing resilience factors. Bottom-up, people-centered approaches work closely with community stakeholders to design, implement, and monitor programs based on local understandings of violence and its drivers, thereby earning their confidence and ownership. While the global evidence base offers insights and lessons from different contexts that can inform interventions, these need to be designed in partnership with the target communities to ensure effectiveness and sustainability.

> *"Self-definition at the community level must be maintained. We need to find a balance between making sense at the UN and other high level discussions and at operationalizing how violence and its solutions are defined at the local level. This is not about congratulating oneself for talking to the community, but it's actually about the effectiveness of prevention of violence itself." (Sara Batmanglich)*

4. Invest in changing norms and behaviors

Social norms that promote the use of violence as a means of exerting power, enforcing discipline or resolving conflict underlie all forms of violence. Harmful norms can discourage help-seeking, for example, by stigmatizing victims or prioritizing secrecy, or encouraging more violence as retribution for harm done. Some of the most successful prevention programs for all types of violence – from VAW and VAC to the prevention of VE – include components to change norms by promoting inclusion, participation, and dialogue. This includes interventions at the community level, through community mobilization, group dialogues, and awareness raising campaigns. It also includes individual-level interventions such as building life skills for conflict resolution, positive parenting, or trauma healing interventions such as Cognitive Behavior Therapy or Narrative Exposure Therapy. Initiatives to change norms are increasingly integrated within broader economic development projects to support livelihoods, and women's empowerment, among others, with positive results on income generation as well as reductions in violence.

> *"When you work with gang violence prevention, for example, you are trying to create identities in a different way, to give them skills to communicate differently in their society. These are the same skills they need to communicate with their wives and children."(Diana J. Arango)*

5. Engage multiple stakeholders at all levels in multisector, multiagency, integrated responses

Given the complexity of violence, and its multifactorial origins, addressing it requires engaging stakeholders at all levels and getting buy in from actors across society, from community and religious leaders to non-profits, to government officials at various levels and sectors (from security to education), to the private sector. The international community also often plays a role.

For long-term sustainability, it is important to institutionalize key functions within state bodies, especially coordination and oversight roles, by ensuring adequate mandate and appropriate resourcing. In Latin America, various municipal governments have managed to bring down homicide rates by engaging stakeholders at various levels, including: aligning municipal strategies within guiding national policies; mobilizing communities to define and diagnose their specific challenges; working across sectors to analyze data and focus efforts on the most critical areas; and leveraging funding from external donors and the private sector. Central to this was the consolidation of coordinating mechanisms with appropriate resources, mandates, and lines of accountability for reporting results.[297]

6. **Combining quick wins with longer term change**

   Finally, in addition to those principles related to specific policy and program design, the implementation of successful and sustainable prevention efforts to build resilience, social cohesion, and structural changes that will address the root causes of all forms of violence need to be aligned with more short-term stabilization efforts and quick security wins in all fronts. This is seen very clearly in all dimensions – perhaps less clearly in interpersonal violence, although in this area, improving service delivery to survivors is also a needed quicker response.

Table 4 below summarizes some of the common principles discussed above, as well as other key elements discussed in the previous sections, showing how some of them are incorporated in the prevention of most of the dimensions of violence discussed.

Table 4. Converging Principles to Prevent Different Forms of Violence

Principles for Effective Prevention	**Dimension of violence**				
	Conflict	Mass Atrocities and Human Rights Abuses	Violent Extremism	Urban Violence and Organized Crime	Interpersonal Violence
Build state capacity, institutional strengthening and promote state-society trust	X	X	X	X	X
Promote inclusive and participatory approaches to government	X	X	X	X	X
Strengthen community social cohesion and resilience	X	X	X	X	X
Promote peaceful, inclusive, and gender balanced shared norms	X	X	X	X	X
Promote mediation and negotiation	X		X	X	
Implement targeted interventions at risk places, people, and behaviors	X		X	X	X
Build multisectoral partnerships and coalitions	X	X	X	X	X

Areas for Further Research and Cross Learning

The knowledge base on common elements contains several gaps where a better understanding could inform more coherent strategies. For the most part, these gaps reflect the siloed nature of the field of prevention. Much of the research and interventions tend to be focused on a single manifestation of violence, without consideration of how it interacts with other forms. This is not only a missed opportunity to address multiple forms, but may risk doing harm. For example:

- *Conflict, mass atrocities, and VE* share many common drivers, and are often found together in the same communities. VE groups often emerge within the context of long-standing conflicts and mobilize historical grievances. Mass atrocities also tend to occur as part of broader conflicts, when institutions to prevent them are weakened or absent. Better coordination across these three fields of practice has the potential to inform measures to intervene in conflicts to prevent both mass atrocities and VE.

- *Interpersonal and urban violence* often occur together and involve many of the same actors. Prevention and response of these forms of violence often involves the same community stakeholders and falls under the mandate of the same institutions. Yet there remains a deep divide between VAW and VAC perpetrated primarily in the private sphere, and more public forms of urban violence such as violent crime and gang activity. Integrating programs to prevent VAW, VAC, and urban violence together can minimize duplication of efforts and make more efficient use of scarce resources.
- In fact, *even VAW and VAC* – which are some of the most prevalent forms of interpersonal violence, and often coincide in the same households – are addressed by separate communities of practice, with different budgets and funding priorities. There is a need for more research on the ways these two forms of violence interact and where the entry points could be for addressing them together.
- There is also a growing consensus that the fields of *PVE and gang violence* can inform one another. These forms of violence share some common drivers, especially in the way leaders take advantage of youth vulnerabilities and local grievances to recruit and maintain members. This suggests that some tools for gang prevention might lend themselves to PVE. However, there are important differences to keep in mind, particularly the strong ideological component present in VE recruitment, and the integration of VE within many active armed conflicts.
- The *dynamic nature of violence*, particularly how it often morphs from one form to another, or spreads from one population to another, is another relatively unexplored area that could yield useful insights for preventing various forms. For example, urban gangs may be mobilized for political violence during election cycles, domestic violence may increase after cessation of an armed conflict, or VE groups may emerge in the context of a civil war.
- The links between *organized crime and other forms of violence*, including armed conflict and urban violence, are greatly underexplored. Part of this is due to disciplinary divides; organized crime studies tend to be the purview of criminology and law enforcement, while the other two fall into sociology or psychology. The fact that organized crime often reaches across national borders that require international law enforcement responses is another factor. Yet organized crime networks often work with urban gangs and emerge in the presence of similar facilitating factors as organized crime, suggesting important synergies. This is a critical area for further research.

Specific Elements to Address Different Forms of Violence

Addressing different forms of violence, especially at a programmatic level, also requires specific elements and technical capacity that are more linked to specific fields.

Preventing all forms of violence is not as simple as addressing common risk factors. To begin with, some forms of violence are driven more by **factors** that may not be relevant for other forms. As one example, the availability of alcohol and drugs can be a proximate driver for IPV and VAC, as well as gang violence, but is largely irrelevant for larger-scale collective violence like armed conflict, VE, or mass atrocities. Thus, restricting access to alcohol and drugs can have an important impact on interpersonal violence, but its influence on other forms of violence will be only indirect at best. Similarly, suppression interventions such as focused deterrence can be expected to have an impact on violence in the public space, such as gang violence, or domestic violence; however, this has little direct impact on more organized forms of violence like armed conflict or mass atrocities.

There is also a divergence based on the **scale and complexity** of different forms of violence. Long-standing armed conflicts involving multiple actors are infinitely more complex, as is organized crime, compared to a local youth gang conflict or domestic violence. This implies that solutions to prevent larger-scale forms of violence must also be more multidimensional, involving a greater range of actors, more resources, and potentially longer time frames.

Scale and complexity also relate to the **target population** affected by a specific form of violence. For instance, addressing VAC means dealing with an extremely vulnerable population without political representation or means of action. Likewise, addressing VAW, and specifically sexual violence, requires a set of technical tools and capacity to deal with survivors and avoid recurrence.

In addition to that, different **sociopolitical and cultural contexts** will also have an influence on how violence is perceived and understood, and may be related to different levels of preparedness and the perceived need to address some of these issues (e.g. discussing corporal punishment in contexts where there are massive levels of youth homicide may seem less relevant for some governments).

Challenges of Taking Prevention to Scale

Taking into consideration both convergences as well as the divergences found in the prevention of different forms of violence, there are specific challenges to scaling prevention. These include:

Resources for effectiveness. Evidence abounds that prevention works and can be more cost effective than dealing with violence once it has taken root. However, the bulk of resources still tend to go toward repressive measures to control and suppress violence, and dealing with the consequences of violence. Most countries with high levels of violence tend to spend more on security and law enforcement than in the sectors critical to early prevention, such as health, education, and social protection. In Latin America and the Caribbean, spending on prevention represents only 3 percent of total security spending in El Salvador, or 10 percent in Chile.[298] In the case of violent conflict, official development assistance to countries at risk of conflict averages $250 million a year, compared to $700 million for countries in active conflict, and $400 million for countries recovering from armed conflict, and in most cases resources go to traditional development assistance, and not necessarily evidence-based prevention.[299]

> *"It's difficult to get people to devote resources and invest in prevention when a lot of the world is on fire. We always tend to focus on the crisis of the day, and then move on to the next one. There is, however, an emerging consensus on the need to address immediate needs while simultaneously investing in longer-term strategies to prevent the next crisis." (Tyler Beckelman)*

Political timing and sustainability. Many interventions to prevent violence will bear fruit only over longer time periods, certainly beyond most political cycles. For this reason, it is often difficult to mobilize the necessary political will to move beyond responding to ongoing violence or targeting at-risk populations through repressive measures, to address the structural drivers.

Gaps in the understanding of how to scale up pilot programs. Much of the evidence base is drawn from evaluations of small-scale, pilot programs that lend themselves more easily to rigorous evaluation methods. In addition, few evaluations include a cost-benefit analysis. These realities make it difficult to assess how to scale up successful pilot programs. For example, many successful pilot programs to address different forms of violence are heavily labor-intensive, relying on on the ground presence of facilitators or outreach workers to understand local context, build rapport with project participants, and ensure fidelity in implementation. Scaling up the social components is more than simply replicating the pilot with a larger target population; it requires recruiting and training practitioners, supervision of their efforts, and creating the conditions for them to create and maintain the necessary relationships for program success, often resulting in higher costs.

Inter-agency cooperation. As a complex multifactor problem, that requires multisectoral and multistakeholder action, violence prevention faces the challenge of ensuring inter-agency cooperation at the international (between different communities), national (different levels of governments and sectors), and sub-national levels (different sectors, civil society, communities).

Need for more data, evidence and better ways to communicate them. There is still a need to better understand the connections between the different forms of violence, and how they may reinforce one another. More research in this area is still needed. On the existing evidence about the effectiveness of prevention of different forms of violence, there is also a need for better ways to communicate them and improve their translation to policymakers and the general public. This is necessary to encourage the implementation of more data driven and evidence-based violence prevention strategies for an agenda that is still largely driven by the media and, consequently, by fear.

Analytical framework. The use of different analytical frameworks by different communities of practice (e.g. public health, criminology, peace building, etc.) sometimes makes it harder to connect them. Although an integrated and unified framework is not needed – or even possible – promoting more dialogue among the different communities and their respective actors, partners, and advocates could be helpful to scale prevention.

Opportunities: The Need and Benefits of Breaking the Silos

Different forms of violence, from conflict, violent extremism, and mass atrocities and human rights abuses, to urban and organized crime, and interpersonal violence, are significantly inter-related.[300] There is an argument to be made about the potential benefits of promoting further integration between different fields, as some of the previous sections have shown. This message seemed to be clear among the vast majority of experts interviewed.

Communities that work with different types of violence and crime tend to work in silos. While this may be justified by the specificities that are needed at the programmatic level to address them, most of the experts interviewed see this segregation as something mainly driven by the way funding is structured, which feeds into a cycle of “trends” and “hot topics” in international financing, and competition for agendas and resources. Indeed, some believe that in some areas, such as VAC, this separation is needed to ensure attention to this problem. But in most cases, the convergence in principles and approaches at a broader policy level, which also comes from the commonalities found among the drivers of violence, justify the promotion of more dialogue and integrated action. In addition to that, at the local level, policymakers and communities do not separate as clearly as the international community does. The feeling of insecurity is not disaggregated at the practical/programmatic level.

There seems to be a clear consensus among a large part of the international community about the need to start talking about violence in an integrated manner, to move the conversation to “global violence”. Even if at the program level, operationally, divisions occur and are needed, the conversation needs to be an integrated and cohesive one.

Many experts also agree that integrating donor approaches will also contribute to take efforts to scale and accelerate development impact. And SDG16+ seems to offer a good platform for that.

> *"Integrating donor approaches coming out of the SDGs and the PVE space, for example, can bring more programs to scale, connecting some narrowly targeted PVE programs with broader institutional capacity building initiatives that should be happening at the SDG16 context." (Eric Rosand)*

Addressing different forms of violence in an integrated manner doesn't necessarily mean addressing them at the same time, but looking at these dimensions as part of a similar process, with roots and dynamics that may reinforce each other.

> *"Expressions of violence can be different but causes are similar. There is a benefit of seeing these as different manifestations of a common problem." (Andres Villaveces)*

This will also allow for the creation of a global movement that may be able to capture the attention and support of different stakeholders – citizens, governments, civil society organizations, and funders.

Diverging Views

That is not to say that the specificities that are needed in each specific dimension of violence at the programmatic level should be underestimated. It should be mentioned that some experts who work in urban violence, for example, were particularly emphatic about the divergences among different domains of violence being not only relevant but also necessary. For some of them, trying to bring these discussions together is not necessarily a useful strategy, but could even be harmful.[301]

> *"If you don't make some distinction, you are basically saying that to address any injustice you need to address all injustices." (Thomas Abt)*

In Abt's view, when you put together lethal violence with other forms of violence that are not necessarily lethal (such as interpersonal violence), for example, you lose a key principle for addressing urban lethal violence, which has hyper concentration in specific locations. For David Kennedy, urban violence – which, he emphasizes, is also a distinct phenomenon and should not be included in the same category as organized crime – is overwhelmingly driven by groups that are typically disorganized, whose dynamics revolve around reciprocal violence and retaliation over time. Responses to this issue, he argues, are very specific (e.g. through the interruption of the retaliation process).

> *"What has moved science in violence prevention is recognizing that while we can talk about violence the same way we talk about a contagious disease, progress has come from identifying particular aspects of different kinds of violence. Recognizing that individuation and addressing it as such is what is making things better. What has move evidence based along is differentiation." (David Kennedy)*

These diverging views show how important it is to promote more dialogue between these different communities.

5. The Way Forward: Ideas for a Global Strategy to Prevent Violence and Accelerate Development Impact

The previous chapters have shown that there is significant knowledge about potential solutions to prevent different forms of violence, despite several remaining gaps and challenges. There are also opportunities to build upon existing knowledge and expertise. But what can we do, at the global level, to prevent violence and accelerate development impact?

This final chapter tries to answer this question by drawing lessons from an analysis of selected strategies that have been implemented to address different global development challenges, namely: (i) No More, a US-based campaign to address domestic and intimate partner violence; (ii) Ni Una Menos, an Argentine movement to address femicides; (iii) Me Too, a US born movement to address sexual harassment and assault; (iv) Change Starts Here, a campaign that seeks to bring about positive change in Asian societies through the empowerment of women and girls; (v) Instinto de Vida (Instinct for Life), a regional initiative focused on homicide reduction in Latin America; (vi) the global ONE Campaign to address extreme poverty; and (vii) Black Lives Matter, a social movement created as a response to high levels of institutional violence against African-Americans.[302] We conclude with recommendations for a global effort, which also includes inputs provided by the experts interviewed.

Typology of Global Strategies

A global development strategy should contribute to raise awareness, streamline actions, and increase participation towards a common goal, enabling the development of initiatives that address global issues and are able to mobilize a variety of stakeholders, from governments to citizens, companies, civil society and international organizations, and academia. It should foster multistakeholder participation and, if effective, influence policy and action at the national, regional, municipal, community, and even individual levels. It may include specific awareness campaigns as well as network platforms. A global strategy can also involve different types of collaboration that should promote trust among participants, accountability, and organizational responsibility, and knowledge sharing.

The strategies analyzed here (see Annex 2 for a detailed description of each) have objectives that can be considered broad, such as ending extreme poverty by 2030 (ONE Campaign); reducing 50 percent of homicides in Latin America in 10 years (Instinct for Life); combating sexual harassment and assault/abuse (Me Too) and domestic and sexual violence (No More); stopping femicide and violence against women in Argentina (Ni Una Menos); bringing about positive change in Asian societies (Change Starts Here); or ending state-sanctioned violence and racism (Black Lives Matter). Only ONE and Instinct for Life have a specific target, with a date for the accomplishment, related to their strategic objectives.

Although all those strategies have in common broad ultimate goals, the cases differ in the way they emerged, spread, and connected with people at the local level, ranging from social moments that grew organically and more linked to local contexts (e.g. Ni Una Menos and Black Lives Matter), to more structured, organized or well-resourced campaigns (e.g. One, Change Starts Here, and Instinct for Life). Therefore, they also differ on their approach to the problems addressed. While some work primarily with awareness campaigns, others work with advocacy actions with governments and legislators. However, most of them combine these two types of action – either since their emergence or eventually, after they had grown.

ONE has the widest range of lines of action, from advocating directly with policymakers and legislators, pushing for specific public policies to address poverty, to conducting awareness-raising campaigns on specific issues and supporting local groups with resources and tools to develop or push for initiatives to meet ONE's strategic objectives. Change Starts Here also advocates with policy and law makers, but the campaign focus is to empower women and girls by capacitating young leaders, working with grassroots organizations to support local actions such as the distribution of books, tablets, and other equipment in educational institutions. Instinct for Life supported knowledge sharing of scientific evidence-based homicide reduction plans and programs to be led by governments. It also tried to promote social mobilization against violence to "denaturalize" peoples' perceptions or acceptance of the high levels of lethal violence in Latin American. Ni Una Menos, Me Too, and Black Lives Matter, on the other hand, could be characterized as social movements focused on changing behaviors and social norms. Although at first, they were aimed at society at large, their expansion allowed them to build the capacity to mobilize legislators and policymakers to pass legislation and policies to prevent the types of violence they target. No More, Ni Una Menos, and Me Too focused not only on changing perpetrators' behaviors and society's acceptance of them, but also tried to encourage victims' help-seeking behavior.

The strategies measure their results differently. While some highlight financial resources raised for their issue (e.g. ONE), others emphasize government commitments to certain policies, engagement of different partners, and outreach capacity (e.g. Instinct for Life, No More), or significant legislative changes (e.g. Black Lives Matter, Me Too, Ni Una Menos).[303] Some of those are easier to measure (e.g. outreach, specific legislation for which a campaign lobbied directly), while for other types of impact (e.g. change in norms and behaviors) causality is impossible to access. Nevertheless, the relevance of some of those campaigns on those longer-term impacts (e.g. Me Too in the US) should not be overlooked.

Finally, the cases analyzed also demonstrate that mobilization has changed considerably, and that new tools and strategies have scaled the potential of global movements around specific ideas having significant impacts in setting policy priorities, action, and changes in behavior.

Lessons and Recommendations for a Global Strategy for Violence Prevention

The comparative analysis of the cases above led to the identification of lessons and key messages that, combined with recommendations provided by the experts interviewed for this report, can contribute to the development of a global strategy to prevent and reduce all forms of violence. These are the key takeaways:

1. **Having broad goals facilitates dialogue with strategic partners**

   Broader and global goals, such as those established by the SDGs, can be useful frameworks to direct priorities, metrics, and targeted outcomes. In addition, the SDGs are largely accepted and shared globally. For this reason, linking them to specific campaigns helps in the dialogue and engagement of strategic partners such as governments, policymakers, and funders.

2. **But to be global, you need to go local**

   At the same time, broad goals can also be distant and abstract for a regular citizen or even policymaker. Therefore, being clear about the definition of the problem or challenge to be addressed, and tailoring it to local contexts, is key. Effective policies related to global problems must be aligned with local realities. David McNair, ONE's Executive Director for Global Policy, emphasizes the importance of identifying the problems to be addressed as a starting point, and comprehending what factors are related to them in a particular context. In the case of ONE, this is accomplished through a research agenda that leads to data driven policies. Knowing the specificities, constraints, and opportunities of each place, including the possibilities to engage existing local groups through training, resources, and tools, can be very helpful for effective campaigns or movements.

According to Jeremy Shiffman, who has analyzed several public health networks, the tension between broad framing vs. narrow framings is common to global coalitions and networks, and each option has its pros and cons. Broad statements and a centralized governance structure of a coalition, strategy or network has the benefit of helping make people move collectively, for example; at the same time, they can also lead to fragmentation, and certain decentralization is helpful to allow for the adaptation to different circumstances. In his view, these tensions get eventually resolved, but they are constantly present and have to be negotiated.

3. **Framing a powerful and simple message**

   The strategies analyzed, especially in their awareness raising campaigns, had in common one single, simple message, consolidating even in the campaign name itself a powerful statement that could be catchy and useful for social media dissemination (e.g. Ni Una Menos, Me Too, Black Lives Matter). Communication strategies may explore the power of online media, using hashtags and celebrities (actors, actresses, musicians) and influencers – global but also representatives of national and local realities.

All the messages discussed above also relate to one key recommendation provided by different experts, such as Andres Villaveces, Etienne Krug, and Gary Slutkin, who emphasized the need to have the problem to be addressed (i.e. violence, in the case of a global strategy for prevention) and its definition clearly defined and stated. However, as the interviews pointed out, definitions of a specific problem to be addressed may not even be unanimous among experts, which is a challenge to be managed by the strategy/movement or coalition (see more in Box 14).

4. **Relying on the most recent and reliable data and research and disseminating what works**

   It is the research and data that will provide the details needed to build the best strategic approach for any global movement. They may also offer several alternatives for interventions (in terms of public policies, for example), so having a good understanding of them, also to be able to offer adaptable options to different contexts, is key.

This point also relates to the message of "giving people a sense of the possible", and translating that into a set of concrete operational actions that can be taken, as experts such as Daniela Ligiero, Eric Rosand, and Fairlie Chappuis pointed out. In the case of a potential global strategy focused on different forms of violence, this means reinforcing the message that there is significant evidence to demonstrate that it can be prevented, and that we all have a role to play to make that happen.

For Carolina Ricardo, whose organization (Instituto da Paz) was also part of Instinct for Life, and developed a Mapping of Impunity[304] *that was disseminated through the campaign, there is also a need to improve the way messages on security and violence are conveyed, in a way that it will move beyond the fear-led responses and lead the regular citizen to support and push for policies that work.*

Several experts, such as Tyler Beckelman, Andres Villaveces, Diana Arango, Gary Milante, and Rachel Kleinfeld agreed that exchanging that knowledge and promoting continued research in this area, where there are still a lot of gaps, should also be priorities of any global effort focused on violence prevention.

5. Setting a specific objective is needed, but defining a precise target goal is not necessarily the best strategy

Most of the cases, except for Instinct for Life and ONE, did not set a specific target indicator for success. Choosing a campaign-associated goal has advantage and disadvantages. In the case of Instinct for Life, for example, the regional homicide reduction target provided the campaign with a sense of unity in the region, which struggled with the reputation of being the most violent in the world. The target helps to promote dialogue with governments and can help to guide public policy. On the other hand, having very specific ambitious goals (i.e. reducing 50 percent of Latin American homicides in 10 years) can also lead to a social perception of campaign failure or demotivate or demobilize its members.

6. Beyond raising awareness, strategies need to give partners and people a guideline and option for action

To engage people and strategic partners effectively, it is necessary to build an informational "package" that goes from problem awareness to pointing out the necessary action of this specific partner that will contribute to overcoming the problem. Therefore, any movement or global strategy not only needs a relevant, catchy, and well defined message, as described above, but also the ability for direct engagement, especially in cases where the problem is not so close to the social context of the partners; it needs to be presented in a way that demonstrates how this problem affects or should affect all.

In the case of violence, in general, that means also getting the message to a personal level, demonstrating clearly how not acting will have/has an impact on people's day-to-day lives and generations to come, as experts Eugenia Carbone, Daniela Ligiero, and Ramya Subrahmanian point out. This also relates to the suggestion made by some experts that a global strategy focused on all forms of violence should be a movement of ideas, not focused only on solutions, which can get too technical, but also focused on norms and behaviors that we want to change. Therefore, it should have a state-society component, which should include sharing knowledge so that policymakers and citizens alike can understand and push not for a more punitive but rather a more inclusive approach; and a society-society relationship component, focused on norms setting, as Rachel Kleinfeld defines.

7. The most effective global strategies will include a combination strategic actions, such as advocacy and awareness campaigns

The analysis of the six cases showed that different strategies to raise funds, achieve institutional and legal changes or shift public consciousness need to be implemented in order for any global effort to be effective. The selection and timing of each will also depend on the specific issue to be addressed – even within a broad goal – and the specific actors to be mobilized to address it.

Campaigns against tobacco, the promotion of safety driving, as well as some public health ones, were mentioned by experts as examples that could provide ideas for effective strategies. Andres Villaveces and Gary Slutkin mentioned the training work carried out with the media and selective journalists, for example, on how to appropriately communicate these issues.

8. Selecting messengers and champions

The use of celebrities and social influencers in campaigns can help to broaden the reach of the message, providing legitimacy and confidence to the campaign and also raising resources for its development. This was clearly the case in ONE, Black Lives Matter, and Me Too. Influencers to be selected need to identify with the cause. In the case of Black Lives Matter, for example, the main supporters of the movement, such as Jay-Z, generated identification with other young black people who engaged in the movement. Beyond that, celebrities can connect their personal reputation to the movement, thereby garnering legitimacy. However, not all influencers are celebrities. For example, ONE's experience was that to convince US congressmen about the importance of supporting investment programs in Sub-Saharan African countries, engaging with religious and military representatives was more effective.

In the case of violence, including ex-convicts (e.g. gang members, members of extremist groups) as part of campaigns, could also send a powerful message, according to Rebecca Skellet.

Finally, identifying champions in the political sphere – governments, politicians and legislators – is crucial to be able to scale the message and promote more policy actions at the national and local levels, as Etienne Krug, Eric Rosand, Andres Villaveces, and Diana Arango suggest.

Box 14. Elements to be Considered for an Effective Global Strategy

Global networks, defined by Shiffman et al. (2016) as "webs of individuals and organizations linked by a shared concern", are not necessarily the same as global strategies, movements or campaigns as described in this report. However, they do come very close to Shiffman's definition in the sense that they all share a common development goal, and are composed of multiple partners and stakeholders. For this reason, their study of different health networks could be relevant for the discussion on global strategies.

In an analysis of the emergence and effectiveness of global health networks addressing tobacco use, alcohol harm, maternal mortality, neonatal mortality, tuberculosis, and pneumonia, the authors found that networks can influence agenda setting and prioritization of certain issues, and that they are particularly important to help shape the way the problems to be addressed are understood, as well as its evidence-based solutions. Hence networks do have the capacity to persuade governments and other global actors to focus on a certain topic. In fact, the authors argue, the amount of attention and resources received by different issues can be linked to effectiveness of networks created to address them, and not necessarily to "rational" factors such as the prevalence of a specific disease and the availability and cost-effectiveness of interventions to address it.

Some of those findings were further explored by Shiffman (2017) in a review of that and several other studies of public health networks, in which he identified four strategic challenges that are usually faced by these types of efforts, and which will also impact their effectiveness in generating attention and resources for the conditions of their concern. These challenges are: (i) problem definition, and the degree to which the network can come together cohesively and have a consensus on how to define the issue to be addressed and solutions to be proposed; (ii) positioning, which relates to how it makes the public case and frames its issues; (iii) coalition-building, which refers to the built alliances beyond its particular sector; and (iv) governance, which is linked to all of the above as it relates to institutions that will have to be built or strengthened to move collective action. While two of these challenges – sustaining a cohesive frame and building a broad coalition – were often in tension, since the former "demanded focus, the latter wide appeal", Shiffman found that effective networks "found ways to balance" them.

In an interview with the research team, Shiffman and Sharman, one of his co-authors, said that, overall, networks and collective efforts that focus on coalition building and are systematically inclusive, avoiding insularity, and understanding the need to convince and engage others beyond their communities, engaging to get to solutions that make sense to the problem, seem to be more promising and effective.

Source: Shiffman, "Four challenges that global health networks face"; Shiffman et al.,
"The emergence and effectiveness of global health networks: findings and future research";
Interview with Jeremy Shiffman and Yusra Shawar carried out on December 6th, 2019.

Conclusions

This report tried to bring together existing evidence about what works to prevent five different domains of violence – conflict, mass atrocities and human rights abuses, violent extremism, urban violence and organized crime, and interpersonal violence focused on violence against women and children. The analysis identified potential synergies or convergences in potential solutions; and highlighted significant divergences that need to be considered, especially at the programming level. Our hope is that these findings, combined with the lessons of specific global strategies and recommendations from experts, will provide significant insight for the design of a collective global effort that can help to prevent all forms of violence and accelerate development impact.

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Annex 1. List of Experts Interviewed

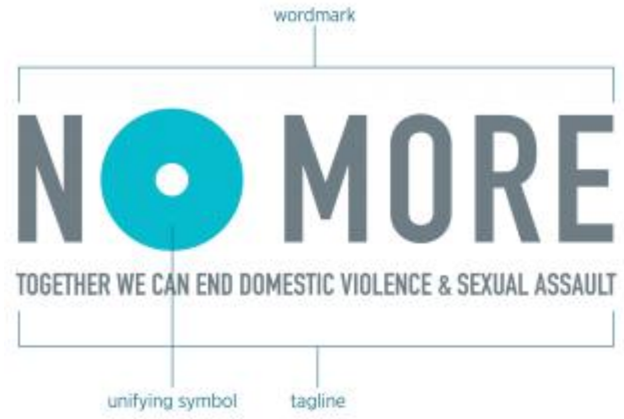
	Name	Affiliation
1	Andres Villaveces	Center for Disease Control
2	Carolina Ricardo	Executive Director Sou da Paz Institute
3	Daniela Ligiero	Together for Girls
4	David Kennedy	John Jay College of Criminal Justice/Ceasefire
5	Diana Arango	World Bank
6	Eric Rosand	Global Center on Cooperative Security
7	Etienne Krug	World Health Organization
8	Fairlie Chappuis	Swisspeace
9	Ollivier Lavinal	World Bank
10	Gary Milante	SIPRI
11	Gary Slutkin	Cure Violence
12	Jai-Ayla Quest	Stanley Center for Peace and Security
13	Jeremy Shiffman	Johns Hopkins University
14	Manuel Eisner	University of Cambridge
15	Maria Eugenia Carbone	Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation
16	Mubarak Awad	Nonviolence International
17	Rachel Kleinfeld	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
18	Ramya Subrahmanian	Know Violence in Childhood
19	Rebecca Skellett	Strong Cities Network
20	Sara Batmanglich	World Bank
21	Thomas Abt	Harvard
22	Tyler Beckelman	US Institute of Peace
23	Uzra Zeya	Alliance for Peace Building
24	Yusra Shawar	Johns Hopkins University
25	Rodrigo Arnaiz	Instinct for Life
26	Dandara Tinoco	Instituto Igarapé and Instinct for Life
27	David McNair	Executive Director for Global Policy at ONE Campaign

Annex 2. Detailed Analysis of Global Strategies

NO MORE

NO MORE is a US focused campaigning movement to raise awareness about domestic violence and sexual assault and abuse.[305] It was launched in 2013 by a coalition of institutions, including the US Department of Justice. The campaign is directed at victims to encourage reporting, but also at society at large, aiming at changing norms and behaviors to prevent this type of violence. The campaign motto is: “together we can end domestic violence & sexual assault”.

The movement is engaged with private and public actors, being funded mostly by NEO Philanthropy, a US funder intermediary for nonprofit organizations. Partnerships with big corporations, such as Uber, help the dissemination of their actions. The symbol is attached to the No More signature, which carries the wordmark and a tagline (see example below). No More makes available its signature for use by anyone (institutions, companies, individuals) supporting the cause. It is possible to download it on the website by registering through a simple form.



The work is based on four main pillars: large-scale media campaigns, education and community engagement, grassroots activism and fundraising, and outreach and technical assistance. The campaign developed an open-source toolkit – NO MORE Toolkit – to train bystanders, enabling them to recognize, empathize, and support victims of domestic and sexual violence in their demographic (blacks, trans, queer, women, poor, etc.) and environmental (employers, educators, etc.) specificities. They also conduct research with partners on domestic violence and sexual assault.

Actions carried out by No More are focused in the United States and follow similar strategies throughout the country, however there are adaptations to local versions in cities, states, and regions. The website provides users with a list of phone numbers and other support mechanisms for victims of domestic violence or sexual abuse. According to the No More’s website, nearly 1,200 organizations, 75,000 individuals, 300 schools, and 30 local campaigns have adhered to the campaign. It is unspecified what adherence means, but it is possible to imply it also refers to dissemination of the cause through branding and the symbol/signature. Public Service Announcements designed by No More – public campaigns aiming to illuminate issues, usually financed by institutions but publicly spread – have had more than 4.4 billion impressions. The most famous is a video set recorded with NFL players after a scandal of domestic violence involving one of their stars.

Me Too

The Me Too movement was started in 2006 by Tarana Burke, a civil rights activist from The Bronx, New York, [306] while she worked “with young Black women and girls from low wealth communities. She developed culturally-informed curriculum to discuss sexual violence within the Black community and in society at large”.[307] In 2017, the movement grew rapidly. After the New York Times’ investigation into decades-long sexual harassment claims against Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein, Alyssa Milano,[308] an American actress, invited people who had suffered sexual harassment, abuse, or assault, to reply to her tweet with the hashtag “me too”.[309] In hours, the hashtag went viral, with millions of people sharing their own stories of sexual assault on social media.[310] #MeToo reached global proportions and several famous actresses[311] stated they had all been abused, most by Harvey. In 2018, the mobilization culminated in a protest at the Golden Globe Awards, with several actresses dressed in black to denounce sexual abuse. The movement that mobilized Hollywood stars expanded and became a symbol for reports of abuse.

Although Burke's Me Too movement did not directly influence the hashtag used by Milano, as the theme grew in social networks, the two movements were connected. In 2017, Tarana Burke was named one of “The Silence Breakers”[312] by Time magazine after the global reach of the hashtag #MeToo on Twitter, and she currently serves at the Girls for Gender Equity (GGE),[313] which is the fiscal sponsor of the Me Too movement, as its senior director. The goals of the movement developed beyond the hashtag are now focused on building a community of human rights advocates, reframing and expanding the global conversation around sexual violence to reach a broad spectrum of survivals, especially trans, queer, disabled, and people of color. The intention is to build spaces for survivors to connect and support each other, putting an end on sexual violence through community-based action, replicating experiences focused on the centrality of the victim as protagonist of the healing process, while noting the specific needs of their community. The movement supports victims with local and national resources, directing them to places that they can look for help and assistance. Beyond Twitter and the official website, #MeToo communicates through Instagram and Facebook with support messages and dissemination of projects.

With the allegations, some important men lost their jobs: Weinstein, Bill O’Reily (Fox News commentator), Bill Cosby (a famous comedian), and Les Moonves, CBS CEO. #MeToo was no longer a hashtag. Bill Cosby, for example, was sentenced to prison. Moreover, the movement has helped to push legislation to improve the testing of rape kits and to extend the statute of limitations for victims who want to file civil lawsuits against their abusers. In Washington, employers are no longer required to keep state nondisclosure agreements (NDAs) that cover sexual abuse and harassment.[314]

Ni Una Menos

Ni Una Menos (“Not one [woman] less”) is an Argentinian feminist social movement against gender-based violence.[315] The movement started in March 2015 with large marches in Buenos Aires as a response to increasing trends of femicides in the country. With the visibility acquired through several demonstrations, Ni Una Menos grew into a large feminist movement focused on all women and the LBTI community’s rights. Since 2017, they have also focused on a broader range of social issues beyond femicide and other types of interpersonal violence – from Argentina’s economic crisis effects on women and the LBTI population to labor rights and working conditions. Although Ni Una Menos may be seen as an initiative concerned only with interpersonal violence, they have been assertive in showing that economics and politics should also be seen as structural factors driving violence against women in Argentina.

Ni Una Menos doesn’t seem to have specific funding strategies. Their actions are mostly low cost, centered around demonstrations in visible places (e.g. the President’s office and Congress) and largely supported by thousands of activists. As part of their dissemination strategies, they utilize Manifests centered on specific issues to consolidate political narratives.[316]

In press materials, interviewed activists often don’t give their names and ask to be referred to only as “Ni Una Menos member” or activist, not as founders, leaders, heads or protagonists. Cecília Palmeiro is one exception identified; she is also referred to as an activist, but as someone that was present at the birth of Ni Una Menos and also as a relevant feminist intellectual.

Ni Una Menos makes great use of their website and of social media, specially Instagram.[317] Their Manifests and posts help to induce a powerful and homogeneous narrative about feminism in Argentina, and their marches, which strengthened the agenda of strong civil society organizations that work on this topic, seem to have helped to push for the approval of significant legislation in recent years, such as: the law that deprives perpetrators of femicide of parental responsibility to their children; the law that provides economic reparation for children of victims of femicides; and the law that made gender training mandatory for all public servants at the national and state level.

Change Starts Here

Change Starts Here is a campaign coordinated by The Asia Foundation[318] that aims to make a positive change in Asian societies by empowering women and girls, raising feminine leadership in Asia, as well as supporting young people to become new leaders.[319]

To strengthen women's participation and representation in community activities, Change Starts Here works to give access to equal opportunities in the labor market. It seeks to invest in small entrepreneurs, networks, and training. Simultaneously, they carry out advocacy with law and policymakers to improve public support. With respect to improving young local leaderships, every year the Foundation elects 12 young leaders acting for community purposes in their countries to take Asia Foundation's training course. They will later be part of the Asia Foundation Development Fellows. Its program consists in "enhancing leadership skills, Asian development knowledge, professional networks, and international exposure for young Asian professionals". The leaders they develop engage in local issues, such as areas marked by religious or extremism conflicts.

The Change Starts Here's action strategies include advocacy with policy and law makers and work with grassroots organizations to support local actions, like distribution of books, tablets, and other equipment to empower and inspire young students to become leaders, facing problems in local context.

Funding of The Asia Foundation comes from individuals, corporations, foundations, organizations, multilateral institutions, and government sources. Among donors are Coca Cola, Facebook, Stanford University, and UNICEF. They consider themselves as a non-profit international organization. Their headquarters is based in the United States, but it has offices in 18 countries in Asia.

The ONE Campaign

ONE is an organization carrying out global campaigns focused on poverty reduction. It stems from a global advocacy organization called DATA, founded in 2004. According to their website, ONE's goal is to end extreme poverty and preventable diseases by 2030. This goal would be achieved through different areas of action, such as gender equality, youth employment, quality education, and access to health services. Their target population are people living in extreme poverty, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, and people with HIV/AIDS. They also have a "sub-campaign" called RED, which is oriented to HIV/AIDS matters.

ONE has offices in 9 countries. It is financed by private foundations, individual philanthropists, and corporations. One of its co-founders and key people is Bono, lead singer of the Irish rock band U2. It is interesting to note that donations from the general public are not accepted, nor government funding. ONE advocates with governments and parliaments, such as the United States and European Union countries, to commit resources directly to African countries' development programs, directing these resources to policies that are in line with ONE's strategic objectives.

The strategies of ONE include campaigns to raise public awareness and shift public consciousness. The targets of these strategies are global and local leaders, as well as local grassroots campaigns, with whom ONE works to help them raise funds and design policies. They also carry out advocacy with policymakers and key influencers around the world to promote support for policies and programs related to ONE themes. They work on educating and lobbying governments and lawmakers about their main subjects (i.e. poverty, hunger, lack of access to education, healthcare, clean energy, justice, and safety), and offer support to promote dignified labor, gender equality, innovation, industrialization, and infrastructure. This support includes raising funds to finance programs and advocacy with politicians and local activists.

With the slogan "The fight against poverty isn't about charity, it's about justice and equality", ONE disseminates its message through press releases, taking part in UN conferences, gathering celebrity support, and online social networking. On their website and social media, information about local small actions and analysis about the last G7

Summit, for example, is available, and according to the website, they have impacted 140 million lives. Measures and what is defined as "impact" however is not clear on ONE's website.

Instinto de Vida

Instinto de Vida ("Instinct for Life") is a Latin American campaign focused on raising public awareness about intentional homicide and reducing murder in the seven most violent countries of the region.[320] Launched in late 2017, the campaign focused on interpersonal violence. Financed by Open Society Foundations, the campaign was initially carried out through an alliance of ten non-governmental institutions (it later became 50) with varying mandates ranging from human rights to public security, from seven countries.[321] The campaign was coordinated by Brazil's Igarapé Institute[322] – responsible for research and communications – and Nossas,[323] which oversaw local mobilization.

The theory of change guiding Instinct for Life involved developing a knowledge base, mobilizing partners, and shaping strategic communications to support evidence-based interventions to reduce violence. The campaign emphasized the critical importance of citizen participation to inform public policymaking, access to justice, and respect for human rights, and affirms that public safety should be perceived as a public good. The main types of actions involve the development of data-driven tools such as the Homicide Monitor; strategic communication with NGO and media partners; content production with research institutes; and advocacy at different levels of government. Civil society and private sector-oriented campaigns are also carried out.[324] The campaign has a website and an open online form for those who wish to join it.

Instinct for Life has influenced public debate on the subject by spreading the need for public policies to reduce lethal violence. Within a year, the campaign claimed to have over 500 commitments and declarations signed by political authorities in different government levels in Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and Venezuela. The campaign also led to the launch, by the Organization of American States, of a homicide reduction commission to expand the core messages of what works to member states. The Homicide Mapping platform has been viewed millions of times and has helped inform public debate across the region through conventional and social media. While funded for just 1.5 years, Instinct for Life maintains a website and pages on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook, with content posted periodically by its members.

The mediatic impact of Instinct for Life was particularly robust. The campaign generated over 1,500 media stories in more than 40 countries with lead articles in, inter alia, the Economist, Financial Times, Wall Street Journal, and major outlets in Latin America such as El Tiemp, El Pais, Folha de São Paulo, and Globo. Today, the Homicide Monitor is the largest public repository of data on intentional homicide in the world and was used in the 2019 Global Homicide Report released by UNODC in late 2019.

Black Lives Matter

Black Lives Matter is a social movement that emerged in 2013 in the US, the UK, and Canada, aimed at ending state-sanctioned violence and anti-black racism. It advocates through press releases, demonstrations, international human right events, celebrities' support, campaigns, legal action, having demonstrations (street acts), campaigns such as What Matters 2020, manuals, chapters, art production, and dissemination.

The movement has gained support from many celebrities and artists, and also uses collaborative artworks[325] and workshops to gather support and promote demonstrations. Through strategic litigation and dissemination stemming from specific cases of violence and discrimination against black people, they have been able to influence policymaking, such as through the passing of the Bill on Police Transparency,[326] which gives the public access to internal investigations on police shootings, and also allowing the release of body camera footage of such incidents.

Table 5. Key Information on Strategies Analyzed

Case	Goals	Action strategies	Results	Date	Location	Type
No More nomore.org	Raising awareness on the topics of domestic violence, sexual assault and abuse, mobilizing society towards tackling and solving them.	Developing toolkits for bystanders training, enabling them to recognize, empathize, and support victims of domestic and sexual violence in their demographic (blacks, trans, queer, women, poor, etc.) and environmental (employers, educators, etc.) specificities; conducting research with partners on domestic violence and sexual assault. Work is based on four main pillars: large-scale media campaigns, education and community engagement, grassroots activism and fundraising, and outreach and technical assistance.	According to the website, nearly 1,200 organizations, 75,000 individuals, 300 schools, and 30 local campaigns have joined the campaign (method of measuring is missing). Public Service Announcements have had more than 4.4 billion impressions.	2013 – Present	North America	Corporate-oriented national American awareness campaign.
Me Too metoomvmt.org	Building a community of human rights advocates. Reframing and expanding the global conversation around sexual violence reaching a broad spectrum of survivals, especially trans, queer, disabled, and people of color.	Building spaces for survivors to connect and support each other, putting an end to sexual violence through community based action. Replicating experiences focused on the centrality of the victim as protagonist of the healing processes, while heeding the specific needs of their community (i.e. trans disabled people leading events for disabled trans people, for an instance).	At least 920 harassment charges were reported through social media, especially Twitter, with the hashtag MeToo. The movement is passing legislation to improve the testing of rape kits and to extend the statute of limitations for victims who want to file civil lawsuits against their abusers. In Washington, state lawmakers approved a package of bills targeting NDAs that cover sexual abuse and harassment, and employers there will no longer be able to require people to sign them as a condition of employment.	2006 – Present	Started in the USA in 2006. In 2017, with the Twitter hashtag #MeToo reached global proportions and became a symbol for reports of abuse. Not only global actresses, but civil society women started to reporting	Advocacy-oriented global online campaign.

					cases of violence.	
Ni Una Menos niunamenos.org.ar	Tackling femicide and violence against women in Argentina. Legalizing abortions, creating political anti-punitive strategies, impacting the governmental agenda regarding such themes	Demonstrations (street acts), informative content releases on their website, manifesto production, video production, legislative lobbying, taking part in public assemblies, articulating with other social movements, disseminating biographies, and taking part in national mobilizations such as the National Women Strike in Argentina on March 8th, and October 19th, as well as the Ato Ni Una Menos on June 3rd.	Their Manifests and posts help to induce a powerful and homogeneous narrative about feminism in Argentina, and their marches, which strengthened the agenda of strong civil society organizations that work on this topic, seem to have helped to push for the approval of significant legislation in recent years, such as: the law that deprives perpetrators of femicide of parental responsibility to their children; the law that provides economic reparation for children of victims of femicides; and the law that made gender training mandatory for all public servants at the national and state level.	2015 – Present	Started in June 2015 in Buenos Aires, it went from a street demonstration to a social movement and organized collective, it's still mostly Argentine, although it inspires women throughout Latin America.	Advocacy-oriented national Argentinian social movement.
Change Starts Here asiafoundation.org/publication/change-starts-here	Make a positive change in Asian societies through actions with students, entrepreneurs and investment in young leaders, which means empowering	Advocacy with policy and law makers; work with grassroots organizations to support local actions; distribution of books, tablets, and other equipment to young students.	Information unavailable.	2018 – Present	18 countries in Asia.	Regional philanthropy campaign.

	women, equipping future leaders and inspiring young learners.					
Instinto de Vida br.instintodevida.org	Reducing 50% of homicides in seven Latin American countries in ten years.	Establishing goals and objectives, as well as supporting the development of plans and programmes for reducing homicide, mobilizing civil society, collecting and disseminating data, and biographies in order to denaturalize the high homicide rates.	503 commitments agreed with authorities at the national, state, and municipalities' levels, in Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and Venezuela. Production of the world's largest repository of public data on intentional homicide. Over 1,000 media articles in more than 50 countries.	2017 – 2018	7 countries in South America: Brazil, Honduras, Colombia, El Salvador, Venezuela, Mexico, and Guatemala.	Institutional-oriented international South American campaign.
ONE Campaign www.one.org/us	End extreme poverty and preventable disease by 2030. Fight for gender equality, youth employment, quality education, access to health services.	Educating and lobbying governments and lawmakers in order to design policy solutions for tackling poverty, hunger, lack of access to education, healthcare, clean energy, justice, and safety, promoting dignified labor, gender equality, innovation, industrialization, and infrastructure. They focus on raising public awareness and educating policymakers, and also engage in grassroots and direct advocacy with policymakers and key influencers around the world in support of such policies and programs.	140 million lives impacted, with $600m dollars raised, 100% of which goes to fight HIV/AIDS. In 7 months, 78,000 people signed their petition and the Build Act was passed. The Act provides an extra $30 bn to a new Development Finance Corporation to mobilize private sector investments for low-income countries.	2004 – Present	Global, with actions focused on Sub-Saharan Africa.	Advocacy and volunteer-oriented global campaign.

Black Lives Matter blacklivesmatter.com	To end state-sanctioned violence and anti-black racism.	Black Lives Matter is a social movement born on 2013, based on the US, the UK, and Canada, aimed at ending state-sanctioned violence and anti-black racism, targeting especially queer, trans, disabled, and undocumented black people. It advocates through press releases, demonstrations, international human right events, celebrities support, campaigns, books, interviews, legal action, having demonstrations (street acts), website promotion, lobby, campaigns such as What Matters 2020, manuals, chapters, art production and dissemination.	"Right to know" bill on Police Transparency in California; Release on bond for 21 Savage; Mama's Day National Bailout;	2013 – Present	Global objectives. Action Platforms in the US, the UK, and Canada.	Advocacy, and legal action-oriented social movement.

Endnotes

[1] Kleinfeld and Muggah, "No War, No Peace: Healing the World's Violent Societies". See also World Bank, "Pathways for Peace".
[2] United Nations, "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development".
[3] Violence reduction targets span across several other SDGs; building peaceful, just and inclusive societies necessarily means promoting gender equality, economic opportunities, safe education spaces, human rights, ensuring human rights and access to justice, etc. See SDG16+ framework at Steven, Locke and Ruttinger, "Beyond 16: The SDGs and the Opportunity to Build a More Peaceful World".
[4] The division into these five categories was included in the original research request and proved challenging at times. In the case of mass atrocities and human rights abuses, and especially in urban violence and organized crime, the literature and data reviewed by the research team found that these dimensions would have to be further divided, as they relate to different phenomena that require different responses.
[5] See acknowledgements.
[6] More information available at https://www.pathwaysforpeace.org/.
[7] More information available at https://www.end-violence.org/inspire.
[8] World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict".
[9] Only paired once in 1991.
[10] Bellamy, "Mass Atrocities and Armed Conflict: Links, Distinctions, and Implications for the Responsibility to Prevent".
[11] Stephan and Chenoweth, "Why Civil Resistance Works".
[12] Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2019: Rights Trends in Syria".
[13] In an interview with the research team on November 19, 2019, Maria Eugenia Carbone, director of the Latin American Program at the Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, mentioned the recent protests and repressive responses in the region as a reminder of how these types of crimes can still occur in contexts of consolidated democracies.
[14] START, "Trends in Global Terrorism."
[15] Small Arms Survey, "Monitoring Trends in Violent Deaths".
[16] All data, unless explicitly stated, comes from UNODC, "Statistics and Data", https://dataunodc.un.org.
[17] Kleinfeld and Muggah, "No War, No Peace: Healing the World's Violent Societies".
[18] World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict".
[19] United Nations, "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development".
[20] Violence reduction targets span across several other SDGs; building peaceful, just and inclusive societies necessarily means promoting gender equality, economic opportunities, safe education spaces, human rights, ensuring human rights and access to justice, etc. See SDG16+ framework at Steven, Locke and Ruttinger, "Beyond 16: The SDGs and the Opportunity to Build a More Peaceful World".
[21] World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict".
[22] The division into these five categories was included in the original research request and proved challenging at times. In the case of mass atrocities and human rights abuses, and especially in urban violence and organized crime, the literature and data reviewed by the research team found that these dimensions would have to be further divided, as they relate to different phenomena and require different solutions.
[23] GReVD, Gaps Report: Challenges of counting all violent deaths everywhere, 5.
[24] The GReVD Consortium includes the Armed Conflict and Location Database (ACLED), The Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM), The Center for Peace and Security Studies (cPASS), Cline Center for Advanced Social Research, The Community Robotics, Education and Technology Empowerment (CREATE) Lab,

The Global Terrorism Database (GTD), The Igarapé Institute, The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), the Small Arms Survey (SAS), and the Uppsala Conflict Data Programme (UCDP).

[25] The Geneva Declaration, “How to Measure and Monitor Armed Violence?”, available at http://www.genevadeclaration.org/measurability/how-to-measure-and-monitor-armed-violence.html.

[26] The Geneva Declaration, “Measurability: Global Burden of Armed Violence”, available at http://www.genevadeclaration.org/measurability/global-burden-of-armed-violence/global-burden-of-armed-violence-2015/gbav-launch.html.

[27] More information available at https://ucdp.uu.se/.

[28] This includes battlefield fighting, guerrilla activities and all kinds of bombardments of military bases, cities and villages, etc. All fatalities – military as well as civilian – incurred in such situations are counted as battle-related deaths.

[29] More information available at https://www.acleddata.com/.

[30] Examples of these organizations are the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights or the Iraq Body Count project.

[31] Kishi and Pavlik, “ACLED 2018: the year in Review.”

[32] Only paired once in 1991.

[33] Pettersson and Hogbladh, “Organized violence”.

[34] Definition comes from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). “Definitions”, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Accessed September 29, 2019, https://pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions.

[35] Armed conflicts are defined by the number of deaths, above 25 and below 1,000 in a calendar year. Above 1,000 deaths, conflict is recorded as war.

[36] Pettersson and Hogbladh, “Organized violence”, 5.

[37] UNHCR, “Ending Statelessness”. Accessed on November 9, 2019, https://www.unhcr.org/ending-statelessness.

[38] Estimates from the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC).

[39] Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, “Global Internal Displacement Database”, accessed on September 20, 2019, http://www.internal-displacement.org/database/displacement-data.

[40] Ibid.

[41] UNCHA, “Global Humanitarian Overview 2020”, 2019, 29.

[42] Introduced in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime and Genocide.

[43] Defined in the Geneva Conventions of 1948.

[44] Contrary to the crimes described above, crimes against humanity have not been codified in a treaty yet. However, a clear definition was introduced in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. This Statute included acts such as torture, rape, group-based persecution, apartheid, murder, enslavement and other similar inhumane acts that intentionally cause serious injury to body, or mental or physical health, as crimes against humanity. For a detailed definition of these three types of crimes, see Annex I of “Framework of Analysis for Atrocity Crimes. A tool for Prevention”, available at www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/publications-and-resources.shtml.

[45] The Strauss Center, “CCAPS Social Conflict Analysis Database,” https://www.strausscenter.org/scad.html.

[46] “State of the World: Mass Killing in 2018 - Early Warning Project,” https://earlywarningproject.ushmm.org/reports/state-of-the-world-mass-killing-in-2018.

[47] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “State of the world Mass Killing in 2018,” 3.

[48] Straus, “Fundamentals of genocide”.

[49] Human Rights Watch, “Serb Gang-Rapes in Kosovo Exposed”.

[50] Refugees accounted for some 1.2 million in Zaire, 580,000 in Tanzania, 270,000 in Burundi and 10,000 in Uganda. UNHCR, “The State of The World's Refugees”, www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/3ebf9bb60.pdf.

[51] Kaldor and Vincent, “United Nations Development”, 4.

[52] Physicians for Human Rights. “War-Related Sexual Violence”, 17-18.

[53] Loeb, "Did Sudan use chemical".

[54] Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2019: Rights Trends in Syria".

[55] In an interview with the research team on November 19, 2019, Maria Eugenia Carbone, director of the Latin American Program at the Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, mentioned the recent protests and repressive responses in the region as a reminder of how these types of crimes can still occur in contexts of consolidated democracies.

[56] UN General Assembly 2015, "Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism".

[57] This is intentional, as many organizations hope to learn from the experiences of the field of counter-terrorism, which created lists of terrorist organizations used to exclude these groups and their members from access to foreign aid, travel, etc., thereby creating its own set of challenges for working on prevention, especially with sympathizer communities.

[58] UN Resolution 2178, adopted unanimously by the Security Council in September 2014, notes that violent extremism "can be conducive to terrorism" (UN Security Council, "Resolution 2178", https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/s/res/2178-%282014%29.).

[59] The Global Terrorism Index defines terrorism as "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation." Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2018".

[60] The GTD definition does not specify whether victims must be noncombatants, whereas the definitions used by the U.S. government and DFID. DFID, "Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism (CVET): DFID's Approach and Contribution"; United States Department of State. Definition of terrorism, Title 22 Chapter 38 U.S. Code § 2656 https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title22/chapter38&edition=prelim. For a list of definitions in OECD countries, see https://www.oecd.org/daf/fin/insurance/TerrorismDefinition-Table.pdf.

[61] Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2019".

[62] The global average of annual deaths from terrorist attacks over that period is 5,182.

[63] The average for the time span 2000-2018 is 87 percent with a standard deviation of 3.5 years.

[64] Violent conflict defined by the UCDP's Armed Conflict Dataset, meaning that they had at least one conflict which led to 25 or more battle-related deaths.

[65] Political terror involves extra-judicial killings, torture and imprisonment without trial. Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2019".

[66] Small Arms Survey, "Monitoring Trends in Violent Deaths".

[67] Patel, Ronak and Burkle, "Rapid Urbanization", 194-7.

[68] World Bank, "Violence in the City".

[69] ICRC, "Urban Services during Protracted Armed Conflict: A Call for a Better Approach to Assisting Affected People".

[70] UN, "World Urbanization Prospects".

[71] Intentional homicide is defined as an "unlawful death inflicted upon a person with the intent to cause death or serious injury." The core element of intentional homicide is the complete liability of the perpetrator, which differentiates it from killings related to armed conflict and war, self-inflicted death, killings due to legal interventions and justifiable homicide. UNODC, International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes.

[72] UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Global Study on Homicide 2019".

[73] Ibid. An organized crime group exists when at least three persons during a period of time act with the aim to commit at least one serious crime in order to obtain directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit. This definition comes from Article 2 (a) of the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime.

[74] UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Global Study on Homicide 2019".

[75] All data, unless explicitly stated, comes from UNODC, "Statistics and Data", https://dataunodc.un.org .

[76] UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Global Study on Homicide 2019".

[77] It should be mentioned, according to UNODC, "data coverage is below average in Africa. Some countries have neither reliable criminal justice data on homicide nor accurate mortality statistics that can be used as an alternative" (UNODC, "Global Study on Homicide 2019 – Executive Summary", 21). Hence numbers provided could be an underestimation of reality.

[78] UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Global Study on Homicide 2019".

[79] Data for Venezuela in 2017 is not available but 2016 homicide rate was 56.3, placing the country in third place.

[80] For example, in El Salvador homicide rates peaked at 70 homicides per 100,000 before a truce was declared between the maras in March 2012, which led homicide rates to fall to 42 per 100,000 that same year. However, the pact was fragile. In 2014, the truce collapsed, and homicides spiked again, reaching 103 per 100,000 in 2015, a 70 percent increase when compared to the previous year.

[81] The number of homicides in India are still missing for 2017. In 2016 it reported a total of 42,678 victims.

[82] Katz et al., "Gang truce for violence prevention, El Salvador".

[83] IPEA and FBSP, "Atlas da Violência".

[84] Ortega, Mejia, and Ortiz, "Un análisis de la criminalidad urbana en Colombia".

[85] Weisburd, "The law of crime concentrations and the criminology of place".

[86] Azenman, and Jaitman. "Crime Concentration and Hotspot Dynamics in Latin America".

[87] UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Global Study on Homicide 2019".

[88] Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (FBSP), "13º Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública".

[89] Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2019: Rights Trends in Mexico".

[90] Brigida, "El Salvador's Tough Policing Isn't What It Looks Like".

[91] "UN to Investigate Philippines 'War on Drugs'". *BBC News*, sec. Asia. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48955153.

[92] United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto (2004), Article 3 (a).

[93] The number of countries systematically collecting and disseminating data on trafficking in persons have been steadily increasing, and increased from 26 in 2009 to 65 in 2018.

[94] Data on human trafficking comes from UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2018".

[95] Victims detected in 2016 or latest.

[96] UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2018", 25-26.

[97] WHO, Violence Prevention Alliance, "Definition and typology of violence", Accessed November 4 https://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/.

[98] Intimate partner and family-related homicide is defined in the International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes (ICCS), this indicator establishes the relationship between victim and perpetrator. UNODC, "Measuring violence against women".

[99] This issue is raised in UNODC, "Global Study on Homicide".

[100] Ibid, 13.

[101] United Nations, "The World's Women 2015: Trends and Statistics", 139-141.

[102] Ibid 5*,* 142.

[103] Violence against women is defined as "gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of acts such as coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty". United Nations General Assembly, 1993, Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. Article 1. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ViolenceAgainstWomen.aspx.

[104] It should also be mentioned that, when it comes to non-lethal IPV administrative data (e.g. health and police records), higher levels of non-lethal IPV could also be a reflection of more information about or access to services,

higher awareness and/or higher trust in government, all factors that may encourage or discourage women to report.

[105] WHO, Violence Prevention Alliance, “Definition and typology of violence”; WHO, Violence Prevention Alliance, accessed November 4, 2019, https://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/.

[106] OECD, “Society at a Glance 2019”, accessed on November 4, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1787/soc_glance-2019-en; Smith et al., “The National Intimate Partner”, 2.

[107] Sexual violence is defined as any sort of harmful or unwanted sexual behavior that is imposed on someone, including all forms of attempts of abusive sexual contact, sexual harassment, etc. Smith et al., “The National Intimate Partner”; Ibid, 142.

[108] Africa has the largest data availability.

[109] EU-FRA survey, 2012.

[110] Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), “National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2015 Data Brief – Updated Release”.

[111] The sample for Asia is not large enough to draw regional estimates.

[112] European Union Agency for Fundamental Right, “Violence against women: an EU-wide survey. Results at a glance”, 8.

[113] Smith et al., “The National Intimate Partner”, 1.

[114] Stoltenborgh, van Ijzendoorn, Euser, Bakerman-Kranenburg, “A global perspective on child sexual abuse: Meta-analysis of prevalence around the world”.

[115] Know Violence in Childhood, “Ending Violence in Childhood Global Report”.

[116] See more information about INSPIRE on Chapter 3.

[117] WHO, “INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children”; Kim et al., “Lifetime Prevalence of Investigating”.

[118] Ibid, 4.

[119] UNICEF, “Violent discipline”.

[120] Child maltreatment comprises neglect, physical, psychological, and sexual abuse.

[121] Kim et al., “Understanding the impact”, 107; 278; Finkelhor et al. estimates the prevalence rate at 38.1%. “Prevalence of Childhood Exposure to Violence”, 169, 751.

[122] Ibid, 8.

[123] Boys and girls aged 15-19 years old.

[124] Analysis is carried out using available data for 41 countries. UNODC, “Global Study on Homicide 2019”, 11.

[125] Ibid, 14.

[126]“Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children - United Nations Partnerships for SDGs platform,” https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/partnership/?p=9061.

[127] University of Cambridge. “Evidence for Better Lives Study (EBLS),” https://www.vrc.crim.cam.ac.uk/vrcresearch/EBLS.

[128] These cities include Kingston (Jamaica), Koforidua (Ghana), Worcester (South Africa), Cluj-Napoca (Romania), Tarlai (Pakistan), Ragama (Sri Lanka), Hue (Vietnam) and Valenzuela (Philippines).

[129] “Violence against Children Surveys|Violence Prevention|Injury Center|CDC”. https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/childabuseandneglect/vacs/index.html.

[130]Together For Girls, https://www.togetherforgirls.org/.

[131] Countries that have completed their surveys and are implementing their findings include: Cambodia, Haiti, Kenya, Laos, Malawi, Nigeria, Ruanda, Eswatini, Tanzania Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Those currently carrying out their VAC surveys include: Guatemala, Kenya (second round), Moldavia, Mozambique, and Namibia; and reports on the results of their respective VAC Surveys should be released in 2020 for Botswana, Colombia, Côte

d'Ivoire, El Salvador, Honduras, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe (second round). For more details, see Together for Girls, "Encuestas sobre la violencia contra niños, niñas y jóvenes (VACS)".

[132] Minsalud. "Colombia tiene, por primera vez, encuesta de violencia contra menores de edad," https://www.minsalud.gov.co/Paginas/Colombia-tiene-por-primera-vez-encuesta-de-violencia-contra-menores-de-edad.aspx.

[133] UNODC database has data on homicide rate for 27 countries in 2010 and for 18 countries in 2015.

[134] This point was also raised by Gary Milante during our interview.

[135] Pfanner, "Interview with Peter Wallensteen," p.1–18.

[136] Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. "Peacebuilding and Statebuilding"; World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict"; Dudouet, Giessmann, and Planta, "War Security Transitions".

[137] Ibid.

[138] World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict".

[139] Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. "Peacebuilding and Statebuilding"; UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa", 128.

[140] Dudouet, Giessmann, and Planta, "War Security Transitions".

[141] Kleinfeld, "A Savage Order: How the World's Deadliest Countries Can Forge a Path to Security".

[142] UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa", 128; Stephan and Chenoweth, "Why Civil Resistance Works".

[143] Caprioli, "Primed for violence: The role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict".

[144] Caprioli and Boyer, "Gender, Violence, and International crisis".

[145] Herbert, " Links between women's empowerment (or lack of) and outbreaks of violent conflict".

[146] Hudson et al., "Sex and world peace".

[147] Cramer, Goodhand and Morris, "Evidence Synthesis".

[148] Naseem, Arshad-Ayaz and Doyle, "Social Media as Space for Peace Education: Conceptual Contours and Evidence from the Muslim World."

[149] World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict", 160-61.

[150] Nyheim, "Preventing Violence, War and State Collapse"; World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict".

[151] Dudouet, Giessmann, and Planta, "War Security Transitions"; World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict".

[152] UN and World Bank, "Pathways for Peace".

[153] Boer and Bosetti, "The Crime-Conflict 'Nexus'".

[154] Dudouet, Giessmann, and Planta, "War Security Transitions".

[155] Ibid.

[156] Cramer, Goodhand and Morris, "Evidence Synthesis".

[157] Dudouet, Giessmann and Planta, "War Security Transitions".

[158] In an analysis of different DDR evaluations, Schulhofer-Wohl and Sambanis (2010) conclude that comparison between different DDR programs using randomized experiments or observational methods is challenging. There is enormous heterogeneity between the DDR programs: it is difficult to code the moment when they end; the agencies involved in each case vary significantly; the phases and steps of the operations are not the same; there are different levels of government involvement; and financial resources sources and the intended comprehensiveness of the program are also diverse.

[159] Mogaka, "Competition for Power in Africa: Inclusive Politics and Its Relation to Violent Conflict".

[160] World Bank, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict".

[161] Bekim, "Security Sector Reform in Kosovo: From institutional transitions to the democratic consolidation".

[162] Justaert and Keukeleire, "The EU's Security Sector Reform Policies in the Democratic Republic of Congo".

[163] More information available at https://www.ubiquitypress.com/site/books/10.5334/bcc/.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Payne et al., “Conflict Prevention and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence.”; World Bank, “Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict”; World Bank, “World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development”.
[166] Stephan and Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works”..
[167] UN, The United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, “Framework of Analysis”. See source for definitions of the different crimes.
[168] Indicators examples: Risk 1: International or non-international armed conflict; Political instability caused by disputes over power or growing nationalist, armed or radical opposition movements; Risk 2: Politicization or absence of reconciliation or transitional justice processes following conflict; Widespread mistrust in State institutions or among different groups as a result of impunity; Risk 3: Lack of an independent and impartial judiciary; National institutions, particularly judicial, law enforcement and human rights institutions that lack sufficient resources, adequate representation or training.
[169] The United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, “Framework of Analysis”.
[170] e.g. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; Geneva Conventions; Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.
[171] UNDP, “Framework of Analysis for Atrocity Crimes: A Tool for Prevention”.
[172] USAID and Rights, “Preventing Atrocities”.
[173] Ibid.; Lawrinson, “Fundamentals of Genocide”.
[174] AIPR and YUBC, “Integration into the State Architecture”.
[175] More information available at https://www.globalr2p.org/.
[176] UN, The United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, “Framework of Analysis”; USAID and Rights “Preventing Atrocities: Five Key Primers”.
[177] Association for the Prevention of Torture, “Yes, Torture Prevention Works”.
[178] Trials and Redress, “Tainted by Torture”.
[179] USAID and Rights, “Preventing Atrocities”; Lawrinson, “Fundamentals of Genocide”; UN, The United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, “Framework of Analysis”.
[180] UN 2005.
[181] Lawrinson, “Fundamentals of Genocide; UN, The United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect. “Framework of Analysis”.
[182] More information available at https://redlatinoamericana.org/.
[183] USAID and Rights, “Preventing Atrocities”.
[184] Lawrinson, “Fundamentals of Genocide”, 206.
[185] Christmann, “Preventing Religious Radicalisation”.
[186] Holmer, Bauman, and Aryaeinejad, “Measuring Up”.
[187] Ibid; USIP, “Task Force on Extremism in Fragile States: Preventing Extremism in Fragile States: A New Approach”.
[188] Ernstorfer, “Effective approaches to preventing violent extremism: a peacebuilding systems perspective”.
[189] UNDP, “Journey to Extremism in Africa”; World Bank, “Preventing Violent Extremism with Development Interventions: A Strategic Review”; USAID, “Democratic Decentralization Handbook” for an overview. Similar categorizations are used in the literature on gang violence.
[190] In a study of al-Shabaab recruits in Kenya, 65 % identified the government’s counter-terrorism strategy as the single most important factor influencing their decision to join the group (Botha, “Assessing the Vulnerability of Kenyan Youths to Radicalism and Extremism”).

[191] Mercy Corps, "Youth & Consequences: Unemployment, Injustice and Violence".
[192] UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa".
[193] For example, profiling of Somalis in Kenya has boosted Al Shabaab's recruitment. UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa"; Botha, "Assessing the Vulnerability of Kenyan Youths to Radicalism and Extremism."
[194] ICG, "Niger and Boko Haram: Beyond Counter-Insurgency."
[195] Ladbury, "Women and Extremism: The Association of Women and Girls with Jihadi Groups and Implications for Programming".
[196] Bloom, "Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror"; Bloom, "Bombshell: The Many Faces of Women Terrorists"; McKay and Mazurana, "Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives during and after War".
[197] UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa".
[198] Ibid; World Bank, "Preventing Violent Extremism with Development Interventions: A Strategic Review".
[199] USAID, " Democratic Decentralization Handbook"; Abadie, "Poverty, political freedom, and the roots of terrorism".
[200] Krueger, "What Makes a Terrorist".
[201] UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa".
[202] Krueger, "What Makes a Terrorist"; Sageman, "Understanding terror networks"; Berrebi, "Evidence About the Link Between Education, Poverty, and Terrorism Among Palestinians."
[203] Ladbury, "Women and Extremism: The Association of Women and Girls with Jihadi Groups and Implications for Programming"; ICG, "Women and Conflict in Afghanistan".
[204] Harriet Allan et al., "Drivers of Violent Extremism: Hypotheses and Literature Review"; UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa"; Briscoe and Van Ginkel, "The Nexus Between Development and Security: Searching for Common Ground in Countering Terrorism".
[205] See Botha, "Assessing the Vulnerability of Kenyan Youths to Radicalism and Extremism"; and Brockhoff, Krieger and Meierrieks, "Great Expectations and Hard Times: The (Nontrivial) Impact of Education on Domestic Terrorism".
[206] UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa"; see also Botha, "Assessing the Vulnerability of Kenyan Youths to Radicalism and Extremism."
[207] Ginges et al., "Sacred Bounds on Rational Resolution of Violent Political Conflict"; Atran and Ginges, "Religious and Sacred Imperatives in Human Conflict".
[208] McKay and Mazurana, "Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives during and after War"; Bloom, "Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror"; Bloom, "Bombshell: The Many Faces of Women Terrorists"; Specht, Red Shoes: Young and the Restless: Population Age Structure & Civil War".
[209] Barker and Ricardo, "Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, Conflict and Violence"; Sommers, "Rwandan Youth and the Struggle for Adulthood"; Utas, "African Conflicts and Informal Power: Big Men and Networks".
[210] Ladbury, "Women and Extremism: The Association of Women and Girls with Jihadi Groups and Implications for Programming"; Carter, "Women and Violent Extremism".
[211] UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa".
[212] Ibid.
[213] Brown, "Why Are Western Women Joining Islamic State?".
[214] Bloom, "Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror".
[215] USAID, " Democratic Decentralization Handbook"; Sageman "Understanding terror networks".
[216] Botha, "Assessing the Vulnerability of Kenyan Youths to Radicalism and Extremism"; UNDP, "Journey to Extremism in Africa".
[217] Atran, "Religious and Sacred Imperatives in Human Conflict."

[218] World Bank, “Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict”.
[219] USIP, “Task Force on Extremism in Fragile States”; UNDP, “Journey to Extremism in Africa”.
[220] UNDP, “Journey to Extremism in Africa”.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Lawrence Pratchett et al., “Preventing Support for Violent Extremism through Community Interventions: A Review of the Evidence”; Subedi and Jenkins, “Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism: Engaging Peace and Development Actors”, p.16-18.
[223] UNDP, “Journey to Extremism in Africa”.
[224] For example: Harriet Allan et al., “Drivers of Violent Extremism: Hypotheses and Literature Review”.
[225] Rosand, “Multi-Disciplinary and Multi-Agency Approaches to Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism: An Emerging P/CVE Success Story?”; Pandith, “Making Government work for CVE”; Schonveld and Mcmahon, “The Challenges and Opportunities of Preventing Violent Extremism through Development”.
[226] One example of that is the Anchor Model in Finland, a multi-agency program specialized in early intervention to counter juvenile delinquency and domestic violence. The initiative counts with a multi-disciplinary team dedicated to dealing with high-risk groups to prevent violence. Since 2015, the prevention of violent extremism was included as part of the program’s mission. The similarities between the different types of violence allowed for this expansion in approach, but the adaptation of the knowledge of the team to violent extremism is still a challenge.
[227] Braga, “The Law of Crime Concentration at Places”.
[228] WHO, “Violence Prevention: The Evidence”; Abt, “Towards a framework for preventing community violence among youth”.
[229] Muggah, “Brazil’s Murder Rate Finally Fell, and by a Lot.”
[230] Globo 2019. Violence Monitor. More information available at https://g1.globo.com/monitor-da-violencia/noticia/2019/04/19/numero-de-pessoas-mortas-pela-policia-no-brasil-cresce-em-2018-assassinatos-de-policiais-caem.ghtml.
[231] This line of thought has a long history. Key sources include: Jacobs, “The Death and Life of Great American Cities” and Newman, “Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design”; Villaveces, “Access to Means such as Alcohol, Drugs and Firearms, and Built Environment Characteristics: Implications for Cities with High Rates of Violence”; see also Chioda, “Stop the Violence in Latin America: A Look at Prevention from Cradle to Adulthood.”
[232] For a review, see Cozens and Love, “A Review and Current Status of CPTED”.
[233] Villaveces, “Access to Means such as Alcohol, Drugs and Firearms, and Built Environment Characteristics: Implications for Cities with High Rates of Violence”; See also Saville & Cleveland, “Second-generation CPTED: The rise and fall of opportunity theory”.
[234] Cozens and Love, “A Review and Current Status of CPTED”.
[235] Chioda, “Stop the Violence in Latin America: A Look at Prevention from Cradle to Adulthood”.
[236] WHO, “INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children”; Abt and Winship, “What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle”.
[237] Ibid.
[238] J-PAL, “Governance, Crime, and Conflict Initiative.”
[239] Abt and Winship, “What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle”; Braga, Welsh and Schnell, “Can Policing Disorder Reduce Crime? A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis”; Skogan and Frydl, eds., “*Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence”.*
[240] Chioda, “Stop the Violence in Latin America: A Look at Prevention from Cradle to Adulthood”; Abt and Winship, “What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle”; WHO, “Violence Prevention: The Evidence”.
[241] Gertler et al., “Labor Market Returns to an Early Childhood Stimulation Intervention in Jamaica.”

[242] Chioda, “Stop the Violence in Latin America: A Look at Prevention from Cradle to Adulthood”; WHO, “Violence Prevention: The Evidence”.

[243] Abt and Winship, “What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle”; J-PAL, “Governance, Crime, and Conflict Initiative”.

[244] Lipsey et al., “The effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation: A review of systematic reviews”.

[245] Betancourt et al., “Behavioral Intervention for War-Affected Youth in Sierra Leone: A Randomized Controlled Trial”.

[246] For example, Family Functional Therapy, Multi-Systemic Therapy and Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care interventions. See Abt and Winship, “What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle”, for a discussion.

[247] Delgado et al., “The effects of cure violence in the South Bronx and east New York, Brooklyn”.

[248] Henry, Knoblauch, and Sigurvinsdottir, “The effect of intensive ceasefire intervention on crime in four Chicago police beats: Quantitative assessment”.

[249] Ransford et al., “The Positive Effects of the Cure Violence Model for Families and Children”.

[250] Butts et al., “Violence: A Public Health Model to Reduce Gun Violence”.

[251] Skogan et al., “Evaluation of CeaseFire-Chicago”.

[252] Webster et al., “Evaluation of Baltimore’s Safe Streets Program: Effects on Attitudes, Participants’ Experiences, and Gun Violence”.

[253] Maguire et al., “Evaluating Cure Violence in Trinidad and Tobago”.

[254] Ransford et al., “The Cure Violence model: violence reduction in San Pedro Sula (Honduras)”.

[255] Maguire et al., “Evaluating Cure Violence in Trinidad and Tobago”.

[256] Abt and Winship, “What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle”.

[257] Carbonari et al., “Learning from Latin America: Lessons from Crime Decline in 10 Cities Across the Region”; WHO, “Violence Prevention: The Evidence”.

[258] Carbonari et al., “Learning from Latin America: Lessons from Crime Decline in 10 Cities Across the Region”.

[259] Holloway, Bennett, and Farrington, “The Effectiveness of Drug Treatment Programs in Reducing Criminal Behavior: A Meta-Analysis”; Abt and Winship, “What Works in Reducing Community Violence: A Meta-Review and Field Study for the Northern Triangle”.

[260] Sherman et al., “The Rise of Evidence-Based Policing: Targeting, Testing, and Tracking.”

[261] Abt, “Towards a framework for preventing community violence among youth”.

[262] Cahill et al., “Evaluation of the Los Angeles Gang Reduction and Youth Development Program . Year 4 Evaluation Report”; Leap, “Changing Course: Preventing Gang membership”.

[263] Leap, “Changing Course: Preventing Gang membership”.

[264] Rainsford, “Honduras Police Purge May Be Derailed by Alternative Agenda”.

[265] Lessing, “Inside Out: The Challenge of Prison-Based Criminal Organizations”.

[266] Boer and Bosetti, “The Crime- Conflict ‘Nexus’: State of the Evidence”; Cockayne, “Strengthening Mediation to Deal with Criminal Agendas”.

[267] Tom Abt was interviewed by the authors on December 3, 2019.

[268] Guedes et al., “Bridging the gaps: a global review of intersections of violence against women and violence against children”; UNICEF, “Preventing and Responding to Violence Against Children and Adolescents”.

[269] WHO, “INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children”.

[270] INSPIRE is a collaboration of WHO, CDC, UNODC, PAHO, PEPFAR, UNICEF, Together for Girls, The World Bank, End Violence Against Children and USAID.

[271] Guedes et al. “Bridging the gaps: a global review of intersections of violence against women and violence against children”.

[272] Know Violence in Childhood, “Ending Violence in Childhood Global Report 2017”.
[273] Ellsberg et al. “Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?”; Diop et al., “The Tostan program: Evaluation of a community based education program in Senegal”.
[274] Barker et al., “Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions”.
[275] Verma et al., “Promoting gender equity as a strategy to reduce HIV risk and gender-based violence among young men in India”.
[276] Gupta et al., “Gender norms and economic empowerment intervention to reduce intimate partner violence against women in rural Cote d'Ivoire: a randomized controlled pilot study; Hossain et al., “Working with men to prevent intimate partner violence in a conflict-affected setting; a pilot cluster randomized control trial in rural Cote d'Ivoire”; Ellsberg et al., “Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?”.
[277] Arango et al., “Interventions to prevent or reduce violence against women and girls: a systematic review of reviews”.
[278] Arango et al. “Interventions to prevent or reduce violence against women and girls: a systematic review of reviews”.
[279] Ellsberg et al., “Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?”; Arango et al. “Interventions to prevent or reduce violence against women and girls: a systematic review of reviews”.
[280] Lipsey et al., “The effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation: A review of systematic reviews”; Abt, “Towards a framework for preventing community violence among youth”.
[281] Bass et al., “Controlled trial of psychotherapy for Congolese survivors of sexual violence”; Murray et al., “Effectiveness of focused cognitive behavioral therapy among trauma-affected children in Lusaka, Zambia: a randomized clinical trial”; Betancourt et al., “Behavioral Intervention for War-Affected Youth in Sierra Leone: A Randomized Controlled Trial”.
[282] Lely et al., “The effectiveness of narrative exposure therapy: a review, meta-analysis and meta-regression analysis”; Robjant et al., “The treatment of posttraumatic stress symptoms and aggression in female former child soldiers using adapted Narrative Exposure therapy–a RCT in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo”.
[283] Evidence for Better Lives Consortium, “Addressing Violence against Children; Mapping the Needs and Resources in Eight Cities across the World”; Ellsberg et al. “Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?”; WHO, “"INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children”.
[284] Bussman et al., “Effects of banning corporal punishment in Europe: a five nation comparison”; Zolotor et al., “Bans against corporal punishment: a systematic review of the laws, changes in attitudes and behaviors”.
[285] WHO, “"INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children”.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Fitterer et al., “A review of existing studies reporting the negative effects of alcohol access and positive effects of alcohol control policies on interpersonal violence”.
[288] WHO, “INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children.
[289] WHO, “INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children”; Guedes et al. “Bridging the gaps: a global review of intersections of violence against women and violence against children”; Ellsberg et al. “Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?”.
[290] This view is particularly shared among experts from the public health sector and who work mostly with interpersonal violence, and perhaps less so among those focused on conflict, urban violence and organized crime.
[291] World Bank, “Pathways for Peace”.
[292] Caprioli, “Primed for violence: The role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict”.
[293] Caprioli and Boyer, “Gender, Violence, and International crisis”.
[294] Hudson et al. “The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States”.

[295] Guedes et al. “Bridging the gaps: a global review of intersections of violence against women and violence against children”; Know Violence in Childhood, “Ending Violence in Childhood Global Report 2017”; Arango et al. “Interventions to prevent or reduce violence against women and girls: a systematic review of reviews”; Ellsberg et al. “Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say?”.

[296] It should be mentioned, however, that there is a significant lack of quantitative data to prove causality between different forms of violence, in part because quality quantitative data related to violence is scarce. However, there is significant qualitative and anecdotal data suggesting for example links between interpersonal violence and urban violence.

[297] Carbonari et al., “Learning from Latin America: Lessons from Crime Decline in 10 Cities Across the Region”.

[298] These measurements refer to spending related to programs “whose objectives specify the prevention of crime and/or violence”, however the authors acknowledge that “there is no agreed definition of prevention or systems to record this spending”. Izquierdo et al., “Smart Spending on Citizen Security: Beyond Crime and Punishment”.

[299] Mueller, “How Much is Prevention Worth?”.

[300] Steven, Locke and Ruttinger, “Beyond 16: the SDGs and the Opportunity to Build a More Peaceful World”.

[301] David Kennedy and Thomas Abt were particularly emphatic about this point.

[302] The key dimensions analyzed - Goals, Action Strategies, Results, Temporal and Geographical Range - were defined based on a preliminary research and literature review and served as an analytical framework for the development of a typology of the different strategies. The availability of information about these dimensions and their respective relevance for each case varied significantly. Additional dimensions such as Target, Funding, Partners, Dissemination Strategies, and Social Networking were also taken into consideration but did not provide as much information for a comparative analysis. Representatives from the following strategies were interviewed: David McNair, Executive Director for Global Policy at ONE Campaign; Rodrigo Arnaiz, Mobilization coordinator at the Brazilian NGO Nossas and regional mobilization coordinator of Instinct for Life campaign; and Dandara Tinoco, from Igarapé Institute and regional advocacy coordinator at Instinct for Life campaign.

[303] ONE highlights the amount of financial resources mobilized to fight poverty and other problems arising in Africa (e.g. an increase of USD 35.7 billion between 2005 and 2014 in official development assistance for African countries; USD 600 million raised by the RED campaign, which fights AIDS and has impacted the lives of 140 million people). Instinct for Life campaign highlights as its main result the 503 commitments signed with national, state and municipal authorities in Brazil, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico. Other results were the involvement of 59 non-governmental organizations in the campaign, 1.040 press mentions, 102 opinion articles in relevant newspapers, 81,000 people involved in engagement and campaigning, 59 events organized in 8 countries and 3 surveys conducted with interviews in 7 countries. #MeToo results could be measured against the hashtag performance, with at least 920 reports of harassment or sexual abuse posted on social networks; firing of at least 200 powerful men in areas such as entertainment, media, and the public sector; and an overall change in environment, especially in the United States, in which society in general was led to discuss the extent of the problem in various contexts, both professional and public. No More claims to have 1,200 organizations, 75,000 individuals, and 300 schools joining the campaign since its creation in 2013, plus 30 local campaigns. Ni Una Menos appear to have contributed to the passing of landmark legislations, such as the law that made gender training mandatory for all public servants at the national and state level. Black Lives Matter became internationally known for large demonstrations in several US cities. In addition, the movement has helped to push for legislative changes, such as California's “right to know” law on police transparency.

[304] More information available at http://www.soudapaz.org/o-que-fazemos/documento/mapping-impunity.

[305] More information available at https://nomore.org/.

[306] More information available at https://metoomvmt.org/.

[307] More information available at https://metoomvmt.org/about/#history.

[308] Alyssa Milano and Tarana Burke met for the occasion of Time Magazine award, in 2017.

[309] More information available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2017/10/19/the-woman-behind-me-too-knew-the-power-of-the-phrase-when-she-created-it-10-years-ago/.

[310] More information available at https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/us/me-too-movement-tarana-burke.html.

[311] Examples include Asia Argento, Mira Sorvino, Rose McGowan, Gwyneth Paltrow, Angelina Jolie, Uma Thurman, Reese Witherspoon and Meryl Streep.

[312] The Silence Breakers are some selected women by the magazine as Person of the Year.

[313] Girls for Gender Equity (GGE) is an intergenerational grassroots organization that have projects related to fighting violence against girls with programs like Movement Building and Sisters in Strength.

[314] More information available at https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2018/07/31/metoo-has-changed-our-culture-now-its-changing-our-laws.

[315] More information available at http://niunamenos.org.ar/.

[316] More information available at http://niunamenos.org.ar/category/manifiestos/.

[317] More information available at https://www.instagram.com/_niunamenos_/?hl=pt.

[318] More information available at https://asiafoundation.org/.

[319] More information available at https://asiafoundation.org/publication/change-starts-here/.

[320] More information available at https://www.br.instintodevida.org/. See also Muggah and Szabo, "Latin America's Murder Epidemic".

[321] Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and Venezuela.

[322] More information available at https://igarape.org.br/.

[323] More information available at https://www.nossas.org/.

[324] From interview with Dandara Tinoco, Igarapé Institute's senior adviser, member of Instinto de Vida.

[325] Such as the zine introducing Black Lives Matter Portland as a platform, available at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0By7nnVeTFDIbTDZrXzNnR3BUS2c/view.

[326] More information available at https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-police-transparency-bill-passes-20180831-story.html; https://blacklivesmatter.com/victory-the-right-to-know-bill-on-police-transparency-is-signed-into-california-law/.

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