

Impact Evaluation of USAID's Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Approach in Central America: **El Salvador Country Report**

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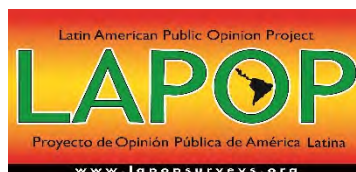




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Contents

List of Figures.....	5
List of Tables	7
Executive Summary	9
<i>I. Overview.....</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>II. Main Findings</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>III. Policy Recommendations</i>	<i>14</i>
Part 1: Methodology	19
<i>I. Evaluation Design and Data Sources.....</i>	<i>19</i>
Sources of Baseline Data Used in this Evaluation	19
Sources of Data for Mid-point Evaluation	21
Sources of Data for Final Evaluation	22
Overall Summary of Quantitative Data Sources, by Round	22
Qualitative Component of the Study.....	23
<i>II. Drawing Conclusions: Difference-in-Difference Estimator</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>III. Summary of Results.....</i>	<i>30</i>
Part 2: Why Study Violence Prevention? Central America, a Violent Region	35
Part 3: The CARSI Interventions and Expected Impacts	41
<i>I. USAID CARSI Interventions in El Salvador.....</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>II. Anticipated Impacts: Mixed methods and key dependent variables.....</i>	<i>43</i>
Outcome Indicators	45
<i>III. The Design of the Study: A Multi-Site “Cluster Randomized Experiment” (CRE)</i>	<i>48</i>
Selection of Study Area	50
Stages of the study and types of data collected by LAPOP	53
El Salvador: Number of Clusters and Sample Size.....	57
Data Collection Sites in El Salvador.....	59
Part 4: Findings, Impact Evaluation, El Salvador	61
<i>I. Interpreting the Survey Design and Analysis Model</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>II. Crime Victimization and Violence.....</i>	<i>63</i>
Perception of Insecurity	83
<i>III. Neighborhood Disorder (Including Youth Vulnerability to Crime and Gang Activity).....</i>	<i>89</i>

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

<i>IV. Perceptions of the Gang Truce of 2012</i>	<i>110</i>
<i>V. Domestic Violence</i>	<i>114</i>
Social Control	118
General Perceptions of Neighborhood Collective Action.....	119
<i>VI. Role of Institutions: National Police</i>	<i>134</i>
<i>VII. Indirect Effects: Democratic Values</i>	<i>153</i>
Interpersonal Trust	153
Satisfaction with Democracy	156
Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety	163
<i>VIII. Youth-at-Risk</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>IX. Opinions of Creative Associates and RTI Implementing Partners on the CARSI project.....</i>	<i>187</i>
Conclusions.....	223
<i>I. Main Findings.....</i>	<i>223</i>
<i>II. Policy Recommendations</i>	<i>227</i>
References.....	231
Appendixes	235
<i>Appendix A: Individual Level Questionnaire.....</i>	<i>235</i>
<i>Appendix B: Systematic Observation Questionnaire</i>	<i>263</i>
<i>Appendix C: Enumeration Survey (Census).....</i>	<i>267</i>
<i>Appendix D: Previsit Questionnaire</i>	<i>273</i>
<i>Appendix E: Qualitative Interview Questionnaires</i>	<i>277</i>

List of Figures

Figure 1. Key Variables in Treatment and Control Communities, 2010-2012.....	29
Figure 2. Homicide Rates in Central America.....	36
Figure 3. Crime Prevention is the Best Way to Fight Crime and Violence in El Salvador.....	37
Figure 4. Selected Municipalities by USAID in El Salvador	51
Figure 5. Illustration of Difference-in-Difference Estimation.....	61
Figure 6. Respondent-Reported Robberies in the Neighborhoods	63
Figure 7. Marginal Change in Respondent-Reported Robberies in the Presence of Social Disorder on the Block	64
Figure 8. Marginal Change in Respondent-Reported Robberies in the Presence of a Catholic Church in the Community.....	65
Figure 9. Sale of Illegal Drugs in the Community in the Past 12 Months.....	66
Figure 10. Extortion in the Neighborhood in the Past 12 Months.....	72
Figure 11. Respondent-Reported Murders in the Neighborhoods.....	77
Figure 12. Marginal Change in Respondent-Reported Murders in the Presence of a School in the Community	78
Figure 13. Marginal Change in Respondent-Reported Murders in the Presence of a Catholic Church in the Community.....	78
Figure 14. Perception of Insecurity.....	84
Figure 15. Perception of Insecurity (Predicted Value)	85
Figure 16. Perception of Insecurity When Walking Alone at Night.....	86
Figure 17. Perception of Loitering Youth as a Problem	90
Figure 18. Perception of Youth in Gangs or Maras as a Problem	90
Figure 19. Perception of Gangs or Maras Fights as a Problem	91
Figure 20. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth Loitering as a Problem in the Presence of Block-Level Physical Disorder.....	92
Figure 21. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth in Gangs as a Problem in the Presence of Block-Level Physical Disorder.....	92
Figure 22. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Gang fights as a Problem in the Presence of Block-Level Physical Disorder	93
Figure 23. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth Loitering as a Problem in the Presence of Schools in the Community	94

Figure 24. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth in Gangs as a Problem in the Presence of Schools in the Community	94
Figure 25. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth Loitering as a Problem in the Presence of a Catholic Church in the Community	95
Figure 26. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth Loitering as a Problem in the Presence of a Protestant Church in the Community.....	95
Figure 27. Residents' Opinions about the Benefits of the Gang Truce	111
Figure 28. Residents' Opinion on Gang Truce Outcomes.....	113
Figure 29. Avoidance of Dangerous Areas.....	119
Figure 30. Neighborhood Organization for Crime Prevention	120
Figure 31. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Community Crime Prevention Organization in the Presence of a Catholic Church in the Community.....	121
Figure 32. Trust in the Police Across the Americas	135
Figure 33. Trust in the Police in Urban and Rural Areas.....	136
Figure 34. Trust in the National Police in Neighborhoods	137
Figure 35. Satisfaction with Police Performance in Neighborhoods.....	138
Figure 36. Interpersonal Trust Across the Americas	154
Figure 37. Interpersonal Trust in Urban and Rural Areas	155
Figure 38. Interpersonal Trust.....	156
Figure 39. Satisfaction with Democracy Across the Americas	157
Figure 40. Satisfaction with Democracy in Urban and Rural Areas.....	158
Figure 41. Satisfaction with Democracy in Neighborhoods.....	159
Figure 42. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety Across the Americas	163
Figure 43. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety in Urban and Rural Areas ..	164
Figure 44. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety in Neighborhoods.....	165

List of Tables

Table 1. Sample Distribution, by Gender, of the Individual Level Respondents to the LAPOP CARSÍ Impact Evaluation	22
Table 2. Sample Dates and Sizes for the El Salvador LAPOP CARSÍ Impact Evaluation	23
Table 3. Summary of Qualitative Interviews, Rounds 1-3, El Salvador.....	23
Table 4. Quantitative Data Collected in El Salvador	56
Table 5. Qualitative Data Collected in El Salvador	57
Table 6. Descriptive Statistics of Studied El Salvador Municipalities: Including At-Risk and Non-at-risk areas	60
Table 7. Respondent-Reported Sexual Violence in the Neighborhoods.....	114
Table 8. Victims of Sexual Violence	115

Executive Summary

I. Overview

El Salvador, and its neighboring countries in Central America, Guatemala and Honduras, are among the most criminally violent nations in the world. The USAID Missions (specifically, Democracy and Governance (DG) and other offices within the Missions) in five Central American countries (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama) have administered and overseen the execution of the Central America Regional Security Initiative (CARSI) interventions—a set of programs with the objective *of reducing crime rates and improving security in Central America by strengthening community capacity to combat crimes and creating educational and employment opportunities for at-risk youth.*¹

USAID/Washington, via its Cooperative Agreement with the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) at Vanderbilt University, asked LAPOP to design and carry out an impact evaluation of the CARSI interventions in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras,² and Panama, as part of a broader effort to establish the effectiveness of USAID democracy and governance interventions through scientifically rigorous studies such as those recommended in the comprehensive study by the National Academy of Sciences (National Research Council 2008).³ LAPOP has had more than 20 years of experience in carrying out policy-relevant surveys in Latin America, having conducted hundreds of country-based surveys, including many specialized studies designed to evaluate programs.

This impact evaluation was designed to measure the overall impact of the interventions, not to distinguish among the specific types of interventions, nor to evaluate the implementing partners, *per se*. To have done so would have required a very different (and more costly) research design, and most likely would have duplicated at least some of the evaluation efforts involved in each implementing partner's contract with USAID. Nonetheless, as noted later in this report, statistical tests performed clearly suggest that the impacts found were generalizable and not confined to one implementing partner versus the other. Ultimately, however, the initial decision made to limit each implementing partner's scope to specific, non-overlapping municipalities makes it impossible to disaggregate statistically the impact of the partner's efforts vs. the conditions of the municipalities in which it operated. That is to say, all of the treated communities in a given municipality experienced the same treatment approach, while all of those of a different municipality received a different partner's treatment. Thus municipal conditions and implementation are indistinguishable.

¹ See, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/ondcp/central-america>
<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/148416.pdf>.

²The program in Honduras was delayed, and therefore in the general report that is being prepared, the Honduras study will include only two rounds, rather than the three rounds carried out in Guatemala, El Salvador and Panama. An evaluation in Northern Mexico, as part of the Mérida Initiative, was initiated after all of the others had begun, so, the Mexico results, as part of the general report, will also be limited to two rounds. Variations in the methodology employed in El Salvador were necessary in order to be responsive to changing USAID requirements. The individual country reports and general report explain those differences.

³ One of the authors of this report, Mitchell A. Seligson, was a member of the National Academy of Science study cited above.

Moreover, because a variety of interventions were used in the neighborhoods (some of which were used by both implementing partners), it is impossible to disentangle the effect of each type of intervention from any other.

II. Main Findings

Two main approaches have been taken to reducing the levels of criminal violence in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. The first and most widely used, has been to “get tough on crime,” widely referred to in the region as “*mano dura*” (iron fist) and “*super mano dura*.” Since the application of this approach has been broad, while, for the most part criminal violence has either increased or not diminished, it is difficult to find hard empirical evidence that *mano dura* has worked. The second, newer and largely untested approach has been community⁴-based violence prevention, of which the CARSI program in El Salvador that is the subject of this report, is an example. This report presents the first systematic, longitudinal, treatment/control “gold standard” impact evaluation of the CARSI El Salvador community-based violence prevention program.

To summarize the main finding of this impact evaluation of the CARSI community intervention programs in El Salvador, *we conclude that in several key respects the programs have been a success. Specifically, the outcomes in the treatment communities improved more (or declined less) than they would have if USAID’s programs had not been administered.* We base this conclusion on the direct evidence we have from the survey data among more than 8,800 respondents living in 41 neighborhoods and supplemented by the qualitative stakeholder interviews. Among our specific key quantitative findings in support of the overall conclusion, as found by our analysis of answers provided to us by the respondents in the three waves of our survey in the treated and control communities, we observe the following:

(1) Significant reduction in the expected level of crime victimization and violence:

- 25% fewer reported occurrences of robberies than would be expected without treatment
- 36% fewer reported cases of illegal drug sales than would be expected without treatment
- 52% fewer reported cases of extortion and blackmail than would be expected without treatment
- 40% fewer reported occurrences of murders than would be expected without treatment

(2) Significant increase in the expected level of citizens’ sense of security:

- Perception of neighborhood insecurity declined 17% more than would be expected without treatment
- Perception of insecurity when walking alone at night declined 13% more than would be expected without treatment

⁴ Throughout this report, the term “community” is used interchangeably with “neighborhood.”

(3) Significant decline in the perception of neighborhood disorder (including youth vulnerability to crime and gang activity)

- Perception of youth loitering as a problem declined 8% more than would be expected without treatment
- Perception of youth in gangs as a problem declined 14% more than would be expected without treatment
- Perception of gang fights as a problem declined 12% more than would be expected without treatment

(4) Social control of disorder has improved significantly over the expected level:

- Residents are 40% less significantly likely to avoid dangerous areas of the neighborhood because of fear of crime than would be expected without treatment
- Perception that the community is organized to prevent crime increased 18% more than would be expected without treatment

(5) Satisfaction with police performance has increased significantly over the expected level:

- Satisfaction with police performance increased 11% more than would be expected without treatment

(6) Indirect effects include strengthening democratic values which have increased significantly over the expected level:

- 11% greater interpersonal trust levels within neighborhoods than would be expected without treatment
- 8% more satisfaction with the functioning of democracy than would be expected without treatment
- Perceptions of government security efforts and police performance increased 8% more than expected without treatment

As noted, the study included information not only at the individual level, but at the community, i.e., contextual level. We found that the context in which the treatment was administered was related to the effectiveness of the treatment in some cases. In particular, the effectiveness of the treatment in lowering reports of robberies, murder, and youth loitering was enhanced in the presence of Catholic (but not Evangelical) churches in the community. These differences relate only to the physical presence of these churches and not to the intensity of activity or nature of the clergy itself, a factor we could not measure in with our neighborhood-level context data base.

In addition, the presence of schools in the community increased the effectiveness of the treatment on murders, youth loitering, and youth in gangs. However, these context effects were few and limited, suggesting that impact was a generalized phenomenon, not limited to one contextual condition or another.

While the qualitative findings are presented in the body of the report below in an integrated fashion along with the quantitative findings, we signal here some of the key unique findings that emerged from the qualitative interviews, ones that may be seen as having policy implications for USAID. These are:

1. A major factor associated with youth dropping out of school and joining violent gangs, according to many interviewees across all stakeholder groups, is what is universally referred to as the “broken home” (“*la familia desintegrada*”). More concretely, single-parent households, typically matrifocal, are frequently characterized by having older children taking care of younger siblings so that the mother can leave the house for work. Under these conditions, the poorly cared for children all too often end up joining gangs. We were told that the risk is especially high when the single-mother takes on a partner who is not the biological father of the children. Such a situation frequently, we were told, results in child abuse and/or intimate partner abuse, which then pushes the minor out of the house and into the arms of a gang. Our respondents told us repeatedly that gangs represent surrogate families for youths seeking friendship and protection.
2. There is widespread agreement among many of our stakeholders that the schools are playing an important role in crime prevention. Through the innovative *Convivencia Escolar* (School Harmony) program, and the institutionalization of various student leadership groups within the schools, along with the training of teachers and students in mediation and alternative conflict resolution, the schools are creating a better environment for at-risk youth. One improvement in the Salvadoran public school system is the reduction and/or elimination of home suspensions and the substitution of in-school penalties (e.g., assigning school maintenance work to such students) for students who have seriously violated school norms and regulations. Forcing the children to stay home, often in broken homes with no parents present, our stakeholders told us, is akin to throwing the kids into the proverbial “briar patch.” In schools that have the benefit of on-site psychologists, the in-school punishment has been transformed from the assignment of menial tasks to the administration of counseling. Many teachers and school administrators could not say enough good things about the role of school psychologists.
3. The previously widespread practice of expulsion from school (currently prohibited *de jure*, but which *de facto* continues on in practice), and the subsequent transfer to a another school too far from the minor’s home to allow him/her to live with her/her parent(s), results in a further disintegration of home life for the child. The collateral damage of these *de facto* expulsions and transfers is that they frighten parents in the receiving schools. In instances of gang members, reassignment to a new school, we were told, often results in other students moving away from the school in which the gang members have been enrolled. Thus a vicious cycle of musical chairs begins, with the well-behaved youths moving away from schools into which known gang members have been transferred. Furthermore, if the parents of the well-behaved children do not move with their offspring, then the latter also become separated from their nuclear families, producing additional second-order collateral damage.

4. Police officers who were interviewed in each of the three rounds consistently reported to us that it was no longer possible for gang members to dissociate themselves from their gangs. In El Salvador, police reported that, the only way out of a gang is in a coffin. This, they told us, contrasts with the previous situation, in which gang members could exit the gangs by joining a church for safety. Often they were attracted to Evangelical churches, so much so, we were told, that there have been several cases of former gang members becoming Evangelical pastors. Some police officers interviewed, however, said that among some of these reformed gang members now functioning as pastors continue to belong to their gang, *sub-rosa*, and continue to engage in illegal activities. As one police officer explained, a member never leaves a gang; even in middle age, when a gang member has a family and a regular job, they still are required to perform services for the gang (generally non-violent services, such as money-laundering).
5. Teachers whose schools have had the benefit of school-based, on-site psychologists (generally paid for, we were told, by USAID funds) were highly enthusiastic about the results of this new resource. As teachers have been trained to forego corporal punishment and substitute the use of psychological counseling and mediation for conflict resolution, they are seeing positive results in troubled youths. The teachers report that children and youths divulge child abuse and other problems to psychologists, which they had not been willing to do with their school teachers and directors, and that they see a marked change for the better in the behavior of many of these troubled students.
6. Many ADESCO (Community Development Association) leaders, a key element in violence prevention efforts, reported that they were willing to share intelligence with police officers only if they knew them personally and trusted them. For these leaders, the dedicated police hotlines were very useful for getting the authorities to show up when a crime is either in progress or is rumored to be in the planning, but only when the official answering the call was known to them.
7. The churches play an especially important role in crime and violence prevention. Their youth group programs, some of them funded by USAID, are seen as preventing youths from hanging out on street corners and getting them engaged in socially positive activities, some of them recreational (e.g., sports), some religious, and some empowering because they involve job training skills. Evangelical pastors were considered by our stakeholders to be especially active in reaching out to youth already in gangs, in an effort to get them out. They also often serve as mediators between warring gangs, in order to prevent bloodshed. In addition to pastors, we were told of “Christian police officers” (*policías cristianos*, also known as *capellanes*, or chaplains), who evangelize in the prisons. This is a crime prevention measure, as it tries to turn around gang members before they are released from prison. The Catholic Church was seen as being effective in reducing crime levels possibly because of its longstanding, well-established age-graded programs, beginning in early childhood and continuing into adulthood. Those who have gone through the various youth programs, we were told, end up being community leaders as young adults, and apparently they are more resistant to the lure of the gangs.

8. At-risk youth reported that of the various outreach center activities in which they have participated, the one that they found to be the most useful and valuable was vocational training. These youth saw training as their path to a good job and a more self-sufficient future.
9. The Municipal Councils for the Prevention of Violence and Crime are an innovative structure, one that we were told is supported by USAID. They appear to be successful in galvanizing the various stakeholding sectors of the targeted municipalities (specifically, the police, the school directors, the clergy, the community development association leaders [ADESCO], and health service providers), by incorporating representatives of each sector on every council. These representatives, we were told, become the link between the municipality and the various communities that have been selected for the crime prevention treatment. They regularly report the Council's plans to community stakeholders, thereby involving them in the planning process. Indeed, the CARSI interventions, or treatments, were selected through input from the communities, by means of focus groups held with community leaders. Perhaps because of the corporatist nature of the composition of the municipal councils (that is, representation by the various stakeholding sectors enumerated above), to varying degrees, there is interaction and cooperation among the stakeholding groups at the community level.
10. It should not be forgotten that in a country that has only recently emerged from a brutal civil war, that everything, especially and including violence prevention, is a *political* process, as well as a "simply" technical one. Throughout the qualitative interviews reference is made to what appear to be partisan disagreements between violence prevention committees and the municipal leadership, especially the mayor. When elections result in an alteration in the party of the mayor, these disagreements can fracture relationships, resulting in weakening of implementation of violence prevention.

III. Policy Recommendations

General:

- The single most important recommendation emerging from this study is that community-based violence prevention programs should become a frontline weapon in reducing crime and violence, since, as this impact evaluation has shown, the programs work in El Salvador (at least in the communities where the impact evaluation was carried out, and there is no reason to believe that they would not work elsewhere).
- Deepening, broadening, and scaling-up these programs so that they can have an impact on the national level of crime and violence will be costly. However, the expense is trivial when compared to the cost in wasted lives, broken bodies and minds, and economic losses due to crime and violence, not to mention the budgetary and private costs of policing and

private guard services, lost days of work, and the loss of potential members of the work force, who have had to flee El Salvador to seek a secure life in another country.

Specific:

- Better coordination between the municipal governments and their violence prevention committees, on the one hand, and neighborhood-based actors, on the other, needs to be achieved if the violence prevention programs are to be maximally effective.
- The Municipal Councils for the Prevention of Crime and Violence should have the representation and subcommittee participation of each at-risk community of the municipality, not merely selected ones. At present, typically only one or only a few school directors serve on the committees representing *all* schools in the municipality. However, there are many schools that must be represented, and similarly many pastors, each from different communities. It is difficult for the varying needs of each distinct neighborhood to be represented on the committee when there is no one from that neighborhood serving. The prevention programs of these councils need to be made available to all communities in need of them.
- Since broken homes are seen nearly universally as the root cause of the epidemic of crime and violence, expanded pre-school, after-school, weekend and summer vacation childcare (day care facilities, subsidized by government and/or NGO funds) is urgently needed for children living in single-parent households.
- The widespread recognition of the value of school-based staff clinical psychologists supports an argument for broader coverage in elementary and secondary schools in at-risk communities. As far as is known, these clinical psychologists are present only in CARSI-supported schools. The CARSI research has found that on-site psychologists (both clinical and educational) are seen by school administrators and teachers as very effective agents in their work with troubled youths who would otherwise become prime targets for gang recruiters.
- Even though school expulsions are no longer officially allowed in El Salvador, *de facto* school expulsions still exist in the form of “transfers. Our research indicates that transfers should not be tolerated except in unusual circumstances. Instead, whenever a student is identified as being highly problematic in his/her behavior, that student should be provided with all of the psychological, counseling and other support services that the school can make available. *De facto* school expulsions often lead to students dropping out of school entirely, which is an important causal element in the chain of events that leads to youth joining gangs.
- Community leaders should be given the phone numbers and web address of dedicated police hotlines to facilitate their access to the police. For leaders who do not trust such phone numbers, efforts should be made by the police to make the cell phone numbers of particular officers who are trusted by specific leaders available to them. Many leaders will not report crimes or provide intelligence to any police officer other than those whom they personally know and trust.

- More funds (governmental and non-governmental) need to be invested in church youth programs. These programs appear to be successful in drawing youth away from crime-oriented peer groups, and in some instances they offer one of the few alternatives to gangs.
- Far more resources need to be put into school security, primarily in the form of police protection at the entrances of elementary and secondary school. Police guards are widely seen as effective in preventing gangs from lurking outside of schools and preying upon students (attempting either to subject them to extortion or to induce them to join the gangs). Since the LAPOP project was not tasked with doing an efficiency audit of the police and how they are deployed, it may be that more police officers could be tasked with patrolling the school environs. However, in our interviews, the police themselves stated flatly that they were already spread too thin.
- Evidence from the qualitative interviews repeatedly suggests that young people do not have the skill sets to deal with conflict in any way other than with violence. Yet, training in conflict resolution and mediation was broadly seen as effective. Therefore it is recommended that this kind of training should be given to all school administrators and to as many schoolteachers as can be afforded. Even more importantly, perhaps, peer mediation should be taught in all schools, beginning in the early primary grades.
- Far more needs to be done in the schools to educate students regarding physical and sexual abuse in the home. This education might not only reduce the instances of teenage pregnancy, but it might also help students cope better with broken homes. Most importantly, children might stay at home, rather than leaving, joining gangs and/or migrating to the North.
- Expanded summer recreational programs (such as *Verano Feliz*) should be provided, either through the National Civil Police, as they have been in the past, or through the Ministry of Education.
- Considerable education already goes on at the community level through various USAID-supported programs, especially in the Outreach Centers that have been established in the CARSI-treated communities. However, there are concerns that the level of the courses being offered, largely taught by volunteers who have little or no pedagogical training and who have limited skill sets, is often too low for the career aspirations of the young people in the CARSI neighborhoods. Vocational courses for at-risk youth should include much more white-collar job training (especially computer literacy). Such courses need to go beyond beginning level competence, to include advanced proficiency.
- Workshops and courses geared toward at-risk youth must not be limited to traditional, gender-stereotyped skills such as car repairs, electrical repairs, beauty salon work, baking, and sewing. Courses of this nature are a reminder of the post-Civil War training many combatants received (e.g., vegetable garden farming), which often proved ineffectual in providing skill sets that were applicable within the opportunity structure of the rapidly urbanizing and modernizing Salvadoran economy. For some students with low ambition and cognitive abilities, training to work in a beauty salon might be effective, but for most students higher levels of courses need to be developed and taught. This may sound idealistic, but world-wide those with limited skill-sets are losing ground in employment

and pay to those with higher-level skills. Youths in El Salvador with sufficient training could, for example, begin to develop computer apps, or work for software firms that are developing such apps.

- Students in workshops and courses are rightly demanding certificates of completion so that they can have a valid work credential attesting to the skill-sets they have acquired. If a young Salvadoran successfully completes a 90-hour course in computer or auto repair, they should be offered the official credential that would allow them to market that newly acquired skill.

Part 1: Methodology

I. Evaluation Design and Data Sources

USAID/ El Salvador selected the municipalities where interventions were to take place, picking those municipalities of special concern, based on its perception that these were high-crime, at-risk areas.¹ In El Salvador LAPOP then selected eligible neighborhoods in each municipality for the programs based on conditions that are well-documented in the literature (and enumerated below) as increasing the likelihood of crime and violence and therefore insecurity. These eligible neighborhoods are considered in this design to be “at-risk,” or highly vulnerable to becoming crime “hot spots.” Neighborhoods that were known by the police to be already fully controlled by gangs or other organized criminal groups are excluded from the study because of the unacceptable levels of danger to contractors and interviewers. Therefore, the findings in this study apply to at-risk neighborhoods, but not to those already largely controlled by gangs. To avoid “contamination” effects (i.e., that control groups receive the treatment), the selection of geographically contiguous treatment and control groups was carefully avoided. Neighborhoods within municipalities were then assigned randomly to treatment and control groups, and via communication with USAID, instructed that they were to apply their treatment to those neighborhoods.

Following the assignment of the intervention to neighborhoods, LAPOP collected both qualitative and quantitative data in a total of 41 neighborhoods (28 treatment and 13 control groups) in the Salvadoran municipalities of Santa Ana, San Juan Opico, Chalchuapa and Zaragoza.²

Sources of Baseline Data Used in this Evaluation

The two main data sets consist of:

- (1) Baseline and follow-up surveys:** The baseline data characterizes the population of study in both treatment and control groups in order to determine the starting condition, or baseline condition, from which we would measure change over time. Importantly, the baseline survey helps one to draw causal inferences about the effect of the interventions because it allows for comparison of groups before and after the intervention begins. The baseline data was collected in the period 4/28/2010-6/24/2010, except for the stakeholder interviews, which took place from May through September, 2010, and included focus groups and individual interviews. The stakeholder (i.e., qualitative) data collection always took longer

¹ That selection, however, was the only non-random component in the evaluation, yet it is one that presumably limits the external validity of the findings. In theory, at least, had other municipalities been chosen, the impacts could have been significantly different from the ones reported on here.

² The number of clusters or neighborhoods was determined through a preliminary statistical power analysis carried out by Abby Córdova, with the assistance of scholars at the University of Michigan, to ensure the evaluation is able to identify an effect of the program if there is one. In addition, data from *non-at-risk* communities were collected from three municipalities: Santa Ana, Santa Tecla and San Salvador. These data were collected with the purpose of establishing a baseline of characteristics of low violence neighborhoods and evaluate if, after program implementation, at-risk neighborhoods start to mirror non-at-risk neighborhoods.

than the field surveys as each particular respondent (e.g., teacher, police officer, municipal anti-violence committee member) had to be located and appointments had to be made and at times rescheduled. Full details of the various phases involved in the collection of the baseline data are found in Part 3 of this study.

The face-to-face individual level questionnaire developed by LAPOP (Appendix A) contains questions designed to measure outcomes of the programs in addition to socioeconomic, demographic, and other variables to be used as controls. The control variables enable us to statistically adjust the results for treated and untreated community and therefore make them more similar to each other than they would have been by random chance. For example, a given community might have more young people in it than another, and since age is associated with many variables that affect crime, we wanted to be able to control for this difference.

On the other hand, there are unmeasured variables about each individual and neighborhood that we could not control for. This was not a problem with the design, but merely a limitation in any social science project because it is impossible to collect information on the infinite number of variables that define each individual (intelligence, life experience, presence of disease, reading ability, etc.) One adult per household (defined as voting age adult) was interviewed in person at his or her home. The survey participants within the household were selected by sample quotas based on the enumeration data from Phase II, in that way ensuring that the sample reflected the demographics of the neighborhood.

(2) Neighborhood and local-level qualitative survey of stakeholders: The purpose of the stakeholder interviews is to gather both qualitative information about the neighborhoods as well as more general information related to the problem of citizen security in the municipalities studied by interviewing key knowledgeable persons. LAPOP generated a series of open-ended questionnaires (Appendix E) that were used for interviews with neighborhood stakeholders. These interviews were with: the local clergy, social workers, police and civil society association leaders, including members of the Municipal Crime and Violence Prevention Councils. In addition, interviews were also conducted with the implementing partners, RTI and CREA, in order to better understand how their programs were being administered. The interviews took place in the place of work of these respondents, so we went to the schools to interview teachers, and to the police stations to interview the police. In some cases, we had to find these people in their homes. While the selected interviewees were always linked to the communities, in many instances these stakeholders had broad responsibilities that transcended community boundaries. Round one interviews, which were paralleled in subsequent rounds, looked like this:

Qualitative Stakeholders Sample

- 122 semi-structured interviews
- Includes all communities to receive violence prevention treatment, in 4 municipalities (Chalchuapa, San Juan Opico, Santa Ana, Zaragoza)
- Stakeholders:
 - 30 police officers
 - 30 community leaders (ADESCO, clergy)
 - 31 teachers (grades 1-9)
 - 31 members of Municipal Council for Violence and Crime Prevention

Another source of data we rely on are the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) AmericasBarometer surveys. Every two years LAPOP carries out nationally representative surveys in 26 countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and North America. We have data for El Salvador for 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012. These data do not have the wide variety of crime/violence related questions that our CARS data have, but they do have blocks of identical items in some key areas. We use the AmericasBarometer data to look at national trends, and compare those trends to the CARS data. Those data, therefore, enables us check for trend variation, an important factor that emerged in with the gang truce, as explained later.

Sources of Data for Mid-point Evaluation

After implementation of the CARS programs began, the mid-point evaluation was carried out. In El Salvador, the field work for the mid-point evaluation was carried out between 9/1/2011 and 10/1/2011, and the stakeholder interviews carried out in the period 9/11/2011-10/3/2012. Research Phases III, IV, and V were repeated at that time.

The mid-point (and final) evaluations were conducted in the same way as the baseline with two exceptions. First, only at-risk communities were studied. We learned from the baseline not-at-risk, the factors that distinguish those communities from the treatment and control, therefore we did not need to interview in those not-at risk again. Second, we did not need to conduct a baseline census since we already had our sample frame. Other than those two differences, we conducted both quantitative and qualitative interviews, and community observations. We went back to the same communities, both treatment and control as in round # 1. The sample however, was not a panel (i.e., we did not interview the same *individuals* as in round # 1). Doing so would have given us a panel design, with all of the problems inherent in such a design. Specifically, the problem of panel attrition (which could be high and of different levels owing to the possibility of higher out-migration in the control communities), as well as respondent contamination.

Furthermore, LAPOP, with decades of field experience in Central America, was convinced that it would be impossible to find many of the same people for re-interview, given the absence of clear

street addresses and high internal and international migration rates, and rapid changes in cell phone numbers. As a result, if LAPOP had attempted a panel design, the resulting panel would have been much smaller in round 2 and smaller still in round 3. The panel would have been not only smaller, but different from the baseline, since those who could be found in their same homes in subsequent rounds of interviews, would have been different from those who could not have been found. Most importantly, the panel could have had different attrition rates in the treatment and control communities, thus making statistical comparisons extremely risky. Thus, the second and third rounds were conducted in the identical neighborhoods as was round one, but not the same households (although some of the same households and individual could have been interviewed just by random chance).

Sources of Data for Final Evaluation

After the third year of the project, the individual, neighborhood level and stakeholder individual interview data was collected again (Phases III, IV, and V) between 9/12/2012 10/5/2012, with the stakeholder interviews being completed on 2/25/2013.

Individual interviews totaling 1,665 were carried out for the first round in non-at-risk neighborhoods, 1,700 per round in treatment neighborhoods, and 670 per round in control communities, for a total of over 8,800 by the end of the third round.

Overall Summary of Quantitative Data Sources, by Round

A summary of the rounds, broken down by the gender of the respondents, appears in the tables below. As can be seen, the samples were nearly evenly divided between male and female

Table 1. Sample Distribution, by Gender, of the Individual Level Respondents to the LAPOP CARSII Impact Evaluation

INCLUDES Non-at-Risk Neighborhoods			
	Percent Male (N)	Percent Female (N)	Total (N)
Round 1 (2010)	50.3 (2,048)	49.7 (2,023)	100 (4,071)
Round 2 (2011)	50.8 (1,204)	49.3 (1,168)	100 (2,372)
Round 3 (2012)	50.8 (1,210)	49.2 (1,172)	100 (2,382)
TOTALS	50.6 (4,462)	49.4 (4,363)	100 (8,825)

EXCLUDES Non-at-Risk Neighborhoods			
	Percent Male (N)	Percent Female (N)	Total (N)
Round 1 (2010)	50.6 (1,214)	49.4 (1,185)	100 (2,399)
Round 2 (2011)	50.8 (1,204)	49.3 (1,168)	100 (2,372)
Round 3 (2012)	50.8 (1,210)	49.2 (1,172)	100 (2,382)
TOTALS	50.7 (3,628)	49.3 (3,525)	100 (7,153)

LAPOP collected 860 systematic observations—i.e., information related to the characteristics of blocks—in non-at-risk neighborhoods in the first round, about 840 observations per round in treatment communities, and 310 in control communities, for a grand total of nearly 4,300 by the end of the study. Table 2 below shows the time frames in which these surveys were collected:

Table 2. Sample Dates and Sizes for the El Salvador LAPOP CARSI Impact Evaluation

Round s	AT RISK					NON-AT-RISK			Totals
	Dates	<i>Treatment</i>		<i>Control</i>		Dates	Communities (same each round)	Interviews	
		Communities (same each round)	Interviews	Communities (same each round)	Interviews				
1	4/28/2010 – 6/24/2010		1,724		675	7/7/2010 – 2/16/2011		1,672	4,071
2	9/1/2011 – 10/1/2011		1,702		671				2,373
3	9/12/2012 – 10/5/2012		1,711		671				2,382
Totals		28	5,137	13	2,017		30	1,672	8,826

Qualitative Component of the Study

In addition to the quantitative data, LAPOP also collected qualitative data to provide more in-depth information and helpful causal path indications (see Table 3). Interpretation of the dynamics of the communities and, ultimately, the impact of the project, was greatly assisted by the qualitative data gathered during the study. The qualitative data was used interactively, in a multi-methods strategy. LAPOP conducted *semi-structured interviews* and *focus groups* with community stakeholders. The questionnaires (actually interview guides, as these were open-ended interviews) used in the qualitative interviews are provided in Appendix E.

Table 3. Summary of Qualitative Interviews, Rounds 1-3, El Salvador

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	TOTAL
Stakeholder individual interviews	122	80	118	320
Focus groups	4			4

An average of 100 individual interviews were collected per round with: (1) community leaders (presidents or other officers of ADESCO) and members of Municipal Crime Prevention

Committees; (2) school directors and teachers; (3) religious leaders (e.g., Evangelical pastors, Catholic priests, and church youth-group leaders); (4) police officers; (5) CREATIVE and RTI coordinators; and (6) youth-at-risk (18 and older). In addition, four focus groups were carried out in the first round with members of these categories, with the exception of program implementers (CREATIVE and RTI) and youth-at-risk.

The qualitative interviews were carried out by Jonathan Canjura, a Salvadoran investigator in his mid-twenties, who had a college degree and prior experience doing interviewing on scientific research projects. He was trained extensively in qualitative interviewing by Berk-Seligson, who headed the qualitative component of the Vanderbilt CARSI impact evaluation. The interviewer was equipped with two very small (three inches in length) battery-operated digital recorders (Olympus WS-500M), so small as to be largely inconspicuous during the interviews, and easily hidden away safely during his daily travels via public transportation to the interview sites. Two recorders were used in order to provide backup for the failure of the primary unit. This model recorder accommodated a remote, directional microphone, allowing it to zoom in on the speaker, thus minimizing the often loud background noise. The recorder was able to store more than 12 hours of conversation on its internal memory, and run for the same period of time on a single battery charge. The recorders also came with built-in USB connectors that served the dual purpose of both charging the rechargeable batteries and enabling downloading the files to a computer.

Berk-Seligson supervised his fieldwork on a daily basis, from her perch at Vanderbilt University, receiving his interviews electronically, which he uploaded from cyber cafes to LAPOP using a special secure electronic server designed at LAPOP and dedicated to these audio files. The server was required because audio files, in Windows Media Player format (WMA) are too large to send via e-mail attachment.

Berk-Seligson daily downloaded the audio files, and listened to for an initial screening in order to accomplish several tasks: (1) first and foremost, to ensure that the interviews had been faithfully completed; (2) to check on the quality of the interviews, and to give feedback to Canjura on what he was doing well and where he needed to improve on his interviewing style (e.g., learning how to probe, when the interviewee was not forthcoming in his/her answers, giving them time to elaborate on their answers, was a critical skill that Canjura had to learn to master, and which he succeeded at); (3) listening for important unexpected information that required adding questions to the questionnaire (e.g., crime prevention programs that we had not known about in advance of the project, which allowed Berk-Seligson to modify the questionnaire as the interviews were going on in the field, so as to elicit interviewee knowledge about and evaluations of the programs). Thus, the daily interviewing, uploading and listening, revision, became an ongoing, dynamic process, unlike the quantitative survey, which relied on a fixed questionnaire administered identically to all respondents. The fixed response format of the quantitative questionnaires and the open-ended nature of the qualitative research prove to powerfully complement each other, providing an unprecedented reservoir of data on which to draw conclusions.

As the qualitative interviews were going on, simultaneously several Salvadoran college-educated young women transcribed the audio files, under Berk-Seligson's supervision. Using Sugarsync as the uploading device, Berk-Seligson would send the files to the transcribers (they numbered up to

4 at any given moment), and the transcribers would send the transcriptions as e-mail attachments to her.

These transcribers were trained by Berk-Seligson to employ standard linguistic conventions, rather than more conventional “court-reporting” style that “cleans up” the errors in human speech, but ends up distorting in important ways what was said.³ Specifically, they were told to include all hesitation markers, partial words, repetitions, signs of change in emotion (e.g., laughter, sudden whispering, emphatic tone). This methodology produces a transcription that is as faithful to the original speech of the person being interviewed as possible, short of transcribing the utterances phonetically, which was not necessary. All non-standard forms of speech (e.g., ungrammatical phrases, verb forms) were to be transcribed exactly as they had been uttered. They were a reflection of the socioeconomic status of the interviewee. *It is important to note that the textual sections of this report that include statements made by the respondents have not been sanitized, but do in fact include all of these features, including ungrammatical phrases and many other errors of speaking.*

The volume of qualitative data produced by this process was immense. In order to help organize it so that it could be readily drawn upon for analysis purposes, a specialized reporting document format template was developed by Berk-Seligson (using Word). The template was organized using the Word Tables feature, adding in drop-down menus for subject categories. The most productive and reliable transcriber became a research assistant to Berk-Seligson, creating Word program charts, in which each transcript was broken down into topic categories. The charts included the interview ID, demographic information about the interviewee (sex, age, education, occupation, stakeholder category), and most importantly, complete, unedited, textual extracts (generally questions with their answers) on topics that repeated throughout the interviews. Essentially the topics were drawn from the categories of questions of in the questionnaires. Each chart was focused on a given stakeholder category, representing all the interviews in that category for that country, in a given year. Thus, a chart would be headed, “Police, El Salvador, Round 1.” There were two topics allowed for each textual extract, since a given answer could have had information on more than one topic. The topic choices were included in a “dropdown” feature of Word charts. There was no limit as to the number of topics in a given dropdown, and these topics numbered as many as 15-20. Each Word document for each respondent category averaged over 1,000 pages.

In short, having a native of Central America carry out all of the qualitative interviews in all of the CARS countries, using the methodology devised in Nashville at LAPOP, has ensured a comparability across interviewees. There is no inter-interviewer reliability issue at stake, since there was only one interviewer. And while Berk-Seligson originally had trained and tested eight individuals from whom to select interviewers for the project, at the end of the training session only three were hired (two acceptable interviewers dropped out before even being selected, to accept other positions), and one was let go after the first two weeks because his performance was unacceptable. When it came to interviewing outside of El Salvador, only one, Canjura, was willing to working outside his country. It turned out that he was the best at it, and he developed an excellent style of conducting semi-structured interviews. He also was trained by Berk-Seligson to lead focus

³ See Susan Berk-Seligson, *The Bilingual Courtroom: Court Interpreters in the Judicial Process*, revised edition. 2002. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

groups, as he was an assistant to her in the Panama CARSI focus groups. He became quite adept at this type of qualitative work as well, and learned the ropes quickly.

One of the strengths of the qualitative methodology is that it permitted reinterviewing stakeholders over the course of the impact evaluation. Stakeholders who had been especially forthcoming and informative in round one were re-interviewed in rounds two and three, to the extent possible. Not every interviewee will talk openly. Some are quite reticent and clearly are holding back what they are thinking. Police officers often fall into this category. Some teachers, out of fear, fell into this category. But those police officers who had nothing to hide and especially those who worked in the crime prevention units were quite open in their answers. And many schooldirectors and Evangelical pastors were similarly happy to talk about the obstacles and challenges that they faced in their line of work, and their successes as well.

In sum, qualitative interviewing, as opposed to the quantitative interviewing approach (which requires reading questions in an identical fashion), entails interacting with interviewees in a much more personal fashion. There is an element of rapport-building involved; the questions need to be asked in a natural way, as if this were a conversation. Rewording and repeating questions is allowed, if the interviewer sees that the interviewee is hesitating, or having trouble understanding the question. And probing for answers, going beyond the question listed on the questionnaire, is essential. The added value of the qualitative answers is that they allow the interviewer to ask, “Why do you say that? What do you mean by that?” when respondent answers are short and uninformative. Such “wh-” questions (‘why’ ‘how’) allowed the study to find out what was going on inside the minds of the interviewees, since it was not counting up the answers that was of interest, but the thinking and reasoning behind what otherwise would have been short answers.

Finally, the power of the qualitative component is that it was able to produce narratives. Those who were sufficiently articulate, or passionate about what they were thinking and feeling, would relate stories of violence, instances that provided evidence of crime and violence occurring in their own lives, and in that of their family, friends, and neighbors.

II. Drawing Conclusions: Difference-in-Difference Estimator

The core of the quantitative study is an analysis of survey data using a “clustered randomized experimental” (CRE) design to allow for the comparison between the control and treatment groups, over time. A Difference-In-Difference estimator (DID) is a widely used econometric technique in the impact evaluation field, and while its use dates back over decades, since the work thirty years ago by Ashenfelter and Card (1985)⁴, it has become one of the “gold standards” in the field. It has the distinct advantage of controlling for what econometricians call “omitted variable bias,” since changes in the national economy, employment and overall crime rates can impact the control *and* treatment groups, whereas if all one had was a before-and-after study on the treatment group alone, one could not know if such factors were responsible for changes in the treatment group rather than the treatment alone. It is, of course, not the only approach to measuring impact, but in the study

⁴ Orley Ashenfelter and David Card, “Using the Longitudinal Structure of Earnings to Estimate the Effect of Training Programs,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 67, No. 4. (Nov., 1985), pp. 648-660.

we carried out, it is the most obvious and logical. For example, another widely used approach, that of regression discontinuity, works in situations in which one already has detailed information about the population (e.g., all have taken an entrance examination and some have scored just above the pass level and others have scored just below), but that was not the case in the violence prevention study in Central America.

The Difference-In-Difference estimator is utilized to estimate both the difference between the treatment and control groups and the difference between each group and itself at a later time point. The treatment is considered effective at the point of evaluation if outcomes in the treatment group improve significantly more (or decline less) than they would have if the treatment had not been administered. One of the most important features of this model is that it does not require that the treatment and control groups have identical starting values, since what is of interest is the *trend* in each group and the difference between them.⁵ We estimate a counter-factual case with the model parameters to simulate what the outcome would be if no treatment had been administered. The counterfactual case is the change in the control group over time, but at the same levels of the treatment group. *Thus, the difference between the estimated counterfactual case and the predicted level⁶ of the treatment group is considered the “treatment effect.” The “treatment effect” is the impact that can be said to have been caused by the intervention.*

The multilevel nature of the data gathered by LAPOP and the design of the study makes it possible for the outcome to be evaluated at the individual level while taking into account features of the neighborhood to determine the way in which the effectiveness of the programs varies across environments. Thus, it is possible to identify the features of neighborhoods or even countries (in cross-national studies) that contribute to the success of the program. As the number of countries in our study is very small, country characteristics cannot be a major focus of our analysis since each country differs in thousands of ways from each other country (GNP, income distribution, education levels, ethnicity, population density, etc.). In effect, we have too many variables and not enough countries. But variation at the community level once all of the countries in the LAPOP CARSI impact evaluation are included, may well give us some analytical power and significant results. Using multi-level modeling techniques, the study draws statistical inferences about the effectiveness of the programs and the effect of the context in which the programs were

⁵ One challenge to the DID is when one of the two groups is affected by something other than the treatment, but that factor is not present in the other group. Since our study relies on many neighborhoods and is spread across several municipalities, the chances of the occurrence of a situation like that are very low. As far as we know from the qualitative reports from the field, no such factor was present. We hasten to note that when a change occurs that affects both treatment and control, our results remain robust. The truce with the gangs, discussed in this report, is exactly one such change that was nation-wide and thus affected both of our groups and did not undermine the results of the study. Another challenge to the DID is when the composition of treatment or control changes over time. We checked for this, and found that on the key observables (education, wealth, age, etc.) the groups did not change over the course of the experiment. In short, the challenges to causal inference in this study are minimal, but, as in all social science work, cannot be ruled out entirely, with the greatest challenge that of external validity. That is, the treatment may be effective in the municipalities studied, but nowhere else. However, since we replicated the study in several countries, external validity questions are of less concern than they would otherwise have been had the study been restricted to a single country.

⁶ The predicted level is the model estimate of the dependent variable, which controls for covariates, such as age, sex, education household wealth, years of residence and children in the household, as well as contextual effects.

implemented. As data collection for other countries in the study is still ongoing as this report was written, the use of multi-level analysis here will be limited.

The parallel paths assumption: threat to causal inference. The experimental design and Difference-In-Difference estimator allow us to draw inferences from the collected data about the overall effectiveness of the CARSI program. Like all methodologies, the Difference-In-Difference estimator is based on assumptions that, if violated, can pose threats to these inferences. The most problematic assumption inherent in the Difference-In-Difference estimator is that of *parallel paths*.⁷ The Difference-In-Difference methodology assumes that the trend over time observed in the control communities is the same as that which would have been observed in the treatment community if the treatment programs had not been implemented. For example, if there is an increase in perceptions of insecurity in the control communities over time, we would expect to see the same trend in the treatment communities if the treatment were not implemented (or if it were ineffective). The parallel path assumption refers to the changes in the outcome over time, not the starting or ending levels. This assumption is made explicit in the construction of the counterfactual used to derive the treatment effect. The counterfactual case rests on an assumption of “parallel paths”—the counterfactual experiences the same trend as that of the control group.

Studies most vulnerable to this threat are those where assignment to treatment and control is not random, and/or where assignment results in treatment and control groups that differed on factors that affected the outcomes of interest. For example, if treatment communities are clustered in gang territories but control communities are not, we might expect different trends over time in outcomes related to crime in the two groups. But, of course, those were precisely the errors our study made every effort to avoid through the careful pre-selection process.

While the CARSI study in El Salvador (and Guatemala and Panama) employs random assignment of treatment and control groups from among the eligible communities in the municipalities selected by USAID, random assignment is not sufficient to guarantee that the assumption will hold, so the parallel paths assumption could still be violated. There is no way to directly test this assumption in this (or virtually any other study), but we are able to largely rule it out through the use a variety of robustness checks to see if the parallel path assumption is likely to have been violated. These checks show that the treatment and control groups are sufficiently similar to each other and to the nation as a whole, to give us confidence that the assumption of parallel paths is very likely to have held. Analyses of the treatment and control communities, as we detail below, show that the respondents do not significantly differ on key socio-economic variables. This is an important finding since it suggests that the communities in both treatment and control are quite similar to each other in their makeup. Since the treatment and control communities are similar in composition, this suggests that the trends in these groups are also likely to be the same over time. If, instead, we had observed significant differences between treatment and control groups on these variables, we might have expected the trends in these groups to diverge over time if the outcomes are correlated with these variables.

⁷ See Michael Lechner. “The Estimation of Causal Effects by Difference-in-Difference Methods.” Discussion Paper no. 2010-28. October 2011. Department of Economics, University of St. Gallen.

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

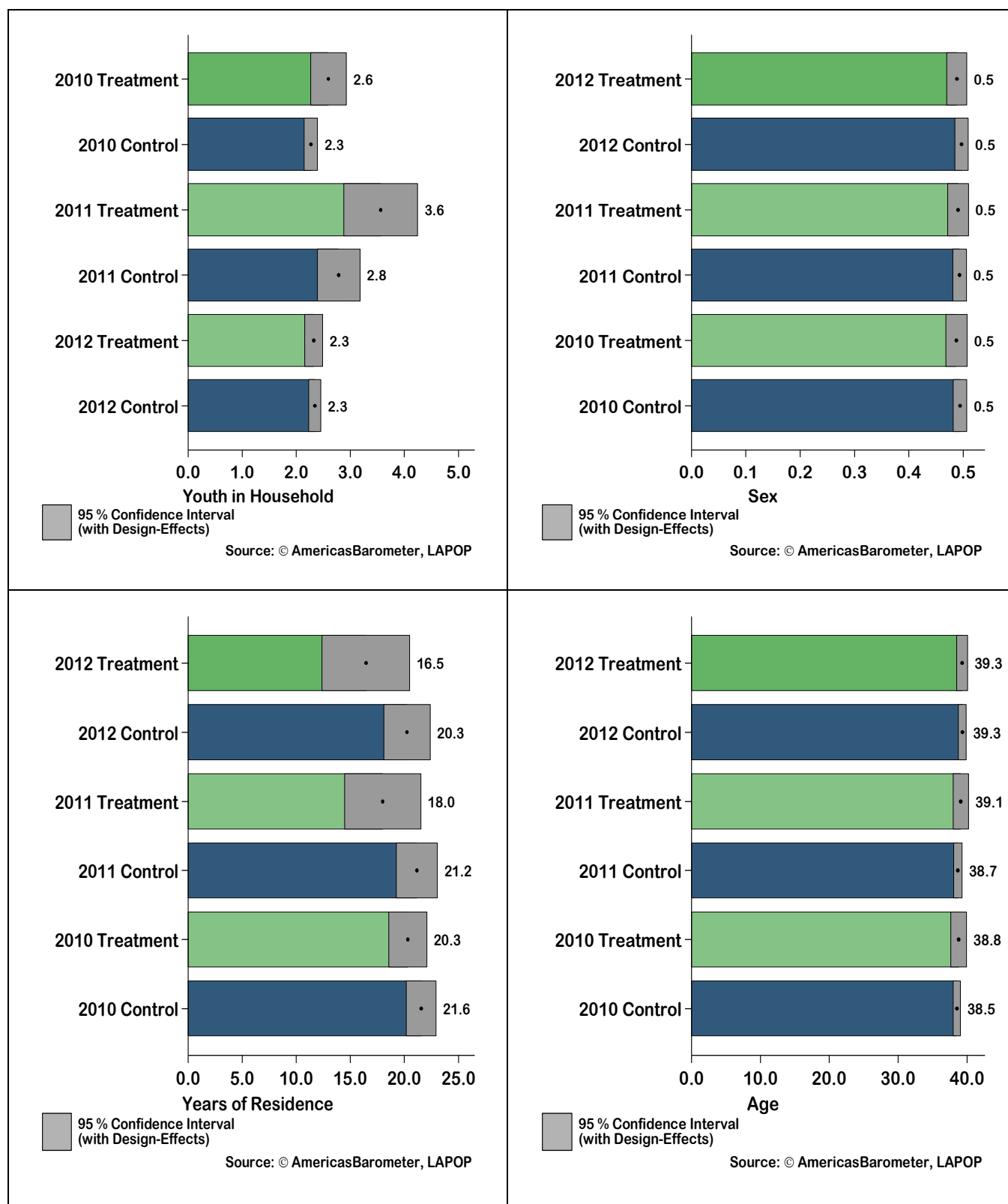


Figure 1. Key Variables in Treatment and Control Communities, 2010-2012

A second, and we believe more telling robustness check that gets at the core of our dependent variables, is that trends in the control communities match those in national level data. Several questions in the CARSÍ study are identical or similar to questions in the 2010 and 2012 AmericasBarometer surveys also carried out by LAPOP, using the same survey methods (face-to-face interviews carried out by trained interviewers using handheld electronic data collection instruments). We have been able to use these data to explore the trend across a similar time-period for the nation as a whole. In each of these cases, we have found that the trend in the national data is indeed parallel to that observed in the control communities (the national trend line is shown in our graphs along with the other results, where available). These results repeatedly demonstrate that the control communities are not an anomalous sample, and reflect the same trends observed in the nation at large. Thus, since the treatment communities were selected by the same process and have a similar socio-economic and demographic composition to the control group, and since the control group's trends parallel national trends, we would expect to see the same trends in the treatment communities if the treatment had not been applied. Indeed, there is no basis whatsoever to suspect any systematic violation of the parallel path assumption.

III. Summary of Results

The quantitative results directly related to the CARSÍ goals are described in detail in Part 4 below. Here we anticipate those findings to help guide the reader through the large volume of results. As noted above, they are based on the Difference-In-Difference estimator in a multi-level model that takes into account clustering at the municipal and neighborhood levels. Control variables in the models are age, sex, years of residence in the neighborhood, household wealth, education, presence of youth in the household. Contextual models also include the percentage of 10-18 year olds in the neighborhood.

As noted in our discussion of the DID estimator above, one potential challenge to the validity of the kind of design we carried out is possible changes in the composition of the treated and control groups over time. If, for example, in our study the number of youths in the households of the treatment group had declined sharply, then any positive effect of the treatment could have in fact been a result of that decline rather than the treatment itself. The data in Figure 1 demonstrates that on a series of key variables, no significant changes occurred in either treatment or control groups.

Context: Given our limited sample in this single-country analysis, we did not expect to be able to pick up much impact at the contextual level. In studies of this kind, the largest impact is normally attributed to individual-level variables, such as gender, age, income, education, etc. We control for all of these here, but what we often find is that the presence in communities of religious institutions in the form of churches makes a difference. We distinguish between two broad categories, the Catholic Church and Evangelical churches. The qualitative analysis, however, gives us the most purchase on the role of religion and the clergy more generally, since presence-absence of a church in a neighborhood is a fairly crude indicator.

Robberies: Based on the LAPOP series of surveys, reports of robberies by those interviewed in the LAPOP study decline over the course of the evaluation in both control and treatment groups. Respondents' reports of robberies were 25% lower than we would otherwise expect without the

program in place. We did find a contextual variable that had a statistically significant impact on the outcome, which is that the treatment is significantly more effective at reducing the probability of robberies in communities with Catholic churches.

Extortion or Blackmail: Respondents' reports of extortions were 52% lower than we would otherwise expect without the programs. There is, however, no variation in the effectiveness of the treatment across the measured contextual variables.

Murders: Respondents' reports of murders were 40% lower than we would otherwise expect without the program in place. In terms of context effects, the treatment was more effective in communities with schools and Catholic churches.

Sale of illegal drugs: Respondents' reports of sale of illegal drugs were 36% lower than we would otherwise expect without the program in place. There is, however, no variation in the effectiveness of the treatment across the measured contextual variables.

Perception of Insecurity: The treatment programs reduced respondent feelings of insecurity in general and when walking alone at night. Respondents were 17% less insecure in general and 13% less insecure when walking alone at night compared to the expected levels if the program was not implemented. Neighborhood context for the variables we were able to measure does not appear to affect the treatment's effectiveness.

Youth loitering, Youth in Gangs, Gang fights: In treatment communities, perceptions of youth loitering, youth in gangs, and gang fights as a problem would have been significantly higher without the CARSI programs. Perceptions of youth loitering, youth in gangs and gang fights as problems in the neighborhood declined 8%, 14%, and 12%, respectively, compared to what would be expected if the program was not implemented. The effectiveness of the treatment on all these perceptions increases as physical disorder increases. The treatment is more effective at improving perceptions of youth loitering and youth in gangs in communities with schools. In terms of contextual variables that matter, the presence in the community of churches (both Catholic and Protestant) also improve the effectiveness of treatment on perceptions of youth loitering as a problem in the neighborhood.

Avoidance of Dangerous Areas: Respondents are 40% less likely to respond that they would avoid walking through dangerous areas than would be expected without treatment. The neighborhood context, for the variables we were able to measure and test, does not matter, that is, irrespective of the various characteristics of the neighborhoods in which the impact evaluation was carried out (degree of social disorder, physical disorder etc.⁸) the effectiveness of the impact was unchanged.

⁸ The full list of contextual variables controlled for in the multi-level analysis is as follows:

Social Disorder at the Manzana (i.e., block) Level (composite)

- People arguing in an aggressive or violent manner
- Children playing in the sidewalk or street unsupervised
- Young people loitering
- Presence of young people who are in gangs

Neighborhood Organization for Crime Prevention: The predicted level of neighborhood organization in the treatment communities was 18% higher than compared to the counterfactual case (what would be expected in the absence of the CARSI program). Analysis of community context variables shows that respondents in untreated communities were significantly less likely to say that their neighborhoods are organized to prevent crime if located in a community with a Catholic church.

In addition to these direct effects, the full report explores and analyzes the indirect effects the CARSI program on good governance. These include significantly greater levels of interpersonal trust within treatment neighborhood, more satisfaction with the functioning of democracy, and improved perceptions of government security efforts and police performance.

The analysis and results of the qualitative study are integrated with the detailed quantitative findings in section three of this report. In most cases, the quantitative results of the effectiveness of USAID's crime prevention programs in treatment communities were supported by qualitative data, as evidenced by the following quote by a community leader:

"...hemos sentido paz, alivio porque, porque no se ha visto digamos que, que haiga habido asesinato o que quieran obligar a los jóvenes a introducirse a sus grupos, he sentido yo, se siente una paz vea, porque se ve que el joven también, más que todo, con todo lo que ha habido en la organización y las ONGS que han venido a capacitar a la, a la juventud, eh, todo eso siento yo, que ha ayudado bastante, porque el joven ya está entretenido, en su mente como que ya está cambiando va."

Translation ["... we felt peace, relief that, because they say it has been seen that there were murders or they want to force young people to enter their groups, I feel peace you see, because we can see that the youth, too, above all, with all that has been in the organization and NGOs that have come to train, the youth, uh, all that I feel, that has helped a lot, because the youth is entertained—their minds, are like they are changing."]

-
- Beggars in the area
 - Prostitutes in the area
 - Drunks in the area

Physical Disorder at the Manzana Level (composite)

- Garbage dumps or trash scattered in area
- Garbage or broken glass in the streets or sidewalks
- Alcohol bottles or beer cans in the street or sidewalk
- Cigarettes disposed in the street or sidewalk
- Abandoned vehicles
- Overgrown empty lots
- Abandoned or looted buildings
- Houses with broken windows
- Sewage in the streets
- Places that generate bad odors

Presence of Churches (Catholic, Protestant, Either) at Community Level

Presence of Hospitals at Community Level

Presence of Schools at Community Level

Presence of Community Center at Community Level

On the other hand, the stakeholders, as already noted, have a vision that transcends the treatment communities themselves and can often see a broader picture than can residents. For that reason alone, their views are not always in line with the quantitative findings.

Overall, the results are strongly supportive of the conclusion that the CARSI intervention has improved outcomes in the El Salvador treatment communities over what they would have been in the absence of the program.

Part 2: Why Study Violence Prevention? Central America, a Violent Region

This is a study of the effectiveness of a USAID violence prevention program in Central America, with a particular focus on El Salvador.¹ The complete study, which will also look at the cases of Guatemala, Honduras and Panama, is still in process as a result of the uneven dates of the roll-out of the program. In this section of the report, we present a brief background of the violence in El Salvador, and Central America more generally, that motivated the initiation of the anti-violence program being studied. As the literature on the regional violence is vast, we do not intend to summarize it here; rather, our focus is on the impact evaluation itself, and the rich findings that have emerged from that study.

El Salvador is one of the most violent nations in the world. Precisely how violent, however, and what the trends are, is subject to wide dispute. The dispute emerges because data on violence of all sorts is notoriously problematical for a variety of reasons, including under-reporting by its victims and distortion of data by police forces and other public officials. While there is widespread agreement that Central America, especially the so-called “northern triangle of countries,” namely Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, are extremely violent, there is no agreement on the precise overall rates, nor of the rates for specific types of crime. Murder rates are the macabre “gold standard” in the field, since murders are thought to be universally reported. However, the disappearance and apparent murder of hundreds of women in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico has gone on for over two decades, yet the body count remains widely disputed. According to the UNODC reports (which are widely cited, but have the same issues of reliability that many other data sources face), in 2011 El Salvador had a per capita murder rate of 70 per 100,000, the second highest worldwide after Honduras (which registered 92 per 100,000) (Figure 2). By comparison, Costa Rica, another Central American country, reported “only” 10 murders per 100,000 population.

¹ The impact evaluation was designed by Abby Córdova, who was also responsible for the implementation of the project in the first two rounds in her role as a post-doctoral fellow at Vanderbilt University and staff member at LAPOP. Dr. Córdova left the project in July, 2012 to take up a position at the University of Kentucky before the final round of the study was completed. We also wish to acknowledge the constant and dedicated support of Eric Kite, Vanessa Reilly and Jeremy Biddle at USAID Washington, as well as the extensive cooperation we received from USAID personnel in Central America. We also much appreciate the cooperation we received from the implementing partners, and, most of all, the countless public officials and citizens of El Salvador who gave freely of their time to make this impact evaluation possible.

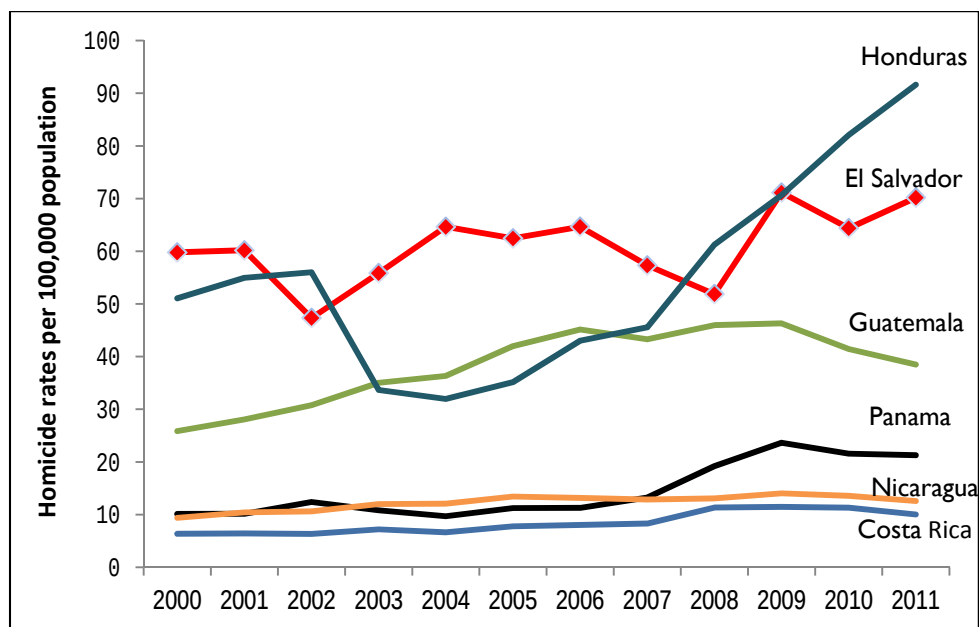


Figure 2. Homicide Rates in Central America

Source: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Homicide Statistics 2000-2011

The UNODC has not (as of this writing) published data for 2013 for Central America. The recently posted data for 2012, however, report that the murder rate for El Salvador had fallen sharply, to 41.2 per hundred thousand, while the rates for the other countries in the region remained little changed. This significant decline is widely attributed to the truce announced on March 8, 2012 between the country's two largest gangs, Mara Salvatrucha-13 (MS-13) and Barrio 18. Statistics from the National Civil Police (PNC) show an average of 215 murders per month, totaling 2,576 in 2012.² It is difficult if not impossible to determine if the sharp decline represents a trend or only a short-term dip.

We hesitate to draw any firm conclusions from the preliminary reports that are circulating in the region. In El Salvador, robberies, for example, have remained virtually unchanged with an average of 455 per month (totaling 5,459 cases in 2012), according to statistics from the National Civil Police (PNC)³. Although there have been fewer reports of murders, the number of reports of missing persons increased significantly by the end of 2012 with 1,601 missing persons reported to Medicina Legal, an increase of more than 20% compared to the previous year. It is well known that statistics on disappearances are often indeterminate, but these numbers suggest that some of the decline in homicide rates may be related to the significant increase in disappearances.

Robberies continue to be a common problem especially in the public transportation sector, with wide reports of petty larceny on buses and at bus stops. Armed robberies, however, represent the biggest threat.

Another common criminal practice in El Salvador is extortion, which can easily morph into other types of crimes. Extortion cases declined from an average of more than 250 monthly cases at the

² The UNODC report is of 2,594 murders in El Salvador in 2012.

³ See, <http://www.transparencia.pnc.gob.sv/portal/page/portal/transparencia/UAIP/Estadisticas/Delitos2012.pdf>

beginning of 2012 to fewer than 190 cases by the end of the year. These figures may perhaps be credited to the truce as well as anti-extortion initiatives by the government.

El Salvador is well known for the significant youth involvement in gangs. Two of the largest gangs, Mara Salvatrucha-13 (MS-13) and Barrio 18, are thought to have thousands of members, although there are no universally agreed upon reliable figures on their true numbers (Freedom House 2013). Gang members are often seen by the media and the police to be responsible for the lion's share of violent criminal acts such as narco-trafficking, murder, extortion, and armed robbery. The truce—which entails the reduction of violence in exchange for better conditions for imprisoned gang leaders and some economic benefits for their family members, and discussed elsewhere in this study—is widely believed to have reduced the number of murders.

While the evidence for declining crime rates in El Salvador is mixed, the AmericasBarometer surveys demonstrate that crime prevention programs are popular in that country. When asked the best way to fight crime, 93.4% of Salvadorians indicate strong or somewhat strong agreement with the statement that crime prevention programs constitute the most effective option, according to data from the AmericasBarometer 2012 (Figure 3). The survey did not define “crime prevention” for the respondents, so some of those interviewed could be thinking that “law enforcement” means the same thing. In a follow-up question in the same survey, LAPOP found a somewhat lower percentage (81.3%) who also agree that making “stronger laws” is the best way to fight crime.

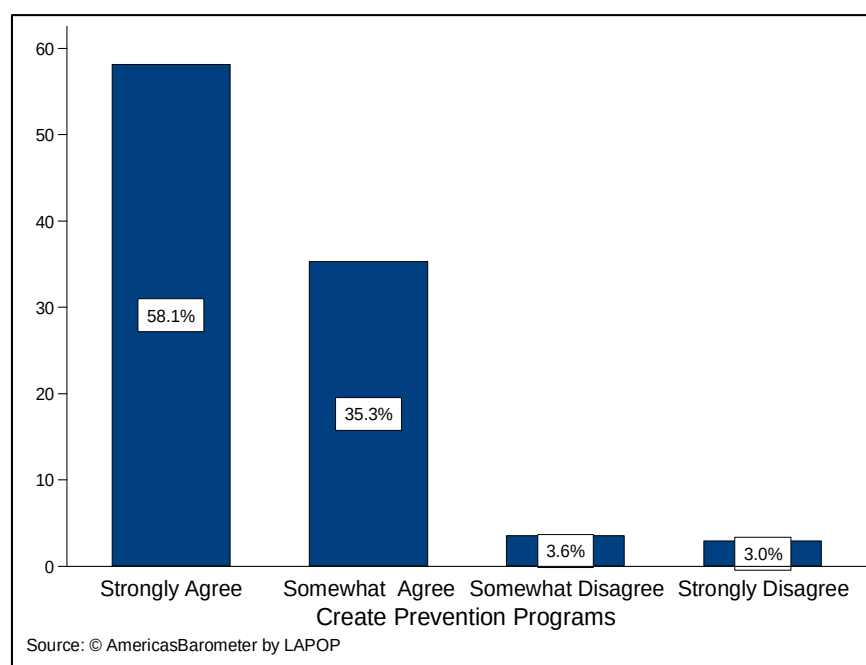


Figure 3. Crime Prevention is the Best Way to Fight Crime and Violence in El Salvador

Source: AmericasBarometer, LAPOP 2012.

In this study, we focus our attention on community-based violence prevention programs, which have been at the center of USAID's efforts to reduce violence in El Salvador. The ultimate objective of USAID's work through CARSi is *to reduce crime rates and improve security in*

*Central America by strengthening community capacity to combat crimes and creating education and employment opportunities for at-risk youth.*⁴ By encouraging community involvement in the prevention of crime, CARSI has sought to attenuate risk factors that are widely believed to increase community insecurity and vulnerability to gangs and related violence, and, more deeply, to reduce the probability that at-risk youth will ultimately engage in criminal and violent activities. The USAID Missions in five Central American countries (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama) have administered and overseen the execution of the CARSI interventions. (USAID/ Honduras, after a necessary delay following the 2009 coup in that country that resulted in the freezing of development assistance to that country, began its CARSI program, meaning that the CARSI impact evaluation began later in Honduras than in the other four countries.) While USAID's CARSI programs taken place in five countries, the LAPOP impact evaluation, does not include Nicaragua, and thus looks only at Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Panama.

USAID Washington, via its Cooperative Agreement with LAPOP at Vanderbilt University, asked LAPOP to design and carry out an impact evaluation of the CARSI interventions. The evaluation of the CARSI project is part of broader effort to establish the effectiveness of USAID DG interventions through scientifically rigorous studies such as those recommended in the comprehensive study by the National Academy of Sciences (National Research Council 2008). Other foreign assistance organizations and government policymakers have similarly recognized the importance of program evaluation (Sherman et al 1998; Bamberger et al 2010).

While past studies have shown that USAID DG assistance works by increasing democracy levels in recipient countries, there are few rigorous evaluations of how and under what conditions, assistance works (Finkel, et al. 2007; Azpuru, et al. 2008; Finkel, et al. 2008; Seligson, et al. 2009). To be clear, scores of evaluations have been done in the DG arena, but most of them have been post-hoc, and have not included both baseline and control groups, with the result that there is no real way of knowing what the end-of-project conditions would have looked like in the absence of the program. The USAID CARSI programs offer a unique opportunity for carrying out such a study, and LAPOP is uniquely suited to perform the evaluation. LAPOP has more than 20 years of experience in carrying out policy-relevant surveys in Latin America, and has conducted hundreds of country-based surveys, including many specialized studies designed to evaluate programs.

The implementation of scientifically rigorous evaluations of crime prevention programs is a particularly pressing issue for the Latin American region. Violent crime has increased sharply since democratic regimes replace authoritarian ones beginning in the 1980s. The region has, and has had for some years, the highest rates of social violence and crime in the world outside of Sub-Saharan Africa (Casas-Zamora, 2013). Increased insecurity poses high costs for Latin American economies through lost human and physical capital (e.g. PNUD, 2005; CEPAL, 2011; IDB 2012). Furthermore, as LAPOP surveys often find, fear of crime and crime victimization erode social cohesion and citizens' confidence in core institutions—both core elements for democratic stability. In the face of these problems, there have been numerous efforts to prevent crime among at-risk youth, especially in countries with a significant gang presence, violence, and crime. However, as

⁴ See, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/ondcp/central-america>
<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/148416.pdf>

many studies point out, despite these valuable efforts little is known about their true impact (Moser and Van Bronkhorst 1999; Moser, Winton, and Moser 2005), or consequently about how to prevent crime and violence effectively. In this sense, USAID's initiative to support a scientifically rigorous evaluation of CARSI crime prevention interventions is of great importance for broadening academics' and policy makers' understanding of crime prevention, and in turn for promoting effective governance in the region.

Part 3: The CARSI Interventions and Expected Impacts

I. USAID CARSI Interventions in El Salvador

In El Salvador, USAID has been working with two implementing organizations: Creative Associates and RTI/CECI.¹ While the goals of these organizations are similar, their methodological approaches differ. RTI/CECI has been working exclusively in partnership with Salvadoran institutions, while Creative Associates has been operating through both local institutions and stand-alone outreach centers (Centros de Alcance Positivo). Below is an overview of each of their programs.

RTI/CECI's projects fall into six areas: (1) prevention of domestic violence, (2) youth and adult leadership, (3) rehabilitating the physical environment, (4) vocational training, (5) psychological counseling and conflict resolution, and (6) reduction of gender-based violence. Gang prevention is an overarching goal of RTI/CECI's work.

RTI/CECI provides technical support to municipal governments, promotes collaboration among community leaders (e.g. ADESCO, Asociación de Desarrollo Comunal), municipalities (through Municipal Councils for the Prevention of Violence), national government representatives (e.g., Ministry of Education), and civil society organizations in their efforts to prevent crime and violence. RTI/CECI works closely with national government organizations such as PREPAZ (Directorate for Violence Prevention and Culture of Peace, *Dirección General de Prevención de la Violencia Social y Cultura de Paz*), which has been participating in and supporting RTI/CECI's projects.

The RTI/CECI implementers have partnered with a number of local associations such as: ASAPROSAR (Asociación Salvadoreña Pro-Salud Rural), CIDEP (Asociación Intersectoral para el Desarrollo Económico y el Progreso Social); ESCENICA (Cultural Association for Arts), FEPADE (Fundación Empresarial para el Desarrollo Educativo), FUNDASAL (Fundación Salvadoreña de Desarrollo y Vivienda Mínima), FUNDEMOSPAZ (Fundación para la Democracia, Seguridad y Paz), FUNPRES (Fundación para la Promoción Social y el Desarrollo Económico), and FUSAL (Fundación Salvadoreña para la Salud y el Desarrollo Humano).

Specific projects being carried out by RTI/CECI in collaboration with local organizations include the following:

- Innovative social entrepreneurship programs aimed at youth (in partnership with ASAPROSAR)
- Vocational training workshops to develop the employment skills of young men and women (with Complejo Técnico de Sales)
- A psychological support program to prevent and reduce violence in public schools, involving students, parents and community leaders—aimed at at-risk young men and

¹ CECI is the Centro de Estudios y Cooperación Internacional, that is, the Center for Studies and International Cooperation.

women no longer attending school, and women who have been victims of domestic violence and their children (with FUNPRES)

- Theatre, painting, and puppetry classes for youth (with ESCENICA)
- A program to strengthen the technical and entrepreneurial skills of youth and community leaders (with FEPADE)
- Building small, recreational infrastructures while at the same time enhancing the entrepreneurial and leadership capability of youths (with CIDEP)
- Counseling programs aimed at youth-at-risk and their families, to prevent youth and gender-based violence (with Fe y Alegría)

Creative Associates, the other implementing organization in El Salvador, also works in partnership with local institutions (seven in 2012) that have been providing a variety of services including training courses to youth in vocational skills (e.g., shoemaking, domestic electrician work, cellular phone repair, cosmetology, sewing, baking, and client attention/sales), basic computer skills and English language skills. Creative has worked closely with municipal governments through their Municipal Violence Prevention programs and in conjunction with the El Salvador chapter of the Central American Youth Movement against Violence to establish municipal chapters of the movement. They have also provided small grants to schools to renovate facilities and buy new equipment for student use, and have worked with school administrators and students to organize youth clubs (“JuvenClubs Escolares”).

Creative Associates has also worked through AJR (Alianza Joven Regional) to provided jobs to youth in micro-enterprises, and through CONAMYPE, the Salvadoran Council for Small and Medium Enterprise, to provide business training to coordinators on how to formulate micro-entrepreneurial initiatives. AJR has partnered with FUNDASALVA to conduct drug prevention training in community schools, and with FUNPRES to develop conflict mediation awareness training and creative conflict resolution skills for teachers, students, parents, and community leaders. FUNPRES also trains youth to strengthen their social skills through workshops focusing on co-existence, interpersonal relations, and self-esteem, and has provided acute psychological counseling services to the municipalities.

The stand-alone outreach centers (Centros de Alcance Positivo) utilized by Creative Associates have relied heavily on community volunteers in their programs. By late 2011, they had put in place a Community Mentors program to build youth capacity to start micro-businesses under the tutelage of volunteer mentors who trained them in micro-entrepreneurial skills.

Creative has also worked in the area of violence prevention awareness campaigns in a variety of ways. It has helped establish a radio program exclusively for the use of Municipal Crime Prevention Committees, called “Your Council Advises You” (Tu Consejo te Aconseja). Another radio program, “By Youth, for Youth,” which deals with how violence can be prevented, has incorporated the active participation of most of the CARSI treatment communities. It deals with subjects such as safe sex, dreams and life goals, substance abuse, and community violence.

Below, we discuss the anticipated effects of these USAID CARSI interventions implemented by RTI/CECI and Creative Associates and the indicators used for measuring their impact. We then describe the methodology implemented by LAPOP for carrying out the impact evaluation.

II. Anticipated Impacts: Mixed methods and key dependent variables

Mixed methods approach. The data were collected using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The mixed methods approach allows for evaluation of the program impact, as well as a greater understanding of the aspects of the programs that are most effective (Bamberger et al. 2010). The quantitative data include household surveys and systematic observations of neighborhoods. Qualitative data include interviews of community stakeholders, implementing partners and focus groups. A detailed explanation of the quantitative Difference-In-Difference design is provided later in this report, but first we describe the outcome indicators in this section that are analyzed with the qualitative and quantitative methods.

The USAID CARSI interventions studied here were targeted on a relatively small number of communities, each located within one of only four municipalities out of the 262 municipalities in that country. Given this limited coverage, impact cannot be measured at the national level, but only at the level of the locally treated communities. On the other hand, broader trends at the municipal, national and even Central American regional levels, can have an impact on what is happening at the neighborhood level. For example, as discussed in this report, the gang truce seems to have had some effect on violence nation-wide during the period of the impact evaluation study. For that reason, the careful design of the study so as to be able to control for such broader trends, was a central feature of this study.

The interventions themselves include a variety of diverse activities and approaches, and many of them overlap. This purposeful overlap among components is a feature of the USAID CARSI programs designed to create programmatic continuity and enhance the probability of success for the overall effort of crime and gang prevention. However, the overlap makes it difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle quantitatively and evaluate the effect of each individual program, let alone the components of each program. Indeed, it may well be that each individual component of the programs would not work in isolation, but only in combination might prove to be powerful deterrents of crime and violence. Therefore, even a study that was designed to evaluate each component in isolation might not have produced any satisfactory results. For this reason, rather than assessing the impact of each component, LAPOP has evaluated the *overall performance* of the CARSI community-led crime prevention program.

Even though the *quantitative* analysis cannot disaggregate the impact of any one component of the intervention, the *qualitative* data gathered for this evaluation can and does provide very strong indications as to which interventions have been more effective and which ones less so. For that reason, the findings of this project are presented, in almost all cases, first in quantitative terms, and then the qualitative data is used to interpret and those findings, to condition them, and to draw relevant policy prescriptions from them.

Direct and Indirect Indicators of Impact. In the following pages, we document the key indicators that have been monitored over the course of the study. After taking into account the effects of intervening factors such as age, education, sex, household wealth, years of residence in the neighborhood, and the presence of youth in the household, observed improvements in these indicators can be interpreted as successful results of the USAID CARSI programs. The selection of outcome indicators was based on: (1) an extensive review of the scholarly literature on the

causes and consequences of crime and violence at the neighborhood level, (2) LAPOP on-site observations of at-risk neighborhoods during field visits to El Salvador, Panama and Guatemala and (3) interviews with experts and community leaders.

Given the broad goals of the USAID CARSI programs (i.e., increased community participation in crime prevention, promotion of safer communities, and prevention of crime among at-risk youth), interventions are likely to have *direct* and *indirect* effects, which ultimately can be regarded as indicators of the quality of governance.

Direct effects include outcome indicators associated with the ultimate goal of the program, namely, to produce safer environments. As already noted, the LAPOP study bases its quantitative evaluation of those direct effects on survey data in the treated and control communities rather than on external information that might be available from other sources. In reality, there is no other data source at the community level to which we could turn, even if we thought it methodologically wise to do so. Rather, the lowest-level data available are at the municipal level, but the treatment did not cover the entire municipality, but was directed at the neighborhood (i.e., community) level. Thus, only our own data are available to measure impact. These direct effects include: comparative reports from the respondents to the surveys in the treated neighborhoods vs. the untreated neighborhoods of reported occurrences of crimes like robberies, extortion, and murders; sense of security in neighborhoods; and level of youths in gangs and “hanging out” on the streets.

Indirect effects refer to second-order consequences of the programs, but that can also be instrumental to the creation of safer environments and the promotion of good governance. *Indirect effects* include impacts on the treated communities of interpersonal trust, democratic satisfaction, and confidence in local and national institutions such as evaluations of government handling of citizen safety and overall satisfaction with police performance. All of these variables have been closely linked to good governance in the research findings of LAPOP, and, even to democratic stability, and therefore these variables are potentially important in estimating broader, longer-term anticipated consequences of CARSI. A number of these indicators of democratic governance, it should be noted, are measured by LAPOP in national samples for the AmericasBarometer, and thus we have extensive national-level, and urban-level evidence, for the nations being studied, in this case El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama and Mexico.

The indicators in this section represent only a portion of the full list of indicators collected in the study, but reflect the ones that we thought were the most salient. Other items in the survey help serve as control variables. The questionnaires administered in El Salvador (very similar to the ones administered in the other CARSI impact evaluation countries) are included with this report and therefore enumerate all of variables that form the data base of the study (Appendices A, B, C, D and E). The individual level questionnaires were developed based on the literature reviewed here and also relied on batteries of items already developed and included in LAPOP’s AmericasBarometer surveys. These questions were revised, pre-tested, and adapted to local vocabulary in each country.

Outcome Indicators²

Crime Victimization and Violence

Changes in crime victimization and violence at the individual and neighborhood levels are assessed in the impact study. Measurements of *crime victimization at the individual level* identify the types of crimes and the place of occurrence (at home, in the neighborhood, in the municipality, or somewhere else). Additionally, for a more extensive characterization and accounting of crime incidence, items asking whether non-respondent household members have been victims of crime are included in the LAPOP survey. In addition to personal/household member crime victimization, the survey asks respondents about their knowledge of the incidence of *crime in the neighborhood*. World-wide, household surveys are considered to be the most reliable data on crime victimization, as other sources, such as police reports, are notoriously unreliable because of underreporting by crime victims. The LAPOP survey instruments used in the evaluation have been tested extensively and maximize the validity of reporting, yet, ultimately, what we have are *reported* incidents of crime since there is no practical way for the study team to do direct observations of the event. Survey items used to measure *violent behavior at the neighborhood level* (i.e., a violent argument between neighbors) are also included in survey questionnaires in order to capture the broader context. In order to understand the dynamics of vulnerable neighborhoods, both levels of crime and violence are measured.

Perception of Insecurity

By attenuating risk factors associated with crime and violence at the neighborhood level, and thereby creating safer environments, USAID CARSI programs are also expected to reduce residents' fear of crime victimization. Fear of crime is a multidimensional concept associated with *three main related dimensions: cognitive, affective, and behavioral* (Fattah and Sacco, 1989). As summarized by Franklin et al. (2008), "the cognitive dimension involves a rational thought process whereby perceptions of risk are developed; the affective dimension recognizes emotions associated with fear; and the behavioral dimension captures physical responses to the situation at hand." Each of these dimensions is measured throughout the study. The attached individual-level questionnaire (Appendix A) includes refined measures for each of the three dimensions of fear of crime.

An anticipated outcome of USAID CARSI interventions is the creation of safer environments. We anticipate that if successful, residents of neighborhoods with the programs should perceive such improvements. Therefore, in addition to objective measures of neighborhood safety (e.g., crime victimization), perceptions or subjective indicators are also measured.

Neighborhood Disorder (Including Youth Vulnerability to Crime and Gang Activity)

Neighborhood disorder is linked to both increased fear of crime and crime rates (Skogan 1990; Perkins, Wandersman et al. 1993; Kelling and Coles 1996; Perkins and Taylor 1996; Brown, Perkins et al. 2004). The well-known "broken windows" theory, developed by political scientist James Q. Wilson in 1982 and popularized by Police Commissioner Bratton in New York City,

² This section was originally drafted by Abby Córdova, but has been edited for this version.

which led to community police actions across the U.S., states that both physical and social disorder lead to increased crime rates as these factors serve as cues to crime perpetrators, indicating that residents in the area do not care or are indifferent about what occurs in the neighborhood and therefore results in provoking further and more serious crime. Thus, neighborhood disorder has been regarded as a risk factor associated with crime and violence. Physical disorder refers to “the deterioration of urban landscapes, for example, graffiti on buildings, abandoned cars, broken windows, and garbage in the streets,” and social disorder is understood as “behavior usually involving strangers and considered threatening, such as verbal harassment on the streets, open solicitation for prostitution, public intoxication, and rowdy groups of young males in public” (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999).

CARSI’s crime prevention programs are targeted to reduce neighborhood disorder and to mitigate physical risk factors through various infrastructure improvements, and after school activities for at-risk youth, and other services for the community as a whole, can reduce the signs of social disorder. Thus, reduced neighborhood disorder where CARSI is implemented can be treated as an indicator of program success.

Following the suggestions of recent literature, in addition to gathering survey data on residents’ perception of neighborhood disorder, data from a systematic observation of public places by trained observers is collected using a specialized neighborhood-level survey. Studies show a correlation between observed neighborhood disorder and crime in the U.S. (Perkins, Wandersman et al. 1993; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999). Consequently, in order to most effectively assess the impact of CARSI programs neighborhood disorder, LAPOP has implemented a neighborhood-level survey using the Systematic Social Observation (SSO) method, as carried out in multiple studies on crime victimization and fear of crime in the U.S. (e.g., Baltimore, Chicago, and Salt Lake city studies) (e.g., Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999).

Social Control

Social control is defined in the literature as “the capacity of a group to regulate its members according to desired principles” (Sampson, Raudenbush et al. 1997). The literature differentiates between two types of social control: informal and formal social control. Informal social control refers to “the willingness of neighborhood residents to actively engage in behaviors aimed at preventing criminal and deviant behavior in the local area” (Miller and Silver 2004). Examples of informal social control are neighbors’ interventions aimed at discouraging young people from using and/or trafficking drugs and joining gangs. Formal social control refers to externally induced actions that seek to combat or prevent crime, such as police patrol. By strengthening community capacity to combat crimes and encourage community policing, CARSI is expected to increase informal social control.

Evidence from studies of U.S. neighborhoods demonstrates that higher levels of social cohesion are associated with reduced crime and violence (Sampson, Raudenbush et al. 1997; Brown, Perkins et al. 2004).³ Social cohesion is typically defined as mutual trust and value sharing among

³ Villareal and Silva (2006) assess the link between social cohesion and crime in the Latin American context, specifically in 197 neighborhoods in Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

neighbors. Given that CARSI crime prevention interventions are expected to encourage community participation, social cohesion is also expected to improve. Evidence suggests that social cohesion increases the likelihood that residents will regularly take actions for the common good, particularly for preventing crime (Sampson, Raudenbush et al. 1997; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999).⁴ The LAPOP AmericasBarometer survey shows that social trust is generally quite low in much of Latin America. However, there is considerable variation in social trust within countries, with some communities exhibiting far higher/lower trust than national averages alone would suggest (Córdova Guillén 2008). Therefore, the study measures trust as an outcome of CARSI.

Besides social cohesion, the impact study evaluates changes in the level of neighborhood involvement in crime-prevention activities or informal social control (see below). Other types of neighborhood activities oriented to improve well-being in general are also measured.

The Role of Institutions: Perceptions of the Police

By fostering strong ties between citizens and the police in neighborhoods, citizens' trust in, and satisfaction with the police are expected to increase in neighborhoods where USAID implements crime prevention programs. Thus, USAID interventions are expected to improve both perceptions of the police and perceptions of community policing. From AmericasBarometer LAPOP studies over the years in Guatemala, El Salvador and Panama, we have a very good idea of the national and regional images of the police. Items on citizens' perceptions of the police are included in the LAPOP AmericasBarometer questionnaire, and, of course, in the CARSI questionnaire.

Indirect Effects: Other Outcome Indicators

We have added a variety of other outcome indicators, some of which have been measured in LAPOP AmericasBarometer surveys. Examples of additional outcome indicators are the following:

- Social interactions and participation in local civic organizations
- Interpersonal trust
- Quality of life: life satisfaction and satisfaction with the place of residence
- Intention to move to other neighborhood/country due to fear of crime
- Trust in the local government
- Participation in meetings convened by the local government or NGOs
- Satisfaction with the services provided by the local government
- Satisfaction and support for democracy

The attached individual-level questionnaire (Appendix A) also includes a series of “control variables” (variables that are not expected to change overtime due to CARSI interventions, but that are important to account for so that observed changes in outcome indicators can be regarded as products of the USAID crime prevention interventions and not to other intervening factors).

⁴ The combination of social cohesion and the willingness of local residents to intervene for the common good are known in the sociology literature as “collective efficacy.”

Control variables include standard socio-economic and demographic characteristics (i.e., sex, age, employment status, income level) and other variables related to poverty.

III. The Design of the Study: A Multi-Site “Cluster Randomized Experiment” (CRE)

According to a major study undertaken by USAID by the National Academy of Sciences, and on which one of the authors of this LAPOP study (Mitchell Seligson) participated, the goal of a scientifically rigorous evaluation design is to test the counterfactual; to be able to determine “*not merely what happened following a given assistance program, but how much of what happened differs from what would be observed in the absence of that program*” (National Research Council 2008: 44). As recommended by that study a credible evaluation must contain certain features, all of which are part of the LAPOP evaluation design. The main features of LAPOP’s research design are:

(1) Collection of data in the selected units *before* and *during* the implementation of the programs; specifically, a baseline study, and two mid-point measurements.⁵ Initially, LAPOP proposed a post-treatment measurement. However, due to changes in the program implementation schedule, a post-treatment measurement was not feasible; thus, a second measurement during implementation was taken to assess longer-term program effects, for a total of three rounds of surveys (baseline, mid-term and final).

(2) Random assignment of units to either a “treatment” or “control” group [i.e. units that are to be treated by the program and units that in all other respects are eligible for but do not participate in or benefit from the program].

The design used in this study is technically known as a “*Cluster Randomized Experiment*” (CRE), or “*Multi-Site Cluster Randomized Experiments*” when carried out in blocks composed of clusters (in our case neighborhoods) that are very similar (Spybrook, Raudenbush, Liu and Congdon 2008).⁶ This type of experimental design is widely considered to be among the most reliable and accurate method for establishing cause-and-effect (Puddy and Wilkins 2011, Sherman 2012). The research design used by LAPOP for the CARSi evaluation scores a 5 (the highest level) on the Maryland Scale of Accuracy in the Design of Evaluation, indicating that the findings yielded by the study should be considered strong evidence for a cause-and-effect relationship (or non-relationship) (Sherman 2012). As described by Murray (1998), a cluster randomized experiment has four distinguishing characteristics (note that in this study, the block or site corresponds to a country or municipality, and the cluster to a community):

- a) “The *unit of assignment* is an identifiable group rather than an individual. Such groups are not formed at random, but rather through some connection among their members.” This design is appropriate for the CARSi project, since the program is based on the community or neighborhood as the unit of analysis in each site or country.

⁵ Because of timing issues, while three waves of the study were carried out in Guatemala, El Salvador and Panama, only two waves were carried out in Honduras and Mexico. Presumably at least one more follow-on wave will be carried out in those two countries.

⁶ This design is also known in the literature as a “Group-Randomized Trial.”

- b) “Different units of assignment are allocated [randomly] to each *study condition* [either to a treatment or control group].”
- c) “*Units of observation* are members of the groups that serve as the units of assignment.” Thus, this type of experiment has a multilevel structure. In the case of the CARSÍ study, sites or countries are the highest aggregate level, units of assignment [neighborhoods] form an intermediate level, and individuals are the lowest aggregate level.
- d) CRE’s “typically involve only a limited number of assignment units in each study condition.”

The CRE design is an especially appropriate research design for the CARSÍ project. As CARSÍ is a *community* based program, the group based unit of assignment corresponds to the neighborhood grouping of individuals. Although the interventions may target certain individuals within communities (in the case of CARSÍ, “at-risk youth,” for example), random assignment of individuals to treatment and control groups is at times not effective since it is difficult to avoid interaction between individuals across study conditions (i.e., in any given community, at-risk youth in the treatment group will most likely interact with those in the control group). To avoid this problem of contamination, the CRE design uses non-contiguous clusters (e.g., neighborhoods or communities) that are then randomly assigned to each study condition (i.e., treated/non-treated). The literature regards CRE as the “best comparative design available” when an intervention “operates at a [cluster] level, [and] manipulates the social or physical environment” (Murray 1998).

The *unit of assignment* in the study is the “neighborhood or community” [barrio, colonia, or comunidad]. The *units of observation* correspond to “individuals” within neighborhoods, including those who are likely to be direct beneficiaries of the programs, those who benefit only indirectly, and those who do not participate in the programs’ activities.

In this type of trial, the multilevel structure of the experiment determines its design and methods used to analyze the data; given the multilevel nature of CRE, the data analysis is more complex than in Randomized Experiments (RE). Standard errors must be adjusted to account for the study’s “design effect” (Kish 1995; Hayes and Moulton 2009).

A priori expected differences between treatment and control communities. In a study that includes a large number of assignment units (thousands of neighborhoods), randomization ensures that units assigned to treatment and control groups will, on average, be very similar before the intervention. This is a result of the well-known “law of large numbers,” in which a coin-toss will approach 50% heads and 50% tails as the number of tosses approaches infinity. For example, in a vaccine trial, there could be thousands of individuals who receive the vaccine and a similar group that does not. In large groups like this, the pre-vaccine immune levels should be very similar in both groups. However, in experiments involving a relatively small number of assignment units, as in the case of CARSÍ and the CRE methodology more generally, the number of treatment areas is relatively limited, if for no other reason than the units are not individuals but neighborhoods, in which we are sampling individuals. It is not feasible to fund an impact evaluation of thousands of communities as the costs would be far too high for the limited resources available.

Differences in the averages for any given variable in the starting level of the treatment and control communities were expected for this study, and in fact that is what was found in the study. The number of communities was just too small to expect the means of treatment and control to have

converged. Even after 100 coin tosses, there is only about an 8% chance of getting a 50/50 split, although getting to a 60/40 split is quite likely. Therefore, for studies such as the one LAPOP has undertaken, in which the number of neighborhoods is relatively small, other strategies are implemented in addition to randomization in order to minimize baseline differences between treatment and control groups and increase the internal validity of the study. When the number of assignment units is small, a “stratified” design can be used to help minimize differences between treatment and control communities. In a stratified design, units from relatively homogenous sub-groups (i.e., groups that share similar characteristics) are randomly assigned to either the treatment or control.

LAPOP used a CRE design with a stratified selection. Rather than selecting neighborhoods from one large pool in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Panama, the sample was first stratified by country. That assured us that there were cultural and contextual similarities among the treated and controlled communities within each nation. We then further stratified by selecting neighborhoods by municipality so that all of the treatment and control municipalities were concentrated in selected high-crime municipalities in each country. These levels of stratification helped reduce differences between treatment and control groups but could not completely eliminate them. Once the stratification was complete, neighborhoods within municipalities in each country were assigned randomly to treatment and control groups.⁷ Baseline differences across neighborhoods within municipalities were then accounted for or controlled for in the statistical analysis using the control variables in the surveys.

Selection of Study Area

This section describes the process used by LAPOP and CARSI to determine the locations where the CARSI programs were implemented (treatment communities) and the selection of communities that were studied to compare outcomes where there was no treatment (control communities).

The selection process involved the following key stages, in chronological order:

1. Selection of countries
2. Selection of municipalities
3. Selection of neighborhoods
4. Separation of neighborhoods into treatment and control
5. Collection of quantitative data at the neighborhood level (both individual and community)
6. Collection of qualitative data from stakeholders

In this section we discuss steps 1-4, and provide greater detail on the selection process in the section that follows, after which we describe steps 5 and 6.

Selection of countries was made by USAID Washington. The effort originally centered on four countries in Central America: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Panama. Honduras was

⁷ Communities were not randomly assigned to treatment or control groups in the case of Honduras. The USAID mission selected the communities in that country, thus reducing some of the strength of the Difference-In-Difference methodology.

suspended from consideration because of the 2009 coup, but was later added back in (thus explaining why in the case of Honduras, under the terms of the Cooperative Agreement between USAID Washington and LAPOP at Vanderbilt, only two waves of interviews were conducted). Mexico was added considerably later in the process and has only completed a baseline and one-year follow-up.

Selection of municipalities was made by each USAID country Mission where it was planned for interventions to take place. This step was important since we did not want to conduct the impact evaluations in areas not already considered by USAID. Had we done so, we would have likely ended up finding no treated communities to study. In El Salvador, four such municipalities were selected by USAID: Chalchuapa, San Juan Opico, Santa Ana and Zaragoza (see Figure 4).

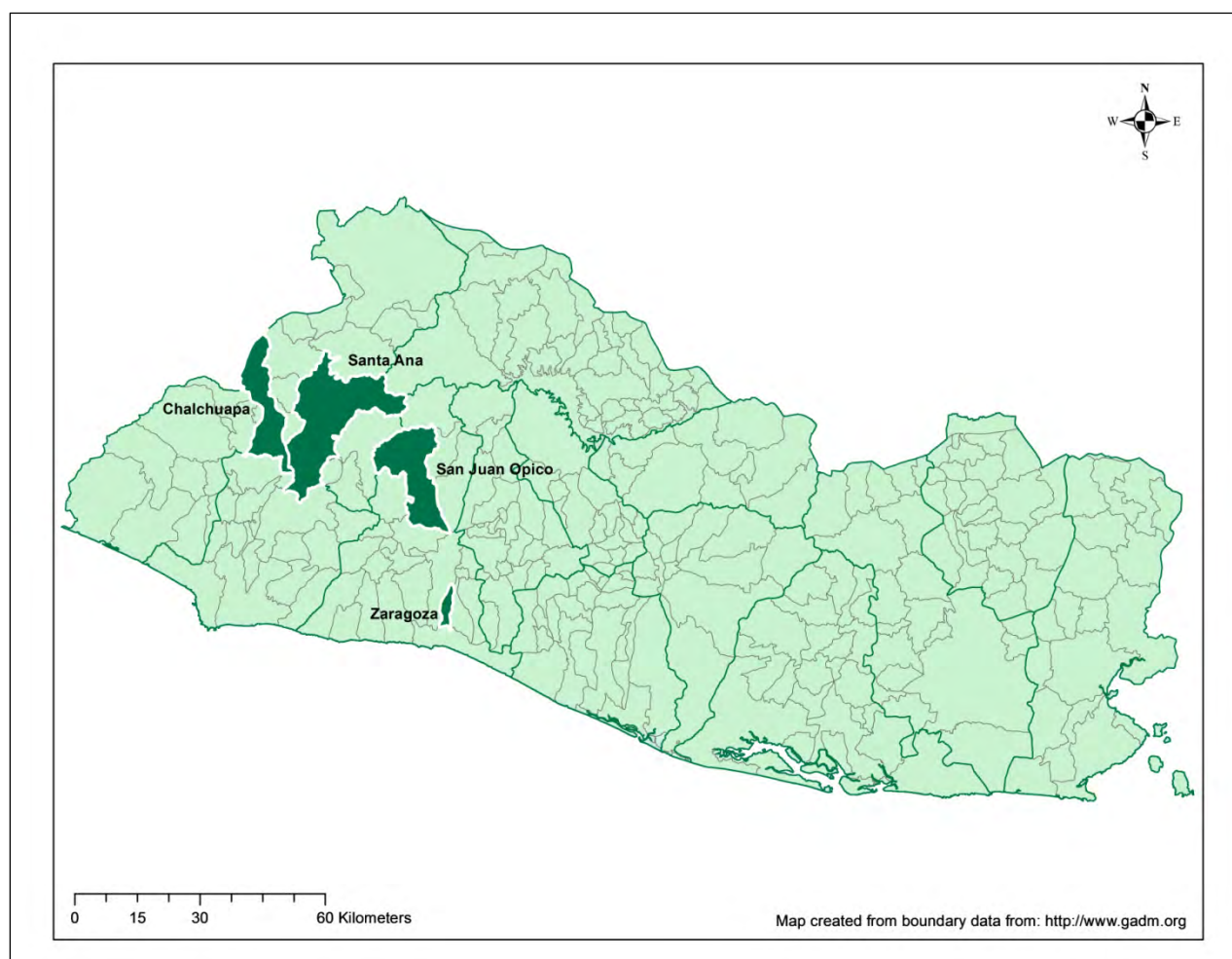


Figure 4. Selected Municipalities by USAID in El Salvador

Selection of neighborhoods was then the next major step, and the one that proved to be the most time-consuming. Our objective was to find neighborhoods that by standard criteria would be considered “at-risk” but at the same time avoiding neighborhoods that were already completely under the control of gangs and thus too dangerous for implementing partners and LAPOP

researchers to work in with a modicum of security. We labeled such gang-controlled neighborhoods as “hot spots” and excluded them from the study.⁸ These eligible neighborhoods are “at-risk”, or highly vulnerable to becoming crime “hot spots.” Our study findings, therefore, apply to at-risk neighborhoods, but not to those already completely overrun by gangs or other type of groups engaged in violent/criminal activities.

LAPOP selected the units of assignment (neighborhoods) on the basis of a series of pre-intervention conditions that are well-documented in the literature as increasing the likelihood of crime and violence and therefore insecurity. Selection of neighborhoods was based on the following factors: population size/density, socio-economic vulnerability, the level of poverty and quality of neighborhood infrastructure), the proportion of youth in the population.

LAPOP began its selection process by acquiring the most recent official census data on each municipality, and listing each neighborhood/community in those municipalities, including the population size and characteristics for each.⁹ This produced a list for each municipality that was large. For example, in Santa Ana alone, we found 349 neighborhoods or communities. Of those, however, there were many that were considered too small to work in because it would have been inefficient to expend implementing efforts where the benefit would be so limited, while there were other communities that were very large, and it would have been difficult for our survey-based methodology to pick up impact. Thus, for each municipality we eliminated the smallest and largest neighborhoods.

Economic vulnerability is an important criterion for selection since poorer communities are more likely to be afflicted by violence than wealthier communities are, *ceteris paribus*. LAPOP used the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) methodology of Unsatisfied Basic Needs, to create an index based on housing, health, education and consumption.¹⁰ Using this methodology, it was possible to pare the list, trimming it down to approximately half of all of the communities in the municipality.

The presence of an important number of youths in the community was used as a selection criterion since it is the young who are most likely to be recruited into gangs and other criminal organizations. We focused on the 10-17 year age group using the census data, and dropped from the list of eligible communities any in which the percent of these youths fell below the municipal average.

Hot spots were determined based on LAPOP consultations with a wide variety of local knowledge and information, especially the municipal anti-violence committees and the implementing

⁸ In an early presentation of our methodology in a meeting at USAID Washington, concerns were raised about this exclusion. As we explained there, and explain again here, there are limits to all research protocols. We could not force, nor did we wish to do so, the implementing partners or our field interviewers to work in conditions that were deemed as being of excessively high risk. That does not mean that the “at-risk” communities were low-crime, safe areas. They decidedly were not, as our data show. As it turned out, the survey team faced numerous security challenges in the field, requiring LAPOP to expand its well-established security protocols. Had we decided to include or focus on “hot spots” the study would not have been possible.

⁹ El Salvador, *Censo de Población y Vivienda de 2007*, DIGESTYC.

¹⁰ See Moser, Caroline, and Bernice Van Bronkhorst. 1999. “Youth Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Costs, Causes, and Interventions.” In *Sustainable Development, Working Paper No. 3. Urban Peace Program Series*. The World Bank.

partners. We could not use police reports, since those are subject to under-reporting of widely varying degrees (the most dangerous neighborhoods are likely to have lower levels of reporting to the police and lower police presence).

Once all of those criteria were taken into account, this produced a list for each municipality of eligible communities. In El Salvador, this list was of 107 communities in the four municipalities selected by USAID. At this point, we needed to reduce the number of communities to be studied to the approximately 40 that were within our budgetary limitations. Moreover, it was very important to field-test the observations that emerged from our data analysis. We worried that, for example, since the Salvadoran census data was already two years old by the time we began our research, changes likely had occurred on the ground. We were also worried that our sources of information had not correctly identified all of the hotspots. Because of those concerns, each of the 107 eligible communities was subject to what we called a “pre-visit” in which our field teams collected key information about each one. Based on our analysis of those data, we then drew two samples (without replacement), one of “treatment communities,” and one of “control communities.” We then went through one final step in the selection to minimize contamination effects, as described in the next paragraph.

Separation of treatment and control. To avoid “contamination” effects (i.e., that control groups end up receiving some of the treatment), the selection of geographically contiguous treatment and control groups was carefully avoided. We also discussed with the appropriate USAID staffers the importance of not beginning new programs in control areas, or changing treatment areas after the initial selection and baseline interviews. In El Salvador and Guatemala, we believe this worked well, but in Panama, this was not the case and the result was to seriously affect the IE as is described in the complete report. One possible contamination effect we could not avoid was potential interventions by other donors beyond USAID. If, for example, a European donor decided to carry out violence prevention activities in any of the “Vanderbilt neighborhoods” we could not prevent or control for that. Yet, as far as we know, this did not happen.

Stages of the study and types of data collected by LAPOP

Once the list of eligible communities was determined, based on the detailed description presented above, the process of the fieldwork began. This, too, was a multi-sage effort, as detailed below.

Quantitative data

(1) Baseline surveys

The baseline data characterizes the population of study in both treatment and control groups in order to assess the starting condition of each, since the Difference-in-difference method looks at changes from the baseline. The baseline survey helps to draw causal inferences about the effect of the interventions because it makes it possible to compare groups before and after the intervention.

Phase I: Pre-visit of neighborhoods

The procedure utilized to select the treatment and control communities was explained in detail above. This is a particularly important step in countries where the availability of recent census or other type of hard data is limited and in areas that have experienced great social mobility. In addition, the data collected in pre-visits helps determine whether neighborhoods fulfilled the pre-establish selection criteria. In other words, based on an extended list of pre-selected neighborhoods, the pre-visits helped to identify the 107 neighborhoods where the study was carried out. For this component of the study, LAPOP developed and administered a short questionnaire per neighborhood was developed to take into account the pre-determined selection criteria by USAID missions and contractors and/or other relevant civil society actors (Appendix D)

Phase II: Enumeration of individuals in the selected neighborhoods

The objective of the enumeration was to determine: (1) the current number of households and their characteristics in each neighborhood, (2) the current number of individuals living in each household and their characteristics. The enumeration data enabled LAPOP to generate a sampling frame for the design of the individual-level LAPOP survey in each neighborhood, and also to account, in the statistical analysis, for key differences across selected neighborhoods. LAPOP administered a short questionnaire for the enumeration (Appendix C). Specifically, the enumeration consists of:

- 1) A count of the total number of households in each neighborhood and a record of their characteristics
- 2) Location of the households on the block
- 3) Interviews of one voting age individual in each household to determine the demographic characteristics of the household (number of persons, gender, ages and residence in the household, as opposed to living somewhere else, like in the U.S.)

Phase III. Systematic observation of selected neighborhood

The systematic observation of the selected neighborhoods provides an objective measure of the resources and physical and social disorder in the selected neighborhoods. Data from a systematic observation of public places by trained observers was collected using a specialized neighborhood-level survey developed by LAPOP for each of the selected neighborhoods (Appendix B). Measurements were taken at the level of the *cuadra* (portion of the block).

In this stage, data were collected to indicate the resources and risk factors observed in each neighborhood. Examples of risks include “abandoned homes,” whereas resources would be schools, churches and community centers. In this stage, photographs of the neighborhoods were also taken.

Phase IV: Qualitative Neighborhood-level Survey of Stakeholders

The purpose of the stakeholder survey is to gather qualitative information about the neighborhood by interviewing key persons knowledgeable about the neighborhood situation. LAPOP generated

a semi-structured, open-ended questionnaire that was used for interviews with neighborhood stakeholders (Appendix E). These interviews were with: the local clergy, social workers, police and civil society association leaders, including members of the Municipal Crime and Violence Prevention Councils. In addition, interviews were also conducted with the implementing partners, RTI and CREA, in order to better understand how their programs were being administered. The interviews took place in the place of work of these respondents, so we went to the schools to interview teachers, and to the police stations to interview the police. In some cases, we had to find these people in their home residences. While the selection was always linked to the communities, in many instances these stakeholders have broad responsibilities that transcended community boundaries. Round one interviews, which were paralleled in subsequent rounds, looked like this:

Qualitative Stakeholders Sample

- 122 semi-structured interviews
- Includes all communities to receive violence prevention treatment, in 4 municipalities (Chalchuapa, San Juan Opico, Santa Ana, Zaragoza)
- Stakeholders:
 - 30 police officers
 - 30 community leaders (ADESCO, clergy)
 - 31 teachers (grades 1-9)
 - 31 members of Municipal Council for Violence and Crime Prevention

(2) Mid-point evaluation

After implementation of the CARSI programs, the mid-point evaluation was carried out. In El Salvador, the field work for the mid-point evaluation was carried out between 1 September and 1 October, 2011. Phases III, IV, and V were repeated at that time.

(3) Final evaluation

After the third year of the project, the individual and neighborhood level data was collected again (Phases III, IV, and V) between 12 September and 5 October, 2012. Table 4 shows the average number of interviews per round in at-risk (41 communities; 28 treatment and 13 control). A total of 1,665 individual interviews were carried out for the first round in non-at-risk neighborhoods. In the areas where the experiment was carried out, about 1,700 interviews per round were conducted in the treatment neighborhoods, and 670 per round in control communities, for a total of over 8,800 by the end of the third round.

Table 4. Quantitative Data Collected in El Salvador

	NON-AT-RISK COMMUNITIES*	AT-RISK COMMUNITIES		TOTAL
	<i>Observations only Round 1</i>	<i>TREATMENT Observations per Round</i>	<i>CONTROL Observations per Round</i>	<i>Observations at conclusion of Round 3</i>
Number of Communities	30	28	13	71
Individual Level Data				
Face-to-Face Surveys (approx. numbers)	1,670	1,700	670	8,800
Neighborhood Contextual Data				
Systematic Observation of Neighborhood Blocks	860	840	310	4,300
Enumeration Data (Demographic and Census Data)*	2,604	4,129	1,444	8,177
* Data collected in Round 1 only				

For neighborhood contextual data, LAPOP collected 860 systematic observations—i.e., information related to the characteristics of blocks—in non-at-risk neighborhoods in the first round, about 840 observations per round in treatment communities, and 310 in control communities, for a grand total of nearly 4,300 by the end of the study.

Finally, we collected enumeration data (demographic and census) data in round 1—specifically, household census data of dwelling units—in order to draw the sample for the individual level data, which totaled 8,177 cases.

Qualitative data

Interpretation of the dynamics of the communities and, ultimately, the impact of the project and policy recommendations, was greatly assisted by the qualitative data gathered during the study. The qualitative data was used interactively, in a multi-methods strategy. The qualitative component of the study enabled us to enhance the quantitative, and the quantitative help inform the qualitative.

Table 5. Qualitative Data Collected in El Salvador

	<i>Round 1</i>	<i>Round 2</i>	<i>Round 3</i>	TOTAL
Interviews with Stakeholders	122 65% men 35% women	80 66% men 34% women	118 64% men 36% women	320
Focus Groups	4			4

For the qualitative portion of the study, LAPOP collected: *semi-structured interviews* and *focus groups* with community stake holders and implementing partners. The questionnaires used in the qualitative interviews are provided in Appendix E. Table 5 shows an average of 100 individual interviews per round with: (1) community leaders (presidents or other officers of ADESCO) and members of Municipal Crime Prevention Committees; (2) school directors and teachers; (3) religious leaders (e.g., Evangelical pastors, Catholic priests, and church youth-group leaders); (4) police officers; (5) implementing partners CREATIVE and RTI coordinators; and (6) youth-at-risk (18 and older¹¹). In addition, 4 focus groups were carried out in the first round with members of these categories, with the exception of program implementers (CREATIVE and RTI) and youth-at-risk.

El Salvador: Number of Clusters and Sample Size

A total of 41 neighborhoods (28 treatment and 13 control groups) were selected for study in El Salvador. Individuals in each neighborhood were randomly sampled (with an attempt to have equal numbers of individuals in each cluster). The number of clusters or neighborhoods was determined by a preliminary statistical power analysis carried out by the authors of this study.

The objective of performing a statistical power analysis is to determine the smallest number of clusters or neighborhoods needed to have a given level of confidence that a correct decision has been made regarding observed changes in an outcome indicator; that is, correctly determining that there has been a statistically significant change in a given outcome indicator due to the intervention even when such change is relatively small.

In the case of CARS, it was determined if using at least three countries, 100 clusters or neighborhoods across the countries in the study would be necessary to yield sufficient power to

¹¹ Human subjects protection regulations make it very difficult to obtain IRB approval for interviewing children, so the voting-age adult was used as the cut-off.

determine the overall effect of the intervention for the region, as well as the conditions under which the intervention proved more effective. A total of 107 at-risk neighborhoods were studied in the project. According to the calculations made by Green and Vavreck,¹² once the number of clusters (in our case neighborhoods) exceeds 20, confidence intervals for the estimation are reasonably small. Since we had double that number, we felt comfortable analyzing the data at the level of the country (in this case El Salvador), and of course at the level of the full sample of all countries.

A statistical power analysis was performed using the *Optimal Design* software, version 1.77 in consultation with the creators of the software from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (Spybrook et al. 2008). A special computer code version for the CARS study was developed by the creators of the software in order to account for the particular characteristics of the research design of the CARS study.

Power analysis

Technically, the statistical power of the proposed multi-site clustered randomized experiment is a function of the following parameters:

n = Cluster or neighborhood size (number of interviewed individuals)

j = Number of clusters or neighborhoods

k = Number of sites or countries

α = Statistical significance level

δ = Effect size (expected observed difference between treatment and control group)

σ_δ^2 = Effect size variability (variability of the treatment effect across sites)

ρ = Intraclass correlation (ratio of the variability between clusters to the total variability)

The intra-class correlation was derived using the observed intra-class correlation across Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) for the similar variables in LAPOP country surveys (for example, AOJ11: Fear of Crime, was asked in the AmericasBarometer survey in El Salvador). To ensure robustness, statistical power was calculated across a range of intra-class correlation values. A sample size of 150 individuals within each cluster or neighborhood was considered (the actual average sample size for each cluster was approximately 150 respondents across the three years). The parameter k or number of countries was set to 3, and the statistical significance level, α , set at 0.05 or 5%. We wanted to be able to detect a minimum effect size δ of 0.20, or 20% of a standard deviation difference between control and treatment groups, which represents a relatively small change. No variation in effect size was assumed across countries (i.e. a fixed effects model was employed).

With 26 clusters in each site or country,¹³ and an intra-class correlation equal or lower than 0.08, statistical power is greater than 0.8 or 80%. Power greater than or equal to 0.80 is often recognized

¹² Donald P. Green and Lynn Vavreck, 2008, "Analysis of Cluster-Randomized Experiments: A Comparison of Alternative Estimation Approaches," *Political Analysis*, Volume 16, pp. 138-152.

¹³ The number of clusters was computed using the harmonic mean of the anticipated number of treatment and control groups in each country. A minimum of 13 treatment groups were assumed in El Salvador and Guatemala and 10 in Panama, but no fewer than a total of 20 groups per country. The actual number of groups was larger in each case,

as sufficient in the literature (Spybrook *et al.* 2008). These results suggest that in these counterfactual cases, we would be able to correctly identify a difference between treatment and control groups for a given outcome indicator with a probability of 80%. Given that these are conservative estimates, we are confident that the study is able to statistically detect differences between the control and treatment groups.

Data Collection Sites in El Salvador

Data from *at-risk* treatment and control communities were collected from four municipalities: Santa Ana, San Juan Opico, Chalchuapa and Zaragoza. Data from *non-at-risk* communities were collected from three municipalities: Santa Ana, Santa Tecla and San Salvador. The non-at-risk data was collected with *the purpose of establishing a baseline of characteristics of violence free neighborhoods and evaluate if after program implementation, at-risk neighborhoods start mirroring non-at-risk neighborhoods*. Some general descriptive statistics for each of the municipalities are shown in Table 6.

except in Panama, for reasons discussed in the full report, where it was smaller. The harmonic mean (rather than the arithmetic mean) was preferred so that small numbers were weighted more heavily, allowing us to estimate the statistical power assuming conservative estimates of the number of clusters.

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics of Studied El Salvador Municipalities: Including At-Risk and Non-at-risk areas

	Santa Ana	San Juan Opico	Chalchuapa	Zaragoza	Santa Tecla	San Salvador
Population	245,421	74,280	74,038	22,525	121,908	316,090
Percent Male	48	48	48	48	45	45
Percent Living in Urban Areas	>80	>65	>65	>80	>80	>90
Unemployment Rate	9.7	14.3	11.8	8.8	87.1	90.3
Literacy	88	88.6	86.3	84.3	93.3	94.5
Literacy (Female/Male)	86.2 / 90.3	82 / 96.9	83.3 / 89.6	86.1 / 91.5	91.9 / 94.9	92.9 / 96.5
Percent Access to Electricity	>90	>90	>90	>90	100	100
Percent Access to Drinking Water	85	76	85	76	90	90
<i>Data from: Censo de Población y Vivienda, 2007</i>						

Since the incidence of and vulnerability to crime is higher in urban settings (as has been shown by the AmericasBarometer surveys), the impact evaluation study in El Salvador was limited to at-risk neighborhoods in urban areas.

Part 4: Findings, Impact Evaluation, El Salvador

The following sections provide the results of analyses of individual-level survey data, qualitative data, and community-level quantitative data. In this report, we do not provide the results of every variable in the data set. A very long appendix including all of the variables in the study was provided to USAID as an interim document, and all of the data will be available at the conclusion of the project on the LAPOP Vanderbilt University website. Instead, we focus on those variables that were hypothesized in our initial design that were outcomes that if affected by the treatment, would provide the clearest guidance to policy-makers and program implementing partners.¹

I. Interpreting the Survey Design and Analysis Model

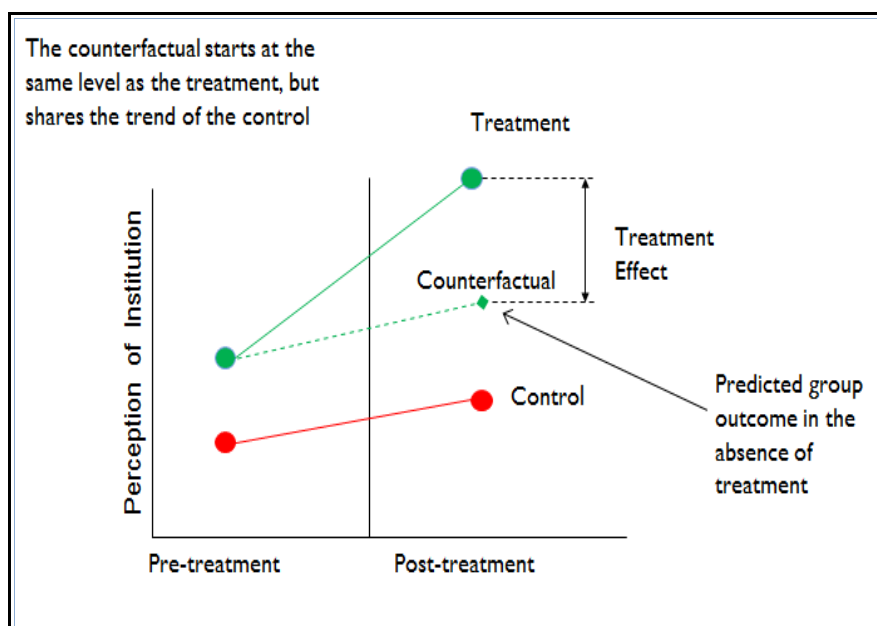


Figure 5. Illustration of Difference-in-Difference Estimation

The Difference-in-Difference estimator gives us a reliable estimate, controlled for the obvious socio-economic and demographic variables, of the difference between the treated group and itself at a later time point (such as before and after treatment). *The treatment is considered effective at the point of evaluation if outcomes in the treatment group improve more (or decline less) than they would have if the treatment had not been administered.* On the other hand, a direct comparison between the treatment and control (which is also possible with the DID estimator) may not be straightforward because of differences in the composition of each group, because of reliance on a sample rather than data from the entire universe, which in this case would be all individuals in the

¹ Because individual variables may produce statistically significant results by chance alone, we report those findings that are robust and consistent across multiple indicators. Despite the fact that our statistical models are quite complex, they are unable to fully capture the complexity of all of the contextual and individual factors that could have an impact on the overall results. Therefore, we emphasize in our evaluation to those findings that are consistent with established theory.

selected municipalities, forcing interviews with hundreds of thousands of people. Instead, we estimate a counter-factual case with the model parameters to simulate what the outcome would be if no treatment had been administered. The treatment effect, which is the difference between the treatment and its counterfactual of no-treatment, is the central estimate we use for the quantitative component of the LAPOP impact evaluation of CARSI. The DID uses information from the control group to predict the counterfactual.

The counterfactual case is the change in the control group over time, but at the same levels of the treatment group. Thus, *the difference between the estimated counterfactual case and the treatment group is considered the “treatment effect.”* The “treatment effect” is the outcome that can be said to have been caused by the intervention. Figure 5 is an illustration of the DID estimator.

In Figure 5, the red and solid green lines represent the control group and treatment groups, respectively. In this example, the levels of the two groups differ prior to treatment. This type of difference is common, and indeed, unless the number of communities selected had been very large (in the hundreds), it would be unusual to expect treatment and control to have identical means. Fortunately, different starting levels do not pose a problem for the Difference-In-Difference design. *The differences in initial starting points are taken into account in the model by comparing each group with itself over time.* The dashed green line represents the counter-factual case. It is the difference between the counterfactual case and the treatment group that is the effect of the intervention.

Another advantage of the research design used by LAPOP in this impact evaluation is that the multilevel nature of the data gathered by Vanderbilt makes it possible for the outcome to be evaluated at the individual level while taking into account features of the neighborhood (i.e., the context) to determine the way in which the effectiveness of the programs varies across environments. Thus, it is possible to identify the features of neighborhoods or even countries (in cross-national studies in which the number of countries is larger than we have in our current study) that contribute to the success of the program. Using multi-level modeling techniques, the study draws statistical inferences about the effectiveness of the programs and the effect of the context in which the programs were implemented.²

All statistical analysis in the project takes into account the “clustering” (the similarities shared by individuals living in the same areas such as neighborhoods within municipalities, within countries, Hayes and Moulton (2009)). Standard errors and hypothesis tests are adjusted for this clustering, which is referred to as the “design effect.” Such studies must take into account that individuals belong to specific clusters (in this case, neighborhoods within municipalities in each country), and therefore corrected standard errors rather than the conventional t-test p-values need to be estimated and reported. Specifically, individual-level models include random intercepts for neighborhoods and municipalities. Models that include neighborhood or block-level contextual variables also include random intercepts for blocks within neighborhoods.

² Since a decision was made by USAID to concentrate the efforts of each of the two implementing partners (IP) in individual municipalities, we have no instance in which we can compare each partner with the other in the same municipal context. This means that it is not possible, in a study involving two partners and four municipalities, to disaggregate the municipal context from the strategy employed by the IP.

II. Crime Victimization and Violence

In this section, we present results for a wide range of measures that evaluate the effectiveness of USAID's crime prevention programs in terms of the reduction of crime victimization during the three time periods (baseline, mid-term and final year) of the impact evaluation study in El Salvador. *It is important to note that whenever the term "reported" is used (e.g., "reported robberies"), the reference is to those crimes reported in the surveys we undertook for this study and not crimes reported to authorities.*

Robberies

In Figure 6, we predict the probability that respondents answer "yes" to whether a robbery has occurred in the community. We see that this probability decreased significantly in both treatment and control neighborhoods over the three time points. By the end of Year 3, respondents' reports of robberies were 25% lower than we would otherwise expect without the program in place.

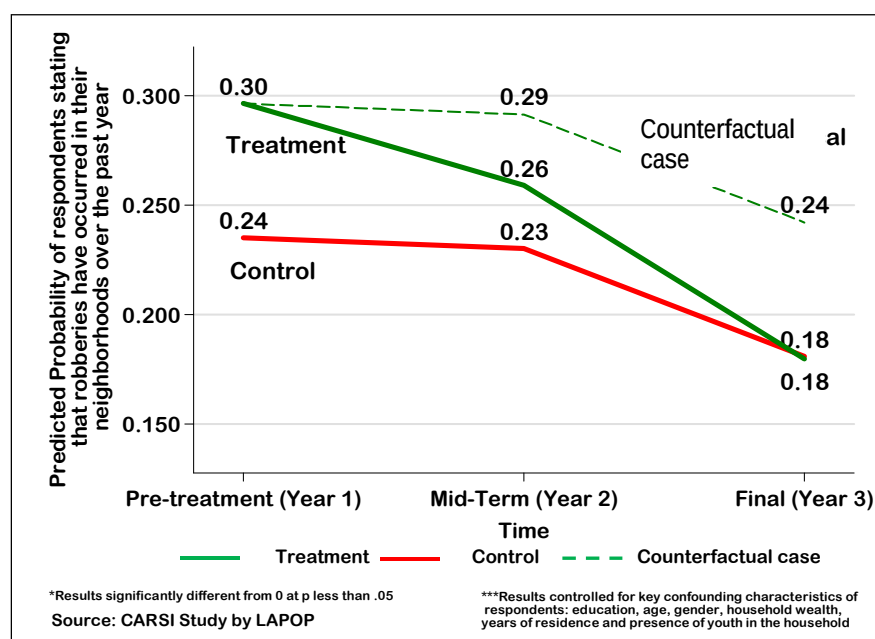


Figure 6. Respondent-Reported Robberies in the Neighborhoods

Analysis of the context in which the treatment was administered reveals that the effectiveness of the treatment varies with the resources and conditions of the neighborhoods. Without treatment (in control communities and prior to treatment), there is a positive relationship between robberies and social disorder (a composite index that measures, at the block level, the presence of people arguing in an aggressive or violent manner, children playing on the sidewalk or street without supervision, presence of gang members, beggars, prostitutes, and drunks). However, with the treatment, social disorder has no effect on robberies. Figure 7 shows the predicted change in reporting robberies as social disorder increases in the presence and absence of the treatment.³

³ The line representing the marginal change in reported robberies is longer for the untreated communities because there are no communities among the treated group with the highest levels of social disorder.

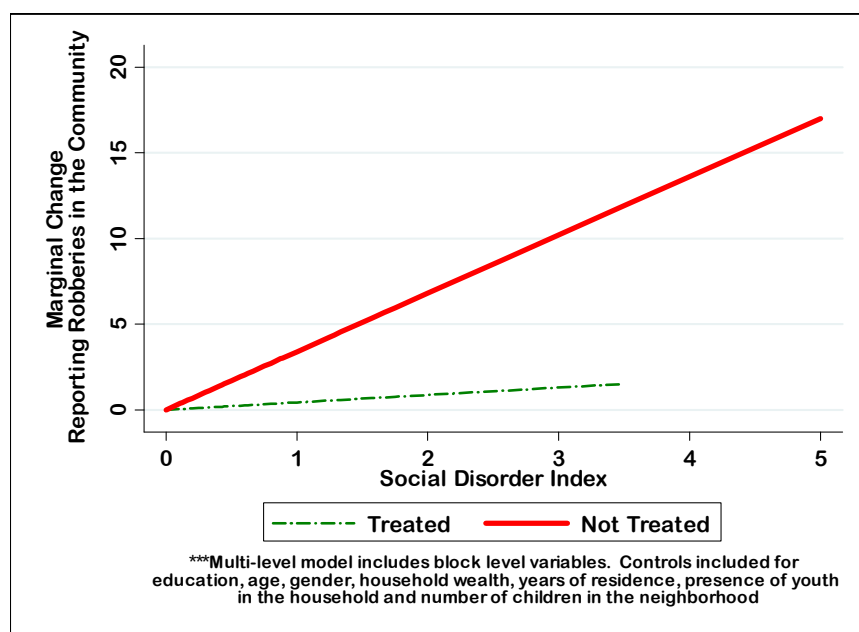


Figure 7. Marginal Change in Respondent-Reported Robberies in the Presence of Social Disorder on the Block

Among the neighborhood resources analyzed in the study (schools, churches, hospitals, and community centers), the treatment significantly reduces respondent reports of robberies when implemented in communities that have Catholic churches. This relationship is not evident in communities with Protestant churches. Since both clergy from both Catholic churches and Evangelical churches participate in the municipal crime prevention councils, this difference is difficult to explain. The Catholic Church, however, through its age-graded religious school programs, beginning in early childhood, through young adulthood, helps build religious-based leadership in the community. Evangelical churches are more heterogeneous in this respect. Although Catholic churches are more effective in our statistical analysis, there are fewer self-identified Catholics in the sample. Catholics represent 34 percent of the sample whereas Protestants are 50 percent of the sample (65 percent of these are Evangelical or Pentecostal). Therefore, this effect is unlikely to be the result of Catholic churches affecting only Catholics. Rather, these institutions seem to have had an effect on the community at large. Figure 8 shows the marginal change in robberies reported in the presence and absence of a Catholic church in the community for areas with and without treatment.

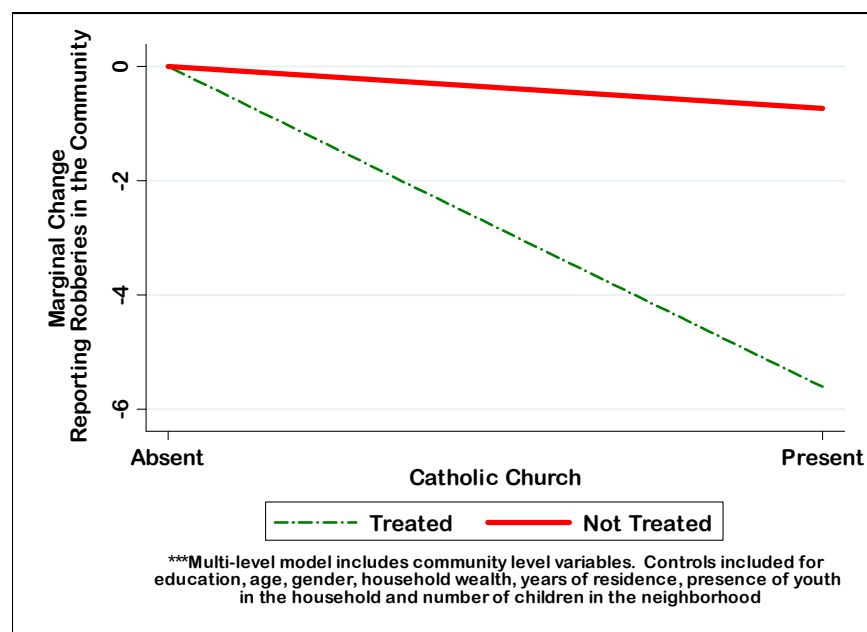


Figure 8. Marginal Change in Respondent-Reported Robberies in the Presence of a Catholic Church in the Community

Qualitative results. Drawing on the qualitative research to explain this effect, the finding that the treatment is associated with a reduction in robberies when a Catholic, rather than a Protestant, church is present in the community also might be accounted for by the status of the Catholic Church in El Salvador. The qualitative study finds that whereas there are many small Protestant congregations in the CARSİ treatment sample, each one with its own particular set of values and beliefs, the Catholic Church holds a uniform, longstanding set of religious beliefs and ideological positions. It is important to note that the qualitative interviews revealed that the Protestant (and particularly Evangelical) churches are just as active, if not more so, as the Catholic Church in working with youths as part of their religious mission. The Protestant pastors, more so than Catholic priests we were told, are engaged in day-to-day violence prevention programs, including mediation between warring gangs. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church, with its imposing buildings, has a symbolic influence that perhaps the more fledgling Protestant churches lack, as they are newer and may have smaller congregations and a physically less visible symbolic presence in the urban landscape that typifies the CARSİ treatment communities. Furthermore, age-stratified programs of the Catholic Church, which culminates in young adults who have graduated from the Church's youth group programs, produces community leadership that continues to be Church-based. The Evangelical churches, being so diverse and heterogeneous in nature, and lacking a unified set of youth-oriented programs, do not have a "cradle-to-grave" type of impact on the lives of its congregants. On the other hand, we learned from the qualitative interviews that some Protestant pastors are themselves former gang members, and for this reason, are particularly skilled at interacting with gangs. They "walk the walk and talk the talk" of the youth gangs, with a style of speaking and preaching that is distinctive and persuasive to at-risk-youth. One police officer commented that some of the pastors who are former gang members continue to be members of their gangs, and continue to engage in illegal activities despite the religious role they play in their community.

Sales of Illegal Drugs

Figure 9 displays the predicted probability of respondents recalling instances of illegal drug sales in their neighborhood. Respondents were asked: “Have the sale of illegal drugs occurred over the last twelve months in [Name of Neighborhood?]”. In treatment communities, this probability remained virtually unchanged by Year 3, while in the control group it consistently increased across the three years of evaluation. Moreover, respondents’ reports of sale of illegal drugs were 36% lower than we would otherwise expect without the program in place by the end of Year 3.

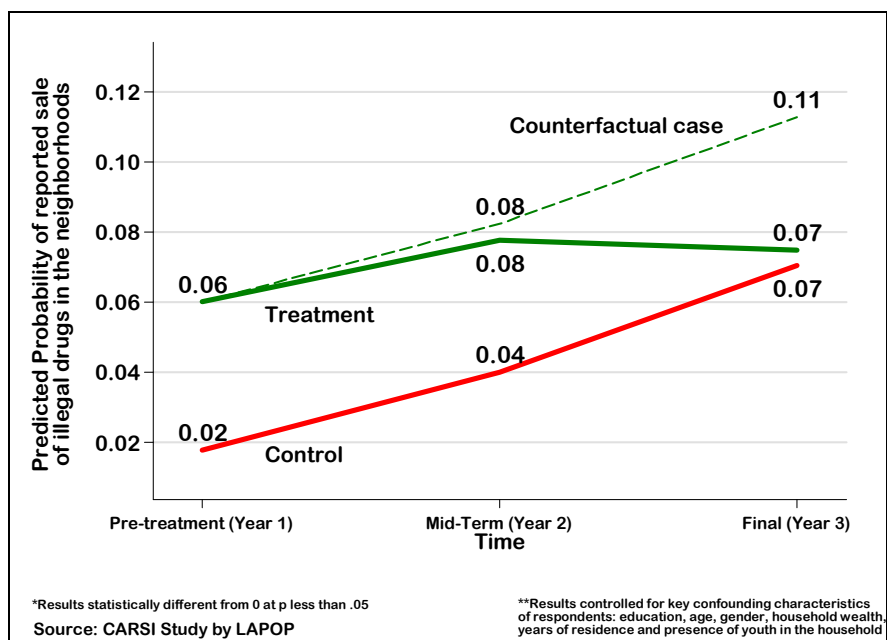


Figure 9. Sale of Illegal Drugs in the Community in the Past 12 Months

Qualitative results. Police in the third round of interviews were asked about the major problems that they could identify in the CARS treatment communities, and sale of drugs was one of them. One police officer listed the major crime problems as follows: “The first one is domestic violence. And the second one is problems between neighbors, stemming from threats and injuries. And, and, and a third one is the sale and consumption of drugs. And here we add to it alcohol, and the sale of alcoholic drinks. Mmm...And the presence of gangs, in some of them. But it’s very, very low.” Another police officer, one who specialized in crime prevention, puts sale of drugs at the bottom of his list: homicide, threats, extortion, rape, domestic violence, the presence of “cliques” (small, very local, gangs), and—he adds as an afterthought, “Oh! We have the sale of drugs, too, in that zone, sale of drugs. The cantinas, the little machines that always are factors that promote this.”

One police chief mentioned that during the past twelve months, in his regular monthly meetings with eleven school directors and teachers, he found out that in one of the elementary schools a student had threatened to beat up a teacher, but that this was never reported to the police because of the fear of retribution that the teacher felt, and that there are “suspicious looking” kids from

other neighborhoods lurking nearby the school property, whom the police chief associates with drug consumption among the students. Left unsaid is that the kids are buying the drugs from these outsiders.

Entrevistador: Usted dice que se reúnen con los directores y maestros una vez al mes.

[Interviewer: You say that you meet with the directors and teachers once a month.]

Policía: Mmjmm.

[Police officer: Mhm.]

Entrevistador: ¿Esa mesa de directores, cuando se tiene la oportunidad de hablar con estos directores, que tipo de problemáticas de violencia o delincuencia manifiestan ellos en esa comunidad?

[Interviewer: That directors' conference, when you have the chance of talking to these directors, what kind of violence or crime problems in this community do they relate?]

Policía: Fíjese que en lo-s-s diez, once directores, – con los que me he reunido el año pasado y que me voy a reunir ya muy pronto –, quizás solo tres, cuatro hablan. Hay unos que tienen miedo a hablar, y que yo me doy cuenta que suceden problemas en sus escuelas, pero no a través de ellos. Y esa es una de las metas que me puse el año pasado y que logre calar un poco, porque al principio me costaba más. Yo me daba cuenta que en la escuela, por ejemplo, de (nombre del barrio), un cepote le había querido pegar a la maestra, y no me lo decían en la policía. ¿Por qué? Porque la maestra no quería reportarlo porque tenía miedo. Entonces, igualmente, algotros directores. Entonces, este-e-e, algunos, lo que más reportan es presencia de individuos ajenos a la escuela en sus alrededores de la escuela. ¿Verdad? Algunos puntos de consumo de droga, y-y-y, quizás lo que más reportan es eso: presencia de individuos sospechosos en los alrededores de la escuela, y-y-y algún consumo de droga en algún “equis” lugar.

[Police officer: Look, of the ten, eleven directors who I've met with last year and who I'm going to meet with very soon, maybe only three or four talk. There are some who are afraid to speak, and from what I know there are problems in their schools, but it's not through them that I find this out. And that's one of the goals I set for myself last year and that I managed to fix to some extent, because in the beginning it was harder for me. I found out that in the (community name) school, for example, a kid wanted to hit his teacher, and on one at the police station told me about it. Why? Because the teacher didn't want to report it because she was afraid. So, it was the same with some of the directors. So, uh, some of them, what they report the most often is the presence of individuals who don't belong to the school, hanging around outside the school, right? Some points they raise are the consumption of drugs, and, and, maybe what they report most is this: the presence of suspicious individuals outside the school, and, and, and some consumption of drugs in place X.]

Another police chief mentioned the sale of drugs as one of the crime-related social risk factors present in several of the CARSÍ treatment communities. He referred (see below) to the “clandestine sale of drugs” in cantinas.

Entrevistador: ¿Cuáles son los factores de riesgo social y situa... situacional que amenazan a esas comunidades? Por acá veo que tiene un mapa.

[Interviewer: What are the social and situational risk factors that threaten those communities? I see you have a map over here.]

Policía: Ajá este, situacionales, de riesgo situacional tenemos en esas comunidades están las zonas mal iluminadas, no tienen iluminación, eh las quebradas, los cedros eh son bastante peligrosos y les puede dar un momento un terremoto, Dios no lo quiera un fenómeno natural o sea, son los, los túneles también. En el caso de los riesgos sociales, tenemos las maquinitas y juegos, por ejemplo sitio grande, hay juegos de maquinita en el Jabalincito también, cantinas todas en sin permiso pues clandestinamente, venta de, de drogas verdad es un, son factores de riesgo social entre otros verdad. Pero esos son los más, los más este comunes.

[Police officer: Uhuh, uh, situational. Of the situational risk factors in those communities are poorly lit areas; they don't have lighting, uh]

A community police officer who specializes in crime prevention mentions the sale of drugs as the first one that comes to mind in answering the question, "...what are the social risk factors or situational factors that are threatening the (CARSI treatment) communities?"

Entrevistador: ¿Para usted cuáles son los factores de riesgo social o situacional que amenazan a las comunidades?

[Interviewer: In your view what are the social or situational risk factors that threaten the communities?]

Policía comunitario: Bueno, eh la venta de drogas, tenemos los, las ventas de, de licor, la presencia de pandillas este, es un riesgo social en la, en las casas abandonadas y pues tenemos, eh lo que es situacional tenemos algunas comunidades que, que están en peligro que, que al haber alguna, algún temporal pues se... seguro pueden llegar a perder sus casas, son destruidas verdad.

[Community Police: Well, you know, the sale of drugs; we have the, the sale of, of alcohol, gang presence, uh, is a social risk in the, in abandoned houses, and, well, we have, you know, the situational side of it, we have some communities that, that are in danger of, if there is a, a seasonal storm, well for sur-, sure the people can lose their houses, they'll be destroyed, you see.]

Another police officer, a patrolman, links drug use to the murders that have been occurring in the municipality of Zaragoza.

Entrevistador: En su opinión ¿Qué tan violentas son las comunidades del municipio de Zaragoza?

[Interviewer: In your opinion, how violent are the communities in the Zaragoza municipality?]

Policía: Son muy violentos, por lo menos lo que le mencioné, Corinto 1 ya se tuvieron dos episodios de asesinatos porque la gente se mantiene en drogas en esa comunidad.

[Police agent: They're very violent, at least what I told you about. Corinto 1 has already had two incidents of murders because people are still involved in drugs in that community.]

Another police officer of Zaragoza mentions the success that the police in his precinct have had in capturing gang members and the impact that this has had in lowering homicide rates. However, interestingly, there is a “criminal structure” in one of the CARSI communities that dedicates itself to drug trafficking and extortion, but which is not one of the large well known gangs. As the police officer puts it, “They have the collaboration of two or three gang members, but they are ordinary, everyday people like you and me, who are behind some people who carry out illegal activities and who are already being investigated.”

*Es decir, el año 2011, y el 2012, el primer semestre, le pegamos un golpe a la pandilla, a la MS: capturamos un promedio de cuarenta y cinco pandilleros entre Villa Nueva y Zaragoza. Villa Nueva tiene ya-, en Agosto cumple dos años. En julio cumple dos años sin tener homicidios, Villa Nueva. Eh, es producto de esas capturas masivas que se hicieron de pandilleros, que eran los que mataban a la gente. Zaragoza **paso seis meses** sin homicidios pero en ese tiempo los pandilleros de la dieciocho iniciaron una semillita en Corinto, y... Eso fue los que me cometieron los homicidios. Y los primeros homicidios que se cometieron, eh, también fueron pandilleros de la dieciocho. O sea, es decir, la MS no me ha dado-, no me da problema porque no hay pandilleros MS. Sí hay pero no están eh, todavía, no se han dado a conocer, trabajan de manera clandestina, muy clandestina. Y no están cometiendo homicidios, o no me cometieron homicidios; excepto un homicidio aquí en la zona de la colonia-a-a Miramar, ¿verdad? Que es una estructura delincuencial que-e-e se dedica a la venta de droga y la extorsión, y que no son pandilleros. Tienen la colaboración de algún dos que tres pandilleros, pero son personas comunes y corrientes como usted y yo, y que están detrás de algunos ilícitos y que ya se está investigando.*

Translation [*“I mean, in 2011, and in 2012, the first semester, we struck a blow on the MS gang: we captured an average of 45 gang members between Villa Nueva and Zaragoza. In Villa Nueva it has already been, in August it will be two years. In July it will have been two years, Villa Nueva, with no homicides. You see, this is the product of those massive captures of gang members, the ones who were killing people. Zaragoza had a **six month period** of no homicides, but at that time the 18th gangsters planted a little seed in Corinto, and... Those were the ones who committed the homicides. And the first homicides that were committed, you know, were also by the 18th gangsters. In other words, I mean, the MS gang has not caused any problem for me because there are no MS gangsters. Well, there are, but they're not here, you know not yet; they haven't shown themselves; their work is clandestine, very clandestine. And they are not committing homicides, or they didn't commit any homicides except for one here in the, uh, uh Miramar neighborhood zone, right? It was carried out by an organized crime group whose business is, uh, uh, selling drugs and extortion, and they're not gangsters. Two, maybe three gangsters collaborate with them, but they are ordinary people like you and me, and they are behind some people who carry out illicit activities and who are already being investigated.”]*

A police officer who works in prevention, when asked what sorts of crimes gang members commit in the CARSI communities that fall under his precinct's jurisdiction, named three in the following order: homicide, extortion, and drug trafficking .

Entrevistador: ¿Qué tipos de delitos se les atribuye a estos pandilleros o mareros que viven en estas comunidades?

[Interviewer: What types of crimes are attributed to those gang members who live in these communities?]

Policía: El homicidio y la extorsión y el tráfico de drogas, ahí descansan ellos.

[Police agent: Homicide and extortion and drug trafficking, that's what they do.]

A police chief who heads a community policing unit listed the following criminal activities that gang members in the CARSÍ communities are involved in: homicide, the disappearance of persons, extortion, rape, drugs, and the use of illegal firearms.

Entrevistador: ¿Qué tipo de delitos cometen o se les atribuyen a estos pandilleros o mareros, en estas comunidades generalmente?

[Interviewer: In general, what type of crimes do gang members commit or are attributed to them in these communities?]

Policía: Homicidios, eh desaparición de personas verdad, la extorsión, violaciones, droga, eh el uso de armas de fuego ilegales, ahí estamos con esos delitos que ellos.

[Police agent: Homicides, you know, missing persons, you see, extortion, rape, drugs, uh, the use of illegal firearms; that's where we are with the crimes they.]

Community leaders have their own perception of drug trafficking in their communities. In this Chalchuapa case, the leader reported that in their community, the police had been involved with the local gangs in drug trafficking some 4-5 years back, but with the help of two sub inspectors and the Municipal Council for Crime and Violence Prevention, those corrupt police officers were removed. Presumably, drugs sales have diminished as a result.

Entrevistador: Con respecto al tema de la Policía ¿Usted cómo se siente cuando tiene que tratar con la Policía acá en Chalchuapa, ahora en día?

[Interviewer: Regarding the topic of the police, how do you feel when you have to deal with the police here in Chalchuapa these days?]

Coordinador: Mire eh ha cambiado bastante, eh pero ha sido un proceso o sea hablar hace 4 o 5 años en Chalchuapa en la Policía, la gente no le tenía confianza, eh la misma Policía lo veían con los mismos pandilleros en las ventas de droga, no digo que no sucede todavía porque sucede todavía de todo hay en la viña del Señor ¿Va? Pero eh se ha corregido en gran en gran manera, y ha creado en cierta manera confianza en la población, gracias al trabajo efectivo que han hecho, ha hecho básicamente dos subinspectores, anteriores y este que ha venido como a consolidar lo, a consolidar el trabajo de los dos anteriores, pero sí le costó a la Policía romper, romper esa mala imagen que tenía, que tenía la población, fruto de eso es el el el, el involucramiento activo de la Policía dentro del Comité de Prevención Municipal.

[Coordinator: Look, you see, it's changed quite a bit, you see, but it's been a process. I mean, if you talk about the police four or five years ago in Chalchuapa, people didn't trust them, you know. You'd see the police agents together with the gangsters selling drugs. I'm not saying that it doesn't happen anymore because it still does in the Lord's vineyard, right. But you know, it's gotten a lot, lot better which has gained the police a little trust among the population, thanks to the effective work they have done, done pretty much by

two previous assistant inspectors from before and this one who came in to sort of consolidate what, the work of the two from before. But it was really hard for the police to shatter, shatter that bad image they had, that the population had of them. The fruits of that is the, the, the, the active involvement of the police with the Municipal Prevention Committee.]

Another community leader mentioned that drug use among the school aged youth was one of the problems his community faced. He pointed out that with the help of USAID programs this school drug problem has been reduced.

Entrevistador: Ese consumo de drogas por... (Traslapo de voces)

[Interviewer: Drug use by...]

Entrevistador: ¿Por parte de quien lo ha observado usted?

[Interviewer: Who have you observed doing this?]

Líder comunitaria: Este, se ha observado por parte de, de, de, de personas de la comunidad, que no están dentro del centro educativo y que ellos también son, son como el, enlaces del cual nos está afectando también a los estudiantes porque ellos son los que le están proporcionando también, este en este año se nos dieron dos problemas verdad, en el centro escolar, eh, que ellos nos, les están proporcionando a este tipo de, de drogas a los estudiantes ujum, entonces esté con ellos se ha estado trabajando también, con los proyectos de que, de USAID, por ejemplo se estuvo trabajando con, con lo que era familia fuerte y familia feliz, se estuvieron dando bastantes este, les estuvieron dando bastantes charlas a estos muchachos y que nos ha servido bastante verdad, porque hemos rescatado bastantes jóvenes que si ya estaban dentro de drogas y que ellos han dado su testimonio, verdad, de que, de que le ha ayudado bastante, han visto ellos de que en realidad eso no son caminos adecuados para ellos y, y les ha, ha ayudado bastante las orientaciones, que se les dio en las, les dio las ONGS y que también nosotros como equipo docente hacemos nuestra parte también (Baja la voz).

[Community leader: Uh, it's been observed on the part of, of, of, of people from the community not in school and that are, are like, like the connections that are affecting the students because they are the ones that are supplying them too. Uh this year we had two problems with them, you see, in school, you know, they, they are supplying that kind of, of drugs to the students, mhm, so, uh, we've been working with them, on the projects that, of USAID, for example, we were working with, with the 'strong family is a happy family,' they were getting a lot of, uh, these kids were getting a lot of talks and they have helped us a lot, you know, because we have rescued quite a few young people that were addicted to drugs and that they have given their testimony, you know, that, that this has helped them a lot; they've seen that what they're doing is not right for them and, and it's, the orientations they were given by the NGOs have helped them a lot and we also, as a teaching team, do our part as well. (Lowers her voice).]

An ADESCO president explained how eight-year olds are used by gangs as couriers to deliver drugs.

Entrevistador: ¿Qué papel juega un menor de edad de ocho años, eh, o sea, en este año caso me refiero a tan corta edad dentro de la mara, qué hace un menor de edad?

[Interviewer: What role does an eight-year old minor play, uh, that is, in this case I'm referring to such a young age in the gang? What does a minor do?]

Presidente: Bueno, un menor de edad lo que hace es que a la hora de cometer un homicidio, por ejemplo, a ellos los ponen a hacerlo, vaya, eso es uno. Otro es que trasladan cualquier cosa, a, lo ponen a vender drogas. Por ejemplo, ahí en la colonia se han dado casos donde los niños los mandaban supuestamente a vender zapatos, vea, en bicicleta. Pero, en el zapato ahí iba la droga, o sea, ellos ya sabían a dónde lo iban a ir a dejar. El papá le decía, el papá de los cipotes es zapatero y le decía "mira, me vas a ir a (ininteligible) la droga. Entonces, o sea, incluso, el papá de ellos ya estuvo preso también por droga. Pero, o sea, para que eso los usan, o sea, para trasladar droga, para trasladar armas, para trasladar munición."

[President: Well, what a minor does is at the moment of committing a crime, for example, they make them do it, well, that's one thing. Another is that they'll move anything from one place to another to, they'll have him selling drugs. For example, here in the neighborhood there have been cases of children that were supposedly sent to sell shoes, right, on bicycles. The father would say to him, the kids' father is a shoemaker and he would say, "Look, you're going to go (unintelligible) the drugs. But, that is, they use them for that, that is, to transfer the drugs, to move weapons, to move ammunition."]

Extortion or Blackmail

Reported cases of extortion or blackmail in the neighborhoods are shown in Figure 10. Results are based on answers to the following question: "Has extortion or blackmail occurred over the last twelve months in [Name of Neighborhood]?"

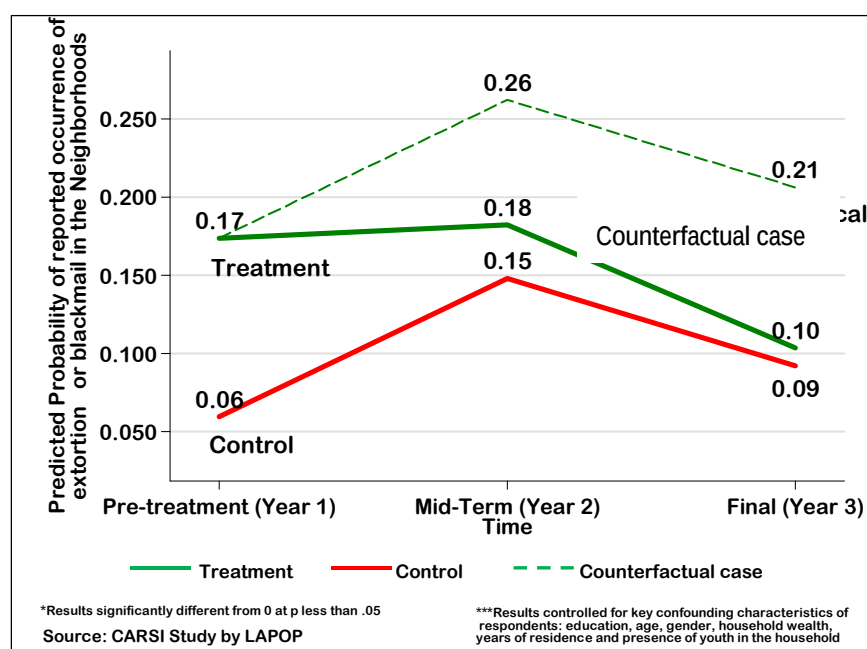


Figure 10. Extortion in the Neighborhood in the Past 12 Months

Figure 10 shows that in both treatment and control neighborhoods, the probability of respondents recalling instances of extortion and blackmail increased between Years 1 and 2, but decreased between Years 2 and 3. Moreover, by the time of the final interviews, this probability was markedly lower in treatment neighborhoods than before the treatment was applied. Specifically, respondents' reports of extortions were 52% lower than we would otherwise expect without the program. When analyzing community contextual variables, none show any significant effect on the treatment. That is, the effectiveness of the treatment did not vary with any of the measured contextual variables, but may have been affected by unmeasured contextual effects beyond the scope of our study.

Qualitative results. Qualitative interviews with police officers indicate that extortion is apparently so deeply entrenched that a police official who is in charge of the prevention division of his precinct reports that the person who is in charge of a local USAID outreach center (Centro de Alcance) is currently the target of extortion by a gang. Another police official who works in the prevention division of his precinct and who works specifically in schools, through a program called “Escuelas Seguras” (Safe Schools), points out that while there have been achievements made in preventing crime, approaches such as prevention cannot be measured in the short run (“los logros en prevención no se pueden medir a corto plazo”), as they emerge only over the long run, he says. He gives the example of youths who attend school not to study, but either to extort money or to recruit other children into their gang. He sees this as a persistent obstacle to making schools safe places in which to learn.

Another police officer sees extortion as a motivation for some people to take the law into their own hands. In this case, and in many others, the police officers refer to their experience throughout a given municipality or police precinct and not specifically about the neighborhood. That is because they patrol widely and cover many of neighborhoods over a given week. This police officer gives the example of someone who has gone to the police with complaints of being the target of extortion. Upon seeing that nothing is being done about it, he might decide to kill the person who is extorting money from him. Thus, extortion can lead to homicide.⁴ As suggested at the beginning of this study, being victimized by extortion multiple times can lead to retaliation and thus begin a vicious cycle of victimization and retaliation.

This police officer, who specializes in prevention, argues that the prevalence of extortion has been the product of the Salvadoran government's policy of “mano dura” (iron fist) and “super mano dura.” In El Salvador, over the past twenty years, governments have reacted to the increase in crime rates by “getting tough on crime.” Hence the “mano dura” was followed by the “super mano dura,” presumably by increasing the firepower of the police, increasing their arrest rates, and increasing sentences. The get-tough policy, he says, has resulted in a cat-and-mouse game between the police and the gangs. Specifically, when gang members are brought in to the police station, they are often released after three days, because of the “way that the law works.” Whereas before, according to this police officer, this gang member would have stood on a street corner with his friends, asking passing strangers for a quarter, now the same gang member uses a different strategy: extortion.

⁴ On a personal and very tragic note, as these pages were being written, one of the relatives of a Salvadoran researcher long associated with LAPOP was murdered in the context of an extortion scheme.

The police officer's explanation is consistent with the statements of a number of school directors and schoolteachers and members of the municipal anti-violence councils, who report that students in their schools engage in extortion of schoolmates, and occasionally of teachers. It is not surprising, then, that the newspapers of El Salvador regularly report murders of schoolteachers, as they are targeted specifically for being teachers. A 2011 news article (see below) says that according to the Salvadoran Ministry of Education, eleven teachers were murdered in the first eight months, but that 1,000 reported death threats related to attempts by gangs to extort money from them.

EL SALVADOR

Unos mil maestros amenazados de muerte en El Salvador

Se calcula que el 75 % de los maestros está siendo extorsionado en ese país, según el diario, que habla de 11 educadores asesinados.

EL UNIVERSAL

miércoles 17 de agosto de 2011 12:17 PM

San Salvador.- En lo que va de 2011, alrededor de 1.000 maestros de El Salvador han denunciado amenazas de muerte por no pagar extorsiones que les imponen las violentas pandillas, conocidas como "maras", según cifras del Ministerio de Educación (MINED).

Los sindicatos magisteriales salvadoreños dicen que los profesores son amenazados de asesinato si no pagan entre 500, 1.000, 2.000 y hasta 3.000 dólares en concepto de rentas que imponen los "mareros", informó DPA.

Los centros educativos que se han visto más afectados son los que se encuentran las ciudades La Libertad, San Salvador, Santa Ana y San Miguel.

Los "mareros" también estorsionan a los empresarios del transporte público y a los dueños de pequeños y medianos negocios que están en los municipios, especialmente a los comerciantes.

En El Salvador se registran un total de 16.795 denuncias de extorsión entre el año 2006 y abril de 2011, lo que supone un promedio de 8,3 casos diarios; el 60 por ciento de las extorsiones se ha ordenado desde las cárceles, según cifras de Fiscalía General de la República.

School directors in the 2013 qualitative interviews reported children as young as seven to eight years old (second graders), when asked what they wanted to be when they grew up, saying, "I want to be a *pandillero* like my older brother." In addition, these children and others younger than twelve

already served the gangs by engaging in extortion in the schools and targeting other children (the threat being that their older brother would beat up the target, if he didn't pay up). Extortion involving school children goes on at the entrance/exit doors of the school, where gang members who are not affiliated with the school wait for the students to leave for the day. It is for this reason that the police have initiated a program that posts guards outside of school entrances when students enter and leave the school building, to protect the children.

While the questions regarding gang activity in the schools asked about *alumnos* ('students') in general, and a separate question asked about female involvement in gangs, the question did not break down gang activity by both gender and type of crime committed, and so we cannot say to what extent girls were involved in extortion, for example. We do have evidence, however, that they were, given what some school officials reported. For example, one school director in Santa Ana, in describing how the students in her school who were children of gang members began engaging in criminal activities, mentioned one such girl whom they "saved" from gang affiliation. The school director, with the help of her administrative staff and the girl's teacher managed to turn the girl away from gang-related extortion, and succeeded in getting the girl to complete her primary school studies, through the 9th grade.

Entrevistador: ¿Qué tan efectivo resultan estas cartas de compromiso en cuanto a comprometer a los padres de familia? En este caso, me refiero, ¿a si el padre de familia realmente atiende el llamado del maestro cuando se le convoca?

[Interviewer: How effective are these commitment letters as far as getting the parents' commitment? In this case I am referring to whether parents really pay attention when the teachers call them in?]

Directora: Mire, algunos padres sí asisten, otros es difícil. Entonces, ahí es donde nosotros nos desgastamos mucho. Porque nosotros tenemos que tomar las, la rienda allí, tenemos que ver cómo solucionar, cómo mejorar, porque realmente nosotros tenemos jóvenes que son hijos de mareros, de madres que son extorsionistas porque lo decimos, lo dijo así porque ellas nos han venido a manifestar. Entonces, qué es lo que viene a pedir auxilio la mamá, este, de que nosotros les ayudemos, de que nosotros le ayudemos a que el niño se mantenga dentro de, dentro de la escuela, que no se vaya porque si sale aprende o por, por culpa de ella lo pueden matar. Entonces, nosotros habíamos rescatado muchos, muchos, este, no digo nombres, pero sí, la madre, la madrecita esa, está bien agradecida porque el niño ha sufrido tanto desde chiquito y ahora va para séptimo. Ese niño lo hemos rescatado, lo hemos rescatado y lo vemos como arrebatado de la mano, cuando se ha querido desviar del camino, verdad. Igualmente uno acaba de terminar de noveno, no sé cómo hicimos pero la madre asistió porque esa niña ya se le iba, ya, ya andaba con ellos. Y, una niña tan inteligente, nos preocupamos, nos reunimos todos los de tercer ciclo, tomamos decisiones que cómo íbamos a rescatar, verdad. Pero, no podíamos solos, tenía que estar la mamá y con la mamá se tenía que comprometer para, este, ayudar allá en la casa y venir, seguido acá porque ella nunca ha venido. Al fin, que, que nosotros le manifestamos qué es lo que estaba sucediendo, hasta entonces se dio cuenta la señora. Y es así como la niña ya, ya se graduó, este de tercer ciclo.

[Director: Look, some parents come; with others it's difficult. It is here that we really wear ourselves out because we have to take the reins, we have to see how to solve things, how to improve because we indeed have young people who are the children of gang members,

children whose mothers are extortionists. That's why we say this, I express it this way because the mothers have come in to voice their concerns. So what the mother does is to come in and ask for help, uh, for us to help her, for us the help her so that her child stays in, stays in school, because if he drops out, he learns bad ways or that it will be her fault if they kill him. So we have rescued many, many, uh, I'm not mentioning names, but yes, the mother, that little mother is very grateful because the child has suffered so much all his life, and now he's moving up to seventh grade. We rescued that child, we rescued him and we see how he's been snatched by the hand, when he's wanted to stray off the path, you see. And like this case, one of them just finished ninth grade. I don't know how we did it, but the mother helped because that girl was drifting away; she was already running with gang members. And she was such an intelligent child; we took an interest, all of us from the third cycle met and made decisions about how to save her, you see. But we couldn't do it alone; her mother had to be a part of it, and her mother had to commit to, uh, help her at home and come here often because she had never come before. In the end, we expressed to her what was going on. Not until then did the woman realize what was happening. And that's how the girl was able to graduate, uh, from the third cycle.]

As to the question of whether girls join gangs, police and schoolteachers alike are in agreement that girls do in fact join gangs. They help the men in various ways. For example, as a homicide detective who had participated in a focus group said, women members of gangs are sent by the gangs into the prisons, to provide sexual services to gang prisoners.

While extortion begins in the schools among young children who are related to adult or adolescent gang members, an overarching factor accounting for the continuing phenomenon of extortion, according to a police officer who works in community policing, is that the two major gangs of El Salvador specialize in different types of crimes. The Mara Salvatrucha dedicates its energies more to extortion, while the Calle 18 concentrates on working as hired assassins, says this police officer. Another community policing officer, upon being asked if gang members can be rehabilitated, was less than optimistic, citing that when members of a gang are asked if they are willing to stop engaging in extortion, their answer is “no”, because they have adopted it as a way of life—a way of subsisting. The police officer concluded his answer by predicting that extortions would continue, since the police were dealing with delinquents.

When one police officer who works as an instructor in the Escuelas Seguras program was asked to list the types of crimes in which gangs are involved, mentioned extortion at the top of his list, followed by rape, petty theft, and robbery. One second-in-command in a police precinct, upon being asked his opinion of the truce, answered that despite the truce, the gang members (*pandilleros*) continue engaging in extortion. On a very troubling note, he argued that what the truce has actually accomplished is to strengthen the position, or legitimacy, of the *pandilleros* as people of authority, who are important in society. If his prediction becomes reality, then the truce will have solved little.

Murders

When we predict the probability of respondents recalling occurrences of murders in their community, Figure 11 shows that this probability decreased marginally in treatment

neighborhoods and increased in control neighborhoods between Years 1 and 2. However, in the final year of evaluation, the probabilities decreased sharply in both groups. In short, respondents' reports of murders were 40% lower than we would otherwise expect without the program in place. We confidently associate this decline across both groups with the gang truce.

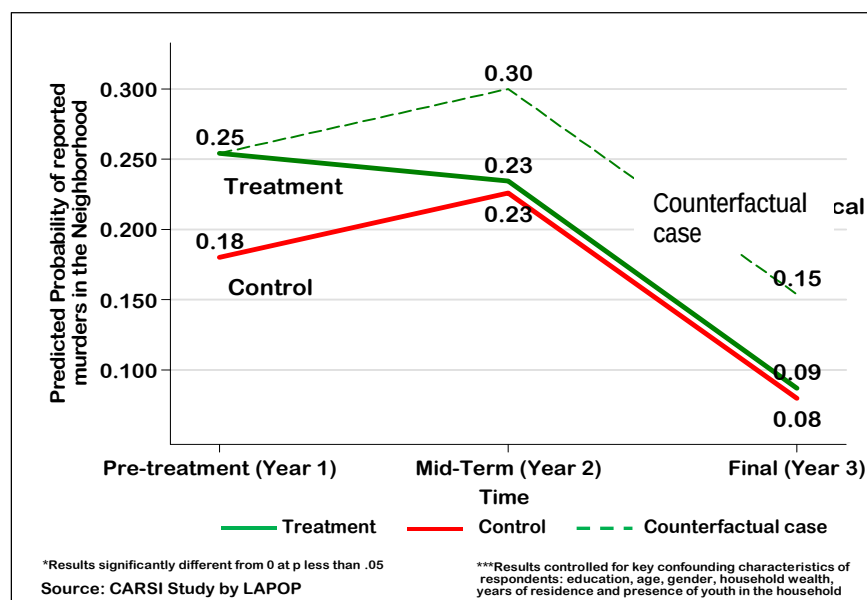


Figure 11. Respondent-Reported Murders in the Neighborhoods

Analysis of the context in which the treatment was administered shows that the treatment was more effective where there are Catholic churches and schools. The presence of schools (of any type) in the communities was recorded in the systematic observation portion of the study. In untreated communities, schools are associated with an increase in respondents' reports of murder. However, in treated communities we do not see this association. Similarly, in treated communities with churches, reports of murders decline in contrast to untreated communities where there is a rise in reported murders. These relationships are shown in Figures 12 and 13.

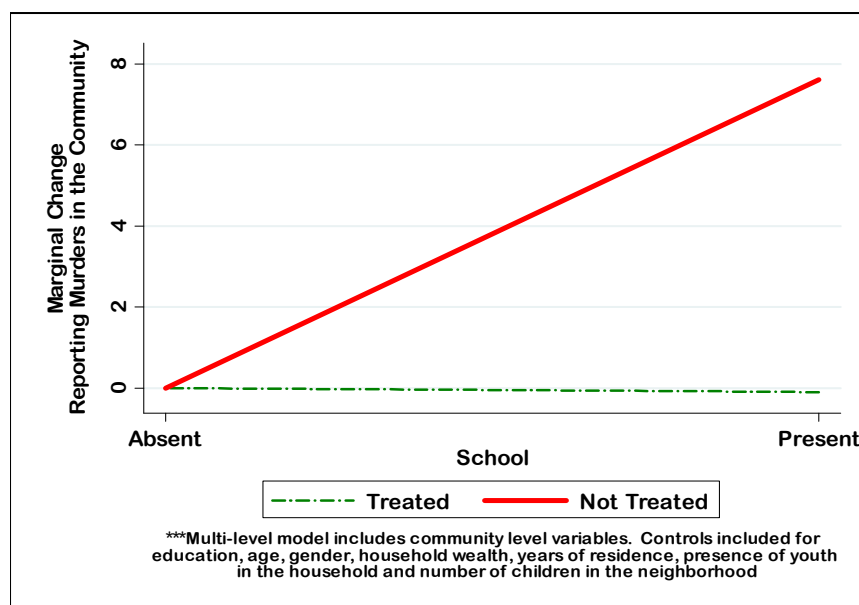


Figure 12. Marginal Change in Respondent-Reported Murders in the Presence of a School in the Community

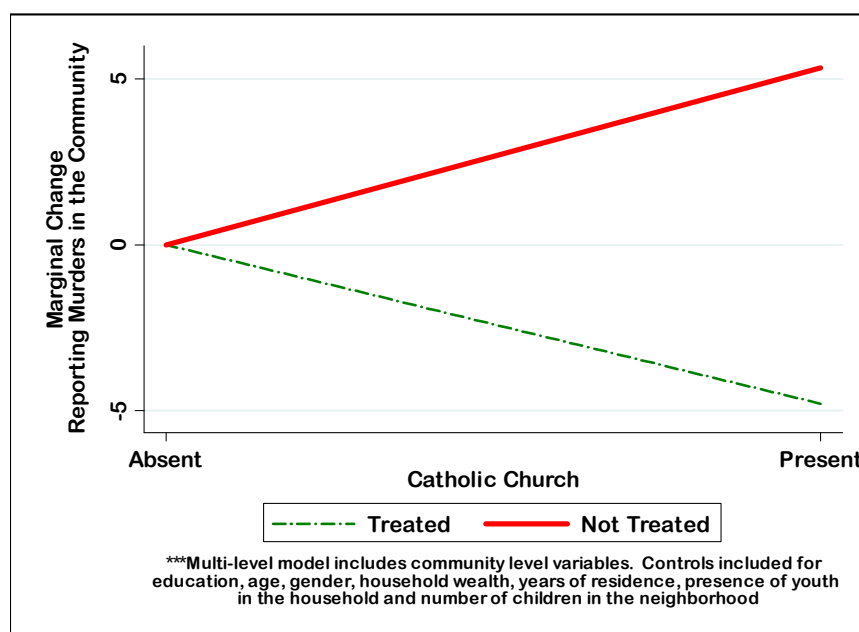


Figure 13. Marginal Change in Respondent-Reported Murders in the Presence of a Catholic Church in the Community

The finding that respondents' reports of murder are higher in untreated communities than in treated ones makes sense, since schools often have gang members enrolled in them. Furthermore, the qualitative interviews reveal, schools attract gang members who have already dropped out of school, and are drawn to school grounds either to find new recruits or else to victimize students as they enter and exit the school premises.

Qualitative results. Qualitative interviews with police officers confirm that homicides have decreased from 2012 to 2013. However, what is salient for these officers is that in the most violent communities, including the CARSI communities, robbery, larceny, and extortion continue to be the main crimes, as is domestic violence, which is a constant. The articulate and perceptive summary of the state of events in 2013 compared to the twelve months prior to the interview with one college-educated chief-of-police is worth reading⁵:

Entrevistado: Hay algunas comunidades quizás en donde es que bien...bien complicado porque en los lugares esos los homicidios son los que se la mayor expresión de...de la violencia verdad este pero...pero el detalle está que ahora los homicidios bajaron las cosas como que van cambiando. Hay un sector que representa mayor...mayor este dilema es la parte patrimonial y es en la zona comercial, vea, en el centro como que van cambiando la tendencia en base a las soluciones de homicidios que andan como por veinte y dos por cada mil habitantes. Estaba escuchando yo los datos, verdad, por cada...por cada cien mil habitantes entonces este como que ahora...ahora le vamos poner más atención a los delitos patrimoniales porque ya como que este pero... pero la expresión más grande que encontrábamos nosotros era lo...los homicidios y principalmente eran cometidos por los mismos pandilleros y tiene la misma relación los que rentan. El problema es que luchas por el territorio por quien puede más, verdad, sí un setenta por ciento de los crímenes aquí en Municipality X relacionados con ese tema de las...de las pandillas, verdad, pero ahora como los homicidios han bajado ya no...ya no son esas comunidades las que representan sino que ahora son los delitos patrimoniales y entonces hay más patrimonio- es en la zona comercial y es donde se nos está dando más delitos de robo, extorsión y hurto y...y...y...nos atrevemos a decir que cometidos por las pandillas, siempre uno de los flagelos grandes aquí en Muicipalidad X este que es contra lo que tenemos que luchar pero este a lo que quiero llegar yo es que...que...que la violencia se venía presentando así en las comunidades. Hay tres comunidades eh... señaladas y la gente dice peligrosas verdad, peligrosas pero...pero...pero ahora ya no son tal peligrosas aunque, aunque sí algunas por ejemplo (comunidad X) en donde más han estado fregando con los camiones que reparten mercadería,(comunidad X) tengo también este la colonia (comunidad Y) verdad este es donde tenemos problemas eh de robo, ya no tanto los homicidios como estaba antes.

Translation [Interviewee: There are some communities where things are really...really complicated because in those places violence is mostly expressed in...in homicides, you know, but...but the interesting thing is, is that now that homicides have gone down, things seem to be changing. There is a sector where this dilemma is especially notable. It's property and the business zones downtown, you see, based on solutions to the homicide problem, the tendency seems to be changing; there are about 22 per 1000 inhabitants. I was listening to the statistics, you know, for each hundred thousand inhabitants, so, uh, it seems like now we're going to be paying more attention to property crimes because it's like...uh, but...the greatest expression (of violence) we found was hom...homicides, and they were mostly committed by gang members and extortionists. The problem is the turf war among them, you know, to see who gets the upper hand. Yes, about 70 percent of the

⁵ Note that all textual quotations in this study have been deidentified to protect the anonymity guaranteed to each respondent. Also note that the transcriptions are faithful to the original statements made in our interviews and transcribed by our research team. Thus, we include all of the hesitations and grammatical errors in those statements. These are not sanitized statements.

crimes in Municipality X are gang related, you see. But now that homicides have gone down, it's not in those communities where they happen. It's more property crimes because there's more property in the business zone and that's where there is more robbery, extortion, and larceny, and...and...and we could go as far as to say that they are committed by the gangs. It's one of the big scourges here in Municipality X, um, that we have to fight against, but, uhm, the point I want to make is that...that violence in communities was being expressed like that. There are three communities, uh, pointed out, and people say they are dangerous places, you know, but ...but...now they are not as dangerous although...although some still are. For example, (Community X) where they make the most trouble for delivery trucks (Community X). I also have a neighborhood, uh (Community Y), you know, uh, where we have problems, uh, with robbery but not so much with homicides, like it was before.]

The reduction in violent crime is confirmed by a number of police officers. One police chief says that it declined in the past two months (as of the time of the 2013 interview); another says “three, four months ago,” meaning in the past three or four months. When asked what could account for this atmosphere of peace and tranquility, one young police officer, a woman, answered that it was a combination of police work and the “pact” that has been made (alluding to the truce). A police officer who serves as an instructor in a Police Athletic League says,

“Actualmente siento yo que hemos bajado bastante la, los índices de violencia, comparado con años anteriores, porque ahora sí puede usted entrar a determinadas colonias que antes tal vez, si entraba se arriesgaba a sufrir un percance. “

Translation [Currently, I feel that we have lowered the crime rate substantially, compared to previous years, because now you certainly can enter certain neighborhoods, which before if you entered them, perhaps you were risking some type of mishap.]

In accounting for changes in crime patterns from before and after the truce, one police officer who works in a prevention unit explained that in the pre-truce era homicide, extortion, robbery, and petty theft were frequent, but that with the truce, the homicides went down somewhat. However, the disappearances (i.e., kidnappings) increased, “while extortion remain at the same level.” For this police officer, the shift away from homicide and towards kidnapping is “another way of operating that they’re using” (“...pero aquí lo que ha disminuido un poco son los homicidios pero aumentaron los desaparecidos, es como, como como otra, como otra forma de operar que han utilizado, ahí las extorsiones se mantiene igual” [“...what has gone down around here are the homicides, but the kidnapped people have increased. It’s like, like another form of operating that they’ve used. Extortion has stayed the same around here.”])

When one police chief of a community police division was asked what the most common crimes were in the CARSÍ treatment communities, he listed them in order of frequency. The most frequently occurring crime was extortion, he said, adding that those crimes tend not to be reported to the police. The other crimes he mentioned were homicide, “disappeared persons,” threats, assaults, domestic violence, dropping out of school, and vagrancy.

A thirty-year old woman who works as a police officer in a crime prevention unit, when asked if there had been a reduction in crimes such as homicide and extortion, answered,

“No, porque este ya anteriormente este Municipalidad X ya tenía como dos años de estar, más que todo limpio se puede decir, ya libre de homicidios, porque hoy un homicidio que se dé, es bien raro, no, no fue por eso.”

Translation [*“No, because previously Municipality X already had two years of being, largely clean, you could say, free of homicides, because nowadays for a homicide to occur is really unusual, so it (the reduction in homicides) wasn’t because of that (i.e., the truce).”*]

Perceptions of changes in crime rates among community development leaders in the treatment areas were fairly consistent, and generally supportive of the quantitative results. Most leaders, when asked if the current level of violence in their community was greater, equal to, or less than it had been twelve months earlier, said that the violence level was lower. A small minority of the leaders, however, said either that it was the same or that it was greater. Yet, the observation of a mayor of a target municipality, involved with the anti-violence committee is quite striking. He said that in his jurisdiction, murders had decreased from about 12-15 per month to one or two. He rightfully calls this a “dramatic” decrease in the murder rate.

Clergy with responsibilities in the treatment communities, especially Evangelical pastors, typically have special youth group-oriented programs that aim at violence prevention, and they interact with other stakeholders in various ways. They, therefore, have an especially keen sense of what is going on in their communities. Overall, these pastors report a decrease in homicides, as well as other sorts of violent crimes, and thus provide a perspective consistent with the quantitative results. One Evangelical pastor attributes this decline in part to the work of the Iglesia Cristiana Evangélica:

“Amm, hay varios factores que que influyen, uno es la Iglesia Cristiana Evangélica, porque en la comunidad hay varias Iglesias que intercedemos por el bienestar del país y no sólo el país sino la sociedad entera eh pero ya en cuestión de comunidad igual, por ejemplo si ya voy a hablar de la Iglesia que pastoreo trabajamos con le llamamos “Grupos de crecimiento” o le llamamos “Círculos de amistad” también eh, que en el que en, diferentes puntos de la comunidad, todos los viernes hay reuniones en las casas, donde por lo menos tenemos 17 reuniones en diferentes puntos de la comunidad donde este, ah inicia a las 7 de la no-, una una hora inicia, una hora tiene de duración donde se reúnen digamos, los coordinadores cristianos, pero la intención oficial es, de llevar amigos de la comunidad especialmente jóvenes en cada una de estas reuniones y, en cada reunión ya globalmente haciendo digamos un balance general, estamos reuniendo aproximadamente entre cristianos y no cristianos, una reunión aproximadamente unas 200-250 personas todos los viernes. Entonces a ¿Qué se hace ahí? Orar y si llegan amigos o jóvenes ¿Verdad? Que están involucrados en grupos ilícitos, escuchan un consejo, escuchan digamos una palabra que les va a ayudar para el futuro. Entonces este, la Iglesia ha ha hecho un buen trabajo. Jóvenes de la Iglesia también en que han logrado un grado de respeto en la comunidad, tanto así que muchachos ¿verdad? Que, uno se da cuenta que tal vez andan en en cuestiones de pandilla, llegan a respetar la misma Iglesia, llegan a respetar a los mismos jóvenes de la Iglesia, entonces este gran parte de-de-de que la ola delincencial haya bajado. Dios sobre todas las cosas, a través de la Iglesia y en este caso también quiero mencionar los Centros de Alcance, que, han sido de gran beneficio también para la comunidad. En, en el Centro de Alcance que nosotros es-es-estamos ahí como socios de la fe, el año pasado por las tardes un buen número de muchachos que estaban, están o estaban involucrados en pandillas, llegan, llegaban a ejercitarse y gracias a Dios hasta el

día de hoy nunca nos han cobrado renta, nunca nos llegaron a pedir una, una, una ayuda como tengo información de un Centro de Alcance que los mismos muchachos estaban queriendo aun este pedir una colaboración de ahí del Centro de Alcance. Acá ha sido todo lo contrario; ellos se han beneficiado, y este se ha logrado un grado de respeto con ellos también. Así que el Centro de Alcance en especialmente en la colonia X y Z, creo que ha sido también un ente que ha favorecido, en cuestión de bajar la delincuencia.”

Translation [“Umm, there are several factors that, that influence (this). One is the Evangelical Christian Church, because in the community various churches work for the welfare of the nation, and not just the nation, but for society as a whole, you know, but concerning the community, just the same, for example, if I speak about the church of which I am the pastor, we work with what we call “Growth Groups” or we call them “Friendship Circles” as well, you see, in different places in the community. Every Friday there are meetings in homes where we have at least 17 meetings in different places in the community where, uh, ah, starting at 7 in the evening...at one hour we start, and they go on for an hour where, the Christian coordinators, shall we say, meet, but the official intent is to have friends of the community present, especially young people, at each one of these gatherings, and at every gathering generally making, shall we say, an overall balance. We gather, between Christians and non-Christians, a group of between 200 and 250 people every Friday. So what goes on at the meetings? We pray, and if we have friends or young people, you see, that are involved in illicit groups, well, we give them some advice. They hear, shall we say, some words that will help them in the future. Young members of the church have also earned a degree of respect in the Community, so much so that kids that you can tell are likely to be involved in gang activities, they come to respect the church. They come to respect the young people of the Church, so, um, a lot of- of the wave of delinquency has gone down. God above all things, through the Church, and in this case I also want to mention the Outreach Centers, which have also been a great benefit to the community. In, in the Outreach Centers in which we par, par, participate as partners in faith, last year in the afternoons a good number of kids that were, are or were involved with gangs, they come, they came for training, and, thank God, up to now they have never tried to extort money from us. They never asked for a, a, any money. I have information from an Outreach Center where the kids were asking for handouts from this Center. Over here it’s been just the opposite; they have benefitted, and, uh, we’ve gained some respect from them as well. So the Outreach Center especially in X and Y neighborhoods, I think, has been an entity that has been helpful in the matter of reducing delinquency.”]

While some pastors say that the homicides have been reduced merely “un poco,” [“a little”] for one pastor they have been reduced substantially: he calculates the reduction has been by 30-40 per cent, going from daily homicides to about six or seven per month.

Finally, coordinators of USAID-sponsored Centros de Alcance Positivo (Positive Outreach Centers), aimed at preventing/reducing youth violence and crime, see a reduction in violence over the past three years, since the Centers were established. One coordinator, a man who has lived in the community for twenty years, says,

“Pues yo pienso que ha habido un (pausa) ha bajado la violencia, sí ha bajado lo que es la violencia porque la comunidad si en total no ha sido violenta, violenta verdad? Porque

tengo 20 años de vivir aquí verdad? Y sí hay incremento. Antes de entrar al proyecto iba incrementando muy rápido y yo pienso que a tiempo se creó este proyecto, todos los proyectos que han hecho a tiempo se han hecho. Ahora lo que es la violencia ha bajado poco a poco, ha ido paso por paso bajando y esperamos que siga bajando más.”

Translation [“Well, I think there’s been (pause), that violence has gone down, yes, violence has gone down because overall the community hasn’t been violent, violent, you know? Because I’ve lived here for 20 years, you see? And, yes, there’s an increase (in violence). Before starting the project, it was going up very quickly and I think that this project was created in the nick of time. All the projects they’ve done have been made just in time...Now (the) violence has gone down little by little; it’s been going down step by step, and we hope that it continues to go down even more.”]

An interview with the other USAID implementing partner, RTI/CECI, citing statistics from the National Civil Police (PNC), reports at the end of 2012 that in several communities and municipalities where RTI/CECI had been carrying out their violence prevention programs, “the homicide rate decreased noticeably.⁶ According to cumulative data published by the PNC in September, zero homicides were reported in the eight communities supported by CVPP (Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Project in El Salvador (USAID/RTI/CECI)) compared with five homicides in 2011... At the municipal level, during 2012, the homicide rate dropped 27%, declining from 11 homicides in 2011 to 8 homicides in 2012.”

Perception of Insecurity

When assessing feelings of insecurity at the national level in Figure 14, responses to the following question: “In your opinion is this community very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?” indicate that perceived levels of neighborhood insecurity place El Salvador in the middle among countries in the region with 43.8 points in a 0-100 scale.

⁶ RTI International. 2012. *Community-Based Crime and Violence Prevention Project (Proyecto de Prevención de la Violencia y del Crimen a Nivel Comunitario)*, Fifth Annual Report, October 2011 through September 2012.

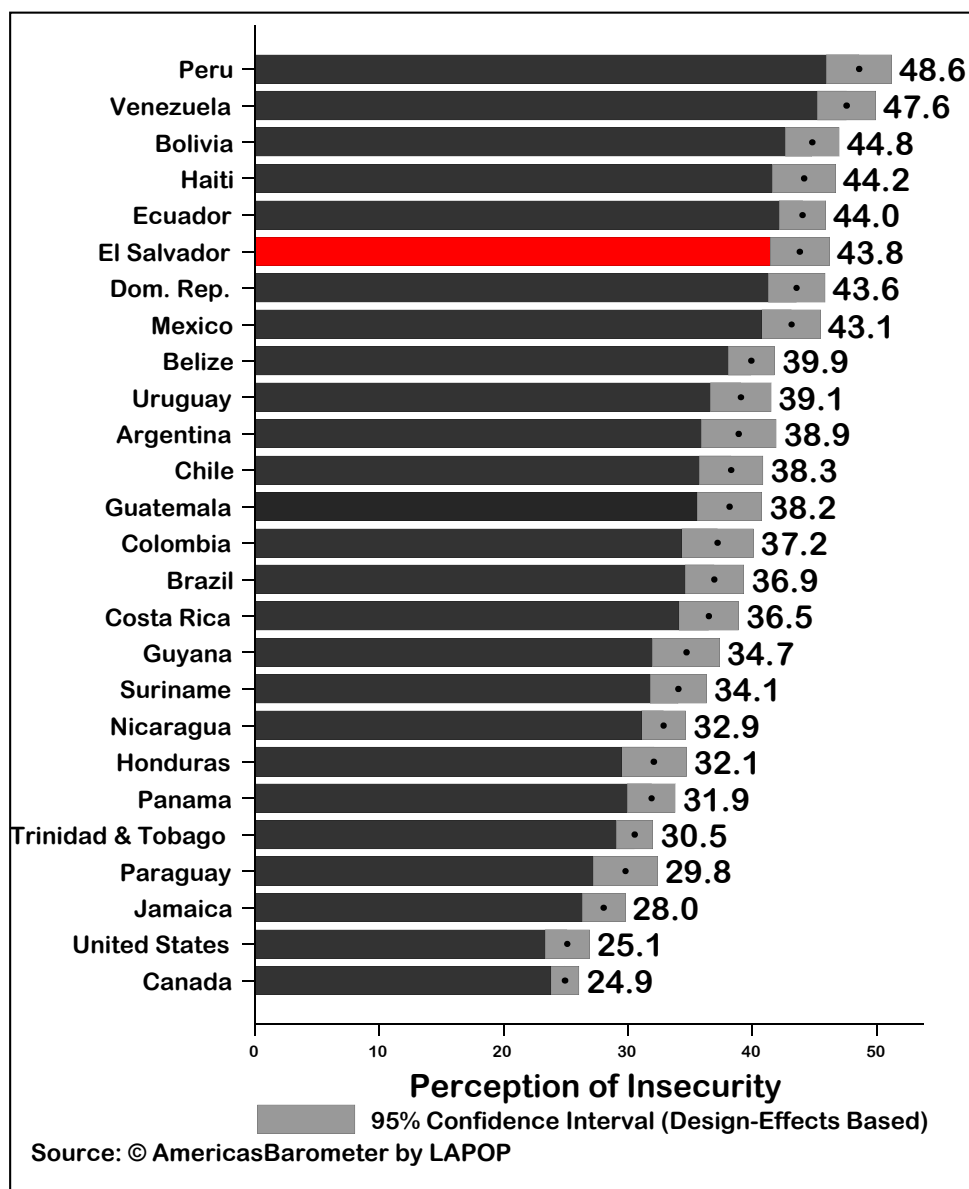


Figure 14. Perception of Insecurity

Community level data in Figure 15 shows predicted responses to the question of neighborhood insecurity. Residents of treatment communities felt safer at the end of the third year of evaluation, whereas insecurity increased in control communities (the scale ranges from 0-very safe to 100-very unsafe) during the same time period. In the absence of the program, residents in treatment communities would have been expected to report greater insecurity (7.7 points higher). The predicted value for the treatment communities is 17% lower than would be expected if the treatment had not been administered, a statistically significant difference.

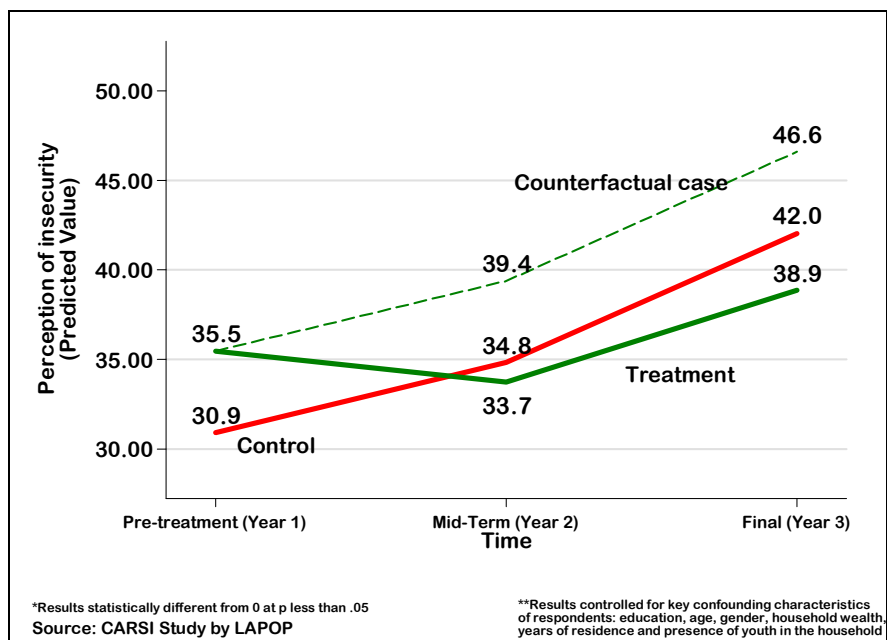


Figure 15. Perception of Insecurity (Predicted Value)

The effectiveness of the treatment does not vary with any of the analyzed neighborhood contextual variables.

When assessing feelings of insecurity, responses to the following question: “Could you tell me how safe or unsafe you would feel walking alone in this neighborhood at night. Would you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, very unsafe?” indicate, in Figure 16, that respondents in both treatment and control communities felt less unsafe in 2012. It also shows that residents reported feeling greater insecurity when walking alone at night in treatment communities than in control communities (Figure 16), but in comparison to Year 1, respondents felt less insecure. In the absence of the program, residents would have reported greater insecurity in Year 3. The predicted outcome in the treatment communities is 13% lower than would be expected had the treatment not been administered.

The effectiveness of the treatment does not vary with any of the analyzed neighborhood contextual variables. Neither community resources nor the physical or social order of the neighborhood are associated with the extent to which the treatment reduces insecurity.

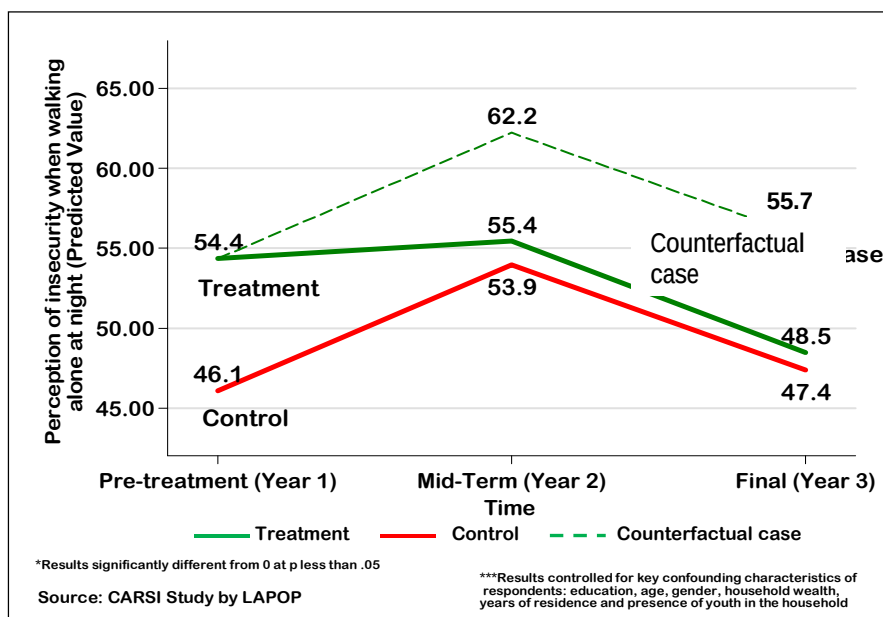


Figure 16. Perception of Insecurity When Walking Alone at Night

The effectiveness of the treatment does not vary with any of the analyzed neighborhood contextual variables.

Qualitative results. The qualitative interviews reveal that the increase in sense of security can be attributed to several factors beyond the truce. One is the sense that the municipality, together with the police, are monitoring potential crime on a daily basis through video surveillance cameras, according to one leader: “Ya se están viendo resultados porque... porque cualquiera que empieza a pelear pum...la policía está monitoreando todos los días mira quien lo hace quien lo empezó y resuelve el problema fácil.” [“The results are already apparent because...because anybody that starts fighting, bam! The police are monitoring every day to see who does what, who started it, and they solve the problem easily.”]

When asked how safe they felt walking on the street during the daytime, community leaders reported feeling quite safe. As one male leader put it, he feels “En que ahorita tengo un... una seguridad casi de un noventa por ciento pues porque me siento seguro pues porque yo conozco toda la gente y...y si alguien anda que es desconocido pues inmediatamente si miramos que es sospechoso llamamos a la policía para que vaya a investigar que anda haciendo que quien es entonces ya...ya resolvemos el problema” [“Right now I’m almost 90 per cent safe because, I feel safe, well, because I know all the people and, and if anyone who’s unknown walks around (here), and if we see that he looks suspicious, we immediately call the police so that they investigate what it is that he’s doing and who he is, and so we resolve the problem right then.”]

He said he felt just as safe at night, because he calls the police whenever there is something suspicious that he sees. Yet he feels “70 per cent” worried that someone would enter his house to rob it when there’s no one home. His major concern, and this has been mentioned by many community leaders, is that someone from another neighborhood (“Porque como tal vez el mañoso

no es de la colonia pero es de otro lugar”) would be most likely to commit such a robbery. And while he feels 70 per cent worried that someone might stop him in the street to threaten, beat or harm him in some other way, he says he is not in the habit of avoiding certain parts of his community because they might be dangerous. Other leaders confirm feeling safe walking on the streets during the day and while after 9:00 p.m. there may be:

“entrando a la comunidad de hecho en la comunidad hay jóvenes y a veces nosotros que ya estamos un poco adultos se nos llega las once de la noche este platicando o este... hablando tonteras como se dice, pues este y no tenemos ningún problema,”

Translation [“coming into the community, in fact, in the community there are young people and sometimes those of us who are a little older find ourselves still chatting or, uh, shooting the breeze, you might say, at 11 at night, and, uh, we have no problem.”]

The leader who said this also conveyed that he does not feel threatened by those within his community. He is, however, concerned about the people who live outside the borders of his colonia. In answering the question as to how safe he felt walking alone in his community during the day, one community leader mentioned that there was a time when there were a lot of boys like that around, but that today you didn’t see anyone like that over there (*“hubo un tiempo que miraba bastantes muchachos así, pero hoy ya por último ya, ya no lo, ya no miraba a nadie por allá”*). So, his perception is that one’s sense of security outdoors in his community has improved. Nevertheless, an indication of perception and behavior not matching, he has done things recently (within the past three months) to improve the security of his house: he has been building a wall outside the house and has put more locks on the doors.

One female community leader says that she has no fears with respect to walking around during the day, but she and her community do feel a little more frightened to walk around at night. She says that she certainly would be worried about someone stopping her in the street to threaten her or beat her, or to harm her in some other way. And when asked if she is in the habit of avoiding walking through certain places in her community because they are dangerous, her answer was, *“Claro que sí”* (‘Of course!’). Nevertheless, despite these precautionary measures, she has done nothing to make her house more secure.

Community leaders who own cars use their cars at night, and walk during daylight hours. One such leader, a college educated man who is a member of a Municipal Council for the Prevention of Violence, feels secure enough about crime that he leaves his house unattended every day, and has never been robbed thus far. Consistent with these views is his habit of walking through any part of his community, and not avoiding any places known to be dangerous, and not doing anything to make his house and property more secure.

Perhaps for symbolic purposes, the mayor of one of the CARSI municipalities says that he walks through his municipality day and night, and that he visits the communities at all hours. In particular, he often visits the ADESCOS, the community development associations, in the evenings. While he is hardly worried at all about being threatened or assaulted on the street, or harmed in any way, he nevertheless avoids walking through areas that might be dangerous. He explains why:

“Bueno lo, nosotros tenemos una estadística del concejo municipal de prevención de violencia. A mí me dicen que la parada de buses de la...de la octava entre la octava y la décima ahí en esa parada de buses están asaltando, no debo ir ¿y por qué...y por qué me voy a ir por ahí? entonces también el ciudadano debe tener una auto-seguridad porque si en esa parada de buses asaltan yo no voy a pasar por esa parada de buses y si por A o B motivo se me queda el carro ahí, este, debo de tomar medidas rápidas para tratar de asegurar el carro y moverme yo porque de alguna forma o otra a mí me dicen, a mí me dicen en la comunidad X hay problemas, yo no voy a la comunidad X a la hora que me dicen que hay problema yo no desafío el peligro porque el peligro ahí esta y los chicos algunos me conocen pero ahí nadie está a este cómo se llama libre de...que le pase algo no...eh...eh...sí se atreve a pasar porque hay lugares sagrados en...en (comunidad X)...en (comunidad X) ahí está un Centro de Alcance. Yo camino dos cientos metros de comunidad Y al norte del Centro de Alcance, yo voy a tener, es posible que yo tenga problemas aunque ya he ido y hablado con ellos pero pueda ser que alguien esté ingerido de licor ingerido de cualquier cosa y no importe que sea yo a pesar que seamos amigos y los quiera mucho je...je...”

Translation [Well, it...we have statistics from the municipal council for the prevention of violence. They tell me that the bus stop on...on 8th between 8th and 10th, there at that bus stop, they're mugging people, that I shouldn't go there, and why, why should I go there? So citizens should also take care of themselves because if at that bus stop you get mugged I won't go near that bus stop. And if for one reason or another my car breaks down there, uh, I need to take quick measures to try to protect my car and get away from there because one way or another I'm told, I'm told that in Community X there are problems, I'm not going to go to Community X at the time I'm told that there are problems. I don't tempt fate because there's danger there, and some of the kids know me, but at that place nobody is, uh, how can I day, free from... from...having something happen to them, no...uh, umm, yes, you can risk going there because there are safe havens in...in (Community X)...in (Community X). The Outreach Center is there. I walk 200 meters in Community Y to the north of the Outreach Center, and I going to have, well, it's possible that I'll have a problem although I've gone there and talked to them, but it may be that someone is drunk or high on something, and it doesn't matter that it's me, even though we're friends and I care about them very much, ha...ha..."]

Those leaders who are active in municipal violence prevention programs (e.g., Comité para el Fomento por la Paz y el Bienestar Común) tend to be the ones who say that they feel equally safe walking around during the day and night (*“Me siento seguro tanto de día como de noche”*). In answering the question as to why he feels this way, one leader says, *“La confianza de que el municipio ha cambiado, de que los índices han re-, disminuido y que la ciudad es más tranquila.”* [*“The confidence (I feel) that the municipality has changed, the incidents have re-, diminished and that the city is calmer.”*] He says he walks at 9:00 or 10:00 o'clock at night to municipal council meetings from his house, and *“me siento tranquilo andar, pero a esa hora hace cinco o seis años no lo había.”* [*“I feel safe walking there, but five or six years ago at that hour, I didn't.”*] Thus, for him, there has been a dramatic change in public safety over the past five to six years. He feels the same sense of safety in visiting communities known for their relatively high crime levels. Nevertheless, he does avoid going near to places known for their gang presence and has taken measures to make his home more secure only once, after robbers stole all of the sinks in his house,

which was to put a barbed wire fence outside of it; but that was fourteen years prior to the time of the interview.

Most of the clergy interviewed expressed a sense of safety in walking down the streets of their communities during the day, but they admitted that there were certain areas in the community where they would not walk at night. Most mentioned that they believed the rest of the residents felt much more fearful of walking around at night than they did.

One aspect of citizen insecurity in the context of neighborhood crime that emerged from the qualitative interviews is the fear that schoolteachers have for students in their school who either are believed to be gang members or who merely affiliate with gangs but are not yet officially inducted into the gangs. These teachers also fear the known gang members who are no longer students in their school (or who never were, because they come from other neighborhoods). Their fears are grounded in well-publicized news stories that came out in the media during the fieldwork for this study, which reported that schoolteachers had been murdered, threatened with murder, or extorted, by gang members.

III. Neighborhood Disorder (Including Youth Vulnerability to Crime and Gang Activity)

We evaluate the extent to which residents perceive youth involvement in crime and gang activity as a significant problem with responses to the following question: “Which of the following do you view as a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not so serious, not serious, or not a problem at all in your neighborhood? Young people or children in the streets doing nothing, roaming around in [Name of Neighborhood].” Figure 17 shows that the perception of youth loitering as a serious problem decreased sharply in treatment communities in the final year of the evaluation, though less so in control communities. In the final year of evaluation, the average predicted value for the treatment group is about 57 points on a 0-100 scale ranging from “not a problem” to “a very serious problem” in the treatment group. Loitering was 8% lower in the treatment group than would be expected had the program not been implemented.

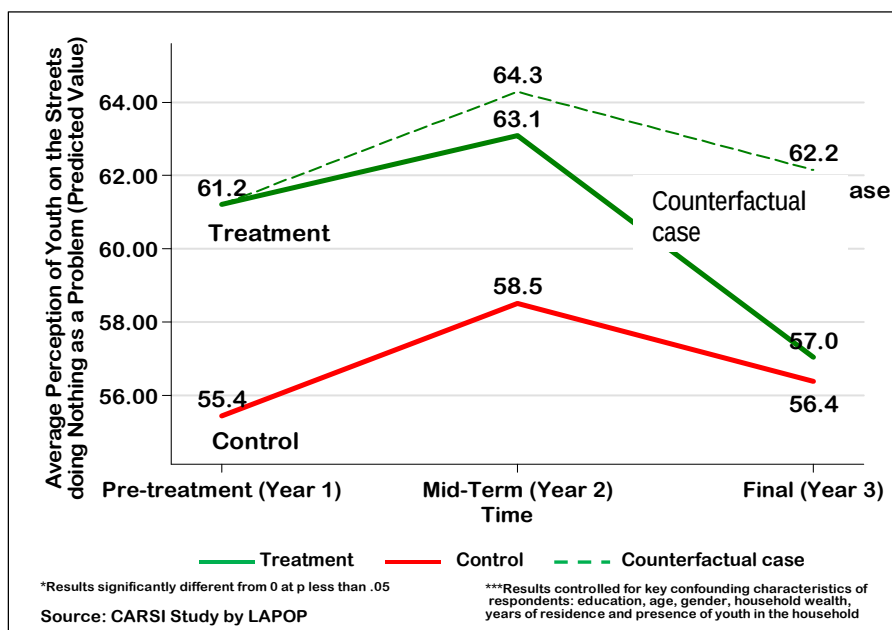


Figure 17. Perception of Loitering Youth as a Problem

To assess the extent to which youth in gangs are perceived as a neighborhood problem (Figure 18), respondents were asked “which of the following is a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not so serious, not serious, or not a problem in your neighborhood? Young people or children that live in [Name of Neighborhood], who are in gangs or maras”.

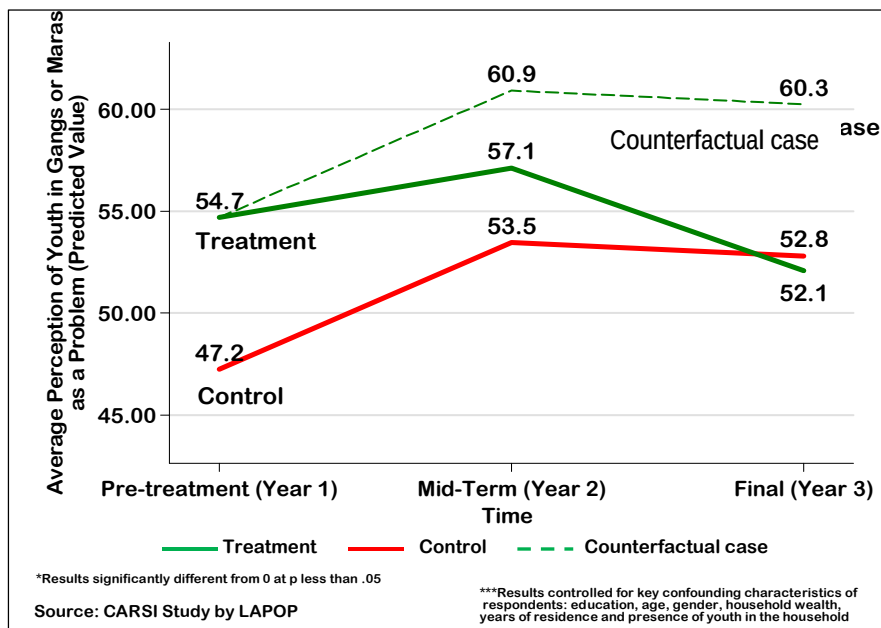


Figure 18. Perception of Youth in Gangs or Maras as a Problem

Figure 18 shows that the average predicted value of the perception that youth in gangs are a serious problem decreased slightly in treatment communities, but increased significantly in control communities across the three time points. In the final year of evaluation, the average predicted value for the treatment group is about 52 points on a 0-100 scale ranging from “not a problem” to “a very serious problem.” This is 14% lower than would be expected in the absence of the program.

Moreover, we assess the extent to which residents see gang fights as a problem in their neighborhoods. When asked “which of the following is a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not so serious, not serious, or not a problem in your neighborhood? Gang fights”, Figure 19 shows that predicted levels of responses to this question decreased by the end of the third year of evaluation in the treatment group, while it increased in the control group compared to Year 1. The extent to which treatment group in Year 3 saw gang fights as a problem was 12% lower than predicted in the counterfactual case—the expected level had the program not been in place.

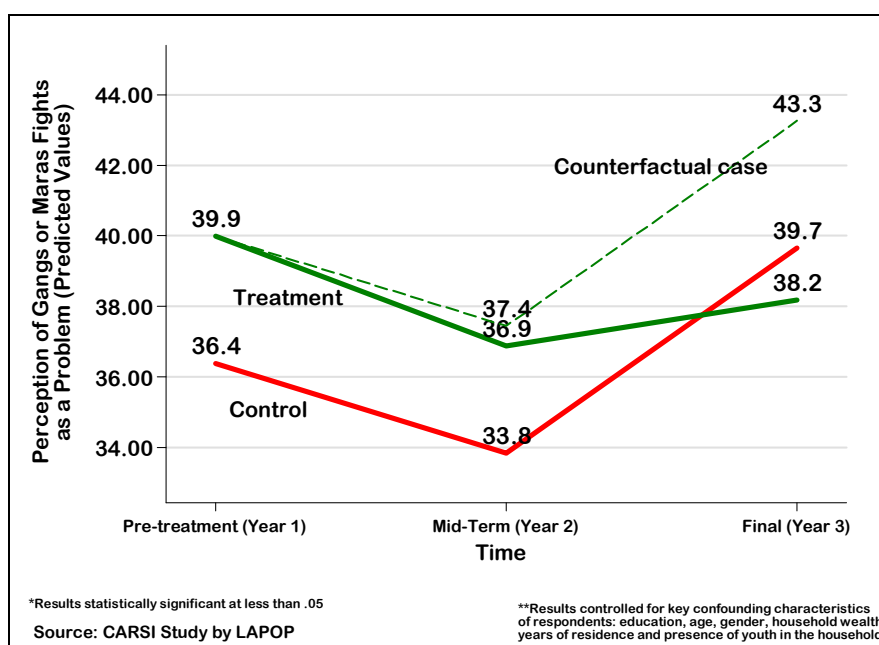


Figure 19. Perception of Gangs or Maras Fights as a Problem

The effectiveness of the treatment on reducing reports of youth in gangs, youth loitering and gang fights as a serious problem varies with the neighborhood context. Of the contextual variables analyzed, the effect of the treatment on reports of both youth loitering, youth in gangs and gang fights is stronger in presence of schools and greater physical disorder (a composite indicator at the block level that measures the presence of garbage, broken glass, alcohol bottles or beer cans, cigarette butts, abandoned vehicles, lots overgrown with grass, abandoned or looted homes, homes with broken windows, sewage in the streets, and places that generate bad odors).⁷ The presence of churches in the community has the tendency to reduce youth loitering reports in treatment areas, but not gang reports.

⁷ All contextual models include a measure of the number of children age 10 to 18 to control for the increased likelihood of incidences of youth loitering and youth in gangs as a function of the number of youth in the neighborhood.

Figures 20 - 22 show how the effectiveness of the treatment on perceptions of loitering and gang activity changes with increasing physical disorder. The treatment works better in areas with high physical disorder. From what the qualitative interviews show, this finding makes sense, as loitering and gang activity are closely interrelated with physical disorder and neighborhood organizations work to reduce the presence of physical disorder

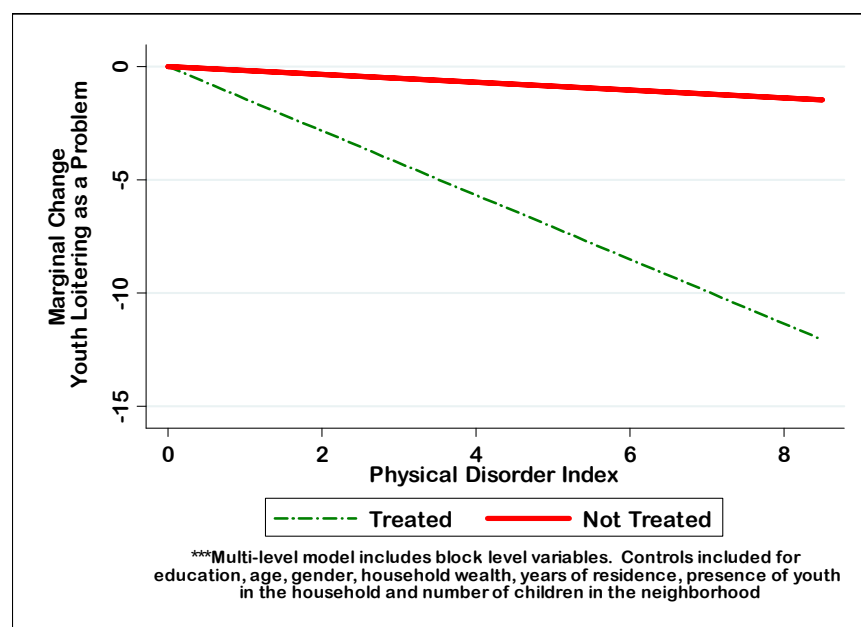


Figure 20. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth Loitering as a Problem in the Presence of Block-Level Physical Disorder

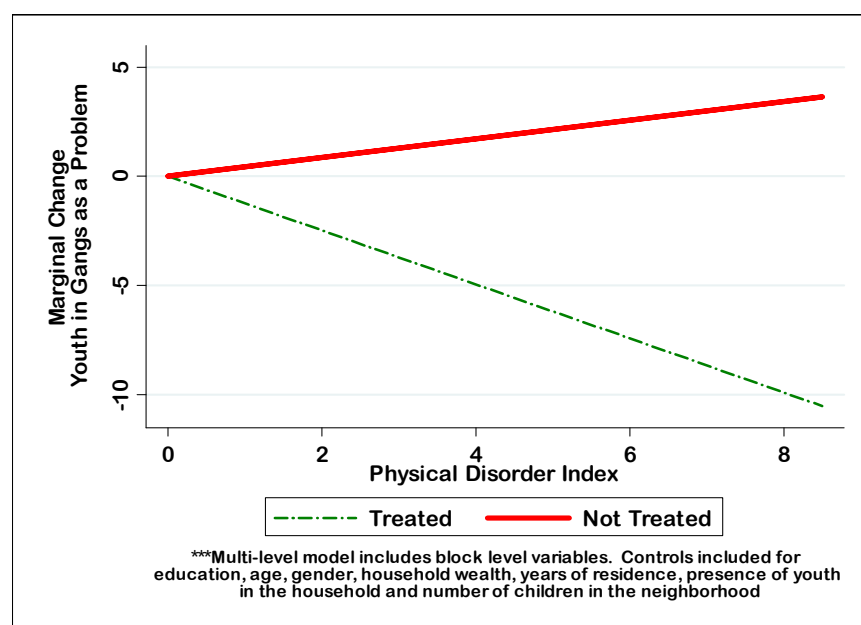


Figure 21. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth in Gangs as a Problem in the Presence of Block-Level Physical Disorder

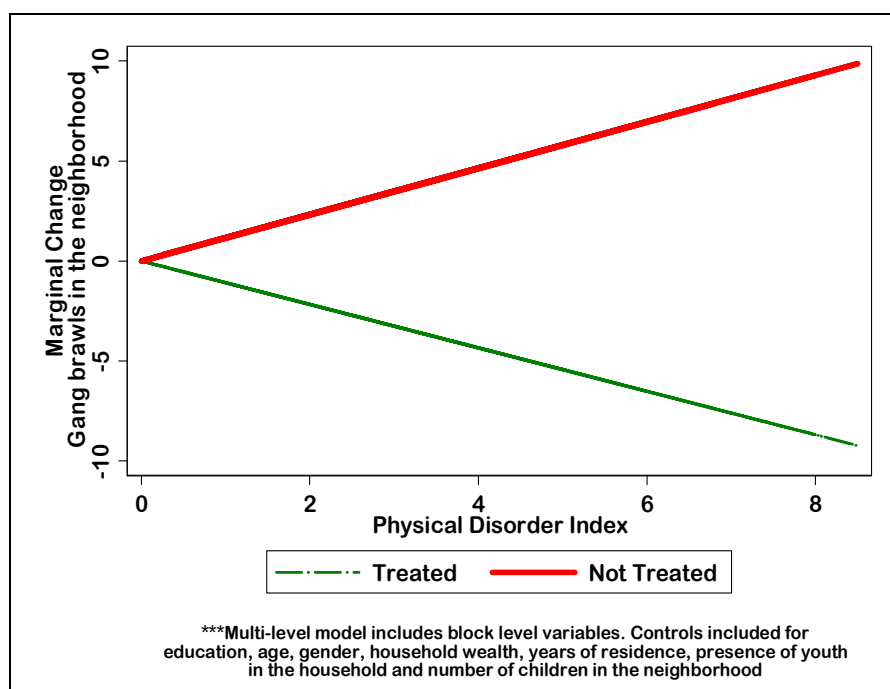


Figure 22. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Gang fights as a Problem in the Presence of Block-Level Physical Disorder

Likewise, without treatment, reports of youth loitering and youth in gangs are the same in communities with and without schools of any type. With treatment, however, the schools are associated with fewer reports of youth loitering and youth in gangs as shown in Figures 23 and 24. This is not surprising, given prevention treatments that include police protection of school grounds and school programs (e.g., “Discipline through Sports”). According to the qualitative interviews, the police regularly guard the entrances/exits of schools at the beginning and closing of the school day, to protect them from gang members who may be waiting outside, intent on either extortion or luring them into the gang. We were told that the police regularly give talks to students about the dangers of joining gangs, of using narcotic drugs and alcohol, and about the importance of “values.”

Qualitative results. Teachers report that the police respond to school administrators’ calls for help during outbreaks of violence as well as non-violent crimes. The innovative Discipline through Sports program, in which police officers teach sports and values in school physical education classes, is aimed at reducing the possibility of students dropping out of school and joining gangs. By the third round of interviews, however, one school director had thrown the police officer out of her school, because he had acted aggressively with the students who were not behaving properly in his class. And while guarding the schools is part of the Policía Nacional Civil prevention efforts, school teachers report that their presence as guards is irregular and even sporadic, while other teachers report a frequent and regular presence of police guarding the entrances. This variation, no doubt, has to do with the personnel resources of the PNC precinct that correspond to a given school. We were frequently told by the teachers that resources were a limiting factor as the police are stretched too thinly.

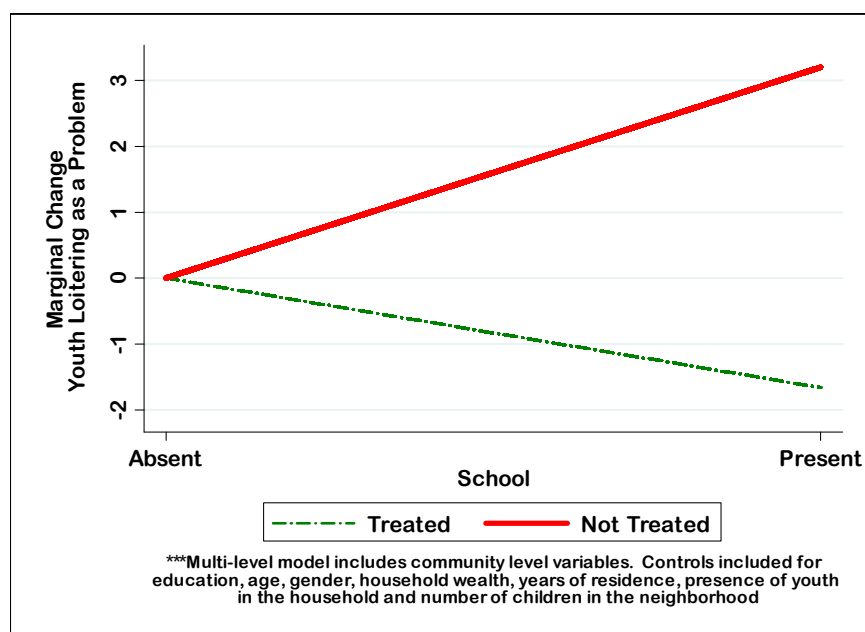


Figure 23. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth Loitering as a Problem in the Presence of Schools in the Community

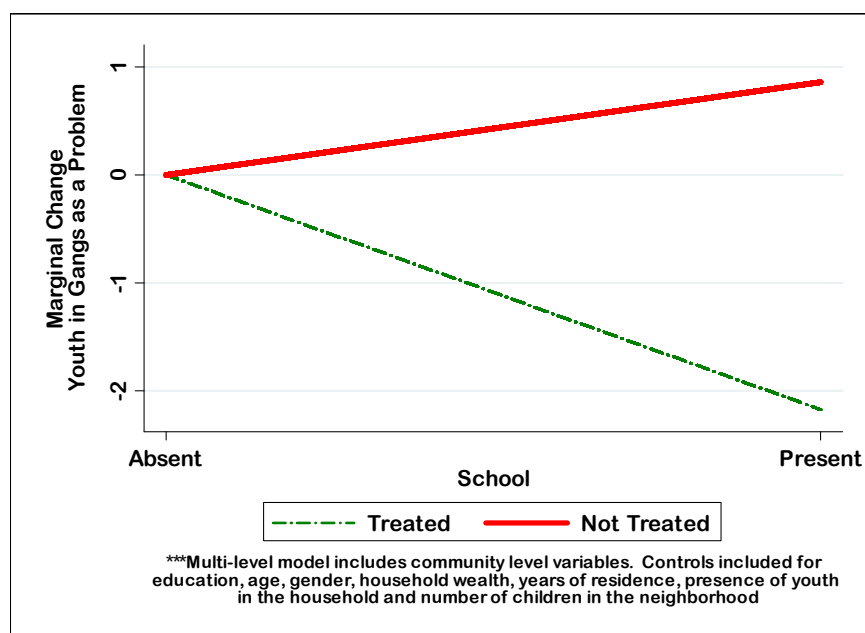


Figure 24. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth in Gangs as a Problem in the Presence of Schools in the Community

Churches in the community have a similar effect on youth loitering as schools. Both Protestant and Catholic churches reduce reports of loitering in neighborhoods with treatment, which is the overall conclusion we draw from this analysis. But, the effectiveness of the treatment is stronger in the communities with Catholic churches than Protestant churches, even though, we stress again,

both have an effect of reducing perception of youth loitering in communities. The stronger effect of the treatment associated with Catholic churches may be due to the way in which the treatment was implemented through the churches, or the manner in which the churches interact with their communities. Figures 25 and 26 show the difference in loitering between communities with and without churches (Protestant and Catholic) for both the treated and untreated communities.⁸

Since both Protestant pastors and Catholic priests are members of municipal councils for the prevention of crime and violence, it is not surprising that both types of religious leaders help reduce loitering in treated communities. That the presence of Catholic churches rather than Protestant ones is associated with lower perception levels of youth loitering and gang presence as problematic may be a function of where Catholic churches are typically located: in the very urban center of the community, bordering on public parks and plazas, which is where police patrolling is most frequent. Protestant churches, in contrast, are found throughout neighborhoods, often occupying small buildings on ordinary streets. Police presence is generally greatest in the commercial centers of communities, acting as a deterrent to loitering and overt gang gathering.

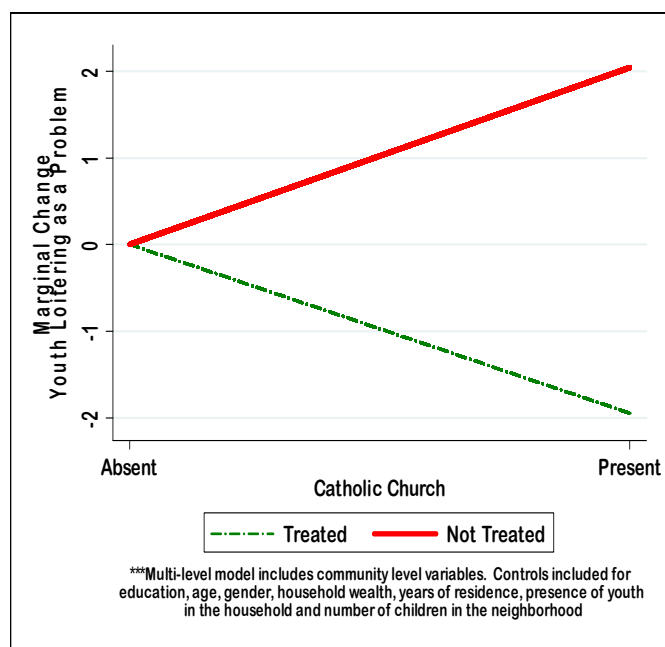


Figure 25. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth Loitering as a Problem in the Presence of a Catholic Church in the Community

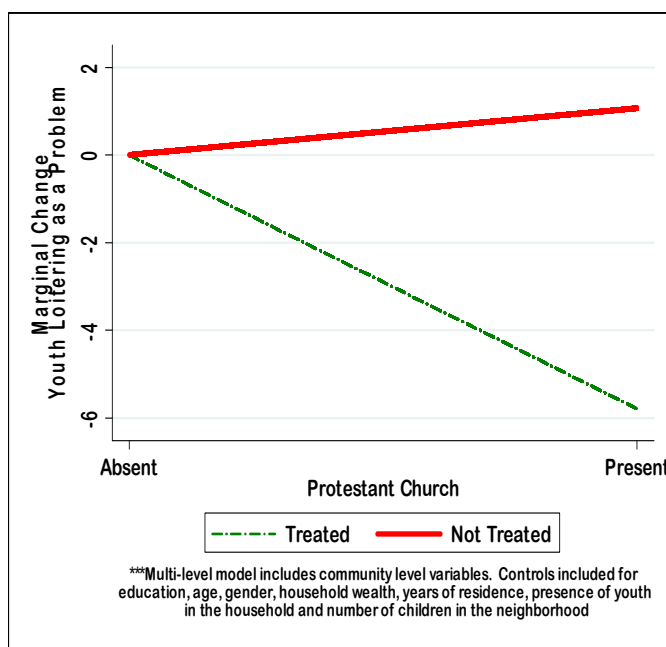


Figure 26. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth Loitering as a Problem in the Presence of a Protestant Church in the Community

Qualitative results. Based on the qualitative interviews, beginning with the first year of the project, schoolteachers and school directors complained about the role of youth gangs in threatening their students as well as the teachers themselves. Overall, instructional staff described a pattern of gang members lurking outside the schools, waiting for students to enter and leave the school premises.

⁸ Note that these two graphs represent two different statistical models (one with Catholic churches as a context variable and one with Protestant churches). The two models should not be compared directly, but conclusions should be drawn from *within* each model (graph).

They wait there in order to (1) extort money from them, (2) lure them into gang membership, and (3) approach girls. It is because of this threatening behavior that the police have placed officers next to school entrances to protect the students. Unfortunately, we were told over-and-over, the National Civil Police does not have the personnel to assign an officer to work five or six days a week at every school. Therefore, there are yawning gaps in security at the schools.

Many teachers claimed that there were no gang members in their school, even if there are beyond the school fences. They made this same claim in each of the three rounds of interviews. They made this claim based on the fact that students are required to come to school in regulated uniforms and hairstyles, and that the use of makeup and jewelry are also tightly controlled. Body piercing, for example, is not permitted, nor are “extravagant” and “unusual” hairstyles or heavy makeup. Many teachers say, however, that they find out that some of their students are indeed gang members only when they run into them in the street after school hours, because their appearance has been drastically changed.

School directors, on the whole, are more forthcoming than the ordinary classroom teachers, and admit that they either have a genuine gang presence among the students or “*simpatizantes*” [“*sympathizers*”] of the gangs (generally younger siblings and other relatives or neighbors of gang members). Teachers report that joining gangs can begin as early as kindergarten and first grade, as these are usually children whose parents are themselves members of gangs, and who are taught at an early age to engage in extortion, as their first contribution to the gang. One school director reported in the qualitative interviews that there were four students known to be gang members in his sixth grade class, twelve in his two seventh grade classes, three in eighth grade, and three in ninth. She considered this to be “*no mucho*.” [“*Not a lot*.”] In another municipality, directors said that the typical age for joining a gang was twelve. In a third municipality, directors said that children join at ages twelve, thirteen, or fourteen. The *simpatizantes*—who are as young as first and second-graders—when asked in class what they want to be when they grow up, have answered, “*Quiero ser pandillero, como mi hermano*.” [“*I want to be in a gang, just like my brother*.”]

One puzzle that emerged in the study was how it is that teachers, police officers, community leaders, and citizens themselves know when they are confronting a member of a gang. In short, how do teachers know that a student is a gang member, so that we can tell if their reports are accurate? The following are some of the signs of gang membership noted by teachers:⁹

(1) *Poor academic performance*. Negative attitudes toward making an effort in class; lack of interest in schoolwork.

(2) *Use of language*. A lot of sign language, lots of gestures, “lack of respect” in their way of speaking. Use of foul, vulgar vocabulary (“*lenguaje soez*”), a tone of voice conveying a great deal of power, as if wanting to make their presence felt. A gang member “doesn’t say anything,” talking in monosyllables or in short sentences that are cut off.

⁹ The questions regarding gang membership identification were worded in a gender neutral way, but the impression one gets from stakeholder responses is that they were describing boys. However a separate question was asked regarding female gang members, and answers to this question were not very informative. Mainly they consisted of references to the use of heavy, dark makeup and provocative clothing.

(3) *Boys' haircuts are unusual.* “Extravagant” hair standing straight up, with a lot of gel (although this is a style also seen on TV and films, so it is not necessarily a marker of gang membership, some teachers say). Sometimes eyebrows are cut off.

(4) *Tattoos.* While some school directors find that those they suspect of gang membership do not have tattoos, others do see this type of body marking. The newest members have tattoos on parts of the body that typically are covered by clothing, in order to remain indistinguishable from non-gang members; the tattoos are hidden; while they used to tattoo themselves in visible places, now they don't, many teachers as well as police officers say.

(5) *Their way of walking.* They walk strangely (“*caminan ellos todos raros*”); they walk like robots.

(6) *Belligerent, intimidating expression on their faces; rebellious behavior.*

(7) *Clothing.* Oversized pants, slung low, below the waist; “calichera” [Salvadoran hip] style clothing; baggy pants, loose shirts; recently, they have started wearing very tightly-fitting pants; belts with flashy buckles (e.g., with skulls on them); scarves tied to their heads, around their necks, in their pockets.

(8) *They start off lacking good moral, spiritual values.*

(9) *They look very different and act very differently on the street, compared to the way they do in school.*

(10) *Their gaze.* They avert their gaze when they see you looking at them in the street (they look down when they see you and realize that you know them, i.e., they are embarrassed to be recognized by their teachers).

(11) *Girls' appearance:* heavy use of dark-colored makeup, “provocative” (i.e., revealing) clothing.

Many school personnel say that they cannot tell which of their students are members of gangs, since none of the students commit crimes in the school. However, several school directors contradict those statements, listing the types of damage that gang members have done to their schools, including marking bathrooms, school desks, and external walls with graffiti:

“Manchan, destruyen los baños, los servicios no permanecen buenos en ningún momento, más que todo los varones, les arrancan el sistema completamente, va...ahora se los cambian, mañana se lo arrancan...manchan la pared. Yo estoy pintando...los chorros...lo co... compro de una que...son más caros va...pero ellos le...con la llavecita se las quitan y ya lo destruyen...eh... manchan las mesitas, eh...los pupitres, o sea...quiebran los focos, las lámparas, destruyen...”

Translation [*“They mark them up, they destroy the bathrooms, the bathrooms are always out of order, especially the boys, they pull everything out of the walls, you know. One day they're repaired, the next day they pull them out again...they scribble all over the wall.*”

I'm painting...the urinals...I buy a kind that's more expensive, you see, but they...with the flush lever they pull them out again and ruin them...you know...they write all over the little tables, you know...the desks...they break the light bulbs, the lamps, they ruin..."]

School teachers/directors were not asked if the parents were members of gangs or not, since we were worried about violation of confidential information. However, there is some indirect information on this: the fact that some single mothers were said to work at night, leaving their children unsupervised, the implication being that the mothers were doing sex work, and the fact that school administrators said that they were afraid to enter the homes of certain students who were having behavior problems in school. There is no question that school personnel are afraid of some of the parents and are willing to talk to them only in the safe environment of the school building. Given the murders of some schoolteachers in El Salvador over the past three years, this fear is not surprising. Admitting a child believed to be a member of a gang is problematic for school administrators. One director explains the difficulties she faces:

"No, le voy a hacer sincera, no sé dónde pedirla, no sé dónde pedirla, si me gustaría saber y conocer quién me puede ayudar en colaborar porque ese aspecto sí lo tengo que mejorar y es mi reto para el siguiente año, mejorar ese aspecto, se me llenó de tanto pandillero por decir: "pobrecitos"...tienen derechos...pobrecito...porque de la (nombre de escuela) expulsados, y mire el papá llorando y yo no sabía que eran pandilleros vea...pero de la otra escuela sí...y formé los...el tercer ciclo grande, yo feliz porque mi matrícula bien grande, pero ahí está que me eché encima a los docentes me dijeron...usted solo pandilleros agarró y yo no sabía, entonces hoy digo yo...la lástima no funciona...acaba de venir una señora que el niño va salir y quiere matrícula le digo yo...lo siento mucho señor pero no...no depende de mí le dije yo...me pueden cerrar el bachillerato si le agarró a su...a su niño..."Mire que en ninguna escuela me lo han querido agarrar," "Pues ni yo tampoco," le dije. "Entonces voy a ir hablar allá para que le hablen." "Vaya hablar...y cuando me hablen lo mismo les voy a decir que no puedo...porque se me van a ir 20 por agarrar al niño." No sé qué me van a decir si me van a demandar porque si son 3 meses sin goce de sueldo si yo no agarro a un alumno."

Translation ["No, I'll be truthful with you, I don't know where to ask (for help), I don't know where to ask for it, I would really like to know and meet someone who can help me and work with me because in that respect I do have to improve, and it's my challenge for next year to improve that situation. (My school) got so full of gang members because I'd say, 'poor little things'...they have rights...poor little thing...because they were expelled from (Name of school) and just look at the dad crying, and I didn't know they were gang members, you see... but from the other school, I did...and I formed the...the third big cycle, and I was happy because my enrollment was very large, but it was then that the teachers took me to task. They said, 'all you admitted were gang members,' and I didn't know it, so now I tell you...pity doesn't work...a woman just came in whose child is moving up and wants to enroll him, and I tell her 'I'm very sorry, ma'am, but I can't (admit your child).' I told her 'it's not my decision, my high school could be closed if I admit your boy.' 'But no other school wants to admit him,' 'Well neither do I,' I told her. 'Well, then I'm going over there to tell them to talk to you.' 'You go ahead and do that, and when they talk to me, I'm going to tell them the same thing: that I can't admit him...'because I'll lose 20 (students) if I admit him.' I don't know what they are going to say to me, if they'll sue me because I can be docked three months' salary if I don't admit a student."]

In short, this director walks a fine line between needing to meet enrollment standards from the perspective of the Ministry of Education, which means admitting students who turn out to be gang members, albeit unbeknownst to her, and consequently losing as many as twenty students already enrolled because their parents would pull them out of the school to protect them from the presence of gang youths. In addition, gang members self-segregate by school: in a school that has Mara Salvatrucha gang presence, no member of the Calle 18 will enroll, and vice-versa, because otherwise gang warfare would erupt within the school.

Some school directors have asserted their right not to admit gang members into their schools, for fear of losing students who are not at-risk. One director puts it this way, referring to 2011:

“Eso fue este año, entonces, este año he procurado disminuir los grados, eso me toca para llenarlos y no agarrar esta gente pero...tenemos otro problema que nos vienen alumnos recomendados por jueces, por ejemplo ahorita tenía una señora aquí adentro que el niño ya va salir y quiere matricula pa primer año, esta...y que me mandan a decir que lo tengo que agarrar, “Pues lo siento mucho,” le dije, “que yo prefiero este...que no se me vayan los 15 a tenerlo aquí a él adentro.””

Translation [“That happened this year, so this year I’ve worked on having fewer grade levels. I need to do this to be able to fill them and not admit those people but...we have another problem and that is that we get students sent to us by judges’ recommendations, for example, I just had a lady in here whose child is moving up and she wants to enroll him for first year, and I get word that I have to admit him, ‘Well, I’m very sorry,’ I told her, ‘I’d rather, uh, not lose the 15 I have than have him here in school.’”]

According to a number of our stakeholder interviews, the influence of gangs in CARSI treatment communities is diminishing, however. For example, more than one school director has said that the problem of gang members approaching school students in an effort to recruit them has diminished. In answering the question, “Do gang members who are not students in this school come here to try to persuade other youths to join their gang?” one school director answered in the following way:

“Ese fue el problema que...va...cuando yo vine...sí lo hacíamos...cuando yo vine era un sólo desorden...que yo hasta me asusté cuando vine a la escuela que entraba va...y tatuados y todo y sentados en las mesitas y como que era su casa, empecé a sacarlos pero con modos va...miré hijito usted no puede estar aquí...usted no estudiante...si...eh...váyanse...y...con miedito los fui sacando y fue cerrando, pero se fue llenando, me lo fue...me fueron mandando alumnos...o sea, esa fue la estrategia de ellos, cuando yo vine pues...no había mucho alumno pandillero pero si ellos ingresaban a la hora que ellos querían, cuando yo los saqué empezaron a mandármelos a todos, entonces, dentro el alumno dice que viene y se va...va identificando al niño que puede ser parte, que es a fin a ellos y hacen su círculo, y mira hay que quebrar esto, hay que manchar esto, anormal, porque es un niño que le dijo...puso el rótulo vea...y la maestra atrás y él no lo había visto, “mira” dice que le dijo...”me vas a despintar eso”...”yo no señorita,” ah...”no” le dijo...”si mañana voy a traer la pintura...” y cuando iba el niño lo paró el muchacho que es pandillero y le dijo...”¿A quién le vas a hacer caso, a la vieja o a mi?...vos no vas a despintar eso”...”jah no!” le dijo la maestra, “a mi me vas a hacer caso” El el otro año ya no vino...o sea nosotros nos alegramos, le dijo a él el otro no va

venir aquí. Le dijo, “y vos si...entonces tu matricula te la estás jugando si no me despintas esto,” y ella recibió amenazas de ese mismo muchacho, pero...no...no sé...ella y yo quizás nos parecemos...y le digo, “mire vamos a actuar y...que nos cuide Dios.” Y entonces los llamamos, “Mirá vos dicen que has amenazado a la maestra,” “No seño miré...no le dije,” “Tené cuidado porque si ahorita vamos a la policía vos vas preso,” le dije, “por amenaza, y nosotros no queremos llegar a esos extremos...vos no te has portado bien,” “Sé seño.” Hasta ahí quedó...va hasta ahí quedó, pero sí recibimos amenazas...mju...”

Translation [“That was the problem that, well, when I got here, we did do that...when I came here everything was in complete disorder, so much so that even I was afraid when I came to school; these kids came, you know, all tattooed and lounging on the little tables as if they were at home. So I started getting them out of here, but gingerly, you know, ‘Look, son, you can’t be here...you’re not a student...right? Uh, go away’...and...very timidly I started getting rid of them and the problem started to resolve. But then we started filling up again, they...they started sending me students. I mean that was their strategy. When I got here, well, there weren’t many gang member students, but the ones who were came to school at whatever time they felt like. When I got rid of them, they started sending me all of them, then when the student says he’s coming and they start sizing up whether the kid could be a gang member, whether he’s a gang sympathizer. (These kids) make their own groups, and (they say) ‘look, we’re gonna break this, we’re gonna put graffiti all over this, not normal, because he’s a kid who was told...he put the sign up, you know, and the teacher was in the back and didn’t see it. ‘Look,’ the teacher says she told him, ‘You’re going to take the paint off of that’...’Not me, miss’ uh...’ ‘No. Tomorrow I’m going to bring some paint...’ And when the kid was leaving he was stopped by the boy who is a gang member, who said to him, ‘So who are you going to pay attention to? The old lady or me? You’re not taking the paint off that.’ ‘Oh, no,’ the teacher told him, ‘you’re going to do what I say.’ The next year the guy didn’t come back, which we were happy about. The teacher told the student that the other guy wasn’t coming back. She told the kid, ‘You’re risking getting expelled if you don’t remove the graffiti, like I told you to,’ and she received threats from this same kid, but...no... I don’t know...she and I may be a lot alike...and I tell her, ‘Look, we’ve got to take action and...may God help us.’ So then we called them, ‘Look here, we’re told that you threatened the teacher,’ ‘No, sir, no.’ I told him, ‘Watch out because if we go to the police, you’re going to jail,’ I told him, ‘for making threats, and we don’t want this to go that far...you’ve behaved badly.’ ‘I know, ma’am...’ So that’s it, you know, that’s it, but if we get threats, uh huh...”]

What role does the Ministry of Education play in all of this? The answer is: very little. Whereas MINED gives school administrators broad guidelines on how they are to carry out the educational mission of the schools, administrators have ways of working around MINED policies. For example, expulsion from schools, previously common, is now virtually disallowed, say school personnel. Only in cases of serious crimes (e.g., attempted homicide, sexual assault, or robbery) can a school director expel a student from a school. Yet students whose behavior falls quite short of this are *de facto* forced out of schools by administrators, who exert pressure on parents to pull their problematic children out of the school and transfer them to another school. These are not official expulsions, but in effect they are.

Sometimes students who have been forced out of a school actually drop out of school entirely (i.e., no longer continue to attend any school). Unfortunately, from what school teachers and directors

report, there are no accurate calculations of how many students have truly dropped out, say the school staff, since some students merely have moved to another school district and continue on with their studies, and the schools that they have left do not track this. Moving to another school is often caused by gang-induced threats that have been made to these students.

Because of the fluidity with which families move from neighborhood to neighborhood, there is no one particular age at which students leave school, says one school director, and others confirm this:

“No hay un grado específico, no, no hay, no existe un, porque no existe un motivo, que, que, que ya esté marcado. Sino que a veces por diversas circunstancias de los padres de familia que, por, diferentes circunstancias de la vida, a veces vienen huyendo de algo, llegan a vivir allí y matriculan a los niños. Después, eh, se tienen que ir para otra parte, o, o, o de otra parte llegan; o sea, no, no, no les sabría, no se la sabría decir. Quizás, por amenazas también unos dejan la colonia y se vienen para, a buscar otro, otra, otra donde protegerse. Entonces, no, no le sabría decir qué, cuál es el motivo ni el grado así porque independientemente, pueden ser de quinto grado o de parvularia o de tercer grado.”

Translation [There's no specific grade, no there isn't. It doesn't exist, because there isn't any reason, for, for, for it to be recorded. But sometimes for different reasons they come fleeing from something, they come in order to live here and they sign up their children. Afterwards, uh, they have to leave for somewhere else, or, or, or they come from someplace else. In other words, I couldn't, couldn't, I couldn't tell you, I couldn't tell you. Maybe some leave their community because of threats, too, and and they come over to, to look for another, another one, another one to protect themselves in. So, I couldn't, I couldn't say what what the reason is, or the grade, because they might be in the fifth grade, or kindergarden, or third grade.]

Whereas MINED appears not to be involved in this movement of children from one school to another as a result of either being forced out by the school administration or being frightened away by competing gangs, MINED has been making efforts to prevent violence and crime in the schools. One of its innovative nationwide programs is *Convivencia Escolar*, which is being implemented by FUNPRES, a USAID supported NGO. In trying to make the schools harmonious places for interaction among students and between teachers and students, MINED has been training school administrators and teachers in mediation approaches to conflict resolution. As a result, the schools that have adopted the *Convivencia Escolar* (School Harmony, or Coexistence in School) program have mediation committees, consisting of school administrators, teachers, and students. In addition to instituting *Convivencia Escolar* and gradually spreading it over much of the country, MINED has organized meetings of teachers, community leaders and pastors, although not always with much success. School administrators expressed dissatisfaction with ADESCO's unenthusiastic involvement with school programs.

While MINED's efforts to train school personnel in mediation approaches is laudable, some of those personnel have expressed reservations about them. For example, one school director reported that many teachers do not want to have anything to do with conflict mediation in their classrooms because they are afraid of getting involved in these conflicts. Another director

complained about the quality of mediation training, namely that the training leaves gaps, because it is too brief (typically lasts only one day).

As effective as a teacher or administrator may be in mediating student conflicts on the school premises, there remains the often unspoken problem ever-present in the minds of these educators: the fear of retaliation outside the school property. One director in Santa Ana candidly divulges her feelings:

“Vaya, este, por supuesto que con mucha tranquilidad y, y prudencia, verdad, porque son ellos, porque son ellos los que nos amenazan a uno también, verdad (lo dice con voz baja). Pero, no, tenemos, eso no tenemos, no tenemos, verdad. El miedo lo tenemos cuando ya salimos (ríe), cuando ya salimos de la escuela, pero, lo que tratamos es de que tranquilizar al joven. Los separamos, por ejemplo, cuando me los traen acá, uno a la derecha, uno a la izquierda, el otro a la izquierda, el maestro en medio y el joven, el, el, el, hay otro joven, pues, tutor, el que vio. Entonces, hay testigos, comenzamos a, dialogar qué, qué ha sucedido entre ellos. Y, luego, este, allí hacemos que, que, que se vuelvan a hacer amigos. Aquí se abrazan, se dan la mano, pero pasamos quizás una hora dialogando con ellos, porque algunas veces no quieren ceder, verdad. Así tratamos de hacerlo.”

Translation [“Well, of course, uh (it must be done) with a lot of calmness and, and caution, you see, because they’re the ones, because they’re the ones who threaten us and me as well (speaking softly). But, no, we don’t have, we don’t have that, you see. We’re afraid when it’s time to leave school (laughs), but what we try to do is calm the student down. We take them aside, for example, when they bring them over here to me, one on the right, one on the right, the other on the left, the teacher in the middle, and a student, the, the, the, there’s another student, you see, a mentor, the one who say what happened. So then, there are witnesses, and we start talking about what happened between them. And afterwards, uh, right there, we have them, well, we try to have them make friends again. At this moment, they give each other a hug, shake hands, but we spend maybe an hour talking with them because sometimes they don’t want to give in, you know. That’s the way we try to do it.”]

The *Convivencia Escolar*, initiated in 2007, is one of the most important crime and violence prevention programs that have been put in place in Salvadoran schools in recent years. The basic aspects of the program are the following:

1. “Culture of Peace: together with values, attitudes and lifestyles, and individual and collective behavior to reduce violence and promote peaceful coexistence”
2. Student leadership: to promote “positive action toward classmates,” to be “proactive,” and to “increase the capacity for self-control.” Student leaders are encouraged to mediate conflicts between other students (e.g., break up fights). These leaders inform school authorities of potential crimes (i.e., they monitor the behavior of peers and provide intelligence to school administrators, as a crime prevention strategy).
3. Increased parent involvement with the school through:
 - a. *Cartas de compromiso* (letters of commitment): are signed by parents, committing them to pay attention to their child’s obligations toward school. They are used by the schools at the beginning of the school year, are signed by parents, teachers and students, and allow school administrators to keep a record of student academic progress and to track their behavior. These

letters detail the obligations of each of the parties. Parents are called in by the administration whenever academic performance drops, or in instances of student misconduct. Such letters are written when a student is temporarily suspended.

b. *Escuela para Padres y Madres* (School for Parents): an educational program that teaches parents about child abuse, the dangers of addictive drugs, excessive use of alcohol, gang membership.

Another MINED violence prevention initiative, one that was initiated in 2012 as a pilot program, is the *Escuela Inclusiva a Tiempo Completo*, which was to be an all-day school. The strategy of the program was to keep youths off the streets by providing them with activities during the school shifts in which they are not in classes (i.e., to keep them in school for the entire school day). The classes (workshops) would be non-traditional, such as school gardening, art, culture, science, technology, sports, and other types of recreational activities). Lunch would be paid for by the Ministry. Three municipalities were chosen for this program were Zaragoza, Usulután, and Sonsonate. The plan was to conjoin approximately 12 adjacent schools into one unit, providing the unit with resources that no one school had (e.g., a library).

Expulsion as a crime and violence prevention strategy, today is prohibited by the Ley Lepina of 2011. Nevertheless, there are some serious acts for which a student may be expelled, according to MINED regulations, say school administrators. Instead, suspension replaced it is an alternative mechanism used by the schools. According to teachers and school directors interviewed in 2012, students could be suspended for varying periods of time (from one day to a week). During that time, they were asked to perform school service (e.g., janitorial work, cleaning school grounds), and are expected to keep up with their studies. “Permanent suspension” (a euphemism used for expulsion) was said to be unusual. However, when this happened, the student would be transferred to another school, on the condition that the parents committed themselves to monitoring the youth’s behavior. If the student did not comply with the new school’s norms, permanent expulsion from the school could result, said school personnel.

By 2013, however, because of the Peaceful Coexistence program, students who violated school codes of conduct, in particular for having been involved in conflicts, were not being sent home for suspension, nor were they relegated to doing janitorial type of service to the school, as they had in the past. Pulling the student out of the classroom is now considered detrimental to him or her, and so mediation efforts, especially insofar as they involve the parents, now enable delinquent children and youths to remain in class, so that their academic progress does not suffer.

Much of the credit for the success of the program is given to the school psychologists, who are giving therapy to conflictual and troubled youngsters. In addition, the psychologists counsel parents at meetings of the Escuela para Padres de Familia, and help train teachers in methods of conflict resolution. The clinical psychologists are the ones most appreciated by school administrators. School psychologists have been training teachers and parents in counseling techniques, in addition to providing therapy to students, and school administrators have been expressing their gratitude for this work. In the words of one school director who is getting the benefits of the FUNPRES psychologists,

“Que ha mejorado sí, ¿Verdad? Porque realmente eh sentimos el el eh el apoyo que ha habido ¿Verdad? Tanto de padres de familia, alumnos ¿Verdad? Y los psicólogos que han apoyado mucho y más que todo en la psicóloga clínica ¿Verdad? Que son los casos que que más se necesitaban en la escuela y que han pasado con ellos y de igual manera ha cambiado el padre de familia, el alumno entonces eso es bueno para la comunidad y no sólo para la comunidad sino para la escuela también porque se ve más involucrado el padre de familia pues, y el niño recibe sus terapias.”

Translation [Things have indeed improved, you know? Because, really, uh, we we feel the, the, uh, the support we've had, you know? From both the parents and the students, you know? And from the psychologists who have given us a lot of support, and most of all from, from the clinical psychologist, you see? These are the cases that were most in need of attention in our school, and what they have done with them. In the same way, their support has changed the students' parents as well as the students. This is good for the community, and not only for the community but also for the school because you can see that the parents are more involved, you see, and the child gets his therapy sessions.”]

One school director in San Juan Opico describes in detail the training that she has received from a FUNPRES psychologist. Since July, 2012, she has been participating in conflict mediation training (these are mini-courses called “diplomados”), aimed at eradicating violence. She, along with two others, have been attending these classes on Saturdays. One of these diplomados is given at the Casa de la Amistad, another at the Universidad Centroamericana, and another, also given once a week but specifically for school directors, is given by ESMA (Escuela Superior de Maestros). Also in 2012, she has been attending weekly lectures about convivencia (these began in October). She calculates that she has had a total of 22 sessions in mediating conflict. She explains the utility of the training she has received, specifying the approach to conflict resolution that she uses and that she teaches to her staff:

“Entrevistador: ¿A usted, en qué manera le han servido, eh, estas capacitaciones para mejorar su manera de negociar los conflictos entre los muchachos?

[Interviewer: How have these training sessions helped you, uh, to improve the way you negotiate conflicts between students?]

Directora: Ah, bueno, este, ahí sí ya, este, me ha servido a mí como, como, como directora y también ya en algunos docentes ya les he explicado, verdad, cómo hacer la, la, el trabajo más fácil. Porque, por ejemplo, cuando ocupamos, eh, que vamos a qué me dijo, a... (Entrevistador: A negociar) a negociar. Negociamos con los alumnos diciendo, si alguien comete algún error se le llama al alumno y se le dice que, que le pida disculpas al otro, al, al que ya ofendió y así ya no llegamos hasta la dirección para eso.

[Director: Ah, well, uh, it's true, uh, they have helped me as a school director and also with some of the teachers, as I have explained to you, you see, to make the, the, daily tasks easier. Because, for example, when we are going to undertake...what was it that you said... (Interviewer: Negotiate)...yes, negotiate. We negotiate with the students saying that if someone makes a mistake, the student is called in and he is told to apologize the the the other student, the one that was hurt, and in that way he doesn't have to be called to the director's office.]

Entrevistador: Mjm, ¿que sería otro tipo de, de, de sanción, verdad?

[Interviewer: Umm, it would be another kind of sanction, wouldn't it?]

Directora: Sí, sería otro tipo de sanciones ya.

[Director: Yes, it would be another type of sanction.]

Entrevistador: ¿Y en este caso qué tipo de correcciones y sanciones utiliza usted cuando es un caso grave con un alumno?

[Interviewer: And in this case, what kind of correctional measures and sanction do you use when you have a very serious offense by a student?]

Directora: Mandar a llamar a los papás ya cuando es bien grave, pues que sentimos que ya se nos sale de las manos de nosotros, este, poder atenderlo, se le manda a llamar al papá y entre, y hablamos entre los tres sectores padres de familia, alumnos y nosotros, docentes.

[Director: We have the parents called in when it's a very serious offense because we feel that we can't handle it by ourselves, uh, for us to manage, so the parent is called and we get the three groups together—parents, students, and teachers—and have a conversation.]

Entrevistador: Generalmente, ¿en qué terminan estas ya reuniones con los papás, y el alumno?

[Interviewer: In general, what is the outcome of these meetings with the parents and their children?]

Directora: Mmm, fíjese que ellos vienen (Entrevistador: ¿Cómo se corrige, cómo se corrige al alumno, verdad?), sí, ellos vienen con, con, como ya predispuestos, verdad y ya dicen, “miren, este”, como ya saben ellos que cuando ya se mandan a llamar es porque ya, ya demasiado, verdad. Entonces, dicen ellos, “mire, este, por favor, atienda, este, démele una oportunidad más, verdad”. Y, si ellos, bueno, ahí se negocia con ellos y sí se le vuelve a reincorporar a los alumnos. No, no se les despacha, pues, no se le dice, este niño ya queda expulsado, no, eso no, nunca se da la expulsión por algo así. Porque siempre se llega a felices términos. (Entrevistador: Sin embargo, eh,...). Los papás adquieren grandes compromisos, ajá, y ya como ya con su grado de compromiso los papás y el alumno, ya nosotros nos sentimos más comprometidos, también.

[Director: Mmm, imagine, they come in (Interviewer: How is the student dealt with, right?) Yes, they come in with preconceived ideas, you know, and they say, ‘Look, uh...’ since they know that when they are called to come to school, it's because the situation has gone too far, you see? So they say, ‘Look, uh, please, listen, uh, give him just one more chance, you know.’ And if they, well, at this point we negotiate with them, and we do send the student back to class. No, we don't send them home, well, we don't tell the parent ‘this child is expelled’ no, not that, no is expelled for something like that. Because we always come to agreeable terms. (Interviewer: Nonetheless, you know...) The parents make big commitments, uh huh, and with that level of commitment from the parents and the student, we feel even more committed.]

Entrevistador: ¿Ese compromiso es el que usted me comentó en la entrevista pasada de, con la carta, (Directora: Ah, sí), se da en el momento de la matrícula?

[Interviewer: Is this commitment the one you told me about in the last interview about...the letter? (Director: Oh, yes, the one given out when students are registered for school?)]

Directora: Sí, ajá, porque ellos se comprometen, allí en eso se les hace, se les hace, hace como un recordatorio, pues, y se les dice “mire, usted queda comprometido en esto y esto”, verdad, y ya ellos también, este, saben cuál es el compromiso del papá y tratan de mejorar.”

[Director: Yes, uh, huh, because they make the commitment and then we give them, we give them...like a reminder, yes, and they are told, ‘Look, you committed to doing this and that,’ you see, and they also, uh, know what the parents’ commitment is and they try to do better.”]

Unfortunately, not every school in the CARSI treatment communities has had the benefit of training in conflict resolution. A sub director in another San Juan Opico community reports that she has had no such training, even though the students in her school are violent (unarmed, but frequently engaged in physical altercations). Her school has no Student Solidarity Brigades, has no extracurricular activities after school hours, no mediation committee, and no students are assigned the role of resolving conflicts in the classroom. The school does not participate in the Discipline through Sports police program, nor do its students attend any summer recreational programs organized by the police.

The only resource this school seems to have to curb the violence among the students is a staff psychologist.

In addition to the benefits of having school psychologists, the schools participating in the Convivencia Escolar program also draw on the training of their permanent “orientadores,” or guidance counselors, who now form part of the expanded pool of mediators. These counselors fluctuate between counseling duties and teaching their classes.

The training that FUNPRES has given to teachers is given a positive evaluation by the school administrators. One Santa Ana school director observes a difference in the behavior of the students as a result of the counseling that teachers are now providing: he says that the students are now more willing to cooperate with the wishes of the teachers (e.g., to help clean the school facilities), and that they volunteer to perform such school service.

Those school directors who have been seriously carrying out the spirit of the Convivencia Escolar program have the distinct impression that the atmosphere in their schools is more peaceful, less prone to serious conflicts. They attribute this partly to the new seriousness with which the parents take on their commitment to their children’s schooling when they sign the Cartas de Compromiso required by the school. School administrators feel that these parents are making greater efforts to steer their children in the right direction, and have acquired a greater respect for the school as an institution.

School directors who participate actively in the *Convivencia Escolar* program not surprisingly see the importance of forming ties to community development associations, specifically, the ADESCOs. They see the ADESCOs as a source of support for the students, and want these community leaders to feel closely connected to the work of the schools. In the words of one

enlightened school director, “Hay una comisión de padres de familia incluso estam-, ah eh eh estamos eh con trabajando ahorita con los, con los miembros de las ADESCO de las comunidades que se integren a la al quehacer educativo de la escuela que conozca la realidad de la escuela pues ¿Verdad? Y que y que trabaje de la mano con nosotros porque como líderes de comunidad son mayor apoyo para los estudiantes.” [“There is a commission of parents; we are, ah, uh, uh, we are, uh, working right now with the, with the ADESCO members from the communities that join the, the educational work in the schools to acquaint them with the school experience, right? And that, and that they work hand in hand with us, because as community leaders they are the students’ greatest support.”]

Despite the efforts on the part of MINED to accomplish crime and violence prevention in the schools through programs such as *Convivencia Escolar*, some teachers complain about the Ministry. Specifically, some teachers feel that MINED has not given their schools sufficient support in that it has not provided them with psychologists. One school director expresses her frustration with MINED in the following way:

“Fíjese de que nosotros...bueno...quiero...quiero mencionar algo hace...hace...quizás uno...vea cinco...o...bueno por los menos más de cinco años este...nosotros solicitábamos al Ministerio de Educación que nos dieran una jornada de capacitación a todos los docentes sobre respuesta creativa al conflicto que es una metodología que...que este...después de...de analizar y de...de dar la oportunidad para que los maestros hagan una como catarsis verdad así este...en colectiva ante los mismos compañeros que al final tengan este...el acercamiento deseado pues...que...que todas aquellas situaciones que llevan a los maestros a tener dificultades entre ellos, formación de grupos antagónicos etcétera, que...que este...se vaya minimizando todas esas...esa asperezas, sin embargo este no tuvimos respuestas este...del Ministerio de Educación en ese momento y siempre quisimos hacerlo y cuando hemos querido hacerlo y cuando hemos querido hacer la...el...ese plan de convivencia siempre hemos querido apostarle a eso...pero de ahí que nos falta la idoneidad verdad...las personas que...aquí necesitaríamos un sicólogo que tenga la experiencia o...u...otro profesional que...que haya tenido este la oportunidad de conocer ese programa para poderlo...eh...ter...no...no...realmente no hemos podido.”

Translation [“Imagine that we...well...I want...I want to mention something that maybe...one...no, five...or...well, at least over five years ago, uh...we requested that the Ministry of Education give a day-long training session to all the teachers about creative responses to conflict, which is a methodology that...that, uh...after...after analyzing and, and giving the opportunity to the teachers to carry out something like a catharsis, you see, that way, uh, in a group, before our own companion teachers, so that in the end they’d have, uh, the desired meeting of the minds, you see, that...that all those situations that lead to teachers to have conflicts among themselves and the creation of opposing groups, etcetera, so that ...that, uh...these things could be minimized, this friction. However, we got no answer, uh... from the Ministry of Education at that time. We had always wanted to do that and when we wanted to do it and when we wanted to do the...the...the...that fellowship plan, we always wanted to put that in place...but from then on since we lack the competencies, you know...the persons who...here we would need an experienced psychologist or...or.. another type of professional who...who... may have had, uh, the opportunity to learn about this program in order to...you know...to...no...no...we really haven’t been able to do this.”]

Where MINED seems to have the support of school administrators is in its policy of not allowing the police to search the persons or belongings of students on school property. According to several school directors, students cannot be routinely searched inside the schools to ensure that weapons or other prohibited items (e.g., cell phones) are brought in. This includes limitations on police ability to search students and their book bags. As one Chalchuapa director puts it, reporting conversations that he had had with the police, and basing himself on what he says is Ministry of Education policy:

“Yo eso les decía, aquí dentro de la escuela ellos no pueden actuar vea....solo pueden vigilar, pero en la calle sí, ellos tienen que identificar a estas personitas y en la calle registrarlos eh....qué...aplicarles la ley no sé...pero afuera va...porque si a dentro si no...no podrían ellos...pero si...identificarlos y...y vigilarlos...no sé...porque ellos infringen la ley afuera porque adentro uno no se da cuenta.”

Translation [“I was telling you, here inside the school that can’t do anything, you see...they can only keep watch. But out on the street they can; they must identify these little people and search them out on the street, you see...and...enforce the law. I don’t know...but outside, right...because if they’re inside, if not...they couldn’t identify them...but yes, identify them and...and watch them...I don’t know...because they break the law outside because here inside we don’t see it.”]

In the past, school personnel did not restrict themselves to school property when they were making extra efforts to steer at-risk youth in the right direction. Today, however, Salvadoran teachers are much less willing to enter the neighborhoods where these children and adolescents live. As one teacher explained, in describing the risks involved in visiting students in their homes:

“Eh...no, pero si los llamo acá...porque es muy peligroso visitarlos en este tiempo, antes se podía hacer porque yo recuerdo haberlo hecho, pero en este tiempo no porque no sabemos qué tipo de hijo...o...o qué colonia, y qué tipo de gente me voy encontrar en esa colonia. No, prefiero hablarle por teléfono, usar mi celular, llamarlo y dialogar, esos sí lo hago, inmediatamente la llamo o donde este...el trabajo...mire deje el trabajo, pida permiso, que su niño cometió esto y esto y necesito hablar con usted urgentemente, y ahí viene...pegiando, gritando y qué sé yo...diciendo...pero si...a las casa si no...ni a los maestros les recomiendo que vayan, ni porque no vino, ni porque se ausento una semana, no no sé...arriesgar a un docente....mju...”

Translation [“Well...no, but if I ask them to come here...because it’s very dangerous to visit them these days. Before you could because I remember doing it, but now I can’t because we don’t know what kind of kid...or...or what kind of neighborhood, and what kind of people I’m going to run into in that neighborhood. No, I prefer to talk to them on the phone, call on my cell phone, call them and have a conversation; that, I will do. I call the mother immediately wherever she is...at work...’Look, get out of work, ask for permission to leave; your child did this and that and I need to talk to you urgently.’ And there she comes, arguing, shouting and I don’t know what all...saying...but if...not to their homes...I don’t recommend that the teachers visit, not because the parent didn’t come in, not because the kid was absent for a week, no, I don’t know...about risking the safety of a teacher...mhuh...”]

To find out whether school administrators were familiar with crime and violence prevention programs known to exist at the time, they were read a list of them. Of the following programs read to them, few could recognize more than three of them: (1) Dame una Oportunidad (through a Centro de Alcance, a USAID funded project); (2) Somos Capaces de Proteger Nuestros Jóvenes; (3) Centro de Alcance (a USAID project), mentioned many times, without prompting; (4) Soldados Anónimos; (5) Fomento por la Paz y el Bien Común; (6) Alianza Joven Regional; (7) Hay un Empleo Digno para mí; (8) Comité por el Fomento de la Paz y el Bien Común; (9) Disciplina a través del Deporte; (10) Vecino Vigilante; (11.) GRUJUCÁN (Grupo de Jóvenes Caninos); (12) Me amo y me respeto; (13) ¿Hay un empleo digno para mí? (known to be associated with Centros de Alcance); (14) Disfruto mi comunidad. Many school directors mentioned FUNPRES, crediting it with providing their schools with one or two psychologists, one of them a clinical specialist.

Just as school directors and teachers have close dealings with youth-at-risk, so do coordinators of USAID-sponsored youth programs aimed at diminishing and preventing youth violence and crime. In El Salvador, the Creative Associates program that is built around this goal is the Centro de Alcance Positivo (Positive Outreach Center). These coordinators are in agreement in noting the reduction in the presence of gangs (*maras y pandillas*) in the communities where these outreach centers are located. When asked about their presence, one coordinator says that in the past, there were a lot of gangs, but that this has changed:

“Sí, antes era mucho. A a cada rato se escuchaban de cosas que se hacían de ellos, de las mismas maras o pandillas lo hacían, pero ahora ya no son mucho, sí.”

Translation [“Yes, there were a lot here before. We’d hear about the things they were doing all the time from the gang members themselves, but now not so much, yes.”]

A coordinator of another center says that currently (at the moment of the interview, in 2013), the presence of gangs is “quizá un mínimo, porque si hay algunos, no están afectando lo que es a la comunidad, más bien diría que la comunidad, no está afectada.”

Translation [“maybe minimal because if there are some around, they’re not affecting the community. Actually, I’d say that the community is not affected.”]

The one factor making youth vulnerable to gang activity that is agreed upon by all stakeholders (the police, school teachers/administrators, community development leaders, members of municipal councils for the prevention of violence, and clergy), is the prevalence of broken homes (*desintegración familiar*). Nearly every respondent cited this social problem. Single parent families (usually the mother), or families in which the male in residence was not the biological father of the children living there, produced a number of serious outcomes that led to joining gangs. Where mothers were rearing their children alone, qualitative interviewees said that often the children were left home under the supervision of the oldest child, while the mother was at work. Sometimes the oldest was merely seven years old, and the youngest three or four. Clearly this is a highly hazardous environment for children. In many industrialized countries, mothers would be considered to be legally negligent for engaging in this practice.

In homes where a man was living with the mother but was not the father of her children, various forms of child abuse resulted, stakeholders reported. The homes themselves were said to be a

place of domestic violence (violence against the mother and against the children). Lacking the love and affection of the adults they are living with, such children become highly susceptible to the lure of the gangs. Gang members “seduce” children into joining the group with offers of material goods that the parents cannot provide: technological gadgets (e.g., cell phones, iPhones), imported athletic shoes (Nikes are the preferred brand), and eventually alcohol and narcotic drugs. Stakeholders complain bitterly about the lack of values (*valores*) in the home and the sore need to inculcate them into at-risk young people. For this reason, both the schools and the churches focus on the teaching of values.

Teachers point out the violence prevalent in the homes, and explain that whereas in the past they might visit the home of a child whose behavior in school was unacceptable, by 2012 teachers said that they were afraid to go into the neighborhoods and homes where these children lived because the parents were “*un poco agresivos*” [“*somewhat aggressive*”]. Many school administrators told stories of being talked to disrespectfully and angrily by parents who came to the school upon being called in for parent/teacher meetings. Furthermore, all stakeholders were in agreement that poverty in a world in which consumer goods are increasingly salient and valued, underlies the more immediate causes of gang affiliation. The gangs provide their members with material goods that the parents cannot.

A school-related factor that ties in with broken homes and promotes gang joining is school expulsion. When a youth is thrown out of a school because their behavior is no longer tolerated by the instructional staff, the student frequently is sent to live with a relative, in order to enroll in another school district. The fact that the youth is no longer living with his/her biological parent is yet another cause of psychological distress for him or her, and another push factor in the direction of gangs, which act as surrogate families for youths coming from broken homes. In short, a broken home and its frequent connection to domestic violence (including child abuse), is seen by all stakeholders as a fundamental cause of youth gang affiliation.

IV. Perceptions of the Gang Truce of 2012

El Salvador is well known for the high presence of youth involvement in gangs. In March 9, 2012, two of the largest gangs, Mara Salvatrucha-13 (MS-13) and Barrio 18, agreed on a truce, which involved the cease of violence in exchange for better conditions for imprisoned gang leaders. Figure 22 displays residents’ opinions about the benefits of the truce in treatment and control communities.

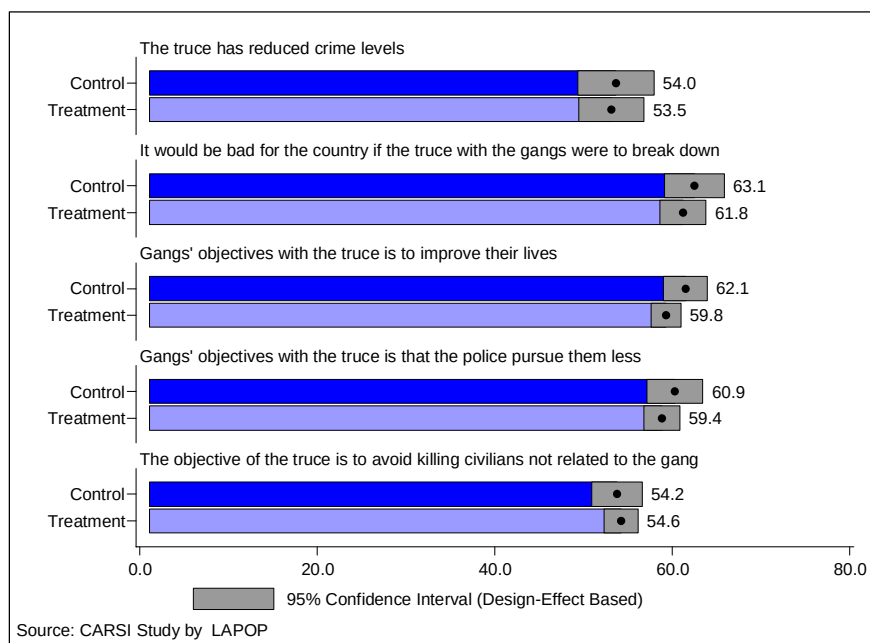


Figure 27. Residents' Opinions about the Benefits of the Gang Truce

The average response to each statement is above the midpoint, indicating general agreement with the statements related to “the truce has reduced crime levels”, “it would be bad for the country if the truce broke down”, and “gangs’ objectives with the truce are to improve their lives, for police to pursue them less, and to avoid killing civilians not related to the gangs”. Responses on the 0-100 scale range from “do not believe” to “strongly believe”.

In short, results shown in Figure 27 indicate that opinions about the truce are not statistically different between treatment and control communities, providing some evidence that the truce similarly affected (or not) crime perceptions across the neighborhoods.

Qualitative results. Qualitative interviews of stakeholders generally indicated that the truce had substantially reduced gang related violence, and that as a result stakeholders felt freer to walk on the streets, because the gang members no longer looked at residents in what many characterized as “their typical menacing way.” As one community development leader stated:

“Presidente: Es posible, bastante eh la tregua ha ayudado mucho porque yo le digo que este muchacho este muchacho que está preso, n-no es que ya estuviera malo la comunidad estuviera en conflictiva sino que ellos cayeron por, por cuestiones anteriores que ellos le acumularon cosas y que siguen investigaciones y todo eso porque ellos todavía no tienen sentencia, pero están en un proceso de investigación, pero sí la tregua la famosa tregua nos ha venido a ayudar bastante, porque créame si hoy puedo pa-, podemos pasear libres en las calles, y ya no nos ven los muchachos con aquella, con aquella cuestión de meterle miedo a las personas.”

Translation [“President: It’s possible, really possible, eh, that the truce has helped a lot because I tell you that this kid, this kid that’s in jail, hadn’t, well, already gone bad or been in conflict with the community, but they got caught because of, because of past issues that

accumulated in their records, and the investigations continue and all of this because they still have not been sentenced, but they are still under investigation, but yes, the truce, the famous truce, has helped us a lot, because, believe me, if, if today I can wal- we can walk freely on the streets, and now the kids don't look at us with that, that thing of trying to intimidate everybody.”]

The police interviewed were in agreement that homicide rates have gone down during the period of the truce. As one puts it, “Sí, sí disminuyeron, porque a diario habían como tres muertos y después costaba para que hubiera alguno” [‘Yes, yes, they certainly did diminish, because there used to be three dead people every day, and afterwards it was hard to find even one’]. Another officer, similarly, says, referring to the reduction in violence in general and homicides in particular, comparing the time of the interview with eight months prior to it, says, “Ha disminuido bastante porque dicen que, yo en Municipalidad Y, había trabajado hasta hace ocho meses que, que llegué, pero dicen de que hubo uno o dos años que habían hasta 30 muertos al mes pues ahorita van, van poquito dos tres, entonces sí han disminuido,” [“It’s gone down a lot because people say that I, in Municipalidad Y, had worked until eight months ago, that, that I got here, but they say that there were one or two years when there were 30 homicides a month, well, now there are very few, two, three, so they really have gone down.”], that is to say, the homicide rate fell from thirty per month to two or three per month.

Still, one police officer says that while it is true that homicide rates fell sharply during the truce throughout the country, in one municipality (where the CARSI treatment communities were located), the drop in homicide rates had occurred a year before the truce even began, suggesting that USAID programs were working to reduce violence prior to the truce.

Despite the firm conviction that the truce has had a strong impact on lowering homicide rates, many expressed skepticism that the effects of the truce would be long-lasting. As one community development leader said, the gang leaders inside the prisons say one thing, but the members of the gang outside of prison do something else altogether.

Presidenta: Sí...bueno realmente no confío mucho en eso no...no...creo mucho más creo que es como una un...como una negociación de que me das y te doy así lo considero yo porque pues siempre ellos...ellos eh... yo vi en unas entrevistas que salieron en canal doce de que los que estaban dentro dicen una cosa... los que están dentro de los penales dicen una cosa pero los que están afuera están haciendo otra que hasta...hasta en ellos mismos tienen eh...esa rivalidad que los que están afuera ya quieren hacer lo que ellos como mandarse ellos mismos verdad ya no tener que recibir órdenes de los que están adentro entonces considero yo que no... no... no es algo así muy valedero.

Translation [“President: Yes...well, I really don’t feel very confident about that, no, no I think much more that it is like a, a like a negotiation about ‘you give me something and I’ll give you something.’ That’s what I think about it because, well, they always, I saw some interviews that came out on channel 12 that said that those on the inside say one thing...the ones in jail say one thing but the ones outside are doing another because even among themselves they have...uh this rivalry going on, like the ones that are not in jail want to rule themselves, you know, they don’t want to take orders from the guys in jail, so I think that, no...no... it really isn’t something that’s very binding.”]

Other leaders in addition to this one expressed mistrust of the gangs, doubting the sincerity of their promises. A police officer explained that while his neighborhood had been calm, when a gang member was released from prison and returned to the community where the officer lives, he quickly recruited sixteen new youths for the gang, implying that what was a peaceful community would change now. Nevertheless, other police officers disagreed, and believe that the truce will have long-lasting effects, and that the municipalities that have been free of crime during the period of the truce would remain so.



Figure 28. Residents' Opinion on Gang Truce Outcomes

Figure 28 shows that in both treatment and control communities, residents generally approve of the arrangement allowing gang members in prison to have access to vocational training workshops (about 63 points on 0-100 scale ranging from strongly disapprove to strongly approve). These levels are significantly lower for other prisoner benefits. Residents show low levels of approval for access to radio, TV, and newspapers, and even lower support for extended visitation periods allowing conjugal visits at night. Again, it is worth noting that there are no statistically significant differences in opinions between control and treatment neighborhoods.

The effect of the truce on the program evaluation

We have no evidence to conclude the truce undermines the analyses presented here and therefore our evaluation. Since the truce directly affects crime, we should be aware of the possibility and consider the effect of the program prior to the truce to develop a robust picture of the program's effect. However, looking at individuals' opinions about the truce, there appears to be no significant difference between treatment and control groups, and therefore no reason to suspect the truce would affect the evaluation. In other words, the truce affected (or did not) both types of communities similarly. Because we have no reason to believe that the truce somehow could have reduced crime in the treatment groups more than the control groups, the treatment effect will not

be biased. The estimate of the treatment effect takes into account the difference between the treatment and control groups. While we expect that various indicators of crime and violence would go down in both groups because of the truce, all things being equal, and therefore affect the counterfactual estimate, our ability to determine the portion due to the intervention should not be compromised.

V. Domestic Violence

Data from the quantitative interviews—when asked “has sexual violence occurred over the last twelve months in [name of neighborhood]?”—shows less than 5 percent of respondents reported sexual violence in treatment and control communities during the three years of the study (Table 7), except in control communities in 2011 which reported nearly 7 percent.

Table 7. Respondent-Reported Sexual Violence in the Neighborhoods

	2010		2011		2012	
	Treatment	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment	Control
Yes	61	28	62	44	43	20
%	3.73	4.30	3.80	6.79	2.66	3.22
No	1,573	623	1,571	604	1,576	601
%	96.27	95.70	96.20	93.21	97.34	96.78
Total	1,634	651	1,633	648	1,619	621
%	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8 shows that in the third round of CARSI—when asked “in the last 12 months, have you or anyone who lives in your home been touched or attacked for sexual motives in an offensive manner?”—the reporting of rape in both the treatment and control communities went up significantly compared to both rounds 1 and 2. Rape is grossly underreported in the Americas, in general, and even more so when the perpetrator is a relative, acquaintance, or an intimate partner, as opposed to a stranger. For this reason, the low numbers in Tables 5 and 6 must be taken with a grain of salt. We do not perform a DID analysis of these data because of the low incidence of reporting.

Table 8. Victims of Sexual Violence

	2010		2011		2012	
	Treatment	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment	Control
Yes	8	4	15	6	30	13
%	0.47	0.60	0.90	0.91	1.79	1.96
No	1,695	666	1,660	653	1,650	649
%	99.53	99.40	99.10	99.09	98.21	98.04
Total	1,703	670	1,675	659	1,680	662
%	100	100	100	100	100	100

Qualitative results. The higher frequencies of rape reported in the CARSI communities in round 3, may be a result of educational efforts of the police, the schools, the churches, community development associations, and the Municipal Councils for the Prevention of Violence, which are likely to have made those populations more aware of domestic violence in general, to view it as unacceptable, and as something to be reported to the authorities. Stakeholders in the qualitative interviews in all of these groups have mentioned the *charlas* (talks) and the *talleres* (workshops) given in the schools, in the churches, through ADESCOs, and via the mass media, that focus on domestic violence. The multi-pronged approach may have had an impact on both the treatment and control communities. However, one of the stakeholders interviewed mentioned that while homicides had gone down in his municipality over the course of the CARSI project, reports of domestic violence had gone up. Again, this may be a function of greater reporting, not an actual increase in cases of domestic violence, in which case it is a positive sign reflecting greater awareness and a greater sense of empowerment by those being abused.

Although acquaintance rape is only one aspect of domestic violence, the qualitative interviews reveal that domestic violence in general is one of the most frequent forms of violence found in the CARSI communities. Domestic violence is mentioned as one of the most frequent crimes that the police are called in for, it is mentioned by most school administrators as a cause of student delinquent behavior, and is frequently mentioned by all stakeholder groups as a cause of joining gangs.

According to nearly all stakeholders in the qualitative interviews, the main underlying reason for why youths join gangs is that they come from broken homes (“familias desintegradas”). These broken homes are defined by those interviews as households headed by a single parent, usually a woman, or households in which women are living with men who are not the biological fathers of the women’s children. Two sorts of domestic violence arise from these two types of situations: either neglect of children (children being left alone or in the care of the oldest child, who in some cases is as young as seven years of age), or outright abuse. This could involve women being the object of violence at the hands of a partner or children being physically abused by parents or older siblings, sometimes in the form of sexual abuse.

Nearly all stakeholders who mention domestic violence connect it to joining gangs, explaining that the gangs provide the sense of family, belonging, material support, and above all affection, which the family is not providing.

At-risk young people, when asked what the problems are in their community, typically begin their list with domestic violence. As one twenty-six year old woman put it, referring to the biggest problem of her community,

“Quizás a veces quizás hay mamás que maltratan a los niños, pero no les hablan así con palabras ¿verdad? Como con palabras sabias cómo tratar a sus hijos; hay mamás que los maltratan bastante y, y bueno los niños ahí ahí van creciendo con eso y, ya pues al final siempre van buscando dónde les dan cariño ¿verdad? Y a veces pues es donde ellos se equivocan y dicen ‘Ah ellos me dan más cariño mis amigos’ y se van con ellos, ahí es donde ellos empiezan a hacer sus, sus fechorías ¿verdad?”

Translation [“Maybe sometimes, maybe there are moms who abuse their children, but they don’t talk to them like that, with words, you know. Like with wise words is how they treat their children. There are moms who abuse their kids a lot, and, and, well, the children grow up with that, and, so in the end, they’re always searching for someplace that people will give them affection, you see? And sometimes, then, they mistakenly say, ‘Ahm, my friends give me more love’ and they leave (home) to go with them, that’s where they start committing misdeeds, you see.”]

Interestingly, from the perspective of the police, domestic violence (alternatively called “violencia familiar” “violencia intrafamiliar” and the Anglicized, “violencia doméstica”) is primarily violence that occurs between adults who are in an intimate relationship. Child abuse apparently does not fit under their rubric of domestic violence. So, while schoolteachers and administrators place child abuse under this rubric, the police conceptualize the term differently. In answering the question as to who typically calls the police in cases of domestic violence, the most commonly given answers are “the neighbors,” “the victim,” and “the victim’s son or daughter.” One community police officer says that typically it is a woman (in 60 to 70 per cent of the cases he has dealt with), but it can also be the neighbors or men who have been injured. However, another officer says that it is rarely the victim:

“...lo general es que llama un vecino, un vecino a veces, este un vecino, y a veces los hijos, pero rara vez la víctima, rara vez la víctima, quizá porque en el momento no tiene la posibilidad verdad. Pero sí la, la, los vecinos son los que más hablan para ese tipo de problema.”

Translation [“the most common is for a neighbor to call, a neighbor sometimes, uh, a neighbor, and sometimes the children, but almost never the victim, rarely the victim, perhaps because at the time she isn’t able to, you know? But yes, the, the, the neighbors are the ones who most often speak up when that type of problem (occurs.)”]

A community police officer narrates the typical scenario that he and other community police officers face in the victim’s home:

“Los vecinos, los vecinos, es que acá es como le decía un inicio, es una cuestión de, de, de cultura, que la mujer aguante y aguante y nunca dice nada, entonces es el vecino él que está a la par, él que reporta lo que está pasando. Incluso hemos llegado a lugares donde, el vecino reporta a la par donde él, pero cuando llegamos a la casa no ha pasado nada, todo tranquilo ¿va? Entonces nosotros lo detectamos a veces por niños temblando del miedo ¿va? Llorando, todos asustados ahí es donde nosotros detectamos que ahí es, pero en sí nosotros llegamos y la mujer bien fresca nos abre la puerta y ‘Mire fíjese que venimos nos acaban de llamar de que en esta casa se dan gritos, maltrato ¿Cómo está la situación?’ ‘No no no pasa nada, todo está tranquilo,’ ‘¿Y su esposo?’ ‘Ah ahí está dormido descansando’ ‘Ah, ¿no podemos entrar a ver?’ ‘¿Trae una orden?’ me dice, ya ya ellos con otra ‘¿Trae una orden para entrar a la casa?’ ‘No nosotros con su permiso si usted cree conveniente, porque pretendemos ayudarle ¿vea? Si usted tiene un problema, si no tiene igual todo sigue normal, pero quisiéramos hablar con los niños.’ Ya cuando hablamos con los niños empiezan ellos al, al inicio comienzan bien, de repente se ponen a llorar, y ya a ellos les llevamos a un lugar solo y les preguntamos. ‘Lo que pasa es que mi papi a mi mami,’ entonces ahí ya nosotros vamos amarrando y y y desenredando el caso, y ya al final le decimos a la señora ‘Va mire aquí no, no hay vuelta de hoja, aquí está pasando algo.’ ‘Los niños están asustados, los niños manifiestan esto los niños no mienten entonces, hágalo por sus hijos ¿Va? Tal vez no por usted. Usted está acostumbrada, pero sus hijos no. Entonces lo que usted le, lo que usted le está enseñando a los hijos eso van a hacer ellos mañana,’ eso es lo que nosotros pretendemos erradicar ¿va? Que la cultura no se siga, dando pues, que los niños crezcan con diferen-, en diferentes condiciones ¿verdad? Entonces a la gente aquí es bien difícil porque, a veces por, tiene mucho que ver el nivel tal vez de estudios ¿va? Pienso yo, o como han sido criados, pero estos lugares así son.”

Translation [“The neighbors, the neighbors, it’s just that around here, as I said at the beginning, it’s a question of, of, of culture. The woman puts up and puts up (with the abuse) and never says anything (about it), and it’s the neighbor who knows what’s going on. He’s the one who reports what’s happening. We’ve even gone to places where the neighbor reports an incident that’s happening, but when we arrive at the house, nothing has happened, everything is calm, you see? Something has (indeed) happened because the children are trembling from fear, you know? They’re crying and scared, so that’s how we know that there’s a problem, but if we arrive and the wife opens the door, cool as a cucumber, and we tell her, ‘Look, we’re here because we were just called because people in this house were shouting about abuse. What’s going on?’ ‘No, no, nothing’s going on, everything is fine.’ ‘Where’s your husband?’ ‘Uh, in there, sleeping, resting.’ ‘Uh, can we come in and take a look?’ ‘You got a warrant?’ she says. And again, ‘You got a warrant to come into the house?’ ‘No, if you give us permission (to enter), if it’s all right with you, because we’re here to help, you see? If you have a problem, and if you don’t, everything is OK, but we’d like to talk to the children if we could.’ So when we talk to the kids, they start out all right, but all of a sudden they start crying, so we take them somewhere where we can be alone with them, and we ask them (what happened.) ‘It’s that my daddy (hits) my mommy,’ so that’s when we get a handle on the case and, and, and start sorting it out, and finally we tell the woman, ‘Ma’am, there’s no turning back now, something is going on here. The children are frightened, you can see their fear, they don’t lie, so do this for your children, OK? Maybe not for yourself. You’re used to this, but your kids are not. What you’re doing, what you’re showing your children, is what they’ll do later on.’ That’s what we want to put a stop to, you see? We’re trying to stop a cultural practice so that children will grow up with diff – in different conditions (than these), right? With people here that’s

very difficult because sometimes due to, it has a lot to do with maybe (people's) educational level, you know? That's what I think, or maybe that's how they were brought up, but these places are like that."]

In short, women typically will deny to a police officer that they have been physically abused, both out of fear of retribution from their partner and also out of fear that if he should end up in prison, the family will lose his income. The community police officer attributes these attitudes to working class culture, and feels that the job of the police is to change that culture.

According to another police officer, domestic violence occurs very frequently on pay days (i.e., the last day of the month or in the middle of the month), because typically men get drunk the day they get paid, and coming home drunk leads them to beat their wives.

The subject of domestic violence came up in nearly all the qualitative police interviews, not because it was directly asked about, but because the police were asked if they ever use mediation in dealing with crime. The answer to this was almost always "yes" and always for the purpose of calming down a person engaged in domestic violence. Since for victims of domestic violence the subject is generally taboo, they would be unlikely to report such incidents to survey interviewers. But stakeholders are quick to mention this problem as community-wide, and the police know about it because they deal with such cases, and the schoolteachers/directors know about it through dealings with the families of troubled or at-risk youths. Community leaders and clergy hear about this through their social networks. Youth-at-risk learn about it from police officers who cover this topic in the *charlas [talks]* that they give in schools, or from the stories they hear from friends and schoolmates.

Social Control

Here we look at measures taken by individuals and by the communities to mitigate violence. First, when asked what measures they employed in order to protect themselves from crime ("In order to protect yourself from crime, in the last twelve months, have you taken any measures such as avoiding walking through some areas in [Name of Neighborhood] because they can be dangerous?"), Figure 29 shows that residents in treatment and control communities are significantly less likely to report avoiding walking through dangerous areas in Year 3. By the end of Year 3, respondents' reports of avoiding walking through dangerous areas were 40% lower than we would otherwise expect without the program in place

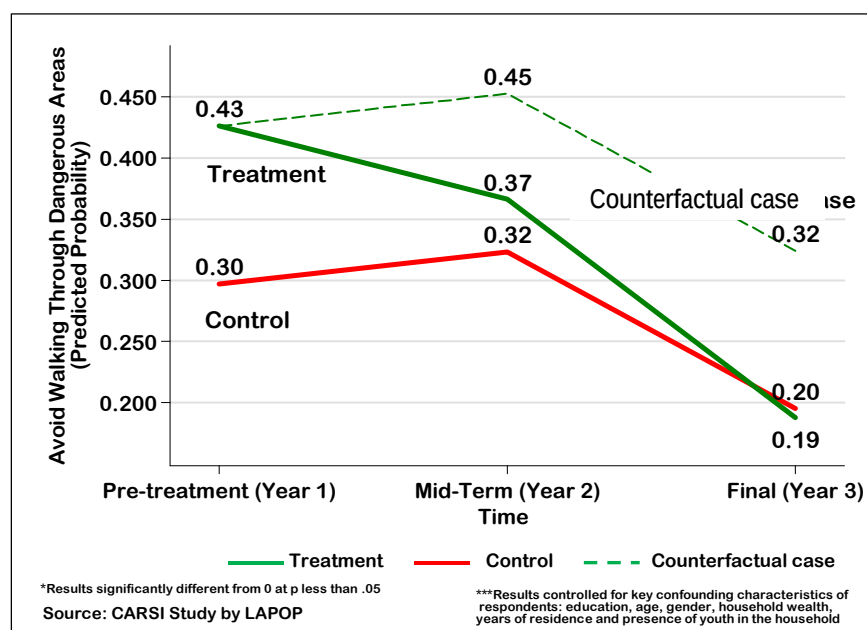


Figure 29. Avoidance of Dangerous Areas

The measured community contextual variables did not show any significant effects on the way in which the treatment affected respondents' reports of avoiding dangerous areas. Respondents reported avoiding dangerous areas in the same rate regardless of the context in which the treatment was administered.

Qualitative results. Qualitative interviews with stakeholders reveal that the interviewees on the whole take very few measures to make their homes safe. From the first round to the third round of interviews, there is no discernible increase in stakeholders securing their homes with extra locks, razor blade-edged fences, guard dogs, or guards. In fact, they laugh when they are asked about these measures, possibly because they cannot afford them. Clergy, in particular, feel especially safe because they are well known to everyone in their community. It is the people who come from outside the community who are the sources of concern to stakeholders. As mentioned above, in the section on perceptions of crime and violence, many people continue to avoid areas of the community reputed to be violence-prone, particularly after dark. While they consider this to be following common sense, most of the respondents were walking around at night in 2013, more so than in 2012.

General Perceptions of Neighborhood Collective Action

When assessing general perceptions of neighborhood collective action, residents' responses to "And now talking about [Name of Neighborhood], to what extent would you say the neighbors of [Name of Neighborhood] are organized to prevent crime and violence?" show that perceived levels of neighborhood collective organization are significantly higher in treatment communities in 2012. Figure 30 exhibits that residents in control communities report more neighborhood organization

for crime prevention than those in treatment communities in the first year, but by Year 3, treatment communities had surpassed control communities.

In the final year of evaluation, the average predicted value for the treatment group is about 53 points on a 0-100 scale ranging from “not at all” to “a lot” of organization for crime prevention. In the absence of the program, residents would be expected to report lower levels of neighborhood organization (8 points higher on the 0-100 scale), an 18% improvement as compared to the situation without treatment.

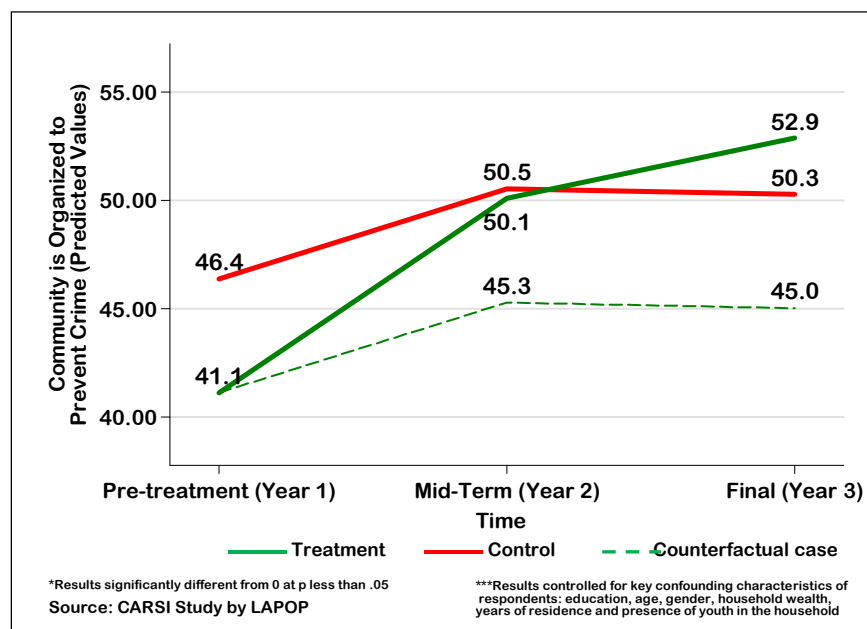


Figure 30. Neighborhood Organization for Crime Prevention

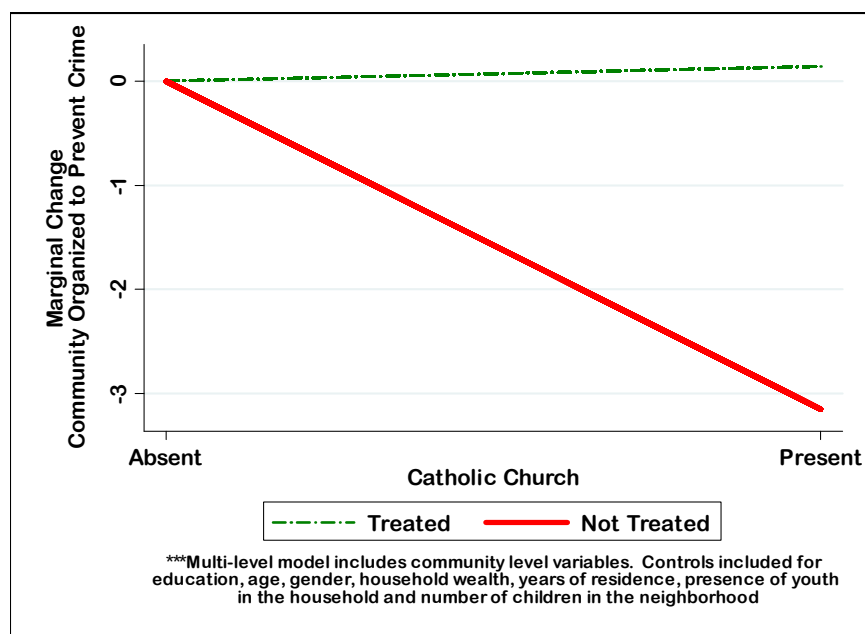


Figure 31. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Community Crime Prevention Organization in the Presence of a Catholic Church in the Community

Analysis of community context variables shows that respondents in untreated communities are significantly less likely to report that their neighborhoods are organized to prevent crime if there is a Catholic church in the community (Figure 31). However, in treated neighborhoods, the presence of a Catholic church does not depress community organization for crime prevention. Other contextual variables show no difference between the treated and untreated neighborhoods.

It is not surprising that the presence of a Catholic church in treated communities does not hamper crime prevention organization, because crime prevention organizations typically involve church leaders among their members. The *Comités para la Prevención de la Violencia y Delincuencia* generally include clergy, and the very presence of a Catholic church in the community may be a motivational force in uniting community members to join with church leaders in combatting crime. Catholic clergy are by definition perceived as important people in the community, persons automatically afforded respect and deference. Any community-wide type of organization would reach out to the priest of the local Catholic Church to gain support for the organization’s mission.

There is ample evidence coming from the qualitative stakeholder interviews to show that by the third round of interviews in El Salvador, there was quite a lot of community collaboration to prevent crime. Each stakeholder group worked with one or more different stakeholder groups in this effort. One community development leader—a woman in her early thirties who works for ADESCO—described a project involving community youth. Youths are encouraged to participate in “Pinceladas de Paz” (Brushstrokes of Peace), a program in which young people clean telephone poles of paint and publicity materials, then repaint the poles white and in pairs of two, decorate the poles, according to their own particular vision and their own ability, “*porque no todos son artistas entonces, algunos hacen flores, aves, este, naturaleza, pensamientos, este, pero todo eh con language de paz, o sea, ‘Quiero vivir en paz’ eh ‘Mi comunidad ama la paz,’ o sea, ‘Trabajamos por la paz.’*”

[“Because not all of them are artists. Some make flowers, birds, nature, thoughts, um, but all, uh, using the language of peace. In other words, ‘We are working toward peace.’]”

She says that even if the message says “Say no to violence,” it has to end in the word “peace,” so that the neighbors see that word on every pole that is painted. ADESCO’s goal was to have 350 poles repainted in this fashion. They will have the young people continue this project, repainting the outer walls outside of private properties. While the president of this chapter of ADESCO did not mention the word ‘grafitti,’ it is clear from what she said that it played an important role in motivating the project. The goal is to “...retomar y van a ir a pintar, el mal poste y muros de algunos vecinos que tienen sus muros, así eh dañados o escrituras algunas cosas y se les va a decorar también.”[“retake (them) and they’re going to go paint the ugly telephone poles and walls of some neighbors who have walls that have been defaced or written on, and they’re going to be decorated, too.”]

Another ADESCO leader describes a project involving a church youth group, which in collaboration with ADESCO leaders cleaned up and beautified a public park by planting shrubs and painting. He says that the appearance of the park has changed dramatically, and for the better. Other ADESCOs have youth clubs (“clubes juveniles”), which focus mainly on sports (e.g., bicycling is the one chosen by a particular ADESCO group).

When asked the general question as to how united the community is, most ADESCO leaders say their community is quite united in resolving their major problems. The problems that they mention as being of primary importance, however, are generally not related to crime and violence, but to basic infrastructure needs such as potable water, sewage facilities, the paving of streets, or land titling.

Many ADESCO leaders report volunteer efforts of the community to work on such public works projects during their time off from work:

“Fíjese que ahorita... ahorita como estamos en el proyecto del agua que le acabo de mencionar estamos trabajando unidos pues...le digo unidos porque toda la comunidad está trabajando para un solo objetivo, estamos haciendo grupos de trabajo de treinta, treinta y cinco personas por día, los ocho días de la semana de lunes a domingo estamos trabajando, zanjeando, poniendo tuberías eh... para que...lograr el objetivo que nosotros lo hemos logrado.”

Translation [“Imagine that now, right now, we’re involved in the water project I just mentioned, we’re working together, well, I say ‘together’ because the whole community is working toward a single objective. We’re putting together work groups of 30-35 peoples per day. We’re working eight (sic) days a week, from Monday to Sunday, digging trenches, putting in pipes, uh, to... in order to meet the objective that we have achieved (ourselves).”]

Since sports are considered by most stakeholders to be a valuable mechanism for keeping youth away from illegal activities, most community leaders invest a great deal of effort in providing sports facilities for the neighborhood youths, according to the qualitative interviews. One ADESCO leader specifically thanked RTI and USAID, by name, for providing a small soccer field for the neighborhood’s young people. The community has been organizing tournaments there every week, including Sunday nights, because the field is equipped with lighting. According to this leader, the mayor also had a pivotal role to play in financing the soccer field:

“Fíjese es bien... yo como líder de la comunidad siempre peleaba por una cancha, siempre estuve ahí insistiendo... insistiendo con... con algo de esto gracias a Dios este y a nuestro señor alcalde (First name, Surname), este, dirigió tal vez una de las comunidades no es que la dirigió pero por lo menos tuvo ese... esa misión de que la comunidad necesitaba eso y metió la comunidad en la, el puño que se hizo la... el sorteo y gracias a Dios salimos favorecidos.”

Translation [“Think about it, it’s really... that as a community leader I always fought to get a soccer field. I was always there insisting, insisting on getting it. Thank God and thanks to our mayor (first name, last name), um, maybe he led one of the communities, well, he didn’t actually lead, but at least he had that...that mission that the community needed it, and he (managed to) get the community in the palm of his hand by having a raffle, and thank God, we won.”]

USAID and the Centros de Alcance have served to unify the community, according to community leaders we interviewed. The following question and the answer given by a community leader are evidence of this:

Entrevistador: ¿Además de este problema de las escrituras de...de...de propiedad de la comunidad...qué otro problema cree usted que es...es prioritario en estos momentos en su comunidad?

[Interviewer: “In addition to this problem with the deeds to...to...to the property in the community, what other problem do you think is...is the priority at this time in your community?”]

Entrevistado: Vaya este... lo que estamos viendo en este...en este momento...desde hace más de un año que vino USAID, se puso el Centro de Alcance. Eso se ha visto muy bien, toda la gente cuando dice: “¿Y eso qué es...el Centro de Alcance?” Se le explica...mucho jóvenes están incluidos en esto, lo...lo que estamos viendo aquí que...ya los jóvenes están ocupando la infraestructuras de cancha, tenemos una mini cancha enfrente de la casa comunal, media casa comunal, verdad...pero ya es casa comunal que no había antes de toda esta gestión, eh...esta gente, estos jóvenes como que necesitan, más...el...el...el recre más, que sea una estructura más buena, porque ahorita sí...como remendada la tenemos la infraestructura que hay, se hizo una infraestructura en la cancha, en una cancha, en una de las dos canchas de una de la comunidad, que que...quedó como a medias porque sólo así fue aprobado, quedó como una “L”, de estructura metálica de maya ciclo, sólo fue aprobada una “L” de parte de la alcaldía me parece, y...este...y se necesita más infraestructura para que los jóvenes estén más ocupados.

[Interviewee: “Well, uh, what we’re seeing at this...at this time is that it’s been more than a year since USAID came and the Outreach Center was set up. It’s been very well accepted. Everyone, when they ask, ‘and what’s that—an Outreach Center?’ and we explain that a lot of young people are included in it...What we’re seeing here is that the youngsters are taking care of the infrastructure of the soccer field. We have a minifield in front of the community center building, half a community center, that wasn’t there before all these efforts were made, you know. These people, these youngsters seem to need more...the...the...more recreation and a better place for it. The structure that’s there needs to be improved because right now it’s patched up. A foundation was laid on the the soccer field, on a field on one of the two fields of the community that...that was only half built because that’s all that was approved. It was left looking like an ‘L’, a metal structure made out of cyclone fencing. I think an L was all the

mayor's office would approve, and, uh, it needs infrastructure so that the youngsters can be busier.”]

Entrevistador: ¿Por qué?

[Interviewer: “And why is that?”]

Entrevistado: Porque este...según los comentarios de toda la gente como nosotros como junta directiva tenemos este...la colonia este...bien repartida...llámese a decir como los directivos, uno de una etapa, otros de otra etapa, tenemos una junta de vigilancia y de parte de ellos reco...recogimos información que la gente está...ta más unido y ya se habla de la “ADESCO”, que el “Centro de Alcance”, está más unida la comunidad.

[Interviewee: “Because, uh, according to the comments of everyone like us, as the board of directors, we have, uh, the neighborhood, uh, well distributed. Let's say, like the officers, one in one stage, others in another stage. We have a neighborhood watch board and from them we got information that people are, are more united, and now they're talking about ADESCO, that the Outreach Center, that the community is more united.”]

One coordinator of a Municipal Council for Violence Prevention said that the people in his community were more united now, ever since the Centro de Alcance has been in operation, and that the existence of the outreach center had significantly strengthened the community's ADESCO. Evidence of this, he said, is the large number of people who now attend ADESCO meetings, compared to the level of attendance in the past.

Another sign of community cohesion and cooperation is that ADESCO presidents are very aware of the contribution that an NGO such as FUNPRES has been making to prevent violence among school-aged youths. Specifically, these community leaders know that FUNPRES has provided the elementary schools with psychologists, to deal with youths-at-risk who are displaying violent behavior in school. These psychologists give clinical treatment to troubled children as well as psychological training to schoolteachers and administrators. One ADESCO president mentioned that many potential recipients of the psychologists' services, including gang members and non-gang affiliated youths alike, could not get to the center of the municipality, where the psychological services were being offered, partly because no previous announcements had been made about the services. The ADESCO leader, who is familiar with the contribution of FUNPRES to the local school, is also familiar with the program of FEPADE in entrepreneurial training in managing micro-enterprises, and with Escénica's modern dance and theater programs for youths. Several leaders mentioned Escénica as having provided such programs to their communities.

One ADESCO president reported that FEPADE had given training in banking and mechanics. Likewise, another ADESCO president mentioned that one of the FEPADE training programs was for ADESCO leaders, rather than for youths. Another community leader was aware that FUNDASALVA gave talks about the dangers of drugs and ran a drawing contest in the community's school. More than one ADESCO president knew that ASAPROSAL had been involved in giving training to youths via vocational workshops, like one on bread and pastry baking. Two ADESCO presidents knew that FUNDASAL had come to their communities to give anti-drugs talks to youths; the talks were given both in the schools as well as in the Centros de

Alcance. Another president recalled that FUNDASAL had provided funds for the construction of a multi-use sports field for basketball and soccer.

A program called “Fe y Alegría” provided talks both in the community center as well as in the school; this prevention program focuses on the family unit, rather than on youngsters alone. Yet another program mentioned by one ADESCO president, a woman, is Plan El Salvador, which helped her community by giving scholarships to at-risk youth, so that they could continue on with their high school education.

The qualitative interviews tried to determine to what degree stakeholders made use of government resources in dealing with violence prevention. One coordinator of a Municipal Committee for Social Prevention (a self-identified municipal government committee) mentioned that the mayor’s office was interested in doing something about violence against women, and that RTI/CECI came to them to help them in this effort. The result of this collaboration was the creation of a Gender Commission, backed by RTI/USAID. The Commission was successful in getting the Municipal Clinic to set aside a multipurpose room—broken up into offices—for the exclusive use of women. Women who are ready to divulge the threats made against them by their intimate partners use the offices. Summarizing the nefarious role of domestic violence in generating violence among youth, one coordinator said:

“...la violencia comienza ahí del hombre a la mujer y muchas veces también de las mujeres a los hombres, pero la violencia se genera en la familia. Si no hubiese violencia en las familias, entonces este país estaría en mejor situación, no habrían abandonos, hogares desarmados eh muchachos metidos en la droga, en la delincuencia, porque habría más eh fortalecimiento en la familia, y por eso pensamos nosotros que trabajar con la mujer es trabajar con la familia, y trabajar con la familia es trabajar con la sociedad. Por eso estamos ahí fijate.”

[“the violence begins there, by a man toward a woman, and many times women toward men, but violence originates within the family. If there were no violence in families, the country would be in a better situation, there wouldn’t be desertions, broken homes, um, kids using drugs, delinquency, because families would be, uh, stronger, and that’s why we think that working with women means working with families, and working with families is working with society. That’s why we’re here, do you see what I mean?”]

This Social Prevention Committee, according to our respondent, works with the Instituto Salvadoreño de Desarrollo de la Mujer (ISDEMU), through an agreement that ISDEMU has with CECI, and also with the Ministerio de Justicia y Seguridad Pública and the Policía Nacional Civil (through its Unidad Municipal de la Mujer and the office of Denuncia Ciudadana, the Juzgados de Paz, and the Catholic and Evangelical churches, both of which are supporting this initiative). However, there are ADESCO leaders who say that the community is not united in solving problems. One leader names crime as the most serious problem his community faces:

“Bueno el problema... el problema ha sido desde unos años para acá la cuestión de la delincuencia verdad la delincuencia eh... apegado a cuestiones eh...de las maras verdad, eso es lo que más ha...afectado porque en esta comunidad pues eh...hasta...hasta que este programa ha venido han... han habido muchos jóvenes de que o han perdido la vida o están en prisión verdad por... por no tener eh...más que hacer, por no tener una oportunidad como las que ahora estamos teniendo.”

["Well, the problem...the problem has been that for several years, the issue of delinquency, you know, delinquency, uh, has been tied to issues, uh, with gangs, you know. That is what has had the biggest impact because in the community, well, uh, until we had this program, we had a lot of youngsters who lost their lives or are in prison, you know, because they didn't have, uh, any choice, because they didn't have an opportunity like the ones we have now."]

When asked if the neighbors do something to solve that problem, his answer is “Casi nunca,” [“Almost never”] and when asked “Why not?” his response is, “Por temor, por temor.” [“Because of fear, always fear.”] When others were asked how united their community was, gave percentages or other figures, even though they were not asked to quantify the degree of unitedness. One ADESCO responded, “Eh... del uno al diez eh... tal vez un siete,” [“Well...from one to ten, uh...maybe a seven”], a carefully thought-out answer. Probably the most common type of answer is reflected in this ADESCO president’s statement:

“...cuesta bastante, cuesta bastante esa... esa unión que debería de haber entre....entre los vecinos cuesta bastante pero eh... pero sí siempre hay gente dispuesta a...a...ayudar eso sí siempre hay gente, no toda, pero siempre hay gente dispuesta.”

Translation [“it’s difficult, it’s very hard to achieve, that...that unity that should exist between...between neighbors is very difficult but, umm...but yes, there always are people willing to...to...help, for sure, there are always people, not everyone, but there always are people who are willing.”]

In short, it is difficult to get people to commit to a community project, but as a leader, ultimately he will always find some people willing to do so.

With respect to crime and violence, one ADESCO president said in 2013 that homicides had gone down substantially (he quoted a figure of 123 homicides in the previous year, but only 87 at the moment of the interview, December 9, 2013), but that there was another type of violence that had gone up in frequency: domestic violence. He referred in particular to adult men having sexual relations with 13 to 15-year old girls and consequently getting them pregnant:

“Pero, pero que ha surgido la violencia intrafamiliar y tenemos otro tipo de problemas también, que es niñas de 13 a 15 años, eh, donde tenemos que trabajar más, en este, en este sector, es de que las niñas están saliendo embarazadas a muy temprana edad. Entonces, existe, eh, y otro fenómeno que se está dando, que existe también, es que hay adultos, hombres mayores, teniendo relación con este tipo de niñas. Entonces, se está cayendo en un delito ahí. Pero también, hay una aceptación de los mismos padres ese tipo de relación. Entonces, entonces, empieza una cadena de violando la ley y ahí es donde nosotros tenemos que enfocar ese, ese, ese esfuerzo. Gracias a, a Dios, que la, la directora de la Unidad Comunitaria de Salud Familiar es la vice-presidenta del Consejo Municipal de Prevención y desde allí vamos a tomar todo ese tipo de, de políticas y redirigir todo ese esfuerzo a las comunidades, a los centros escolares y sobre todo, trabajar, verdad, en campañas de sensibilización con este tema, porque son cosas que, se nos vienen dando como son problemas nuevos que no teníamos. A la par de eso, que tenemos unas tres comunidades que han surgido un movimiento de jóvenes de pandillas, también. Donde ya llevamos dos homicidios en esa comunidad. Entonces, incluyendo un, un hijo de una persona que es miembro del Consejo Municipal de Prevención.

Entonces, cuando sucede esto, eh, es necesario que estas comunidades se les empiece a dar una atención. Y podemos reflejar esto, por ejemplo, la comunidad de Community X, la Community Y, el Community Z, eran comunidades que no se podía entrar, comunidades que estaba un alto nivel de, de obstrucciones, de homicidios. Hoy, son comunidades pasivas, donde no, no, no suena pero ni, ni, nada difícil. La gente anda en la noche, todos. Pero todo este esfuerzo que se ha hecho con lo que es el RTI, USAID y el Consejo de Prevención hemos logrado que estas comunidades sean seguras. Hoy la policía ya no tiene ni mayores llamados que hay que asistir, que hay problemas, que hubo un homicidio. Pero, se nos ha escapado, como decimos, al buen salvadoreño, problema en Community A, Community B, Community C, donde tenemos ya dos homicidios, muy, casi al mes, verdad, donde asesinan una señora y le descargan nueve disparos en la cara, realmente, es un, ya es como muy, muy fuerte lo que los jóvenes están haciendo. Entonces, este, a eso nos lleva que hay que redirigir, redirigir el trabajo a esas comunidades de prevención. Sí, va, tuvimos éxito de esas comunidades que, que era difícil, ni la policía podía entrar. Y luego, ha logrado con el esfuerzo del Consejo de Prevención y de los, los, el, el apoyo de las instituciones que nos han ayudado, eh, podemos hacerlo también en esas comunidades. Claro, hay que esperar un período de tiempo de, de, de dos o tres años para ver los resultados a corto plazo.”

Translation [“But, but violence within the family has occurred, and we have another type of problem as well which is that 13 to 15 year old girls, you see, and we have to work harder in this area, that are getting pregnant at this young age. And another phenomenon that is happening is that older adult men are having sex with that type of girls, and this is criminal behavior. But the parents of the girls seem to accept this kind of relation. So, so a chain of law breaking starts and that’s what we have to focus that...that...that effort. Thank, thank God that the director of the Community Family Health Unit is also the vice-president of the Municipal Prevention Council and from there we will take all those types of policies and redirect all this effort to the communities, to the schools, and, above all, for working, you know, on the consciousness-raising campaigns regarding this issue because these are things that have been weighing us down since these are problems that we didn’t have before. Along with that there are three communities here where young gang members are starting to come in. There have already been two homicides there, including the son of someone who is a member of the Municipal Prevention Council. So then when this happens, uh, we need to focus our attention on those communities. This is reflected in Community X, Community Y, and Community Z, which were communities that you couldn’t go into, places where there was a high level of, of obstructions, of homicides. Now they are peaceful communities where no, no, really nothing major happens. Everybody walks around at night, everyone. But all this effort has been made with the RTI, USAID, and the Prevention Council, and we have been able to make these communities safe. Now the police are not called for major problems that they must take care of, that there was a problem or a homicide. But it’s slipped from our grasp, as we say, the good citizens of El Salvador, the problem in Community A, Community B, and Community C where there have already been almost two homicides every month, you see, where they murdered a woman, shot her in the face nine times, really, it’s really, really awful what these young people are doing. So, uh, this brings us to have to redirect, redirect the prevention efforts in the communities. Yes, you see, we were successful in those communities, and it was difficult to do this. Even the police could not go into them. And later on, with the efforts of the Prevention Council and of the, the support of the institutions that have helped us, we achieved something, uh, so we can do it in those communities too. Of course, we have to work for a period of time, of, of, of two or three years before we see results in the short term.”]

This ADESCO leader is saying that homicides have in fact been sharply reduced, and he attributes this to the work of RTI, USAID, and the Municipal Council for the Prevention of Violence, and that in communities in which you could not walk in the streets at night a couple of years ago, you can now, but that the type of violence that goes on inside the home has not been diminished.

A major concern of members of the Municipal Council for the Prevention of Violence is that the Centros de Alcance will not be self-sustaining after Creative Associates and USAID stop administering/financing them. The coordinator of one Municipal Council expresses this fear that the Council has:

“El principal problema es que la gente a partir que conoce los programas quiere más... quiere más desarrollo porque al inicio la gente no conocía el programa, entonces estaba a medias, pero lo que...lo que hoy necesitamos la gente es mayor cobertura. Nosotros tenemos cobertura para diez chicos en computación, no tenemos más, pero lo que pasa es que eso y le explico porque...porque lo que pasa que la gente ya lo ve como un ahorro, como ya no el simple hecho de prevención de violencia que el cipote anda vagando sino que el papá ya vio los resultados, no, entonces ya le dice al muchacho, “Anda,” ya lo manda al cómo se llama al Centro de Alcance y...pero ya no va al Centro de Alcance a vagar. El concepto que habíamos dicho, “Mire aquí se puede venir, va, sí quiere, a perder el tiempo, lo pierde aquí, no en la calle ¿no? Sirve de algo: ya el chico va con la intención de aprender computación y...y...la gente va creciendo en... en los términos y por supuesto llegan siempre a jugar alguna cosa, no, pero ya usted papá, usted mamá ya tiene confianza en el lugar y ya lo manda ahí porque más fácil que...que...ya entonces eso nos hace a nosotros, y este que se nos demande ahí y a lo mejor este más computadoras, a lo mejor que se arruinan más rápido las computadoras por el uso y es natural, no, eh...todas esas cosa hacen falta o sea que el sostenimiento de los centros de alcance eh...como se ha venido funcionando debemos de tener inversión, debemos de... de ir, no es cosa que usted la va a dejar y va a estar ahí auto-sostenible, no es cierto. Debe de estar uno pendiente y pendiente no sólo en la gente que llega sino que también en la inversión que se debe de hacer.”

Translation [“The main problem that when people learn about the programs, they want more...more development (of them) because at the beginning people didn’t know about the program because at the time it was only half completed, but what, what the people need is more coverage. We have room for ten kids in computing, no more than that, but what happens is that, I’ll explain it to you, because what’s happening is that people see it as a kind of savings, not just the simple fact of violence prevention just because the kid is always loafing around, but that the father sees the results, doesn’t he, so he tells the kid, “Go ahead,” and sends him off to, what do you call it, the Outreach Center, and, but the kid doesn’t go there just to hang around. The concept we’re talking about (is) “look, you can come, OK, if you want to want to waste time, you waste it here, not out on the streets, right? It’s got a purpose: kids go there to learn computing...and, and they grow as people and, of course, they always do a bit of playing, you know. And you Dad, and you Mom, trust this place and send your kid there because it’s easier to, to, so that makes us successful, uh, and probably makes them ask us for, uh, more computers, and the computers probably wear out faster from usage, that’s to be expected, isn’t it, uh...all those things are needed, in other words, to maintain the Outreach Centers operating as they have been requires investment. We need to, to go, it’s not a question of letting it go on, and it will be self-sustaining; it won’t. We need to be on top of this and watching not just the people who come but the investment that has to be made.”]

A coordinator of a Comité Fomento por la Paz y el Bien Común, [*Committee for the Promotion of Peace and the Common Good*] a community-based committee dedicated to lowering the crime rate, says that while his community was supposed to be the site of a Centro de Alcance, it was not able to open one because of gang presence in the community. He says that it is one of the hottest hotspots (“zona roja”) in his municipality, and that every family in the community has one or two members who belong to a gang, and so because of safety concerns, the Committee decided not to locate the outreach center there. Nevertheless, his community has a number of youth programs: a soccer school, which gives soccer lessons to children, a music club, and vocational classes in several occupational skills. This leader mentions that in contrast, a neighboring community has in fact opened a Centro de Alcance, and that the presence of this outreach center has made it possible for an ADESCO to start functioning, after five or six years of the ADESCO being dormant.

One ADESCO president, a college-educated man in his late fifties, reports that until USAID entered his municipality, no organizations had worked with his ADESCO to try to prevent juvenile delinquency. He praises both USAID and the Centro de Alcance for keeping youth away from harm:

“No habían, no habían, no. Si usted fue, fue algo sorprendente, para mí, pues, el hecho de que USAID haya, haya llegado a Municipality X, verdad, considerando que Municipality X era un, un lugar de alto índice de violencia y, pues, vivo profundamente agradeciendo con USAID, primeramente, verdad. Eh, que, como algo caído del cielo pues vino a ofrecer esta ayuda pues, que aún el Centro de Alcance considero que, que es un lugar que acá, pues, se entretengan los jóvenes y que aquí están alejados de cualquier riesgo, verdad.”

Translation [*“There weren’t any, there weren’t any, no. If it was you, it was a bit surprising, for me, then, the fact that USAID had, had arrived in Municipality X, you know, considering that Municipality was a...a place with a high incidence of violence, and, well, I will always be deeply grateful to USAID, firstly, you see, um, because it’s been a godsend. They came to offer help. I consider that even the Outreach Center, which is a place that here, well, kids are entertained, and here they are far from any risk (to them), you know.”*]

The overwhelming majority of ADESCO leaders report not having had contact with government institutions other than the municipal government. One explains that their association has deliberately avoided such contact because, “*no lo hemos hecho porque hay mucha política y ellos usan mucha política vana y nosotros no estamos para eso, vea, porque nosotros lo que queremos son cosas reales para mejorar nuestras colonias en todos los aspectos.*” [Translation *We haven’t done this because there’s a lot of politics involved, and they use a lot of useless politics and we’re not interested in that, right, because what we want are real things to improve our neighborhoods in every way.*] That is to say, because government institutions are sullied by the very nature of politics, which is “vana” (useless), this leader’s ADESCO would rather achieve its goals of solving real problems to improve their neighborhoods through non-political means. In addition, most ADESCO leaders report not having had contact with other organizations or institutions that work in the area of juvenile crime prevention. An exception is an association of women called “Melida Anaya Montes,” which has come to an ADESCO requesting support for their projects. Perhaps not by coincidence, the president of this ADESCO is a woman.

While we were told by our respondents that most ADESCOs have not had much contact with governmental institutions beyond the municipality, they have been variably successful in bringing parents of school aged children and youths to violence prevention workshops and talks that they have sponsored. Success has been variable because many parents are apathetic, and are difficult to attract to these special events, say ADESCO leaders. Once they do come, however, they will come again and see the value of these educational talks. One important skill that these workshops impart is effective parenting.

ADESCO leaders, on the other hand, have a great deal of contact with the national police. Indeed, these leaders are generally the most frequent source of intelligence on which the police rely, as community leaders have contact with so many sectors of their community that they know a great deal about what is going on. In the baseline interviews dealing with issues related to the police, Salvadoran community leaders said that they could not talk to just any police officer, but that they would provide intelligence only to ones that they personally trusted. This is because a certain percentage of the police are either believed to be or are known to be crooked, working closely with drug dealers, some of whom are gang members. This subject will be delved into further in the section of this report entitled “Role of Institutions: National Police.”

Evidence that the police recently have been working in a more positive, coordinated fashion with the CARSI communities than they did before can be found in the comment made by one ADESCO president:

“Sí la policía últimamente está bien, este, accesible porque la policía hoy no es como antes de que la policía venía y le decía ‘Miren, vengan,’ y ‘No, hoy no, señores.’ Inspector, uno que está aquí nuevo que se llama First name, Surname, él se...él está atento a las llamadas porque también estamos metidos como le digo en el miembro...en el Consejo de Prevención y él es un... es parte del Consejo de Prevención de Municipality X, tamos...a...estamos viendo de que no evitar los... los homicidios al máximo que podamos evitarlo antes de que suceda. Nosotros tenemos que actuar vea...tanto la comunidad, como el Consejo, la alcaldía y la policía está coordinado.”

Translation [“Yes, lately the police have been very, uh, accessible because these days the police don’t act like they did before. The police would come and people would say, ‘Come, look at this.’ (They would answer), ‘No, not today, folks.’ An inspector, a new one here, whose name is (First name, last name), he is paying attention to the calls because we’re also, as I’m telling you, members of the Prevention Council, and he is part of the Prevention Council in Municipality X. We, um, we’re trying as hard as we can to prevent homicides before they happen. We need to act, you know, the community, the Council, the mayor’s office and the police are all coordinated.”]

This ADESCO leader gives an example of how the relations between the police and the community leaders have improved. He says that there are now meetings between the police and community leaders, held privately in the community, and that in addition, the leaders have been given a special personal phone number for the police station, which connects them directly to the police chief. One ADESCO leader explains that one practical reason for why there is always police presence at community meetings is that his local ADESCO invites them, because “necesitamos seguridad” [“we need security”]. Other ADESCO leaders note that most recently (“en los últimos meses”)

[“during the last few months”] there has been a greater “*acercamiento*” [“coming together”] on the part of the police with respect to the community. This means there has been greater police presence, and the police have told ADESCO leaders that they want to talk to the youth, to explain to them that they should not run away when they see a police officer. The police have also taken an active role in giving violence prevention talks. The purpose behind this police/youth contact is for the police to get to know young people, and consequently to avoid the kinds of interactions that result in police bothering them, says one community leader.

But another ADESCO president reports that the police generally have not attended their community meetings until recently, and this was only because of matters dealing with security. One ADESCO feels such a strong need for greater police presence that it has been pressuring the police to set up a police station in its community. The ADESCO leadership has been looking at potential sites for this station, including using their own community center. Their goal was to have an operational police station in place by 2013.

ADESCO leaders mention that the police have a fixed presence on the Municipal Council for the Prevention of Violence, and so there is police collaboration with the municipality’s new prevention approaches through this mechanism as well. It is always the police commissioner of the municipality who represents the PNC at these Municipal Council meetings, many interviewees have noted. One ADESCO president, a man in his late forties, gave an example of this collaboration. When asked if the police come to his community to do something to reduce the crime levels, his answer is a quick and sure “Sí,” [“Yes”] and he goes on to explain that the police work with him on a youth-oriented project focused on sports. He says that he gives the police soccer balls that the municipality or that USAID have given him, for their soccer equipment. He gave one set of equipment to a police officer, who needed it for a school program he was working on, and who also was going to use it for a youth summer program.

When asked if the police are doing youth violence prevention work in the schools, ADESCO leaders generally say that they are aware of the talks (“charlas”) that the PNC give. These leaders know the topics of the talks; they have mentioned topics such as not being absent from school, not hanging out with gangs, and a “montón” of other “vicios” [Translation “a whole lot of other bad habits”].

The clergy, especially Evangelical pastors and their youth leaders, have been playing an important role in youth violence prevention. The Evangelical churches reach out to youth-at-risk as well as to youth who are already members of gangs, in an attempt both to prevent them from joining gangs and encourage gang members to become practicing Evangelicals and thereby quit the gang. Prior to 2011, according to both pastors and the police, joining the church was one way out of gangs. In fact, some gang members became pastors as a way of leaving the gang and finding a safe haven. By the time the LAPOP CARSÍ impact evaluation was in place, most stakeholders, particularly the police, were saying that this was no longer possible, as the gangs were no longer permitting anyone to quit and the only way out was in a coffin.

Nevertheless, there are currently pastors who are former gang members, and they appear to be the ones who actively engage with current gang members in trying to curb violence, mediating between opposing gangs, sometimes in an effort to avoid police involvement in the conflict. One

police officer who was interviewed said that some of the pastors who are former gang members are actually still in the gang and continue to be involved in criminal activities. This would be compatible with the frequently heard statement, primarily from the police, that there is no way to get out of a gang in El Salvador today (as of 2011) short of being murdered.

Clergy, and particularly Evangelical clergy, have been carrying out violence prevention work in the schools. Little evidence of Catholic clergy in this role was uncovered in the qualitative study. School administrators report that some of the parents of their students are pastors, and that they have given talks to the students about values, the power of prayer, and being at peace with one's peers and with God. Some pastors visit the same schools once a week. Some schools allow church youth leaders or other members of Evangelical congregations to talk to the students, mainly in the form of testimonials from converts—former gang members—about their previous drug habit. Some schools invite both Catholic and Evangelical clergy to the school to enlist their support for school activities. Other schools, however, do not allow clergy to talk to their students at all.

One violence prevention program that is a hybrid between police and Evangelical missionary work is called the “Policía Cristiana” [*Christian Police*]. From the perspective of the police, this is a police program. From the viewpoint of one pastor who was interviewed, these are evangelists, dressed in police uniforms:

“...en el área policial hay un grupo de hermanos que trabajan en la área de evangelización verdad y entonces ellos... ellos cuando tienen su tiempo libre se unen como grupo tienen un grupo de canto eh... parece que se llama Levi... parece Levita se llama si no estoy mal y ellos cuando salen a evangelizar a comunidades y, este, van a lugares donde es peligroso pues y ellos van y van vestidos de policías pero no van hacer digamos un “ay sí aquí venimos para poner el orden,” sino para lo que van a llevar la palabra y me he dado cuenta yo que muchos pandilleros muchas veces se han acercado a ellos para decirles que oren por ellos y quiere reconocer al Señor como su Salvador....”

Translation [*“among the police there is a group of (church) brothers that work spreading the gospel, you see. And so they...when they have free time they get together in a singing group, you know...I think it's called ‘Levi’...maybe it's called ‘Levita,’ if I'm not mistaken, and when they go out to spread the gospel in the communities, uh, they go into dangerous places and they go, they are dressed in police uniforms, but they don't go there to, shall we say, ‘Oh, yes, we've come here to establish order,’ but to take the Word, and I have found out that a lot of gang members approach them and ask them to pray for them, and they want to accept the Lord as their savior....”*]

Evangelical clergy have actively supported the Centros de Alcance. One pastor says that 100 per cent of the volunteers who work with a particular Centro de Alcance are youths from the local Evangelical churches. This is significant, since one of the problems that these outreach centers have had is getting sufficient volunteer effort from the community to keep the activities running.

Some clergy, particularly Evangelical pastors, also form an integral part of Municipal Committees for the Prevention of Violence, which in one municipality is called the Comité Fomento por la Paz y el Bien Común (Committee to Promote Peace and the Common Good). If they are not actually appointed members of these committees, they often are invited to specific meetings, in order to

elicit their collaboration on particular projects. Since mayors always are members of these municipal violence prevention committees, the pastors sometimes interact with mayors as well.

Pastors are also members of the Red de Centros de Alcance (Network of [USAID-sponsored] Outreach Centers). With respect to ADESCO leaders, some pastors actively collaborate with them, while others keep their churches separate from these local, government-sponsored institutions. The pastors who say they do collaborate with ADESCOs refer to the help their churches have provided their communities in times of natural disasters (e.g., floods or hurricane damage). One referred to his church's "células familiares" ['family units'] program, which entails church leaders below the level of the pastor going to people's houses to lead prayer services there. One pastor says of these leaders,

"...los líderes de célula son como una especie de líderes comunitarios también, porque ellos están relacionados, con las Directivas de sus comunidades. Por ejemplo ellos nos ayudan a conseguir canchas para poder hacer nuestros eventos en las comunidades, nos consiguen llaves de casas comunales para poder hacer actividades, entonces hay una logística ahí, hay una coordinación, que hasta este momento no hemos tenido problemas con ninguna, ninguna directiva comunal pero siempre ellos, han estado muy positivos, muy anuentes a los, a las solicitudes que como Iglesia les hemos hecho igual nosotros cuando les hemos pedido ayuda, estamos ahí para ayudarles."

Translation ["the unit leaders are a type of community leaders too because they are linked to the community boards. For example, they help us get soccer fields so that we can hold community events. They get keys to the community centers so that we can have activities there, so they have logistics and coordination. Up to now we've had no problems with any, any community board. On the contrary, they have been very positive, very accommodating of the requests that we in the Church have made. In the same way, when we have asked help from them. We're there to help them."]

In short, there is a great deal of mutual support between his church and the ADESCOs with which his "family cell" leaders work. Another pastor mentions that his church gives support to community programs, including school events, by publicizing them via different media (e.g., flyers or oral announcements).

The relations between clergy and municipal government are not always harmonious, however. One Catholic priest reports that there was a breakdown in communications between the priest of his church and an Evangelical pastor, both of whom were members of the Municipal Violence Prevention Committee, on the one hand, and the municipal mayor on the other. The two clergy members did not get along with him, and so they dropped out of the committee. The priest who was being interviewed and who related this, laughing ruefully, said that he himself had no time to serve on the Municipal Prevention Committee because of other duties, and so there was at that moment no participation of clergy on the Committee.

Nevertheless, the same priest said that he worked closely with the police chief of the municipality, and whenever he (the priest) heard of some crime going on within his jurisdiction, he called the police chief right away. He reported that the statistics coming out of the municipal police precinct (relayed to him by the police chief) showed that violence had gone down substantially in the

municipality (quoting the police chief, “*Mire, ha reducido bastante*”). [“Well, it’s gone down quite a bit.”] The priest attributed this drop in serious violence (i.e., homicides) to the role that the police chief played in the Municipal Committee for the Prevention of Violence. Specifically, he claimed that the police had been giving a number of workshops in violence prevention throughout the municipality. The priest himself noticed that the police were more effective in the current year (late 2012) than in the previous year, and felt that they were doing things right. In addition to the pivotal role of the PNC in reducing crime in his municipality, he felt that the presence of representatives of the Ministry of Justice as well as military officers at the meetings of the Municipal Violence Committee had contributed to the reduction of crime in the preceding twelve months.

It is worth noting that the Municipal Councils for the Prevention of Violence have a great deal of interaction with and support from external agencies and organizations, to which the Catholic priest alluded. One Municipal Council coordinator names the following organizations as having collaborated with its prevention efforts: Escénica, FUNPRES, FUNDASAL, FEPADE, CIDEP, and Fe y Alegría (with its new offshoot, Familias Fuertes). In addition, the Council coordinator named the following governmental institutions that had collaborated with the Council’s goals: Policía Nacional Civil, Protección Civil, Ministerio de Justicia, Ministerio de Trabajo, and PREPAZ.

In addition, the coordinator mentioned the support of public and private schools (e.g., one private school sent fifteen students to give haircuts to youths as part of an entrepreneurial fair that the municipality held), as well as the strong support of religious institutions (specifically, through ICUZA, the association of Evangelical pastors, and their parish members). Finally the municipality’s health unit, through a doctor who is a member of the violence prevention council, works closely on youth violence prevention projects. Another coordinator of a similar municipal level youth violence prevention unit, the Comité de Fomento por la Paz y el Bien Común, names the Ministerio de Salud, the NGO CONJUVE, and an association called Derechos Humanos. The Ministry of Health and CONJUVE have been working on AIDS prevention, and ISNA has given talks on the Ley LEPINA, which is the law that specifies the ages at which persons convicted of crimes go to juvenile detention centers versus adult prisons.

It is clear from the qualitative interviews with stakeholders that there is a great deal of community interaction, including cooperation within the community, between communities and the municipal government, and with organizations outside of the municipality, all focused on crime and violence reduction.

VI. Role of Institutions: National Police

Did USAID’s crime prevention programs boost institutional support? In this section, we assess if crime prevention programs had an indirect impact on trust in institutions like the National Civil Police (PNC) and satisfaction with police performance, with the expectation that we will find higher trust and satisfaction in treatment communities. We first begin with a national comparative perspective of how El Salvador fares in relation to other countries in the region.

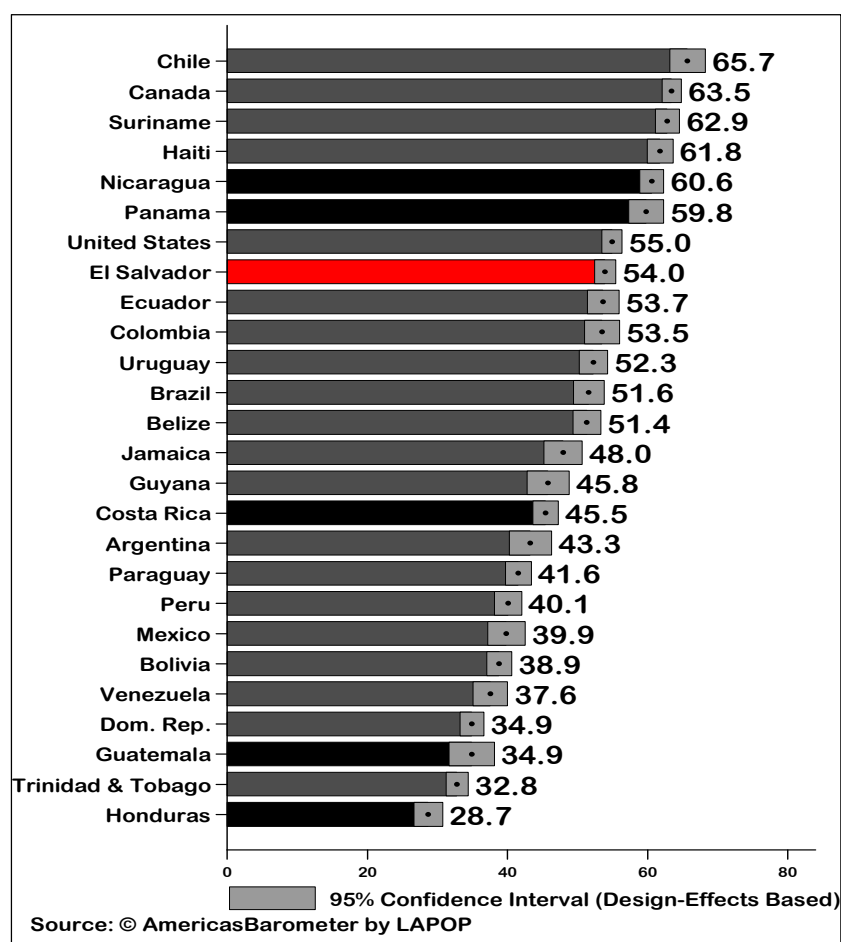


Figure 32. Trust in the Police Across the Americas

Source: AmericasBarometer 2012

Figure 32 shows average levels of trust in the National Civil Police in El Salvador of 54 points on a 0-100 scale in 2012. Salvadorans show higher levels of trust in the police than Costa Ricans, Guatemalans, or Hondurans. However, Nicaraguans and Panamanians show higher police trust than Salvadorans with 61 and 60 points, respectively, on the same scale.

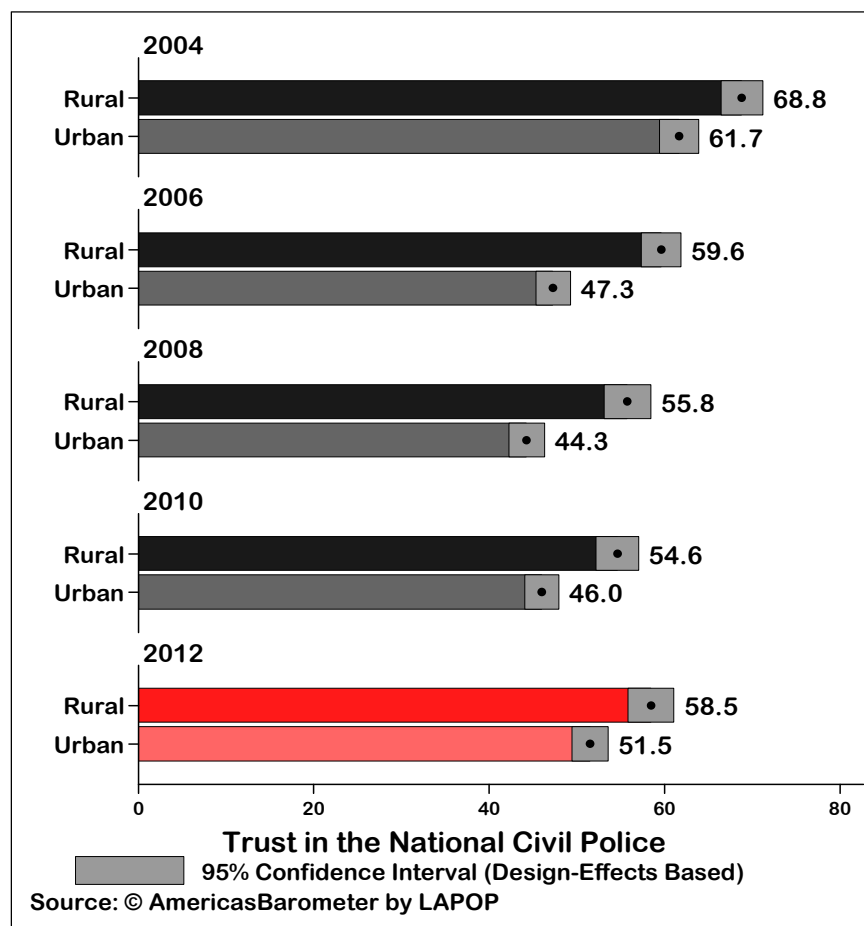


Figure 33. Trust in the Police in Urban and Rural Areas
 Source: Americas Barometer 2004-2012

Moreover, El Salvador national level data (2004-2012) from the AmericasBarometer indicate that Salvadorans who were asked, “To what extent do you trust the National Civil Police?” show significantly higher levels of trust in the police in rural areas compared to urban ones. Though these trust levels declined during the 2004-2010 period in both areas, a small but significant increase (3.9 points in rural areas, and 5.5 points in urban areas) occurred from 2010 to 2012 (Figure 33).

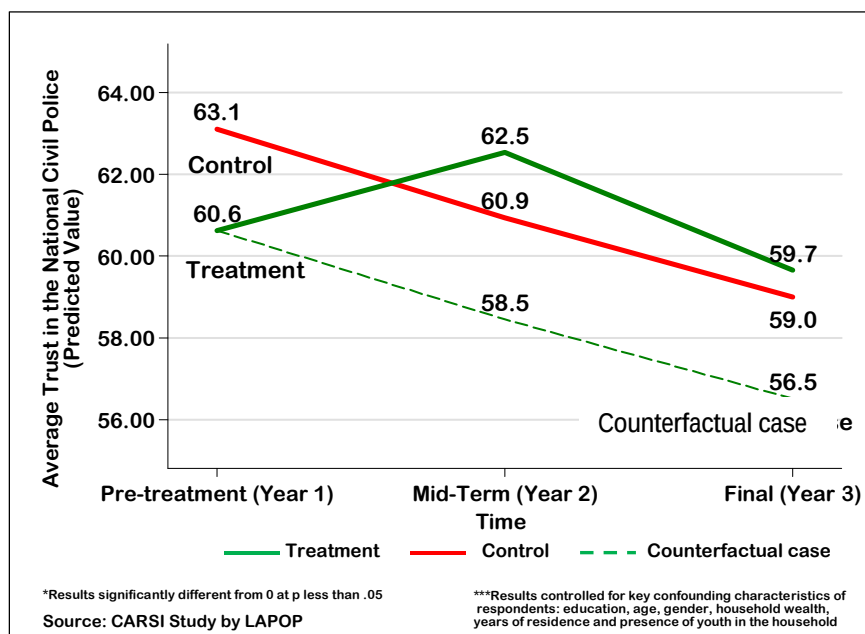


Figure 34. Trust in the National Police in Neighborhoods
Source: CARSI 2010-2012

When analyzing data at the community level, Figure 34 shows that trust in the National Civil Police declined steadily in control communities. In treatment communities, trust initially increased, but declined to previous levels at the end of the program evaluation. In the final year of evaluation, the average predicted value for the treatment group is about 60 points on a 0-100 scale, ranging from “not at all” to “a lot.” The difference between the treatment and counterfactual trust levels in the final year of the evaluation is **not statistically significant**—indicating no effect of the program on trust in the police.

The analyzed contextual variables show no variation in the effectiveness of the treatment across the neighborhood resources or conditions. The effectiveness of the treatment in increasing trust in police does not change with the measured neighborhood variables.

Figure 35 displays satisfaction with the National Civil Police performance. When interviewees were asked “In general, would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, unsatisfied, or very unsatisfied with the performance?”, average levels of satisfaction with police performance had increased slightly in treatment communities by the end of the evaluation, but had declined sharply in control neighborhoods. In Year 3, the treatment communities showed 11% greater satisfaction with police performance than would be predicted if the program had not been in place.

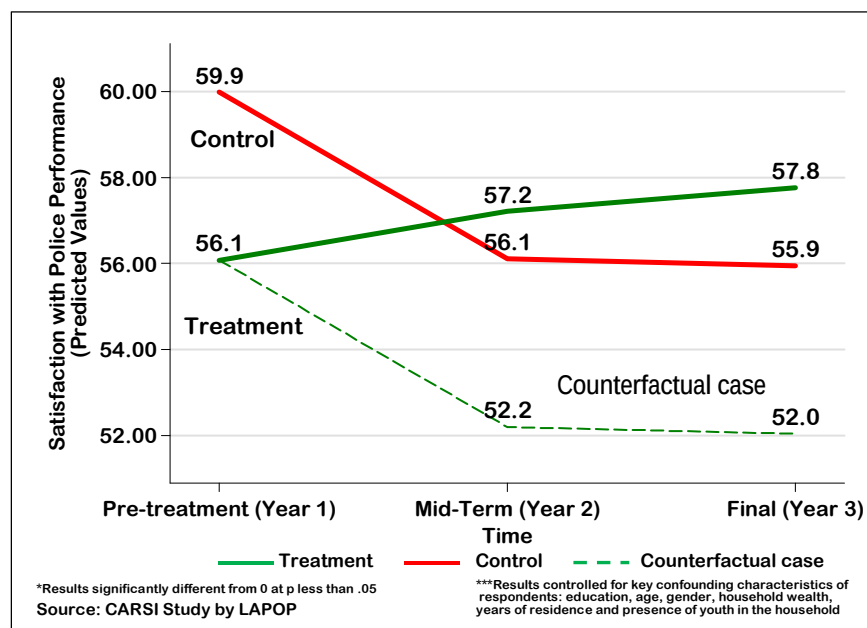


Figure 35. Satisfaction with Police Performance in Neighborhoods
Source: CARSI 2010-2012

In short, CARSI community level data indicate that satisfaction with police performance improved more than if USAID’s crime prevention programs had not been administered. Community contextual variables that we were able to measure, we found they had no effect on the way in which the treatment affected satisfaction with police performance.

Qualitative results. The qualitative interviews provide a mixed review of police performance. The baseline qualitative study of police efforts at crime and violence reduction found that El Salvador’s Policía Nacional Civil had put into place a new, officially instituted community-policing program, supported by both USAID and the Department of State through different programs. Interviews with police officers in the first round of interviews yielded the following self-report information on how they carry out community policing. The basic approach is preventive patrolling (*patrullaje preventivo*), which consists of: (1) contact with citizens (*acercamiento ciudadano*) to gather intelligence, search for weapons; (2) inducing community to report crimes and press charges (*inducción ciudadano*); (3) outreach activities (“Battle for Peace”), e.g., summer courses for youth or soccer tournaments; (4) mediation in conflicts (especially domestic violence and child abuse); and (5) social and non-crime related problems (community health, flood relief, clearing mudslides).

Police reported in Round 1 that their effectiveness as community police officers was constrained by four factors: (1) understaffing (an inadequate number of officers for community policing—a minimum of 4 are needed for each unit, but generally only 2 are provided); (2) being poorly equipped (police say they need automatic weapons to fight the criminals who have them); (3) people do not report crimes (because of fear of reprisals and their mistrust of corrupt police officers); (4) people are unaware of the laws (the various ways of reporting a crime, that is, of making a *denuncia*) [“Police report”].

How, then, do stakeholders view the police two years later? ADESCO leaders, who more than any other sector of the communities have regular contact with the police, give a mixed picture of the police. In answering a question on how the community leaders like him feel when they deal with the police, one ADESCO president says that the police have improved their performance somewhat, although leaders are still mistrustful of the police, and the police are far less effective than the army in preventing violence. In his words:

“Quizá ha mejorado... ha mejorado un poco no...mejoramos como lo que se espera ahora hay que decirlo la desconfianza siempre existe eh...ha mejorado en el sentido de que hoy la delincuencia es mucho menos, al menos en la comunidad, pero quizás el policía actual quizás no sé qué tre...quizás no es que él tenga la culpa de que se le tenga desconfianza sino que viene de un proceso en el que a todo policía se desconfía, entonces eso pues lo hace la desconfianza. Es cuestión de tiempo que se lo gane, se le tiene más confianza a lo que es el ejército, en ese sentido. Además el ejército sí se le tiene más... más confianza. De hecho el joven que anda en otros... en pasos que no debe de andar, este, le tiene más temor es algo... es algo bien, este, eh...bien marcado pues no es lo mismo ver venir una pareja de policías que nada más se quedan calladitos o quietos. En cambio cuando ven un par de soldados es bien diferente o sea es bien, yo creería la que... en cuestión de seguridad con la fuerza armada o el ejército estaríamos... está más seguro.”

Translation [“Maybe it has improved...maybe a little. No...we haven’t improved as much as we expected, so now it has to be said that people are always mistrustful, you know. It’s improved in the sense that now there is much less delinquency, at least in the community, but perhaps today’s police officer maybe, I don’t know what...maybe it’s not his fault that people mistrust him but rather it’s the result of a process in which all police officers are untrustworthy, so that’s what makes for lack of trust. It’s a matter of time for them to gain people’s trust. We have more trust in the army in that sense. In addition, the army is more, more trustworthy. In fact, a young person who is involved in other...things he shouldn’t be doing, uh, has more fear of the military...it’s something, well, uh, um, that stands out because it’s not the same to see a couple of police officers coming (toward you) because all they (need to) do is stay quiet and still. But when they see a couple of soldiers, it’s very different, I mean it’s really...I’d think it’s...as far as security is concerned, we’d be safer with the armed forces or the army.”]

At the same time, this community leader finds the police more respectful of the rights of young people than are soldiers. According to this leader, the military do much more profiling of youths, searching them unnecessarily and sometimes harassing them, which has been getting parents in the community very upset. His explanation of the difference between police and military treatment of the neighborhood youth is worth quoting at length:

“Ahí sí quizás hay una gran diferencia el...el policía es más, tiene más educación, eso sí hay que decirlo eh... más respetuoso eh... no deja de escapársele quizás algo que quiera que salir de lo normal, pero es raro que pase. Pero en cambio el ejército no... el ejército es un poco irrespetuoso y sí incomodo, es incómodo para los padres de familia porque a veces el hijo no sólo se les registran ni se le está señalando, sino que se está acosando y a veces hasta se le ha maltratado. En nuestra comunidad tiene el problema de que algunas veces hasta se ha maltratado, en este último año tal vez unas dos veces en año que se han sido jóvenes maltratados sin ningún derecho, jóvenes que uno sabe de qué no cometen nada, no. Es cuando uno ha querido intervenir no dejan de que uno se acerque y, este, a

veces uno no lo hace con intención de defender a alguien que anda haciendo algo malo sino que nada más pa...con el hecho de ser un joven tranquilo y sí un poco respetuoso hay una distancia muy grande de un agente policial a un...a un militar.”

Translation [“In that respect there is a big difference...police officers are more...polite, that has to be said, you know...more respectful, you see? It’s not like they never do anything out of the ordinary, but it is unusual for that to happen. No so with the army...the soldiers are a little disrespectful, and, yes, upsetting. Parents get upset because sometimes their child is not only being searched without being accused of anything, but also harassed and even abused. In our community, kids have sometimes been abused. This past year, maybe twice, we know of kids who have been abused for no reason, kids who haven’t done anything, nothing at all. When someone has tried to intervene, they don’t allow anyone to get close, and, uh, people don’t do this (try to get close) with the intention of trying to defend a person who is doing something wrong, but rather its’ only to...well, being a calm young person and, yes, somewhat respectful, there’s a big gap between a police officer and a soldier.”]

On the whole, however, when asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they are with police services in their community, ADESCO leaders still express negative evaluations. As one president put it, “Quizás muy mínimo quizá, quizá, no quizás no muy conforme...,” [“Maybe very minimally maybe, maybe, not maybe, not very satisfied.”]. He added that while it is impossible to deny that the police patrol the neighborhood regularly, sometimes they just pass through on the street or in the middle of the park, paying only cursory attention to the goings-on of the neighborhood. The ADESCO president said that even when people are in the park drinking alcohol, the police often decline to investigate what’s going on and continue to just walk along the edge of the park without entering, though it’s in the middle of the park where the adults and the youths drink alcohol.

Yet we find some ADESCO presidents praising the police to the hilt. When asked what the police do in his community, one president says that they have a “very special case” of two patrolmen who are assigned to his community who when you call them, show up within two minutes:

“Se les habla, a los dos minutos ellos están acá. Hay un...hay un acercamiento bien especial de ellos con nosotros, y de nosotros con ellos, este...nosotros lo mirábamos como...como una policía comunitaria porque no...nos hemos lle...nos hemos tratado con ellos como...como hermanos por decir así. Ellos se ponen a jugar a veces ahí... a jugar nintendo, cualquier cosa, por ratitos ahí...y están en comunidad ellos...tan pendientes, tenemos números de teléfono y cualquier reunión que hacemos sólo les hablamos y ya vienen...”

Translation [“You ask them to come, and in two minutes they’re here. There’s a...special closeness between them and us, and us and them, um, we think of them as...as community police, we, we have come...we have treated each other like family, to put it that way. Sometimes they’ll start playing, they play Nintendo, or anything else, for a while here...and they’re part of the community...always ready to help. We have their phone numbers, and any gathering we have, we just call them and they come...”]

This community leader adds that in the past, he and the others in his community felt somewhat afraid of the police because of the repression that the police often carried out, but *“ahora no, ahora yo los veo como...partes iguales.”* [*“not any more, now I consider them as...peers.”*] It is worth noting that in this ADESCO leader’s community there is a Centro de Alcance, and when the outreach center opened up, the police were asked to provide security for it because the community was a hotspot for crime:

“Esto estaba caliente, por decir así...aquí habían jóvenes que andaban en aras y lo demostraban en las esquinas. Hoy ya no...Eso ya cambió totalmente con la...con la...posición de los policías”.

Translation [*“This was a hotspot, to put it like that. There were youngsters here who went around carousing, and they’d do this on the street corners. That doesn’t happen these days...That has completely changed with the the...with the (change in) attitude of the police.”*]

He goes on to explain that at first, the police were justifiably repressive with these youths. He believes that as a result of the repression used by the police, *“estos jóvenes ya no se vestían mal, ya...pasan ya diferente ya...hoy...hoy es un totalmente la comunidad se siente cambiada ya con esto...”* [*“these youngsters didn’t wear outlandish clothes any more, they look different...today...today the community feels completely different with this...”*] To accomplish this, the ADESCO leadership held meetings with the chiefs of police, and the result has been a success: *“ha sido un éxito porque esa comunicación ha sido efectiva.”* [*“it’s been a success because communication has been effective”*] Today, the patrolmen have become friends of the youths and children who come from all over the neighborhood and who attend the Centro de Alcance, and when these youngsters see the officers on the street, they greet them and everything is peaceful between them, says the community leader.

This ADESCO president, when asked to what degree he believes that the police in his community protect people from the delinquents, replied: 100%. At the same time, he has heard that some of the police are involved in criminal activities, such as the drug trade and gangs. Yet he feels that the police are 100% trustworthy. He admits that in the past he used to be afraid of the police, fearing that they might be thieves, but now that he has been talking to them a great deal, he feels that all of that has changed (*“ahí ya cambió eso”*). [*“In that respect it has changed”*].

An interview with another ADESCO president, a middle-aged woman living in the same municipality, gives a strikingly different view of the police.¹⁰ She reports that in the past twelve

¹⁰ Since we did not have statistics on ADESCO leadership in the municipalities where the study was being carried out, we do not know how many ADESCO officers were women as opposed to men. We can only report on the leaders that fell into the study. The majority of the ADESCO presidents interviewed were men (73%), which is not surprising given the traditional home-centered roles that working class and lower-middle class women have played in Central American community development associations. Where women’s leadership comes to the fore locally is in church and school related committees. Women’s participation on the Municipal Councils for Crime and Violence Prevention is greater than it is in ADESCOS, because membership on these councils is determined by the organizations the people represent. Since there are many more female school directors than there are men, for example, the person representing the schools of the municipality will most likely be a woman. Catholic Church representatives on the committee will

months there has been no coordination whatsoever between her association and the national police, and that they have done nothing to reduce the level of crime. She did concede, however, that she had heard of the police giving prevention talks in the neighborhood school and had been searching student backpacks—in other words, exerting influence in the school more than in the past. She feels that the local school was a little more dangerous place before, when the police weren't there to control things. In short, she sees an improvement in school safety in 2012 compared to 2011. Nevertheless, this ADESCO president does not trust the police. Based on what she sees on the TV news programs, she believes that many police officers are in league with criminals. In answering the question, “If you were a victim of a robbery or an assault in your community, how much would you trust the police to capture the culprit?” she responded:

“Mmmm...este....fíjese que la confianza está algo terrible porque...yo me baso por las noticias que hemos visto y...eh...yo me baso con las noticias que he visto que hace poquito como que capturaron como a...cinco policías parece...policías...y yo les vi los rostros...y digo yo no parecen lo que andaban haciendo...ahí...sí....no les puedo decir les tengo confianza porque...a veces yo siento que el 100% están con los muchachos, les están haciendo alados a ellos verdad...y como...digamos aquí hay...ahorita están...hay unos extorsionistas ahorita aquí...y uno pues, yo al menos sólo miro y...que miren ellos va, pero no me gusta nada nada lo que está pasando va...como le vuelvo a repetir vienen los de la Coca, ya se fueron varios vendedores, ya no vienen...”

Translation [“Hmm, well, I’ll tell you that trust is extremely low because...I’m basing what I say on TV news we’ve seen and, uh, I’m going by the news reports I have seen. Just the other day, about five police officers, it seems, were captured, police officers, and I saw their faces, and they didn’t look like the kind of persons who would do what they were doing, so I can’t say that I have much trust in the police. Sometimes I feel like they’re 100% on the kids’ side, they’re drawn to them, you know, and let’s say that there are...right now they’re...there are some extortionists here right now...and one, well, at least I only look and...and they should look, you know. And I don’t like what’s going on at all, you know? So I say again, the coke dealers come here, but some of them have left and don’t come anymore.”]

She says she feels a lot more confidence in the soldiers to capture criminals than she does the police, because she herself has witnessed soldiers jumping over walls, going into places that the police never would enter, pursuing people suspected of criminal activity. At the same time, she chooses not to talk to the police on a regular basis, as a community leader, for fear of reprisals from delinquents.

A sixty-year-old community leader from the same municipality, and a member of the Municipal Committee for the Prevention of Violence, has a highly negative appraisal of the police.

always be male priests, and Evangelical pastors are mainly men as well, and there is always a representative of the churches on these municipal committees. The person representing the Policía Nacional Civil is typically the chief of police of delegación of the municipal center, and generally the chiefs of police are men. However, often there is also a person representing a woman’s organization on these councils, and the person representing the health sector of the municipality sometimes is a social worker or a female nurse. In short, the representation of women on these violence prevention councils is determined by the current leadership of the community sector that is being represented.

Interestingly, when asked if the police who come to his community help reduce levels of crime, his answer is, “*Mucho, mucho.*” [“A lot, a lot.”] But he then qualifies this response with the caveat that despite this, no one in the community provides the police with intelligence, because those who did collaborate with the police had to leave the neighborhood, to move away for their own safety:

“Lo único que ellos, nadie les da mayor información, es poco, poca gente es la que se presta a ese juego, verdad. Pero en esta comunidad desde temprano han descubierto que tienen que irse, aquí está emigrando gente porque ha colaborado con la policía. Aquí, un montón de gente se ha ido últimamente en estos días, verdad.”

Translation [“The only thing that they...no one gives them any valuable information, very few, very few people are willing to play that game, you see. But in this community from early on people have realized that they have to leave. People are emigrating for having collaborated with the police. Lately a whole bunch of people have left this place, you know.”]

This community leader says that he himself always is fearful and distrusting of the police, because he never knows if the person wearing the uniform is corrupt or in league with the criminals, as many in the past have been known to murder the neighborhood youths.

In this former ADESCO president’s re-interview, he explains why he is so mistrustful of the police. He says in his capacity as member of the Municipal Committee for the Prevention of Violence, that he and the other members would regularly meet with the police, along with representatives of the armed forces, since they were the “arms of the law,” as he puts it. He says that the agreements that were reached at these committee meetings never reached the level of the communities. He says that it wasn’t the fault of the local community police, but of the higher-ups in the police precincts that have higher jurisdictions. In his case, he was working with forty-six gang members, from five different communities including his own, in a program called “Deporte Saludable” (Healthy Sports).

He says that the police at the municipal level threw the program out, evidenced by the fact that when they came to his community, they rounded up the boys and forced them into their police cars without having any evidence against them, simply to bother them, and then beat them up. The result was that this action destroyed his youth violence prevention project. Yet he doesn’t blame the local police, because he feels that the decisions made in the municipal prevention committee never trickled down to the level of the community police force. He describes the event and the ensuing outcome for his prevention program,

“...montaban el carro y agarraban a los muchachos sin tener nada en contra, sin tener nada, nada en mano ya para acusarlos, verdad, sino que simplemente por, por molestar, pues. Y, ya los golpeaban y tal vez se iban, verdad. Y eso nos, nos destruyó el proyecto pues, porque ya los jóvenes andan por unos 20 por ahí todavía. Entonces... en una ocasión que tuvimos una reunión, dispuse eso que era por gusto estar reunidos allá hablando, porque las palabras se las llevaba el viento. Lo que acordábamos allí nunca bajaba a los puestos, y no era culpa de ellos, verdad, porque no sabían.”

Translation [*“They’d come in their cars and round up the kids without having any evidence against them, you know, just to harass them, right? The police would beat the kids and maybe then they’d leave, you know. And that destroyed the project, because there are still about 20 kids hanging around there. After that, one time we had a meeting. I called it just to have people together talking, but as usual it was just talk. The things we agreed on there were never heard by the local police, and it wasn’t their fault, you see. They just didn’t know about it.”*]

Yet this same leader felt that currently (the end of 2012) the local police know how to treat young people with more respect. When they get out of their police cars to interact with citizens of the neighborhood, they treat the community leaders and the youth better: *“Hoy nos miran con respeto”* [*“Now they look at us with respect”*]. For this reason, his attitudes toward the police have changed for the better:

“La policía de acá me ha acompañado en acciones aquí en la calle, de liderazgo. Cuando, la gente quiere hacer su, su, su abierta ADESCO acá en la calle, pero lo quieren hacer a su manera, no a la manera que, que dice la alcaldía, verdad. Los he llamado, acompañado, me conocen, sí me identifican, la Fuerza Armada también, hoy siento más confianza, verdad. Mas no así para informar nada, porque no sé quiénes son. Pero en cuanto a las policías comunales, sí, verdad.”

Translation [*“The police here have been with me here outdoors, during my leadership activities. Sometimes people want to carry out their ADESCO activities out in the street, but they want to do them in their own way and not the way the mayor’s office wants them to, you know? I call (the police) and they come with me, they know me, yes, they know me by sight, and so does the military. So now I trust the military more, you see? But not enough to share information with them since I don’t know who they are. But with the local community police, yes, you see?”*]

In short, he trusts the local community police, because he knows them personally, but not the authorities outside the bounds of his community. Thus, in response to the question “How trustworthy are the police officers that you know,” his answer is, “Not trustworthy.” Yet, in expanding on his answer he expresses great sympathy for the local police who live in his community, who play soccer with the youths, and who are shot dead by the delinquents. He feels that there are honest police, but with the low salaries that they earn, the risks that they take to their own lives, and the corruption that they see around them, especially among their superiors, it’s not surprising that some of them become dishonest. He gives the example of an inspector at the San Salvador airport who knowingly allowed drugs into the country, under the gaze of people from this leader’s community, who witnessed the corruption and commented on it to him. This leader sees the greatest corruption among the higher ranking police officials, those who earn good salaries, *“...los de arriba, que ganan buenos dineros, que ganan buenos sueldos metidos en corrupción....”* [*“the ones at the top, the ones who get good money, who receive good salaries are involved in corruption”*]

Another ADESCO president, in his late-thirties, when asked how he feels when dealing with the police answered, *“Pues la verdad es de que en...inseguro verdad, inseguro....”* [*“Well, truthfully, not safe, you know, not safe.”*] But he does think that the police are there to protect him, because

it's their duty. As for whether the police are doing something to reduce the crime and violence levels in his community and the ones around his, his answer is: "*Em, no sólo el acto de presencia nada más*" [*"No, they just show up, nothing else."*] However, some would say that this in and of itself might help keep crime levels down. In response to how much he would have confidence in the police capturing someone who had robbed him, his response was, "*Un cincuenta por ciento*" [*"Fifty per cent"*], indicating a lack of confidence in the police. When asked to justify his lack of confidence, he responded that the police have thousands of cases to solve, and so they might give priority to more important crimes. And upon answering the question about the degree to which he thinks the police in his community protect people from the delinquents, his answer was, "*¿Hasta qué punto? Eh...sí fuera entre bueno, muy bueno y excelente, bueno.*" [*"If it were 'good' 'very good' and 'excellent', then 'good'.*] Interestingly, he created his own scale to formulate his evaluation. His opinion of the quality of police services in his community was the same, 'good' on a three-point scale where 'good' was the lowest. He did not allow for the possibility of 'poor' on his scale. He also believed, based on what he heard on the news, that the police at times were involved in crime.

Many other community leaders express their degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the quality of police services in terms of percentages. One ADESCO president answered, "*Mmm, pues no tanto, va, tal vez un 75 por ciento me siento satisfecho.*" [*"Umm, not so much, let's see, maybe I feel about 75% satisfied."*] This is a puzzling answer, since by U.S. standards, 75% would represent "quite satisfied," but by Salvadoran standards, or at least by this person's standards, this percentage represents "not so much." His answer is consistent with his statement that it's unusual for the police to come to his community to talk to the residents ("*no, es raro eso*") [*"no, that's rare"*].

Yet another ADESCO leader, a man in his sixties, in answering a question as to what the police do to reduce the level of crime or violence when they come to his community, reports that they have come to talk to the community leaders about being invited to their ADESCO. They have also reassured the leaders that they should not be viewed as the authorities, but as friends, and that the leaders should not be afraid of them when problems related to the justice system arise. According to this statement, the police who are assigned to this community have been trained in community policing and comport themselves accordingly.

School directors and teachers have a great deal of contact with the police, either through school programs that involve the police, or because at times they need to call the police for help in dealing with serious crimes that occur on the school grounds. The major ways in which the schools interact with the police is through (1) use of the police to guard school entrances, to protect the students from gang members who try to approach them either to extort money from them or to lure them into their gang; (2) to carry out a program known as "Disciplina a través del Deporte" (Discipline through Sports), which aims at teaching values and the need to stay away from alcohol, drugs, and gangs, while at the same time practicing sports such as soccer with a police officer/physical education instructor during regular school hours; (3) invitations to the police to give motivational/educational talks to both students and their parents, about the need for students to stay away from gangs and from illegal substances and activities; and (4) calling the police to help out administrators during outbreaks of violence or other criminal activity.

The presence of the Discipline through Sports program is highly variable. In 2011, many schools did not have any access to it at all, while in other schools the police instructor would teach this class once a week, and yet in other schools the instructor would come three times per week. One disturbing report on this joint police/school program, from a school director, is that the police sports specialists who were sent to her school would beat the students. For this reason, she asked the police chief to remove the police instructors from her school. This was in fact done, the school director reports, but months later the same police instructors were sent back to her school, and they went back to the same type of physically punitive way of disciplining the students.

The motivational talks that the police have been giving in the schools vary greatly in terms of their coverage of treatment community schools. In 2011, the police would come to a particular school only when they were specifically invited by the school administrators (e.g., when the students complained that they were victims of extortion by fellow students who were gang members). One school director reports that in that year, no police came to give talks, but that in the previous year they had. In contrast, in another municipality, a school director says that they received talks by the police every three months in 2000, 2006, 2007, 2008, and every year thereafter. In yet another municipality, a school director reports that only a couple of schools in that municipality were given talks by the police.

A contrasting evaluation of police contribution to violence prevention comes from another school administrator. This sub director is highly positive about the extensive role that the police play in her school:

“...No solamente prestando su servicio de seguridad, sino que, en diferentes actividades que hemos tenido, a veces la policía es la que se encarga del transporte. A veces la policía es la que se encarga de coordinación de, de algunos, eh, actividades con los jóvenes. Entonces, la presencia de ellos es, es constante. A veces la policía se encarga de, de las charlas a los padres de familia. En temáticas que, que vayan que, que vayan con, con, que le incumban, verdad, por ejemplo, ellos han, han capacitado gente aquí sobre la ley del menor infractor, o sea, que los padres conozcan este tipo de cosas. La policía está muy, muy cerca de nosotros.”

Translation [“Not only do they provide security but also for various activities we’ve had, the police are the ones who are in charge of providing transportation. Sometimes the police take charge of coordinating some, um, activities with the young people. So police presence is, is constant... sometimes the police take care of holding talks with the parents. They talk to them about, about, about police matters, you see? For example, they have taught people here about juvenile delinquency laws so that parents are informed about such things. The police are very, very, connected to us.”]

Another school director, from the same municipality, is also complimentary regarding the role played by the police in her school. She refers specifically to RTI, the local USAID contractor:

“Sí, sí tuvimos este... este año y en los años anteriores pues no tanto porque se supone, este, que debe de haber eh... capacitaciones de parte de un miembro de... que la PNC destina para que vaya a dar charlas de orientación a los estudiantes o alguna escuela de padres, este, pero en anteriores años no se dio todo esto, este año sí, eh... me imagino que

es por la incidencia que... que... la policía tiene en la... el proyecto de la prevención de la violencia y delincuencia verdad, trabajando muy directamente con RTI y (---) entonces este, y aparte de que el... el... el inspector es bien dinámico, y este le gusta participar en eso, nos ha trabajado en escuelas de padres, este, no. Así nos ha trabajado con... con los grupos de estudiantes que llegó una vez y habló específicamente con los de tercer ciclo sí, verdad, eh... eso fue de parte de la PNC de Municipalidad X, y también llegó una comisión de la región central que es este también de tránsito y este ellos sí capacitaron a los estudiantes desde nivel parvularia hasta el noveno grado.”

Translation [“Yes, yes, this year, and for the past few years we had, well, not as much as we were supposed to have had, uh, some training sessions from a member of the...that the PNC sends to give orientations to students or to one of the parents’ schools, uh, but in other years we didn’t have all this, but this year we did, you see...I imagine that it’s due to the incidence that the police have in the, the violence and delinquency prevention project, you know, working very directly with the RTI, and (---)so, uh, besides, the, the, the inspector is very dynamic, and uh, he likes participating in it. He has participated in the parents’ school, uh, you see? In the same, way he’s worked with us with student groups. One time he came and spoke specifically with the third cycle students, yes, you know, that was part of the PNC in Municipality X. Also, a commission from the central region came, which is, uh, also the traffic police, and, uh, they did orient the students from elementary school to 9th grade.”]

Several school directors mention the limitations of school-based police violence prevention strategies. According to several school directors, students cannot be routinely searched inside the schools, to ensure that weapons or other prohibited items (e.g., cell phones) are brought in. This includes limitations on police ability to search students and their book bags. As one director puts it, reporting conversations that he had had with the police, and basing himself on what he says is Ministry of Education policy:

“Yo eso les decía, aquí dentro de la escuela ellos no pueden actuar vea....sólo pueden vigilar, pero en la calle sí, ellos tienen que identificar a estas personitas y en la calle registrarlos eh....qué...aplicarles la ley no sé..Pero afuera va, porque si adentro si no...no podrían ellos...pero si...identificarlos y...y vigilarlos...no sé...porque ellos infringen la ley afuera, porque adentro uno no se da cuenta.”

Translation [“That’s what I was telling them, that here inside the school, they can’t do that, you see. They can only watch. But they can do that outside school grounds. They have to identify these little people and search them outside the school, you know, um, enforce the law, I don’t know. But outside the school, yes, because inside they can’t...but they... they can identify them, and...and watch them...I don’t know...because they break the law when they’re off school property, because in here you can’t tell that they’re doing it.”]

In other schools, we were told that the police accompany the teachers and their classes to the public basketball court, providing them security, but do not engage with the students in athletics. This service is generally offered no more than once a week. In one school this service began in June, 2011.

However, some school administrators complain about the lack of sufficient police personnel to meet the needs of their school for protection. One school was given police protection only twice a week, even though the school had called the police station a number of times to report threats that had been made in the school, and there was no response from the police to any of these calls, said one director, even though the school is located two blocks from the police station.

From the statements of several school directors, police contact with the schools has had some positive effects. In one municipality, a school director comments that the presence of the police in the school has become so normal, that the students joke around with them and there is real camaraderie between them. In another municipality, a director says that at first she and the teaching staff were skeptical and worried about what the police would do, but the actions of the police have gained their trust:

“Velan la seguridad de los niños y de los docentes, verdad. Pero, que a nosotros al mismo tiempo nos da miedo, porque estando ellos, este, algunas veces uno piensa de que, este, van a venir con, de otra forma, verdad. Pero, pero no, no, aquí no es el caso, verdad. Este, nos dan seguridad sí allá en la entrada, cuando entran y salen, verdad. Este, que los, los microbuseros, este, bajen, bajen la velocidad, verdad, allí. Y también lo que no permiten que entren extraños a la escuela, porque sí, algunas veces jóvenes rebeldes se han entrado y a nosotros nos ha tocado, verdad. Pero, gracias a Dios, nunca nos, nos han maltratado.”

Translation [“They watch out for the safety of the children and the teachers, you see. But at the same time, we’re afraid because although they are here, uh, sometimes one thinks they might, uh, come in, well, acting different, you know? But, but, no, no, that isn’t the case here, you see. Uh, they do provide security at the entrance when the students come in and leave for the day, you know. Uh, (they make sure) the schoolbus drivers, uh, slow down in front, right? And they don’t allow outsiders to come in because it’s true that some rebellious youths have come in and we’ve had to deal with them. But, thank God, no one has ever mistreated us.”]

Another positive impact that the police have had on the schools, according to another school director, is the beneficial influence they have had on the parents as well as on the students. One sub-inspector who has given motivational/ educational talks to the parents, apparently has gotten them to become more involved with their children and to start thinking differently about risky behavior. In short, this police inspector, a woman, has raised the consciousness of the parents in a way that the schoolteachers had not been able to.

With respect to the impression that clergy have of the police, in terms of effectiveness, trustworthiness, and the ability to reduce crime and violence in their community, the impression varies greatly depending upon the degree to which the clergy works with youth-at-risk and gang members in particular. In general, those clerics who most actively engage in violence prevention programs are the ones who have the most negative comments regarding the police. Specifically, they are quick to point out the heavy-handed, overly aggressive way in which the police treat youths, generally indiscriminately.

It is generally the Evangelical clergy who express negative attitudes toward the police. Catholic priests, who, we were told, on the whole are less engaged in crime prevention with at-risk youths,

are more positive in their comments on the police. For example, when asked if they were a victim of a robbery or assault, to what extent would they have confidence in the police's ability to capture the culprit, Evangelical pastors said, *"Tal vez en un 45 por ciento...diría que un 65 por ciento no esperaríamos un resultado"* [*"Maybe about 45%...I'd say about 65% wouldn't count on getting results."*] This comment was made by a man who had had his car broken into one time, and two weeks before the interview had had his wallet stolen, without its being recovered. Another said, *"Pues...vamos a dejarlo a la mitad (laughing);"* *"Me voy a un 35 por ciento."* [*"Well...let's leave it at half (laughing); I'll say about 35%."*] But one Catholic priest said *"Un...setenta por ciento quizás,"* [*"about 70% maybe"*] and another one answered, *"un noventa por ciento,"* [*"about 90%"*], referring to the police officers he knew. When it came to confidence in the police capturing someone who had robbed them, the Evangelical clergy were more positive toward the police, if the police were ones from their municipality. In other words, they found their local police to be competent in apprehending criminals.

Youth-at-risk were also interviewed to find out their perceptions of the violence prevention programs that had been in place for two years. All of them were asked how the PNC treats young people in their community. One eighteen-year-old girl said that there were no problems with the police in her neighborhood, since most of the girls are Christian and don't spend their time just partying and getting involved in *"cosas de la comunidad"* (meaning illegal activities), and she feels that the boys are treated equally well by the police. She attributes this to the fact that the police patrol during the day and there's not much violence in the daytime. However, the army patrols at night, she explains, and this is when youths are arrested and questioned. Others, too, say that the police treat young people well; that is, they do not seem to have complaints.

One 18-year-old young man tells of an incident when the police came to his school to give a talk, during which a mortar fight broke out among the students. The police did not arrest the students; rather, they had them sit down, asked them why they had engaged in the violent behavior and what they had to gain from it. Another youth, a 19-year-old, confirms that the police don't treat the community's young people poorly, most likely because the youth in his community are not involved in crime and other illegal activities. As he puts it,

"A los de aquí bien como no les hacen nada va, como ven que no andamos metidos en nada y nada, no nos molestan. A veces vienen en carro, o a pie y nos miran en la esquina sentados y nos dicen, 'mira párate allí los vamos a registrar,' y como no andamos jodiendo no nos dicen nada sólo qué estamos haciendo allí y va como les decimos que nada, ya nos dicen 'váyanse para su casa' y nos vamos cada quien y ya sólo hasta allí."

Translation [*"Since the young people here don't do anything to them, right, that we're not involved in anything at all, they don't bother us. Sometimes they come in their cars or on foot and they look at us sitting on the corner and they say, 'stand up where you are; we're going to search you,' and since we're not messing with anyone, they don't start up with us. They just ask us what we're doing there, and we tell them 'nothing', so they just tell us to 'go home.' And we all take off, and that's it."*]

A scathing indictment of the attitudes and behavior of the police toward young people comes from the narrative of a 27-year old man. His vivid, eyewitness account describing police violence toward youths goes as follows:

“Mal, mal, violentos, golpeados hasta menores de edad. Sí este, es bien extraño, porque yo supongo hasta yo fui este, abusado por, por los poli... la actitud de los policía porque estoy de acuerdo en que le, si la comunidad es, es está identificada como una comunidad violenta o como sea, pero creo que todos merecen respeto o sea, y no por la forma de vestir o porque vivís en ese lugar vas a estar ya como estigmatizado que sos malo, que sos pandillero, que sos ladrón o lo que sea. Entonces ellos llegaron con esa idea y una ide... una actitud agresiva incluso de golpes, si cuando vos veás un policía ya sabías que te iban a dar tu garrotazo. O sea yo digo, estoy de acuerdo con el registro, el respeto que ellos se merecen como autoridades, pero ellos abusaban en sí de ese, de, de su uniforme. ¿Por qué? Porque vienen, te dicen, “vamos a registrar.” Ok, todo mundo se para, lo registran, o sea te toman tu documento, llaman y lo lógico para mí sería que si ellos llaman y no tienes nada que ver, bueno te devuelven tu documento y te puedes retirar, pero el problema es que ellos o sea, como no se enseña de castigo que, lo que hacían es este, tenerlo ahí, abiertos así como haciendo un, tratando de hacerte abrir lo más posible. En una ocasión tuvieron a unos jóvenes hasta como una hora en ese sentido, le robaron las camisas, aluciendo que por qué tenían este logos así de, del ejército, una camisa con una escopeta, se la llevaron, eh los zapatos, yo creo que más bien ganárselos, como ellos dicen, ganárselos o robárselos querían. Pero en realidad la actitud de la policía siempre ha sido así, por eso en la comunidad los jóvenes este no, no tienen confianza en, en la policía y no sólo desconfianza sino que los ven como que ellos podrían ser este, parte del problema. No lo ven como una solución, como que son los encargados de proteger a la comunidad que te van a brindar seguridad, sino que ellos estuvieron actuando de una forma agresiva, que en lo que en realidad hizo fue este, eh hasta cierto punto un repudio de los jóvenes y de, de y no sólo de los jóvenes sino que de los padres de familia hacia las autoridades, porque muchos tuvieron problemas. O sea les dicen, llegan este a ultrajarlos a las, tomándoles fotos a cada rato de que ya los tienen en lista, no sé qué. Bueno, decía yo, si los tienen en una lista porque son delincuentes, porque no llegan, se los llevan y ya estuvo. Se hacen las investigaciones correspondientes y, y ahí termina la cosa. Pero no. O sea llegaban más que todo los se, apoyaban un poco en los, en los soldados del ejército y ellos eran los que golpeaban a los, a los jóvenes. De último me enteré yo de un joven menor de edad sus 15, 16 años que sí lo mandaron hasta el hospital, lo mandaron al hospital y este, y son cosas que estuvieron pasando por mucho tiempo. Y ahora cuando la policía viene y quiere implantar lo que ellos dicen es la policía comunitaria, que quieren un acercamiento, la gente no les cree y les dicen ¿cómo vamos a creer nosotros en eso, si pasaba esto o lo otro? Ellos lo niegan y dicen “no todas las autoridad somos iguales.” ¿Pero qué sucede? Eso ya queda en la mente de la gente y lo identifican porque no se daba sólo con uno, sino que con o... dos, todos los que llegaban actuaban de la misma forma. Incluso decían, “No si a este ya lo cargamos aquí, ah si es fulano ya lo detenemos” o sea incitando los jóvenes decía, si estaban reunidos ¿porque están reunidos aquí? No podían estar platicando o haciendo nada en grupo porque ya llegaban a hostigarlos y si veían a alguien que era de otra comunidad decían, “Ah no éste es de otra comunidad, vos sos maroso, vos venís a, a, a querer meter a estos bichos a la mara, vos sos sicario” ¿Vea que vos sos sicario? O sea no, yo creo que no era la forma de que, de que ellos tenían que actuar porque si tienen sospechas de una situación, yo para mí lo más lógico es iniciar una investigación, pero no un acoso así, este, tan obvio, tan obvio que en realidad lo que hacían era, o sea fastidiaban

hasta a la gente adulta, llegaban las madres, los amigos ahí a decir “¿Bueno y qué pasa aquí?” Sí, o sea, este, una desconfianza total.”

Translation [“Badly, badly, violently, even minors are beaten. Yes, uh, it’s really weird, because I guess I was, uh, abused by, by the police...their attitude, well I agree that they, if the community is identified as a violent community or whatever, but I believe that everybody deserves respect, you know, and not to be stigmatized or seen as a bad person or a gangster or thief because of how you dress or because you live in such and such a place. So (the police) would arrive someplace with that idea, with an ide...with an aggressive attitude and want to hit people. Whenever you saw the police you already knew they were going to club you. And I tell you, I agree with being searched and giving them the respect they deserve as authorities. But they abused their, the uniform. Why? Why do they come and say, ‘we’re going to search.’ So, OK, everybody stands up, they get searched and they take your ID. In my mind, the logical thing to do would be that when they see that you’re not involved in anything, they give you back your ID and send you on your way. But the problem is that since they don’t have any notion of appropriate punishment, what they’d do is, uh, have a person there with his legs spread and tell him to spread them even more. One time they had some kids with their legs spread for about an hour. The police stole their shirts with the excuse that the shirts had, uh, army logos on them. One shirt they took had a picture of a shotgun on it. They also took their, uh, their shoes. I think it was like winning (their belongings), you could say, they wanted to win them or steal them. But the truth is that the attitude of the police has always been like this. That’s why the youth in the community don’t trust the police. And not just mistrust, they believe that they could be, um, part of the problem. They don’t see them as the solution, like the people who are charged with protecting and providing security for the community, but as aggressors, and in truth, what this has produced, um, is a kind of repudiation of authority, not just on the part of the youth but also the parents because a lot of them have had problems with them (the police). They’ve been told...they come to violate them at...they take photos of them all the time telling them that they’re on some list and whatnot. Well, as I said, if they’re on a list it’s because they’re delinquents. Why don’t they come and take them away and that’s that? They make the necessary investigations, and it’s over. But no. The ones who came were the ones that sort of depended on the soldiers, and they were the ones that beat the youths. I just heard that a minor younger than 16 or 15 ended up in the hospital. They put him in the hospital. And, uh, this kind of thing has been happening for a long time. And now when the police come and try to create a community police force, that they want to be more in touch with the community, people don’t believe them. They say ‘how are we going to believe that when this and that has been happening? The police deny it and say ‘not all the authorities are the same.’ But what then? This stays in people’s minds and they know it because it wasn’t just one or two police officers – all of them that came acted the same. They even said, ‘I don’t know if this one was charged with a crime’ oh, if it’s so-and-so, we already arrested him.’ In other words, they stir up the kids they found together saying, ‘What are you doing here?’ They couldn’t be chatting or doing anything in a group because they’d be harassed, and if the police spotted somebody from another community, they’d say, ‘Oh no, this guy is from another community, you’re a gangster, you come here to, to, to try to get these little kids into the gang, you’re a hired gun.’ Don’t you realize that you’re a thug?’ so I don’t think that’s how they should have acted because if a situation makes you suspicious, I think the logical thing to do is to start an investigation, not get in their faces so blatantly that what they were doing was ticking everybody off, including the adults. The

mother and friends would come out and say, ‘Well, what’s going on here?’ So in other words, a complete lack of trust.”]

A 26-year old man expresses a similarly angry account of the way in which police treat young people:

“Mal, eh yo estoy muy en contra del maltrato, yo estoy de acuerdo en la libre decisión de cada quien, si se quieren hacer pandilleros y si no se quieren hacer igual. A mí también me han causado problemas y me han hecho daños, pero igual es la decisión de ellos ser así, por eso yo vi, eh yo digo que el trato de ellos muchas veces es, es pedante, es pesado, es poco ortodoxo, no tienen medidas en sus palabras, todo lo quieren hacer bajo la influencia de la violencia ¿cómo soluciona la violencia a la violencia? ¡Es mentira! Entonces es bien, es bien equivocado pues y lastimoso ver que agarran a un joven, entre tres policías, dos policías y lo golpean, le dan una su paliza y lo mandan para la casa. Ver que al día siguiente vuelven a encontrar al mismo chavo, le vuelven a dar una misma paliza y lo mandan para la casa. No sé en qué punto ayuda eso, porque si eso ayuda, voy a golpearlos yo a ellos para que vean que no va a cambiar nada.”

Translation [*“Badly, you know, I’m very much against mistreatment. I believe in people’s free will. If they want to be gangsters or not, fine. I’ve had problems with the police too, and they’ve harmed me. But that’s their decision to be like that. That’s why I...you know, I say that the way they treat people is often by talking down to them, being unpleasant, not going by the book, not measuring their words. They want to do everything violently. How do you solve violence with violence? It’s a lie! So it’s very, it’s very mistaken and hurtful to see two or three policemen grabbing a young person and hitting him. They beat him up and send him home. And the next day they find the same kid, beat him up and send him home. I don’t know how that helps anything, because if it helps, I’m going to beat the police myself so that they’ll see that it won’t change a thing.”]*

At the same time, some qualitative interview respondents, mainly women, express confidence in the trustworthiness of the police. Upon being asked to what extent she thinks that the police of her municipality protect people from criminals, the answer of a 30-year-old woman who is a member of the Municipal Council for the Prevention of Violence was, *“Un 90 por ciento”*. [*“About 90%.”*] She feels that the police that she knows are indeed trustworthy, and that in the municipality where she lives, they are not involved in crime, although in other municipalities she believes they are. She is also *“satisfecha al 100 por ciento”* [*“100% satisfied”*] with the police services in her municipality, and empathizes with the problems and frustration that the police face in carrying out their job (e.g., the overwhelmingly large ratio of residents to police, lack of sufficient fuel for their police cars, etc.). For these reasons, the police patrol her neighborhood only once or twice a week.

A twenty-five-year old man complains about the lack of police presence on the streets frequented by large numbers of students on their walk home from school. He says that in the past, the high command used to send patrolmen to keep those streets safe, but that the police patrols have diminished greatly. This young man, echoing the observations of the twenty-six-year-old angry young man, says that when police run into rebellious students (and he defines ‘rebellious’ as using foul language or generally lacking respect for the police), instead of reproaching them or warning

them, they harass them, whip them, or beat them, all of which make the youths turn more violent. He feels that the police need sensitivity training in dealing with rebellious youth.

The same at-risk young person says that in previous years, the police in his municipality were very repressive, and that in the present, the majority of police officers do not comply with their regulations, do not read young people their rights, and if a youth complains about this, the police will deny having behaved in this way. He knows that even if the youth has committed a crime, the police still have to read him his rights, that they have no right to beat him, and that they simply ought to fulfill the procedural requirements involved in capturing a suspect. Even if there has been a crime, the police officer ought to carry out the procedure, but should never beat the youth, never terrify him, and never use psychological violence, where they threaten to kill the youth, which is something that many police officers do in his municipality and in one other one, according to the interviewee. He adds that he doesn't know if the police have been behaving this way more recently, but that in previous years they did.

MINED and INJUVE. The Ministerio de Educación (MINED) and INJUVE (Instituto Nacional de la Juventud, up until 2011 called Consejo Nacional de la Juventud) both have representation on the Consejos Municipales para la Prevención de la Violencia y Delincuencia. (INJUVE sits on the councils only of Chalchuapa and Santa Ana). MINED is responsible for the Convivencia Escolar program, explained in detail in the accompanying power point on the School Directors and Teachers of El Salvador. The various student leadership organizations found in most of the schools are assumed to be a result of MINED national policy. INJUVE, in addition to having job training programs, trains school teachers in protecting the rights of minors.

VII. Indirect Effects: Democratic Values

As we posited at the beginning of this study, effective USAID's crime prevention programs should (1) have a direct impact on the reduction of violence and (2) increase the sense of security, which was evidenced by the quantitative and qualitative results displayed above. However, we also conjectured that there would be indirect effects of these programs for the promotion of good governance—e.g., greater levels of interpersonal trust, more satisfaction with the functioning of democracy, and improved perceptions of government security efforts. In the following section, we analyze the indirect impact of USAID's prevention programs on various indicators of good governance.

Interpersonal Trust

Theorists of civil society such as Robert Putnam argue that the combination of civic participation and interpersonal trust fosters social capital—in other words, both characteristics are necessary for citizen cooperation to solve community problems. Citizens who actively participate in civil society learn to work with and to trust each other. Therefore, interpersonal trust is believed to be both a precondition and a consequence of a strong civil society, which in turn reinforces democracy (Putnam 1993).

For the purposes of this study, we expect that some collateral benefits of USAID’s crime prevention programs will include increased levels of interpersonal trust in treatment communities. To obtain a general ideal of how levels of interpersonal trust in El Salvador compare to other countries in the region, we look to the Americas Barometer surveys of 24 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, which asked the question “Speaking of the people from around here, would you say that people are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, very trustworthy, or untrustworthy?” Responses to this question were recoded from 0-100, where high values represent high levels of interpersonal trust.

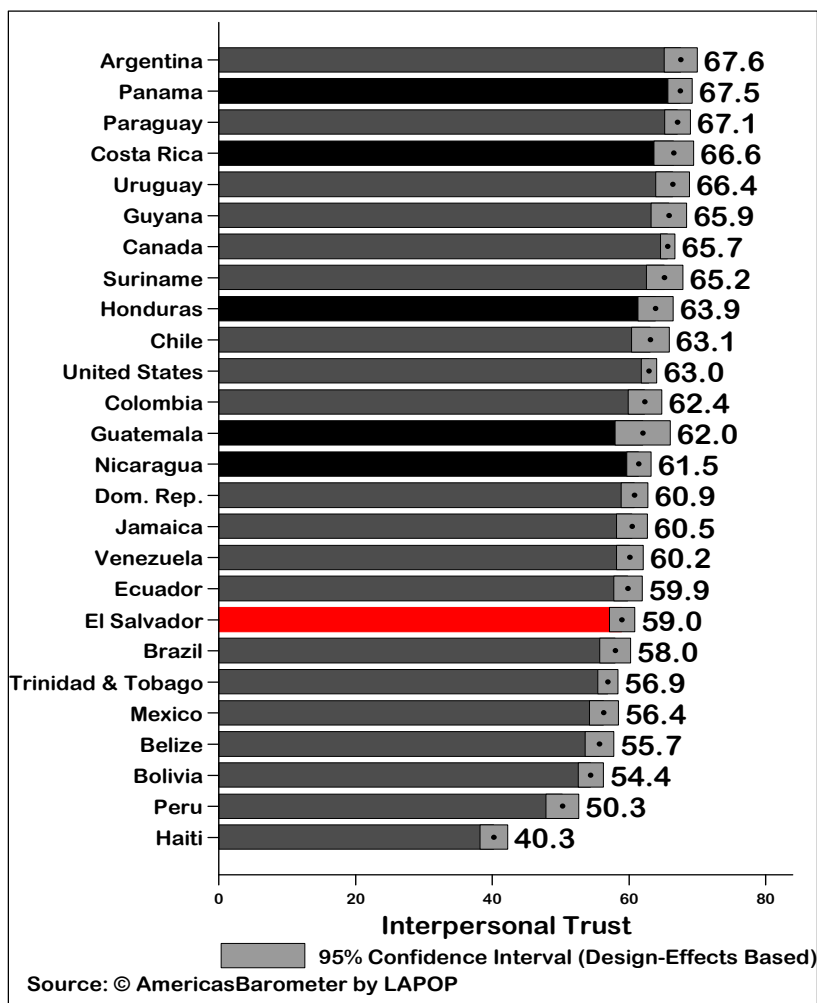


Figure 36. Interpersonal Trust Across the Americas

Citizens in El Salvador express relatively low levels of interpersonal trust compared to other countries in the Americas in 2012 (Figure 36). Among Central American countries, El Salvador exhibits the lowest levels of interpersonal trust with an average of 59 point on 0-100 scale.

Figure 37 displays average levels of interpersonal trust in El Salvador from 2004 to 2012. Interpersonal trust in El Salvador remains the same throughout the 8-year period with significant higher levels in rural areas and a slight decrease in urban areas in 2012.

Moreover, CARSI community level data shows that interpersonal trust declined in control communities throughout the evaluation period (Figure 38). In treatment communities, however, trust initially increased, but declined by Year 3. This decline was not as sharp as it was in the control group. In the final year, interpersonal trust was 11% higher in the treatment communities than would be expected if the program had not been in place. Finally, the effectiveness of the treatment does not change in response to conditions or resources in the neighborhood.

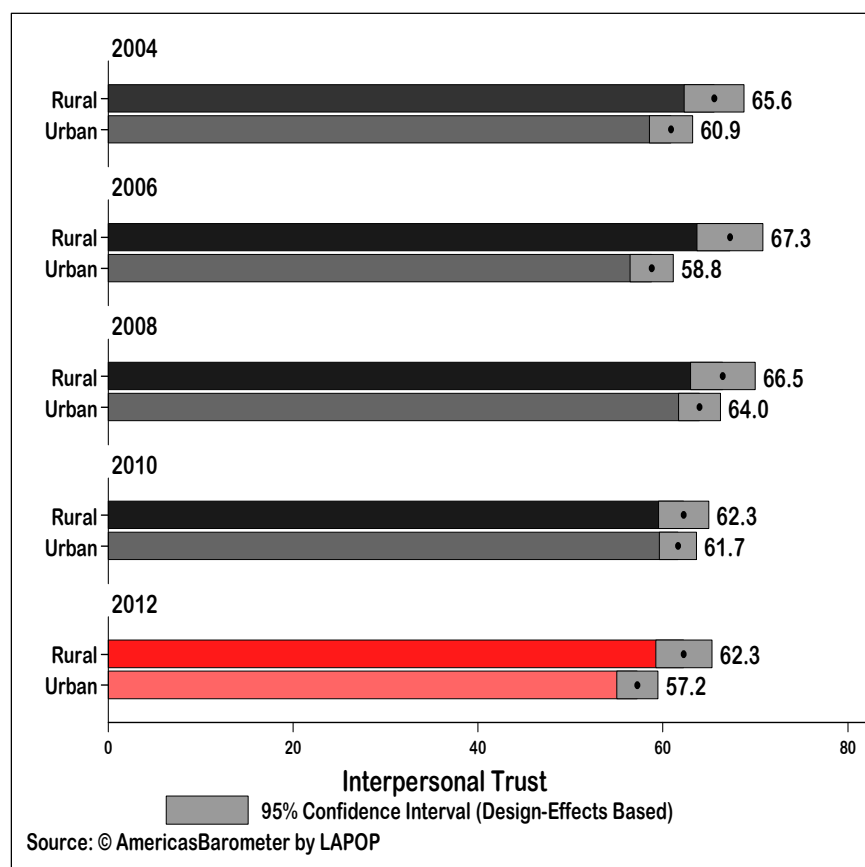


Figure 37. Interpersonal Trust in Urban and Rural Areas

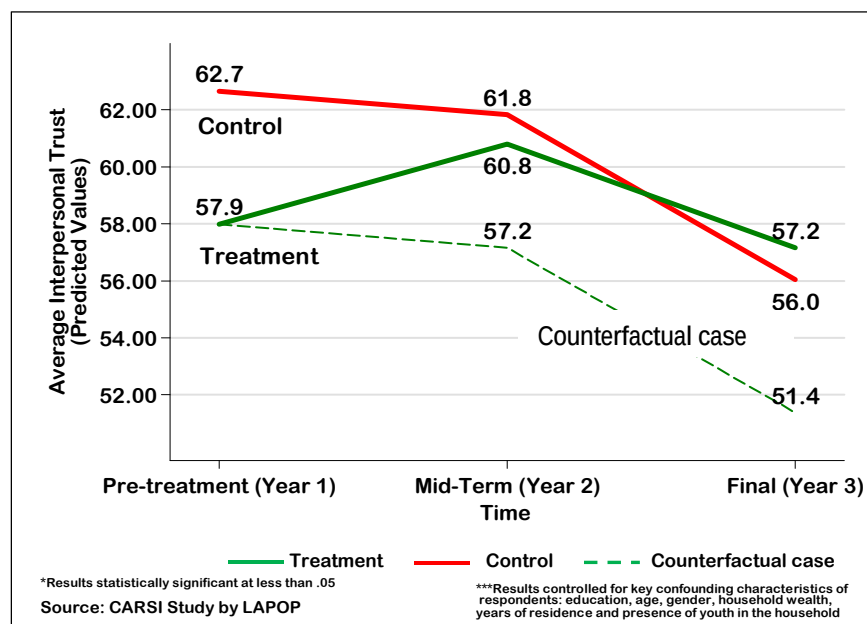


Figure 38. Interpersonal Trust

Satisfaction with Democracy

Citizen support for democracy as a system of government is believed to improve its prospects of sustainability and consolidation (Diamond 2013). However, research in advanced industrialized democracies has found an ongoing decline in democratic satisfaction over recent decades (Dalton 1999). This dissatisfaction has closely been linked to citizens' higher expectations for democracy's performance (Norris et al. 1999). While citizens' support for democracy in principle as the best form of government has increased or remained unchanged, citizens may feel that democracy in practice has not met their expectations (Booth and Seligson 2009). In this section, we assess if USAID's crime prevention programs have indirectly affected residents' satisfaction with democracy in treatment communities. Have the benefits of these programs also led to increases in citizens' satisfaction with the way democracy performs?

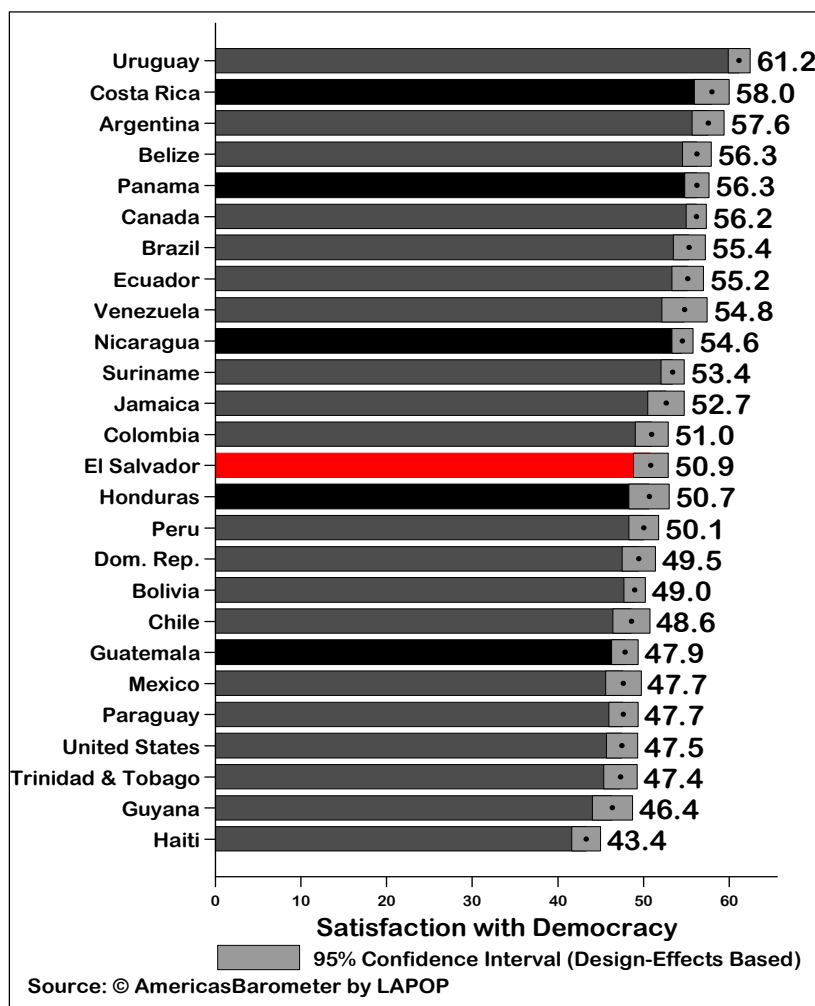


Figure 39. Satisfaction with Democracy Across the Americas

Data from 26 countries in the Americas show that Salvadorans are situated in the middle of the scale when asked “In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in El Salvador?” Salvadorans exhibit average levels of democratic satisfaction at nearly 51 points on 0-100 scale where 0 means “very dissatisfied” and 100 “very satisfied”. These average levels of democratic satisfaction are higher than those found in Honduras and Guatemala with 50.7 and 47.9 points, respectively. On the other hand, Costa Rica, Panama and Nicaragua show higher levels of democratic satisfaction, with averages above 54 points on the same scale (Figure 39).

National level data from 2004-2012 indicate that democratic satisfaction in El Salvador is significantly higher in rural than in urban areas. It also shows that average levels of satisfaction declined around 10 points on the scale during the 2004-2008 time period, but increased again in 2010. By 2012, these levels slightly decreased from 56.1 to 54.5 points in rural areas, and from 53.9 to 49 points in urban areas (Figure 40).

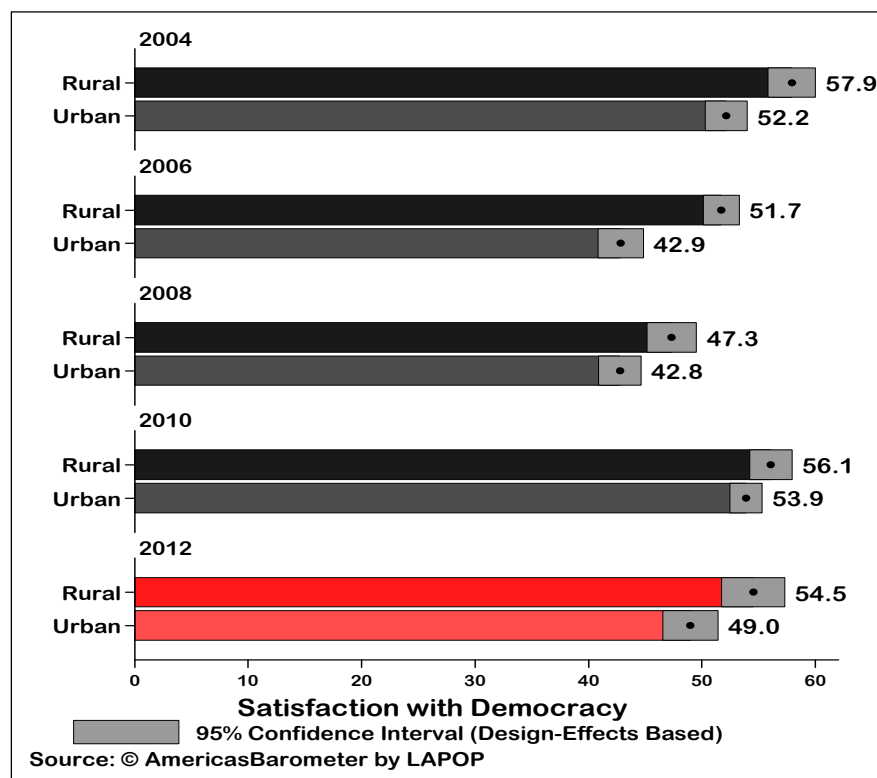


Figure 40. Satisfaction with Democracy in Urban and Rural Areas

In Figure 41, CARSI community level data show that average levels of democratic satisfaction increased in treatment communities by the mid-term evaluation, but declined slightly at the end of the program evaluation, reaching 51.1 points on the 0-100 scale ranging from “very dissatisfied” to “very satisfied”. In the final year of evaluation, average levels of satisfaction with the functioning of democracy was 8% higher in treatment communities than if the program had not been implemented.

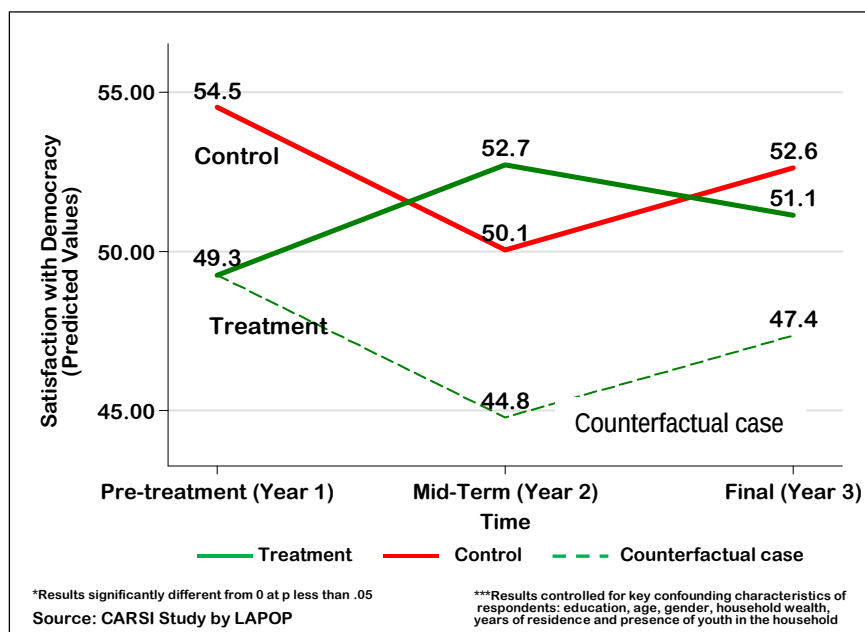


Figure 41. Satisfaction with Democracy in Neighborhoods

Analysis of the contextual variables shows no variance in the effectiveness of the treatment by neighborhood context. Community context has no effect on the relationship between treatment and satisfaction with democracy.

Qualitative results. One component of democracy is a respect for human rights. Most modern democratic constitutions specify the protection of human rights, and it has long been a component of USAID’s democracy and governance strategy. Today, Human Rights is one of the four pillars of the USAID Democracy, Rights and Governance strategy, along with Participation, Accountability, and Integration. While the qualitative interviews did not ask about democracy directly, they uncovered perceptions related to human rights issues, specifically, the rights of the military to act as police officers. The police officers interviewed, when asked how they felt about the military accompanying them in their effort to prevent crime, generally expressed negative feelings on the state of affairs in El Salvador during the period of the CARSI study. The major complaint of the police about military involvement in police work is that the soldiers do not know the laws, have no training in the laws, and therefore sometimes violate human rights. As one police officer who works in his precinct’s Department of Prevention puts it,

“Buena, pero se necesita trabajar con ellos, se necesita trabajar con ellos en la parte, en la parte de leyes, en la parte de capacitarlos más a ellos, en la parte de, de leyes y en la parte también comunitaria verdad, en la parte de derechos humanos y precisamente porque no están preparados verdad, no están preparados para ello, no conocen mucho de leyes, muchos de ellos se han metido en problemas verdad porque no conocen de leyes. Es contrario a nosotros, nosotros como policía, el policía verdad se limita mucho a hacer acciones en contra de derechos humanos porque sabe los efectos que le pueden llegar verdad, entonces en, en caso de, de, de los militares verdad ellos este, falta que trabajar mucho esa área, verdad el área de investigación, el área de derechos humanos, el área de

leyes, porque este hay muchas quejas, hay muchas denuncias con respecto a ellos, que les han violentado a lo que es los derechos verdad, a las personas.”

Translation [*“It’s good, but we need to work with them, we need to work with them regarding the law, with the legal component, on making them better regarding how to deal with human rights issues, precisely because they’re not trained, you know. They’re not trained for (that). They don’t know much about the law. Many of them have gotten into difficulties, you know, because they don’t know the laws. It’s just the opposite of us. We as the police, the police officer, you see, has to limit his actions against human rights because (a police officer) knows the effects it can have on him, you know, so in, in the case of, of of the military, you see, uh, we have a lot to do in this area, you know, in the area of investigation, the area of police reports, of human rights, and the law because uh there are a lot of complaints, a lot of police reports on them because they have violated people’s rights.”*]

He adds that he is perfectly happy to have the military help them in crime prevention, and in fact they are helping the police a lot; however, he says, the military need more education in the area of human rights and laws (*“hay que capacitarlos más”*). [*“They need to be better trained.”*] Another police officer, a chief-of-police of his precinct, says that he would rather the money being spent on the army be spent on the police, so that there could be more police and real police stations (the one in which this officer is chief is a rented space, not a designated police station). Since there is no war going on, he adds, money should be invested in the police, not in the army.

Another police officer who works in a prevention unit is also unhappy about having the military work with the PNC. His complaint is that the soldiers have not had the type of training that the police have had. Specifically, the military have been trained to kill, and have their rifles ready to pull the trigger, but not to perform their role with respect to the citizenry. In his words:

“Fíjese que, que se puede decir que es bueno, es bueno pero lastimosamente el Ejército ha sido creado ¿vea? Para proteger la nación ¿vea? No para, para, lo que es el sector público en el interior del país. Es bueno, no le voy a decir que no, ¿vea? No le voy a decir que no, pero este, el soldado no ha sido capacitado; acuérdesse que en un cuartel, lo que les enseñan los jefes a un soldado ¿Qué es? A matar, a eso le enseñan, ¿vea? A tener listo el fusil y tirar del gatillo, o sea no ha sido no han sido preparados, para actuar con la ciudadanía.”

Translation [*“You need to understand, we can say that it’s good, it’s good, but unfortunately the army’s job, you know, is to protect the nation, you see, not to, to help citizens in rural areas. It’s, well, I’m not going to tell you that it’s not good, you know. I don’t say that it’s not good, but, uh, soldiers have not been trained (for this); keep in mind that in an army barracks what the chiefs teach soldiers is what? To kill, that’s what they teach them, you see? To have their rifles ready and to pull the trigger. I mean, they have not been trained to deal with the citizenry.”*]

Another chief-of-police explains how differently the police, as opposed to the military, would handle a hypothetical case of a person suspected of extortion, and the lack of understanding of police work that characterizes the behavior of the army in dealing with public safety. He says that

the police might say, “Mire por esto, esto y esto, no se puede llevar” (i.e., “For the following reasons, you can’t take him away...”), whereas the soldiers might say, “No mire, que hay que llevar a este fulano porque tiene...” [“No, look, this guy has to be taken away because he has...”]. The police chief goes on to elaborate with an example:

“un ejemplo una, este le encontró dinero, y lo ve tatuado, ‘Y este es producto de la extorsión’ dice él. Este es un caso hipotético, entonces él dice quisiera que nosotros lo detuviéramos, entonces venimos y como decimos que, como policías decimos que no procede, se podrían molestar en un momento determinado; pero si a esto ya se les explica cómo funciona y cuándo se tipifica, o cuando se llega a concretar un delito de extorsión, entonces tal vez ahí lo pueda entender. Pero hay que explicarle primero ¿ya? Sino en un momento, puede, tener un, una falta de apreciación ¿ya? Podría estar, equivocado con esto de por sí porque para eso necesitamos tener una víctima.”

Translation [One example, just one. The guy had money on him and he had tattoos. ‘This is the product of extortion,’ the soldier says to him. This is a hypothetical case. So (the soldier) says that he wants to arrest him, so we come, and since we say, as police we say that this procedure is not appropriate, at some point he could get upset; but if they are given an explanation of how it works and when it’s classified or when it can be determined that it’s a crime of extortion, then, maybe he can understand. But you have to explain it first, you know? If not, at some point he could make a mistake in evaluating a situation. I could be wrong about this whole thing because for this we need to have a victim.”]

Another police officer, a young woman who works in the Department of Prevention of her unit, is even more negative toward the role of the military in citizen crime prevention. She tells of specific incidents that she has witnessed or heard about from other police officers, incidents regarding military violence aimed at the police:

“Como apoyo está bien verdad, pero a veces, este, por errores de los soldados la policía también, este, corren riesgos, porque fíjese que un soldado no es hacerlo de menos, porque tampoco nosotros somos más que nadie verdad, como persona todos somos iguales. Pero a veces en cuanto a, a educación la forma de tratar a alguien es bien diferente, porque un soldado él puede ser una persona humilde y sencilla, pero maltrata a las personas. A mí nunca me ha pasado, verdad, pero a nosotros, a unos compañeros unos soldados sólo por ser policía lo golpearon, este de particular, entonces también, este, cuando nosotros íbamos a la frontera y ahí a Candelaria montón de gente, este, dando queja verdad, diciéndonos que los soldados las habían golpeado, señoras que los soldados hasta les habían levantado la falda, yo siento que eso es como una falta de educación porque nosotros como policía, este, quizá no seamos los más estudiados del mundo verdad, pero porque también para tratar a una persona, no se necesita educación. Pero ellos este, más que todo como que ponían en, en riesgo, este, el, también la vida del compañero, porque andar este, usted como policía a cargo de tres soldados no crea que es fácil porque uste... sólo, sólo el policía. Fíjese qué le voy a contar una historia que en Municipalidad X, este, estaba un policía con dos soldados. Yo estaba en Municipalidad X, un compañero mío estaba él con tres soldados. Viene un soldado que dijo que estaba decepcionado, se pegó un balazo y estaban tan lejísimos que ni el radio no pegaba, o sea que son algo irresponsables también. Imagínese que hasta el soldado dormía con el fusil en la cabeza (Rie) porque cuando se despertaba el compañero, que se despertaba con el fusil en la mano, o sea corren, ponen también en riesgo la vida del, de los compañeros, este, como

apoyo está bien verdad, de que ellos estén apartaditos y que si el policía necesita apoyo, pues ahí intervengan. Pero a veces ellos golpean o tratan mal a la gente.”

Translation [“As a form of support, it’s OK, you know? But sometimes, uh, they take risks, because, I mean, not to put down soldiers, because neither are we better than anyone else, you know, as persons we’re all equal. But sometimes regarding manners, the way of treating someone, it’s very different, because a soldier, he can be a humble and simple person but still mistreat people. It’s never happened to me, you know, but to us, to some fellow officers, some soldiers beat them just because they’re police. This one in particular, and then, uh, when we were on our way to the border on to Community X, a bunch of people, uh, were complaining, you know, telling us that the soldiers had beaten them. The ladies said that the soldiers even pulled up their skirts. I feel that this is a lack of manners because we, as police, uh, maybe we don’t have the best education in the world, right? But you don’t need an education to treat a person well. But, uh, above all, since they take risks, uh, and for their fellow officers too, because when a police officer, uh, is going around with three soldiers that he’s in charge of, don’t believe for a second that this is easy because you’re only the police officer. Listen to this; I’m going to tell you a story about Municipality X, um, where there was a police officer with two soldiers. I was in Municipality X, and one of my fellow officers was with three soldiers. One of the soldiers comes around and says he felt disillusioned, and he shot himself. They were so far away they couldn’t get the radio to work, so you see that they’re kind of irresponsible too. Can you believe that this soldier even slept with his rifle under his pillow (laughing) because when his buddy woke up, the guy already had his rifle in his hands. So they run...they put their buddies’ lives at-risk. As support, they’re all right, you know, if they sort of stay out of the way and intervene only when the police officer needs support. But sometimes they beat people and treat them badly.”]

Yet some of the police interviewed, such as one who works in a crime prevention department, appreciates the role of the army in working with the police. What he likes is that one police officer accompanied by four or five soldiers can patrol a community very effectively, in a way that a single police officer cannot. In other words, constrained by the shortage of police in the PNC, he is happy to be backed up by the military on his patrols. A chief of community policing in another municipality concurs with this view.

Community leaders are particularly aware of human rights violations and issues regarding human rights in general. One coordinator of a Comité para el Fomento por la Paz y el Bien Común says the committee is lacking in representatives from the prosecutor’s office, and of the office of human rights.

There are some stories of human rights violations narrated by the stakeholders. One ADESCO leader tells of the time when some musical instruments were stolen from him, and the community helped to capture the thieves (i.e., a case of vigilantism), but when the police came, they arrested him and let the suspects go. From his perspective, the police had violated his human rights.

On the positive side of human rights concerns is that many ADESCO leaders report having been given training in leadership, mediation, and human rights, from both government and non-governmental agencies, and so there are community leaders who are able to handle cases involving human rights issues. One municipal council leader (of the Comité Fomento por la Paz y el Bien

Común) reports that children and youth were also given talks by the government’s Human Rights commission through their schools. One ADESCO president mentions that the leadership of his association was given a letter of human rights by the PNC, as well as training in human rights.

Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety

When analyzing citizens’ evaluation of government improving citizen safety, responses to the question, “To what extent would you say the current administration improves citizen safety?” show that Salvadorans have some of the most positive views on government handling security, with 55.2 points on a 0-100 scale where 0 represents “not at all” and 100 “a lot” (Figure 42). The only country in the region that shows more favorable opinions is Nicaragua. At the bottom, we observe very negative average perceptions of government efficacy in handling citizen safety in Honduras (31.3 points), followed by Costa Rica (40.2 points), Panama (45.2 points) and Guatemala (46.6 points).

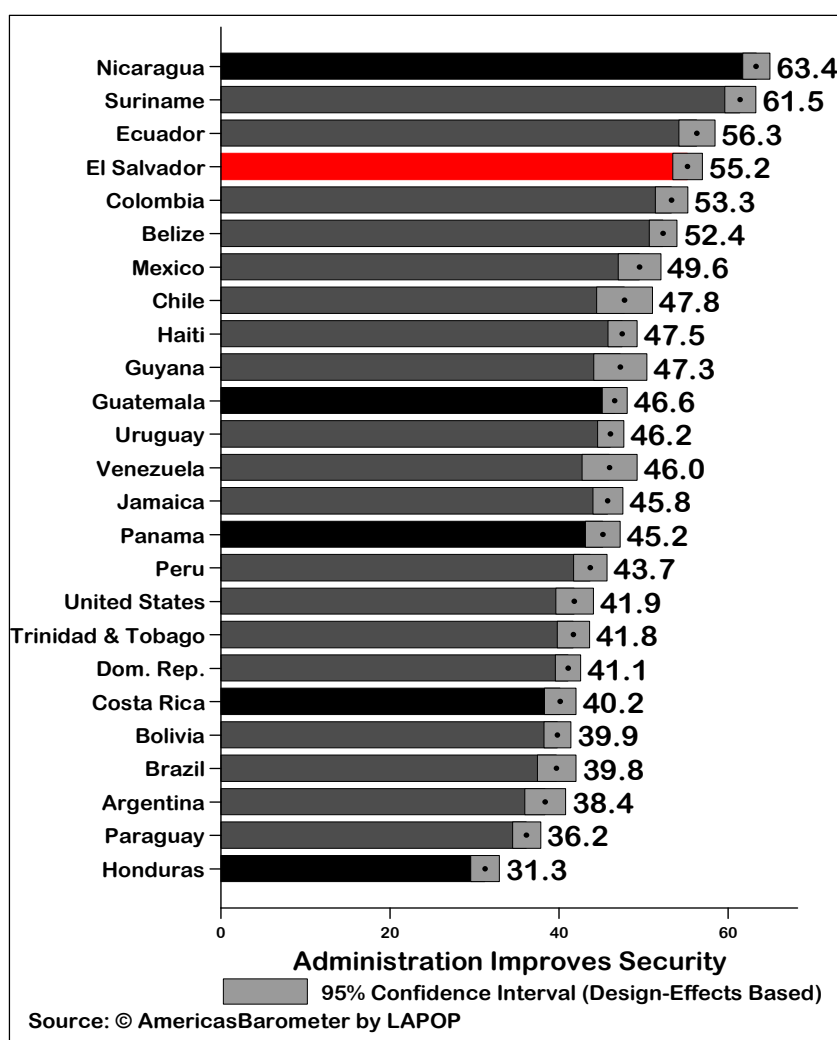


Figure 42. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety Across the Americas

National level data indicate that evaluations of government handling of citizen safety has fluctuated from 2006-2012, showing significantly higher positive evaluations in rural compared to urban areas. This gap narrows throughout the years, however, with the highest favorable opinions with 60.4 points in rural areas in 2012 compared to 52.6 points in urban areas (Figure 43).

CARSI community level data in Figure 44 shows that favorable assessments of the government's handling of citizen safety were initially higher in the control group. By Year 2, these levels increased sharply in the treatment communities and were higher than in control communities. By the end of the evaluation, both groups were near 57 points on the 0-100 scale. In comparison to the counterfactual case, assessments in the treatment communities were 8% higher, indicating better outcomes in the presence of the CARSI program.

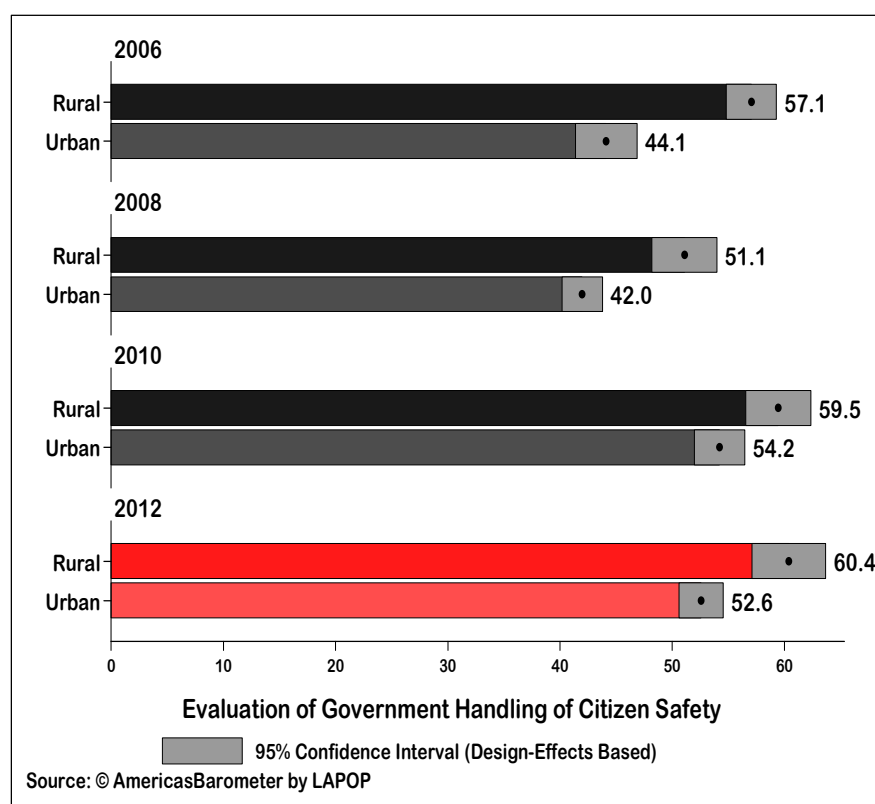


Figure 43. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety in Urban and Rural Areas

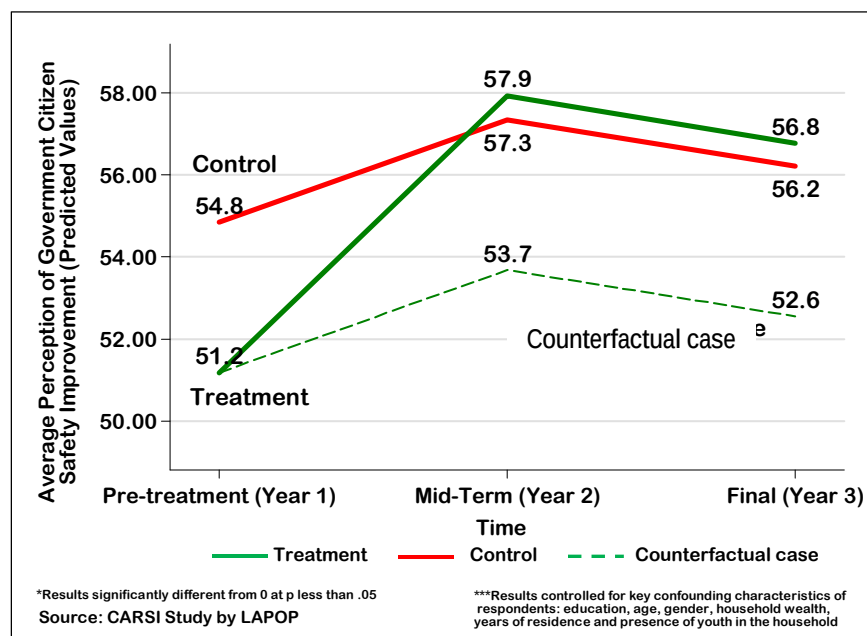


Figure 44. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety in Neighborhoods

Qualitative results. Qualitative interviews of stakeholders point to one specific area of dissatisfaction with the way that the government handles citizen safety: impunity. From the baseline year of the project, stakeholders complained about the way in which laws allowed people arrested for crimes to be let go, just three days after they were detained for questioning. People interpret this as the police being in collusion with the criminals. The police, on the other hand, in their own defense, have complained that people who have been victimized are unwilling to come forward to report crimes (to make a *denuncia*) [*“police report”*] or to press charges, and so their hands are tied in terms of holding suspects for further legal processing. As one police officer who works in the prevention unit of his precinct put it,

“Pues en la mayoría de los casos es por temor, es por temor y otro sería, a veces falta de credibilidad. El problema es que a veces la, la gente pone la denuncia y tal vez quiere que la, la respuesta tal vez de un delito que es necesario investigarlo, la respuesta sea inmediata y a veces eso lleva un poco de tiempo verdad. Por ejemplo si es un delito de extorsión, no, este, la persona va a poner la denuncia ahora y ya mañana se va a ir a detener. Hay que darle un seguimiento para poder, este, para poder eh fundamentar lo que es la, la denuncia y el por qué se va a detener, verdad. Porque por ejemplo en extorsión hay casos que duran un año, año y medio pero están bien, cuando se detiene a la persona el caso está bien fundamentado y es más difícil que salga.”

Translation [*“Well, in most cases it’s out of fear, out of fear, and another is sometimes lack of credibility. The problem is that sometimes people file a police report and perhaps they want a solution, perhaps, to a crime which has to be investigated. They want an immediate response and sometimes it takes a little more time, you see? For example, if it’s an extortion case, no, uh, the person can’t file a report now and (expect) an arrest will be made tomorrow. We have to follow up to be able to, uh, to be able to, um, back up what is in the police report and why an arrest needs to be made, you know? Because, for example, there*

are cases that take a year, year and a half, but they are solid because when the person is arrested, it's less likely that he'll be let go.”]

Thus, there are many reasons why community members are hesitant to press charges. People in the community admit that they and others are afraid to make *denuncias* for fear of retribution from the criminals and their cohorts.

One aspect of the justice system that particularly bothers some stakeholders is the Ley LEPINA (Ley de Protección Integral de la Niñez y Adolescencia), enacted in January 2011. The law is intended to protect minors from abandonment, and physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, and gives government authorities the right to remove a child from his/her home when such abuse is found to exist. It is overseen by the Consejo Nacional de la Niñez y de la Adolescencia (CONNA), and is supposed to operate through “*juntas de protección*” [“*protection boards*”] and local committees. As of January 2012, the oversight council, CONNA, had only half the budget it needed to do its work, and the juntas and local committees were still not in operation, according to an article in the online newspaper *elsalvador.comelsalvador*.

Community leaders feel that this law gives minors a sense of impunity to do whatever they want to, regardless of the legality of their actions. For this reason, the leaders felt, minors embark on extorting money from other children and threatening schoolteachers if they refuse to pay the *renta* (extortion money). Yet the police are teaching the law to youngsters in schools and in the Centros de Alcance, so that youths are assured of knowing their rights, municipal council violence prevention representatives and some ADESCO leaders report. From what the police say, the law tells parents that they have to better control their children. One officer says that the law communicates to parents that corporal punishment is not the way to keep youngsters under control, but that non-violent means (e.g., denying them the right to watch television for X number of days) constitute a better way to accomplish this end. As one police chief explains it, the law is intended to make parents more responsible for their children’s conduct, so that they don’t “fall into delinquency.”

Several police officers mentioned that they teach parents about the Ley LEEPINA through different fora: e.g., in the schools, at the Escuela para Padres y Madres (a series of lectures given to parents of schoolchildren), and through the ADESCOs. As one officer puts it, they are teaching the parents not to be intimidated by their children (as a result of the law), since nowadays little children are saying to their parents, “*¡no! te voy a denunciar por esto y por esto te puedo denunciar...teníamos ya ahí unas...vía diapositiva ya para...para mostrarles a los padres va...los artículos, los deberes de ellos y las obligaciones que ellos tienen, uhm ju...*” [“*No! I’m going to report you for this, and I can report you for this...*” We had some slides, to, to show parents, you see, the articles, their duties, and the obligations they have, uh huh...”]

Another police officer, a man in his twenties who works in school crime prevention, is adamantly against the new law. He says that El Salvador is not a country suitable for such a law, and that sometimes they bring many laws from the United States, even though the U.S. is “*otro mundo*,” [“*another world*”] where the laws really are respected, unlike El Salvador, where the law is not respected. Therefore, he concludes, “*no somos un país como para, para tener la Ley LEPINA.*” [“*as a country, we’re not yet ready to, to have a LEPINA law.*”] A police chief who does

community policing in another precinct, when asked if this law is really operating, answers that for it to function you have to convince the justice operators (i.e., judges, prosecutors) and the beneficiaries—specifically, boys, girls, adolescents, and their parents—of the value of the law. Clearly this police chief feels that this is not currently the case.

In short, the Ley LEPINA, which is intended to protect minors, has its advocates and its critics in its second year on the books. On the whole, the stakeholders interviewed were critical of the utility of the law for current-day El Salvador.

VIII. Youth-at-Risk

Since human subjects provisions limit access to minors, we did not include them in the as part of the sample in the quantitative interviews. However, we did ask many of the stakeholders in the qualitative interviews about youth-at-risk, and report on our findings here.

Qualitative findings. Interviews with at-risk-youth produced candid, frank evaluations of the USAID sponsored crime and violence prevention programs. The youths interviewed (all 18 and over, so as not to be interviewing minors) had participated in these programs, and thus, as beneficiaries of them, had informed, knowledgeable answers to the qualitative survey questions.

The comments of the nineteen-year old young man, presented below, describe how he succeeded in getting out of a gang, and ended up as a participant in a Santa Ana Outreach Center. His style of speaking, marked by the street gang slang he has been using since adolescence, vividly supports the remarkable shift in lifestyle that he has managed to achieve, against all odds. As all stakeholders have repeatedly told us, getting out of a gang alive in El Salvador post-2010 is a highly unlikely event. In this case, it remains unclear if the young man has really made it out because it seems he still thinks he is at risk from the gang.

Entrevistador: ¿Pero estaba a punto de meterse en serios problemas?

[Interviewer: But were you about to get into some serious problems?]

(Joven de 19 años; Santa Ana) Joven: Sí, en realmente sí estaba en eso de andar jodiendo gente de primero así empecé, pero después que vinieron con problemas y ya chis mejor me zafé de allí porque ya estaba aburrido, ya no quería estar allí, no hallaba qué hacer. Yo sólo me zafé y cuando me zafé empezaron los problemas. Empezaron a buscarme, venían a buscarme aquí a la casa, pero gracias a Dios nunca dieron con mi casa, sino que venían aquí y se rumbeaban toda la colonia, y gracias a Dios a veces yo por otro lado trabajando pero de parte de mi familia, de parte del maitro no, verdad? Sino que de otro lado a veces en San Miguel o en Aguilares, o en San Salvador, metido allá gracias a Dios, así fue como me fui zafando de allí. Y me comenzaron a contar que todos los de allá arriba empezaron a encerrar a todos los jóvenes y en esa colada se fue mi primo y todavía allí está en el penal de Apanteos.

[(19-year old male; Santa Ana) Young man: Yes, really, I sure was into mugging people at the beginning, that's how I started, but later on when the problems started and, geez, better I got out of there because I was already bored, I didn't want to be there anymore, I didn't know what to do. I only got out and when I got out the problems started. They started

looking for me, they'd come here to my house to find me, but thank God, they never found my house, they'd just come here and wander around the whole neighborhood, and thank God sometimes I was working in a different place but for my family, for the guy, you know? But on the other hand sometimes in San Miguel or in Aguilaes, or in San Salvador, being there thank God, that's how I started getting out of there. And people started saying that everybody up there started locking up all the young guys and my cousin was caught in that roundup and he's still in the Apanteos prison.]

Entrevistador: ¿Él es pandillero?

[Interviewer: Is he a gang member?]

Joven: Cuando él estaba libre íbamos a joder a todos lados, pero mejor nos zafamos de allí. Más que todo yo me zafé de allí. Estos saben que anduve metido en esos volados. Lo malo es que hasta me tocó que tatuarme y ahora estoy haciendo riesgo, a ver si me las arranco pero ¿cómo me las quito? ya no me las puedo quitar. Me salió lo que Carlos me dijo, "que había un proyecto de parte de USAID que andaban quitando volados." Así me metí en eso, pero vi que nunca se pusieron en nada y total que así me toca que estar. Yo a veces salgo, y en realidad en chores no puedo salir porque si no me joden y sin centro, yo no puedo andar sin centro porque hoy a mí sólo me toca el riesgo de estarme jodiendo. El brazo o el pie duele porque duele, pero si uno ya no quiere tener nada hay que hacerle para que ya no me sigan jodiendo.

[Young man: When he was free we went around everywhere mugging people but we got out of there. More than anything I was the one who got out of there. These guys know that I was into mugging. The bad thing was that I had to get tattooed and now I'm at risk, so I'll see if I can get them removed, but how do I get them off? Now I can't remove them. What Carlos told me about was true, that there was a USAID project that was getting muggers out of gangs. So I got into it, but I saw that they never got with it, so in the end I have to stay the way I am. Sometimes I go out, I can't really go out wearing shorts because they'll mess me up, and without a base, I can't go out without a base because today, I'm the only one taking the risk of getting screwed. Your arm or your leg hurts because it does, but if you don't want to have anything anymore, a person has to do whatever so that they don't screw with me anymore.]

Entrevistador: ¿Y eso hace cuántos años fue?

[Interviewer: And how many years ago was that?]

Joven: Mmm bastante, umm el año antepasado, no , si, no , si quiero ver como en el 2006 por allí, en esos tiempos ni pensaba en nada, sólo andar jodiendo la vida yo solo.

[Young man: Mmm a lot, umm the year before last, no, yes, no, I want to say around 2006, at that time I wasn't thinking about anything, just wandering around by myself screwing up my life.]

Entrevistador. ¿Esos que quedaron fuera aún están en la mara?

[Interviewer: Are the guys who were left out still in the gang?]

Joven: Sí aún están en eso.

[Young man: Yes, they're still into that.]

Entrevistador: ¿Ellos ya son líderes?

[Interviewer: Have they become leaders?]

Joven: Sí pues ellos están bien metidos en eso.

[Young man: Yes, well, they're really far into that.]

...

The same youth goes on to explain his view of why youngsters join gangs in the first place.

Entrevistador: ¿Por qué se meten los jóvenes en maras y pandillas?

[Interviewer: Why do young people get into gangs?]

Joven: Tal vez las situaciones familiares vea, como ya te lo había mencionado. Tal vez puede ser la desintegración familiar, puede ser un, un, un ejemplo de, de, de cipotes que se meten a, a las pandillas. Y te lo digo porque va, por lo menos, el, el bicho que está preso, el que fue mi compañero el que te mencioné, él no vive ya con la mamá. ¿Por qué? Porque la mamá se fue para los Estados Unidos; el papá no, no, está. Al principio no estaba con el papá, porque el papá la embarazó y se fue va solo. Sólo tal vez le ayudaba, pero no estaba con ellos el papá. Entonces la mamá se fue para esta... para Estados Unidos. El y el hermano porque son dos, eh va, el hermano si bien cabal, está en una iglesia, hasta incluso trabajaba en una radio y todo original. Pero él, con la ayuda que va, que la mamá le mandaba dinero, pero ¿cómo quién aquí por él? Nadie. Entonces no sé eso como que tal vez, los induce a querer probar cosas nuevas y toda esta cuestión verdad y acordate que todos los que están metidos en pandillas, si ven a un bicho así, a un jovencito así, bien topada pues lo, lo, "lo enrolan en sus, en sus hondas," como dice uno, vea. Entonces ésa puede ser tal vez alguna, alguna situación.

Ahora con el otro caso de otro amigo que tengo, que era de aquí de la iglesia va, ése el papá hídole, si el papá lo leñaciaba con todo vea. Y le decía, "no que te vayas a meter en esas cuestiones," y lo aconsejaba un resto va. Y, y el bicho siempre, siempre terminó en, en lo que es andar en esas cuestiones verdad, no sé ahí qué pudiera haber pasado vea, pero tal vez, tal vez eso son cosas que no sé las mismas. Por lo mismo que te digo las unidades de esos grupos que, que llaman la atención en realidad va y como te digo ganar dinero fácil, le llama la atención a cualquiera va. Entonces para cometer un delito y vos sabes que te va caer un resto de feria, digamos así, te va a llamar la atención en cualquier momento.

[Young man: Maybe family situations, you see, as I already mentioned to you. Maybe it could be the breakdown of the family, it could be an, an, an example of, of, of dumb kids that get into the, the gangs. And I tell you, because, right, at least the, the dope that's in jail, the one who was my friend that I mentioned to you, he doesn't live with his mother anymore. Why? Because his mother went to the U.S.; the dad isn't, isn't there anymore. At first he wasn't with his father, because his father got her pregnant and he went off, right, by himself. He'd help her only once in a while, but they weren't with the dad. So then the mother left for the U.S. He and his brother, because there are two, you know, right, the brother is an upright guy, he's in a church, he even worked at a radio station, all original. But he, with the help, right, that his mother sent him money, but who around here did it for him? Nobody. So then I don't know, that kind of thing, like maybe pushes them to want to

try new things, and all this issue, you know, and remember that all the guys that join gangs, if they see a punk like this, a young kid like this, real topada, well, they enlist him in their, in their thing, like they say, you know. So then that may be some kind of, some kind of situation.

Now with the other case of another friend of mine, who was from here from the church, right, that one his dad, damn, if the dad didn't beat him with whatever, you see. And he told him, "Don't you get into that business," you know, I don't know if that could have happened, but maybe, maybe those are things that I don't know if they're the same. So that's why I'm telling you that the units of those groups, they're, they're lures, you know, and I tell you to make easy money, that'll pull anybody in, right? So then you commit a crime, and you know that the rest of the money is going to fall in your lap, shall we say; this kind of thing is going to pull you in at any time.]

...

Another youth from Santa Ana, a 20-year old man, when asked why girls join gangs, and how would you know if a girl was a member of a gang, answered in the following way:

Entrevistador: Sí es una menor de edad pero que sea niña o joven, eh o mujer...

[Interviewer: If a young female minor, like a girl or teenager, you know or a woman...]

Joven: ujum

[Young man: uh-huh]

Entrevistador: ¿Cómo sabe si es pandillera o marera?

[Interviewer: How do you know that she's a gang member?]

Joven: Va en la colonia aquí, sólo conozco como cinco niñas. Ahora se está dando. Bueno no sé si desde bien antes se está dando eso va, pero ahora a ellas las están como mandando a traer el dinero de la extorsión porque últimamente me he dado cuenta en eso. Tal vez no me meto en problemas (rie), no yo sé que no. Pero eh últimamente me di, me di cuenta que estaban mandándolas a ellas porque como a una niña es más difícil que las revisen, tal vez sólo las pueden revisar las policías que son mujeres y rara ocasión se ve revisando a un hombre. No sé si lo hacen o no, yo nunca me he fijado. Pero con la mujeres como que se dan menos color, se puede decir así, de ir a traer la, el dinero de la renta y tal vez por la única forma que uno se puede dar cuenta, puchica esta bicha es marosa verdad, no porque las bichas en realidad puchica si se visten bien y se visten como cualquier otra joven en realidad.

[Young man: Right, here in the neighborhood I know only about five girls. Now this is happening. Well, I don't know whether it comes from way back, right, but now they're sending girls to bring in extortion money because lately I have realized that it's happening. Maybe I'm not getting into trouble (laughs). No, I don't know, no, I don't. But lately I've noticed that they were sending girls because it's like, it's less likely that they'll search a girl, maybe the only ones who can do it are female police officers, and you rarely see them search a man. I don't know if they do or not, I've never noticed. But with the women, it's like they're not as obvious, you could say, to go out and collect extortion money and maybe the only way to figure out whether the girl is a gang member, dang, this punk girl is really

a gang member, not because punk girls are, dang, if they dress really well and they really dress like any other young woman.]

Another 20-year old from Santa Ana, in answering questions about how problems related to youth could be solved, mentions important solutions to the difficulties that the youth around him face: the Outreach Center; the establishment of more academic diploma high school programs, since the schools where he lives go up only to the 9th grade and many youths drop out of school even before completing the 9th grade; close affiliation with a church, since churches have been successful at “rescuing” some youths from gangs. He feels that in addition to completing a high school education, obtaining job skill is crucial for entering the job force, and proposes that between NGOs, the mayor’s office, and the central government there should be agreements made to create job training programs for youths.

Entrevistador: ¿Qué se, se debería de hacer para resolver estos problemas?

[Interviewer: What should, should be done to resolve these problems?]

(Santa Ana, joven de 20 años) Joven: Va, ah en cuestión de, del centro de alcan... del Centro de Alcance, ha ayudado bastante va. Pero por lo menos en la deserción escolar, eh la vez pasada habíamos pensado en, en que aquí en escuela Juan José Bernal, aquí está a bajito, tal vez ahí se pudiera implementar lo que es el bachillerato porque la mayoría llegan cabal hasta noveno, como estudio gratuito, hasta noveno bien, bien cabal vea bastantes. Pero de allí como no hay recursos tal vez, entonces ésta tal vez podría ser una solución va, tratar de implementar el bachillerato aquí en escuela para que bastantes jóvenes pudieran seguir estudiando, en cuestión de los, de lo, de las, de los jóvenes que andan en, en vicios y todas esa cuestión, hay bastantes técnicas, bastantes métodos que se pueden realizar va. Eh por lo menos aquí en la iglesia, las iglesias son un buen, un buen medio para poder rescatar bastantes jóvenes, Centro de Alcance, programas porque a los bichos a veces como que no les llama mucho la atención tal vez el hecho de, de pertenecer a una religión en sí y eso hay que aceptarlo.

Pero entonces si no se puede con eso, tal vez con programas educativos o programas de, de deportes que es lo que más les llama la atención, serían formas de demasiado tiempo libre y basta con una persona que esté involucrada en grupos con problemas con la ley estos se integren porque vean más fácil andar cometiendo ilícitos verdad. Lo que tiene que ver con lo económico que es un gran problema. Es que deberían de hacer convenios con ONG, la alcaldía, con el gobierno central, cooperación para realizar programas que capaciten más a las juventudes y que éstos tengan las competencias para poder optar a empleos, verdad, porque la experiencia se pide. Pero también ver de qué manera se generan empleos verdad, porque si hay una gran cantidad de jóvenes desempleados o jóvenes que simplemente no tiene o no tenemos las competencias porque no pudimos acceder a una educación superior, ya sea técnica o universitaria, tal vez de no erradicar completamente, pero sí ayudaría un montón.

[(Santa Ana, 20-year old) Young person: Well, uh, about the, the Outre. . Outreach Center, it’s helped a lot, right? But at least with school dropouts, the last time we had thought that, that here at the Juan José Bernal School it’s pretty low, maybe there we could implement an academic high school program because the majority complete the ninth grade, because school is free up to the ninth so plenty of students finish. But after that it seems like there are no funds, so this could maybe be a solution, right? Try to implement an academic high

school program here in the, regarding the young people who are, are addicted to drugs and that kind of thing, there are a lot of techniques, plenty of methods that can be used, right? Uh, at least here in the church, the churches are a good, a good means to rescue a lot of young people. Outreach Center, programs because the punks sometimes are not too interested maybe the fact of, of belonging to a religion itself and that has to be accepted.

But then if that doesn't work out, maybe with educational programs or, or sports, sports programs which they more interested in, these would give them too much free time, and all you need is one person who is involved in groups who have had trouble with the law these kids join because they find it easier to go around breaking the law. It has to do with economics, which is a big problem. They should join forces with the NGOs, the mayor's office, with the central government, cooperate to carry out programs that better train youth so that they have the skills to have job choices, you see, because experience is required. But also they need to see how the create jobs, you know, because if there are a lot of unemployed young people or youth that simply don't have skills or we don't have the skills because we couldn't get a high school education, either technical or college, maybe we can't eliminate it completely, but it would help a lot.]

Job training was mentioned by many of the youths interviewed. One 25-year old young man from Zaragoza mentioned the need for it, as well as the need for locally available higher education. Interestingly, he mentioned that on-the-job training is available to youth, and that young people welcome this opportunity, but at the same time it results in kids dropping out of school, which counterbalances the advantages of on-the-job training.

Entrevistador: ¿Para usted qué se debería hacer en este sector, en esta comunidad (X), o colonia X para resolver estos problemas que usted me menciona?

[Interviewer: In your view, what should be done in this area, in this community (X) or neighborhood X to resolve the problems you mentioned?]

(Zaragoza, joven de 25 años) Joven: Creo que hay que organizarse, la comunidad debe estar organizada con su respectiva ADESCO, con su respectiva Asociación de Desarrollo Comunal. Pero también hay que organizar a los jóvenes como primer paso verdad. Entonces tienen demasiado tiempo libre y basta con una persona que esté involucrada en grupos con problemas con la ley, éstos se integren, porque vean más fácil andar cometiendo ilícitos verdad. Lo que tiene que ver con lo económico que es un gran problema, es que deberían de hacer convenios con ONG, la alcaldía, con el gobierno central, cooperación para realizar programas que capaciten más a las juventudes y que éstos tengan las competencias para poder optar a empleos, verdad. Porque la experiencia se pide. Pero también ver de qué manera se generan empleos verdad, porque sí hay una gran cantidad de jóvenes desempleados o jóvenes que simplemente no tiene o no tenemos las competencias porque no pudimos acceder a una educación superior, ya sea técnica o universitaria. Que al estar organizados, trabajar por la gestión de proyectos que tenga que ver con el desarrollo de la comunidad, que traten el tema de la educación técnica, científica, educación vocacional, que hayan programas donde tengan ocupados a los jóvenes y que los capaciten. Que se capaciten y que desarrollen sus talentos. Uno observa que de repente hay jóvenes que se involucran en temas de violencia, porque no tienen empleo, porque no tienen educación media, porque no tienen educación superior.

[(Zaragoza, 25 year old) Young person: I think that organizing is necessary. The community should be organized, each with its own ADESCO, and each with its own

Community Development Association. But in addition, the first step is to organize the young people because they have too much free time, and even one person who is involved in groups that have troubles with the law is more than enough; these kids join these groups because they feel it's easier for them to live by breaking the law, you know. The economic aspect is a big problem and they should make agreements with the NGOs, the mayor's office, with the central government, and have them cooperate in creating programs to better train youth so that they may have the skills to have job choices, you see, because if there is a large number of unemployed youth or young people who simply don't have skills or we don't have them because we couldn't get a higher education, whether technical or college. If we're organized we can work toward project development that have to do with community development; these could be technical, scientific, vocational education, there must be programs which occupy young people's time and give them job skills. They need to be trained and develop their talents. We can see that all of a sudden young people become involved in violent behavior because they have no jobs, because they don't have high school or college education.]

Some young people, those who had completed high school, expressed the desire to attend college. One such youth, a 28-year old man, mentioned the existence of two university scholarships: one provided by the mayor's office and the other made available through the Evangelical University. Quite disturbing is this young man's claim that every year the mayor raffles off a university scholarship, but that they go only to participants in the municipal beauty pageant who were willing to have sexual relations with him. The youth interviewed qualified his statement with the caveat that he did not know this from a firsthand source, but that this was a rumor that was going around.

Entrevistador: ¿Qué se debería de hacer para resolver estos problemas que aquejan los jóvenes en esta comunidad, en el caso de esto de la falta de, de acceso a, a la educación, eh tanto media como superior?, ¿Cómo se podría subsanar este tipo de problemas?

[Interviewer: What should be, be done to resolve these persistent problems of the youth in this community, in this case for lack of, of access to, to education, you know, both middle school and high school? How can this type of problem be corrected?]

Joven (28 años de edad): Bueno se sabe que el, el Alcalde municipal, este, rifa cada año una carrera universitaria para las jóvenes, pero las jóvenes que participan en los certámenes de de belleza. ¿De belleza se dice, no? A las, a las candidatas de las fiestas patronales. Entonces eh lamentablemente se dice, verdad, entre entre lo, entre las cosas privadas que se mencionan de que, tienen que tener derecho el, el señor a, a relaciones sexuales con ellas. Lamentablemente es así, dicen. Yo a mí no me consta; es algo privado que no se puede demostrar ¿verdad? Y que, y que, y que a la persona que gana ella le dan una carrera universitaria. Tiene pagado por otro lado la Iglesia Peniel, una iglesia muy grande evangélica acá en Zaragoza. Tengo entendido de que, que le da, brinda becas a través de la Universidad Evangélica a, a un cierto número de jóvenes cada año. Eh a través de, eh Plan Internacional, una organización centrada en la niñez, también apoya, este, a los jóvenes, algunos jóvenes que que son voluntarios de las comunidades. Eh, lo hace a través de dotación de de dinero para que compren sus útiles, y uniformes. No es la gran cantidad, pero por lo menos se garantiza lo lo básico. Eh también, eh bueno, yo pienso que yo hasta hasta donde tengo conocimiento, aquí en Zaragoza solamente las me- , las mencionadas.

[Young man (28 year old): Well, everyone knows that every year the, the mayor of the municipality, uh, raffles off a university scholarship for a young person, but the young

women who participate in, in beauty contests. Beauty contests, that's how you say it, isn't it? For the, the candidates of the patron saints festivals. So, uh, unfortunately, people say, you see, that among the, among the private matters that people talk about, the, the man has to have the right to have sexual relations with them. Unfortunately, people say that's how it is. I myself don't have any proof of that; it's a private thing that can't be proved, can it? And that, that the winner gets, she's given a university scholarship. On the other hand, the Peniel Church, a very big evangelical church here in Zaragoza, I understand that they give out, offer scholarships through the Evangelical University, to a certain number of young people every year. Uh, through the, uh, International Plan, an organization that focuses on children, they also support, um, young people, some young people that, that are volunteers in the communities. Uh, they do this by way of money gifts for supplies and uniforms. It's not a lot of money, but at least it insures the basics. Uh, also, um, well, I think that I, as far, as far as I know, here in Zaragoza there are just the ones, the ones I've mentioned.]

(Zaragoza, 25 años de edad) Joven: Creo que hay que organizarse, la comunidad debe estar organizada con su respectiva ADESCO, con su respectiva Asociación de Desarrollo Comunal. Pero también hay que organizar a los jóvenes como primer paso verdad. Entonces tienen demasiado tiempo libre y basta con una persona que esté involucrada en grupos con problemas con la ley, éstos se integren, porque vean más fácil andar cometiendo ilícitos verdad. Lo que tiene que ver con lo económico que es un gran problemas, es que deberían de hacer convenios con ONG, la alcaldía, con el gobierno central, cooperación para realizar programas que capaciten más a las juventudes y que éstos tengan las competencias para poder optar a empleos, verdad. Porque la experiencia se pide. Pero también ver de qué manera se generan empleos verdad, porque sí hay una gran cantidad de jóvenes desempleados o jóvenes que simplemente no tiene o no tenemos las competencias porque no pudimos acceder a una educación superior, ya sea técnica o universitaria. Que al estar organizados, trabajar por la gestión de proyectos que tenga que ver con el desarrollo de la comunidad, que traten el tema de la educación técnica, científica, educación vocacional, que hayan programas donde tengan ocupados a los jóvenes y que los capaciten. Que se capaciten y que desarrollen sus talentos. Uno observa que de repente hay jóvenes que se involucran en temas de violencia, porque no tienen empleo, porque no tienen educación media, porque no tienen educación superior.

[(Zaragoza, 25 year-old) Young man: I think we have to get organized; the community should be organized with its own ADESCO, with its own Community Development Association. But the youth also should be organized, they should be the first step, you know. Because they have too much time on their hands and with just one person who is in a group that has problems with the law, they join up because they see that it's easier for them to go around breaking the law, you see? Related to economic issues which are a big problem, they should make agreements with the NGOs, the mayor's office, with the central government to set up programs to better train young people and that they have the skills to be able to have job choices, you see? Because you need experience. But also they need to see how to generate jobs, you know, because if there are a lot of unemployed young people or without the skills because we weren't able to get higher education, either technical or college. So by getting organized, working toward generating projects that involve community development, technical scientific, and vocational education; they need to have programs that keep young people busy and that train them. They need to be trained and allowed to develop their talents. You see that all of a sudden there are young people who get involved in violent behavior because they are jobless, because they don't have a middle school or high school education.]

...

Entrevistador: ¿Qué se debería de hacer para resolver estos problemas que aquejan a los jóvenes en esta comunidad, en el caso de esto de la falta de, de acceso a, a la educación, eh tanto media como superior?, ¿Cómo se podría subsanar este tipo de problemas?

Joven (28 años de edad): Bueno, en primer lugar eh, debe de garantizárseles el empleo a los padres, en primer lugar pienso yo. Y en segundo lugar eh, que los padres y que la sociedad se concientice de que a través de la educación formal, superior, eh pueden obtener mejores beneficios, que quedándose si sin ella. Porque se da otro fenómeno también, de que los jóvenes, eh muchas veces eh los empresarios por, por ver los jóvenes los agarran como pasantía, como para que vayan experimentando lo que es el trabajo, y a cambio de eso les da una paga. Y resulta hacer que muchos de ellos eh, dadas las carencia en sus hogares, les gusta ese ese estilo de vida de que “Ya tenés un empleo”, y aunque sea poco, pero tiene dinero en sus bolsas, y pueden hacer con su juventud muchas cosas. Tienen acceso a dinero ¿verdad? Y se les olvida su futuro, entonces dejan de estudiar. Entonces trabajar por ese lado sería como concientizarlos, hacerles un plan de vida sería quizás algo muy bueno para cada joven, que ellos estén conscientes de que en la vida no sólo es el hoy, sino que también lo será dentro de 40 o 50 años, que si, si Dios nos permite.

[(28- year old) young man: Well, in the first place, uh, parents should be guaranteed employment, it’s the first thing, I think. In second place, you know, the parents and society need to become aware that through formal education, high school, you know, they can get more benefits than without education. Because there’s another phenomenon, that young people, you know, many times, you know, business people, when they see young people they take them on as apprentices, so that they can start experiencing what it is to work, and they get some money for that. And it turns out that a lot of them, you know, given the deprivation at home, like, they like that lifestyle “You have a job” and although it’s not much, but they have money in their pockets and they can do a lot of things because they’re young. They have access to money, don’t they? And they forget about their future, and they drop out of school. So that way, working is like raising awareness, making a life plan for them would be perhaps a good thing for each young person, they should be aware in life it’s not just today, but also the next 40 or 50 years, God willing.]

Entrevistador: Y acá en lo que es este municipio, a jóvenes que tienen la, la situación que usted algún día pasó eh de que tienen esa falta de poder optar a una educación, eh o seguir con sus estudios ¿Hay alguna organización que les de la mano a estos jóvenes, eh qué sé yo--la Alcaldía, un instituto público, eh del Gobierno, una ONG?

[Interviewer: And here in this municipality, what about young people who are in the, the situation that you went through, uh, who don’t have the, the power to choose whether to get an education, you know, or continue their studies? Is there any organization that lends a hand to these young people, uh, you know, the mayor’s office, a public institute, you know, of the government, an NGO?]

In evaluating the Outreach Centers, several beneficiaries expressed the desire for more computer classes and for fewer classes such as baking and music. One 19-year old young woman from Santa Ana expressed this preference in the following manner. She also expressed the desire for more English classes. She stated clearly that she considered computer literacy and English as more useful skills for the job market than baking and music.

Entrevistador: ¿Y qué te gustaría a ti o cómo crees que se podría mejorar este Centro de Alcance acá en la comunidad?

[Interviewer: And would you like or how do you think the Outreach Center in this community could be improved?]

(Santa Ana, mujer de 19 años) Joven: Yo digo, que como tipo que comenzando de nuevo. Sería como comenzar de nuevo, la idea con el Centro de Alcance para que vuelva a funcionar. Para que funcione de verdad como tiene que funcionar.

[Santa Ana 19- year old woman) Young woman: I say that, maybe starting over. It would be starting over, the idea with the Outreach Center so that it can work again. So that it can work like it's supposed to work.]

Entrevistador: ¿Y en cuanto a cursos y talleres, cuáles crees tú que serían? ¿O serían de buen resultado para los jóvenes de acá?

[Interviewer: And regarding courses and workshops, which do you think they would be? Or would they produce good results for the young people here?]

Joven: Computación, es un curso que, o sea aquí se daba pero se queda a medias siempre. Entonces digo yo que computación si es algo que, o sea, sí le podría ayudar bastante, va. Porque ahora en la mayoría de trabajos es lo que piden--inglés, computación, inglés, o sea acá hay todo habilitado para una panadería, música. O sea cosas, talleres así.

[Young woman: Computing, is a course, I mean, here they offered it but they always get only halfway through them. So I say that computing is really something that, I mean, yes, it could help a lot, right. Because now most jobs require it –English, computing, English, I mean here everything is set up for baking, music. I mean things, workshops like this.]

In the Outreach Centers, instructors of *talleres* ('workshops') appear to be exclusively volunteers. The 18-year old young man whose answers to interview questions are reproduced below, explains how he ended up being an instructor in an Outreach Center computer class. One of the complaints voiced by other Outreach Center beneficiaries is that the classes offered by the Centers are too basic, too low-level. These dissatisfied young people want classes that go up to intermediate and advanced levels. The fact that an 18-year old is teaching a computer class gives an indication of the level of proficiency with computers that he is likely to have, given the context of poverty that characterizes the Salvadoran neighborhoods from which these at-risk-youth come.

Entrevistador: ¿Por lo menos en el caso que ahora ya está el Centro de Alcance a ti en lo personal que te motivó para acercarte al Centro de Alcance?

[Interviewer: At least in the case that now the Outreach Center is ready, what in your mind motivated you to approach the Outreach Center?]

(Zaragoza, hombre de 18 años) Joven: A mí, como decía al principio, a mí me invitaron un chico de la iglesia. Un amigo me dice, "Mira, vamos al Centro de Alcance, va a haber esto, va a haber lo otro." Y como yo tengo conocimientos de computación que es en el área que trabajo, "Vaya," me dice, "si vos querés nos podés ayudar." Y como siempre me ha llamado la atención ayudar a los demás, mientras si está a mi alcance y yo puedo ayudar, yo con mucho gusto lo hago. Entonces yo le dije a él, "Sí," le dije yo, "decime el

día, la hora, yo ahí estoy,” le dije yo. Así fue como me acerqué con el propósito de ayudar en el área de computación.

[(18 year old male, Zaragoza) Young man: I, as I said at the beginning, I was invited by a boy from the church. A friend says to me, “Look, we’re going to the Outreach Center, there will be this and that.” “Well,” he says, “if you want, you can help us.” And as always I’m interested in helping others, if it’s within my reach and I can help, I will do it very gladly. So I told him, “Yes,” I told him, “tell me the day and time and I’ll be there,” I told him. That was how I got involved with the purpose of helping in the area of computing.]

Nevertheless, many young people who attend the Outreach Centers are satisfied with what they offer, as the following 18-year old Santa Ana young man explains. He gives the example of one Center user who had had no prior training in computer use, but who landed a job in a cyber café, one that required merely basic knowledge of working with computers.

Entrevistador. ¿En los casos de los Centros de Alcance cuál es tu opinión de estos lugares en cuanto beneficiar a los jóvenes?

[Interviewer: In the cases of the Outreach Centers, what is your opinion of these places as far as helping young people?]

(Santa Ana, hombre de 18 años) Joven: Pues a mí me parece una idea muy bien, excelente se podría decir, porque yo conozco varios jóvenes que no se dedican ni a trabajar ni nada. No tienen nada que hacer prácticamente, entonces vienen al Centro de Alcance a aprender un oficio. Por lo menos conozco el caso de un amigo: él así, como le digo, no tenía ni trabajo ni estudio ni nada. El vino aquí a aprender lo que es computación y terminó el curso de informática básica y una amigo de él se dio cuenta y le dijo que necesitaba ayuda en un ciber y así consiguió trabajo, o sea que gracias al Centro de Alcance aprendió computación y gracias a eso.

[(Santa Ana, 18 year old male) Young man: Well, I think it’s a very good idea, you could say excellent, because I know several young people that don’t have jobs or do anything. They have nothing productive to do, so they come to the Outreach Center to learn a trade. I know at least one case of a friend: he, just like I’m telling you, had no job, and didn’t go to school or anything. He came here to learn computing and he completed the basic computer science class and a friend of his realized this and said he needed help in a CIBER, and that’s how he got a job, I mean, thanks to the Outreach Center, he learned computing, and thanks to that.]

Another success story comes from a 19-year old young woman who learned banking at an Outreach Center. She was working at a bank at the time of the interview, and expressed great satisfaction with the Center that had trained her.

Entrevistador: Cuando tú te has enterado que se han dado cursos o capacitaciones, ¿a qué te gustaría que se impartiera en este lugar en este Centro de Alcance?

[Interviewer: When you found out that they’ve offered courses or trainings, what would you want to be taught at this place, at the Outreach Center?]

(Mujer de 19 años, Santa Ana): Joven: Lo mismo que trabajo

[(19 year old woman, Santa Ana): Young woman: The same thing I work at now.]

Entrevistador: ¿Lo mismo de obra y de banco?

[Interviewer: The same job, banking?]

Joven: Lo mismo.

[Young woman: The same thing.]

Entrevistador: ¿Pero más preparado?

[Interviewer: But better prepared?]

Joven: Más avanzado, superarme más.

[Young woman: More advanced, to better myself.]

Entrevistador: Usted me dice que desde el inicio ha estado pendiente del Centro de Alcance acá en la Comunidad.

[Interviewer: You tell me that from the beginning you've been keeping an eye on the Outreach Center here in the Community.]

Joven: Desde el inicio, desde que se estaban dando los afiches. Que se podría decir que como era, que era un sueño pues todo lo que decían.

[Young woman: From the beginning, since giving out the posters. You could see what it was about, that it was like a dream, all that they said.]

Entrevistador: En el caso, hablando ya meramente de lo que es el Centro de Alcance, ¿qué opinión tienes tú de este tipo de lugares que se han instituido en algunas comunidades de Santa Ana?

[Interviewer: In the case, talking just about what the Outreach Center is, what is your opinion about this type of place that has been started in of the Santa Ana's communities?]

Joven: Yo digo que son lugares en donde el joven puede aprender, porque en el Centro de Alcance se dan diferentes clases, el joven puede aprender, se puede capacitar y puede darle un giro a su vida. Porque es algo diferente y son ayudas, es una ayuda para el joven. O sea, como bien dicen la ayuda está, pero muchas veces se nos da la ayuda cerca, y si nosotros no queremos no se puede hacer nada. Pero digo que son una gran ayuda para la sociedad y para cada comunidad unos Centros de Alcance.

[Young woman: I say that they are places that a young person can learn because in the Outreach Center they offer different classes, a young person can learn, he can get training and he can turn his life around. Because it's something different and it's help, it's help for a young person. I mean, people are right when they say that the help is there, but a lot of times we are given help, and if we don't want it, nothing can be done about it. But I say that they are a great help for society and every community, some Outreach Centers.]

Despite the enthusiasm and gratitude expressed by the young woman who works in a bank, some Outreach Center users expressed disappointment with what they gained from their experience. A 27-year old man said that he noted a little apathy among the users, and predicted that if the Outreach Center were to conduct a satisfaction survey, it would find that many youths do not

appreciate it. He adds that the parents of these youths do not appreciate the value of the Center either, using it primarily as a way of getting their kids out of the house, of getting rid of them for a while. This young man's assessment is highly negative regarding the community's perception of the Outreach Center.

Entrevistador: Con respecto a estos, estas instalaciones o estos proyectos que se han establecido, como los Centros de Alcance ¿este Centro de Alcance de (name of community) para ti, en tu opinión, en qué ha beneficiado esto a la comunidad y en, en específico a los niños y jóvenes de la comunidad?

[Interviewer: Regarding these, these facilities or the projects that have been set up, like the Outreach Centers, this Outreach Center in (name of community), for you, in your opinion, how has it benefitted the community and, and, specifically children and young people in the community?]

(Hombre de 27 años, Santa Ana) Joven: Bueno como primer punto yo creo que los benefició en el sentido de que ahora tienen ellos un, una opción, un lugar donde ir a pasar su tiempo: algunos a estudiar, aprender lo que quiera, cada quien irá por sus razones diferentes. Pero por lo menos es un lugar donde los jóvenes están seguros y donde se pueden estar en cierto punto bajo control de observación de que no andan haciendo algo ilícito o delinquiendo, o a lo menos propensos a eso. Están ahí pasando su tiempo, jugando, algunos haciendo investigaciones, aprendiendo música o cualquier cosa. Y los ha sacado o les ha llegado a dar esa opción de que no es sólo la calle, la que ellos pueden estar para tener su tiempo de ocio. Eh, aunque yo veo un poco de apatía de la gente de, con el caso del Centro de Alcance en el sentido de que no colaboran. Sí, eh vemos todos de que es algo que puede beneficiar, de hecho va a beneficiar a la comunidad, este, donde pueden recibir clases de inglés, computación se estuvieron dando. De hecho yo estuve dando esas clases, pero la gente no, no lo aprovecha. De hecho algunos este, en su pensamiento, este, lo ven como que tal vez no es algo innecesario, sino que como que no valoran el esfuerzo que se está haciendo por darles esa, esa oportunidad que quizás muchos desearían tener y no la pueden tener porque, si vamos actualmente a lo que es este el, el pagar un estudio para aprender computación. O sea yo creo que no está en, en los ingresos de, de la mayoría de, de los, de los, de la comunidad. Mas sin embargo ellos, además que es gratuito, no lo aprovechan, no, no se enfocan en eso de que es gratuito, que es algo que les va a servir y algunos lo han tomado solamente como por ir estar ahí y no estar en la casa. De igual manera los padres algunos los mandan por deshacerse de los hijos y, y en realidad no saben qué hacen ahí en el Centro de Alcance, simplemente por "bueno ándate y este anda, ve que haces". Yo creo que ahí es donde está fallando la comunidad. Deberían de apoyar un poco más los padres, este, acercarse, ver qué es lo que es en realidad están llegando a ser sus hijos ahí. De hecho yo creo que si hacen una encuesta, mucha gente no sabe ni siquiera a dónde está ubicado el Centro de Alcance, no saben qué es lo que tiene el Centro de Alcance, ni a qué horas abre el Centro de Alcance, ni muchas cosas así. Es por lo mismo que la gente no está participando, no está viendo esto como algo productivo y beneficioso para la comunidad, y para los jóvenes, sino que simplemente lo ven como un lugar más, un lugar más.

[(27-year old male, Santa Ana) Young person: Well, the first point to make, I think, is that it helped in the sense that now they have a, a choice, a place to go and spend their time; some to study, to learn whatever he wants, each one goes for his own reasons. But at least it's a place where young people are safe and where they can be, to a point, under control by watching that they're not doing illicit things or committing crimes, or at least not open

to that. They're there spending their time, playing, some doing research, learning music or whatever. And it has removed them or it has given them that option that it's not just in the streets where they can spend their leisure time. Uh, although I see a little apathy in the people from, in the case of the Outreach Center, in the sense that they don't work hard?? Yes, we all see that it's something that can be helpful to the community, um, where people can take English or computing classes, which they were taking. As a matter of fact, I was taking those classes, but people didn't, didn't take full advantage of them. As a matter of fact, uh, in their minds, maybe they see this as something that isn't necessary, but like they don't appreciate the effort that is being made to give them that, that opportunity that maybe a lot of people would like to have and can't because if we talk about what this really is, it means paying for computing classes. But I mean I think that it's not possible due to the income of, of, of the, of the people in the community. And even though the classes are free, they don't take full advantage of them, they don't focus on their being free, that they're something that will be helpful to them, and some have taken them just so that they can go out and be there and not at home. In the same way, the parents send their kids just to be rid of them, and, and they don't really know what they do there at the Outreach Center, well, go on, go on, uh, see what you do. I think that this is where the community is failing. The parents should offer more support, go over there and see the reality of what their children are becoming there. As a matter of fact, I think that if they carry out a survey, a lot of people won't even know where the Outreach Center is, they don't know what the Outreach Center has, and a lot of things like that. It's for this same reason that people are not participating, they're not seeing this as something productive and useful for the community, for the young people. They just see it as one more place, another place...]

Yet another youth, a 20-year old man, expressed disappointment with the Outreach Center he uses. He feels the need for new courses, since the Center has been teaching the same courses, and the young people are getting bored by them.

Entrevistador: ¿De los Centros de Alcance qué opinas tú, en cuanto a beneficiar o no a los jóvenes?

[Interviewer: About the Outreach Centers, what's your opinion of them, in terms of benefitting young people or not?]

[(Hombre de 20 años, Santa Ana) Joven: Sí, este en, en realidad es un buen trabajo, es un buen proyecto, se puede decir así. Felicidades, les voy a dar la felicidad a los organizadores, va, a los señores a todas, a todas esas personalidades, va. Pero aquí en la colonia no sé si me voy a saltar alguna pregunta o qué pero, pero va, por lo menos lo que yo estoy viendo el fenómeno ahorita en ese Centro de Alcance de aquí, siento que lo que está ahorita como que ya está un poco menguando. Al principio sí, ah toda la mara vamos al gimnasio, vamos a las computadoras, vamos a aprender música, porque incluso yo estuve dando música, va. Y, y ahorita ya prácticamente ya concluimos, porque ya tiene ratitos de estar el Centro de Alca... el Centro de Alcance vea, y el play y toda esa cuestión.]

Pero yo soy uno, si yo hago lo mismo todos los días, va a llegar un momento en que yo me voy a aburrir. Entonces yo siento que eso ya está pasando aquí, entonces es de ver qué más se puede hacer, implementar otras cosas, traer algo nuevo, porque va, porque por lo menos en play no, el play nunca se queda solo. Los bichos siempre están ahí, hasta, hasta, hasta cola hacen para anotarse en la lista de, de, de para los que van a jugar. Entonces eso, eso sí está bien, todavía bien.

[20-year old man, Santa Ana) Young man: Yes, uh, really, it really does good work, it's a good project, you could say it like that. Congratulations, I'm going to congratulate the organizers, right, all the good people, all those personalities, right? But here in the neighborhood—I don't know if I'm omitting a question or what, but, right, at least what I'm seeing right now is the phenomenon at that Outreach Center here. I feel that what there is there right now has diminished. At the beginning, yes, uh, the whole gang was going to the gymnasium, using the computers, going to learn music because even I was taking music, right? And, and right now we're just about done because they've been at the Outreach Cen, Center for a while now, right, and the play and all that stuff.

But I'm the kind of person that if he does the same thing day in and day out, there'll come a time when I'm going to get bored. So I feel that what's happening here, so they'll have to see what else they can do, implement other things, start new things, because you know, at least the play, you know, in play, in play you're never alone. The punks are always there, they even get in line to sign up on the list of, of, of, for the ones who are going to play. So that's, that's real good, that's still good.]

Entrevistador: ¿Habría que innovar entonces?

[Interviewer: Then they'll have to innovate?]

Joven: Ajá, eso, innovar, porque las demás cosas como que ya están un poco menguando, la, lo en reali... decir así sencillo va, ya le está aburriendo a la mara. Entonces sí habría que ver qué otras cosas se pueden traer o, o sea como dice usted innovar.

[Young man: Uh huh, that's it, innovate, because the other things like they have become a little slow, the, the, well, really...to put it simply, the gang is getting bored. So, yes, we'll have to see what other things they can bring, in, in other words, like you say, innovate.]

Among the courses that are not being taught, but for which there was expressed need, were computer repairs, tourism, radio and TV broadcasting. As the 26-year old young man who volunteers at a Center explained, he would like to see more advanced level courses (e.g., in drawing, painting; specialized electronics courses and technology workshops).

Entrevistador: ¿Qué otras actividades te gustaría a ti, que has tenido la oportunidad de enseñar a otros chicos sobre la computación y de poderles dar algún tipo de instrucción verdad? ¿Qué actividades cree que sería llamativa para poder ofrecer en el Centro de Alcance?

[Interviewer: What other activities would you like, that you've had the opportunity to teach other kids about computing and to be able to give some type of instruction, you know? What activities do you think can be offered that will be attention getters at the Outreach Center?]

(Hombre de 18 años, Santa Ana) Joven: Siempre basado en el área que, yo diría que mmm un este ¿cómo podría decirle ombe? Limpieza se llama, puede decirse de un CPU, un este, desmontarlo digamos así y montarlo, conocer todas las partes de una computadora.

[(18-year old male, Santa Ana) Young man: Thinking about the area that, well, I'd say that mmm, an, uh, how do you call it OMBE? It's called cleaning, you could say, of a CPU, an, uh, take it apart, shall we say it like that, and put it back together, learn about all the parts of a computer.]

Entrevistador: ¿Es como reparación de computadoras?

[Interviewer: Do you mean computer repair?]

Joven: Aja sí, así es reparación.

[Young man: Oh, yes, that's it, repair.]

Entrevistador: ¿Crees tú, que eso diera resultados para eh reunir gran cantidad de jóvenes?

[Interviewer: Do you think that that would work to attract a large number of young people?]

Joven: Yo digo que sí porque los que van saliendo aprendiendo, o sea programas básicos va, yo siento que sienten la necesidad de aprender más y siento que vendrían nuevamente pero a aprender nuevos conocimientos.

[Young man: I would say so because the ones who come out learning, I mean basic programs, you know, I feel that they feel the need to learn more and I feel that they would come back, but to learn new knowledge.]

...

Entrevistador: Con respecto a los Centros de Alcance ¿qué opinas tú de los Centros de Alcance en cuanto a beneficiar a los jóvenes?

[Interviewer: About the Outreach Centers, what is your opinion of the Outreach Centers regarding the benefits young people get?]

(Hombre de 26 años, voluntario, Chalchuapa) Joven: Creo que la comunidad lo necesitaba y lo necesitaba con urgencia. Lo necesitaba con bastante urgencia porque lastimosamente los jóvenes escogían ya pues salir a las calle y tomar un cigarrillo, cargar con ellos el alcohol y cargar encima tal vez el pensamiento de “mi hogar está destruido,” y cargar todo ese peso psicológico. Yo creo que se beneficiaron hasta cierta manera para poder desahogarse, para poder sacar la energía reprimida, para poder eh salir del hoyo mental que se habían hecho ellos mismos, el agujero, del “yo no puedo salir de aquí,” qué frustración, qué angustia, qué preocupación. Ahora ya no es al 100% pero tampoco desapareció, sino que se sigue trabajando en eso en que el joven pues tenga un lugar, un espacio y tenga aquí la oportunidad de desahogarse. Si quieren venir a hablar de sus problemas y si no quiere hablar de sus problemas, igual estamos aquí para ellos.

[(26 year old male, volunteer, Chalchuapa) young man: I think that the community needed this and needed it urgently. They needed it urgently because unfortunately the young people were choosing to go out on the streets, smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol and maybe be weighed down by the notion that “my home is wrecked,” and all the psychological burden. I think that in some what they benefitted just from being able to unburden themselves, to get rid of all that pent up energy, to be able to, uh, get out of the mental hole that they had dug themselves into, that hole of “I can’t get out of here,” the frustration, the anguish, the worry. It’s not running at 100%, but it’s not gone either; rather, they’re still working on having a place where young people can have a place, a space and the opportunity to unburden themselves. If they want to come to talk about their problem and even if they don’t want to talk about them, we’re still here for them.]

Entrevistador: Hasta ahora las actividades que se han dado acá y que sean actividades de, de renombre o sea, actividades que jamás se habían visto en estos lugares como el Centro de Alcance ¿cuáles me podría decir tú?

[Interviewer: Up until now the activities that have been held here, meaning the well known ones, in other words, activities that have never been carried out in these parts such as the Outreach Center, which ones could you tell me about?]

Joven: Las cenas eh, los almuerzos, los almuerzos que se hacen de los Centros de Alcance, yo creo que, que eso es lo que le hacía falta a la comunidad, verdad. Ver que alguien se le interesa, no solamente su dinero sino que le interesaba alimentarlos, le interesaba cuidarlo, proveerle, protegerle, cuidarle le, le hacía falta eso. Podemos mencionar pues en las inauguraciones que la gente le gusta saber qué es lo que está sucediendo. Eh de las actividades también que se hacen del Centro, se pueden mencionar también los talleres de turismo, los talleres de radio y difusión televisión, se puede mencionar, hay bastantes cosas que se pueden mencionar, que todas para mí son grandes y valiosas, ya sean dentro de la, de la instalación o fuera de la instalación.

[Young man: The suppers uh, the lunches, the lunches that the Outreach Centers have, I think that, that it's what's been missing in the community, you know? Seeing that someone takes an interest, not just about money, but interested in feeding them, in taking care of them, providing for them, protecting them, take care of them, that's what was missing. We can mention the grand openings that the people liked to know about, about what was happening. Uh, about the activities that the Center has we can mention the tourism workshops, the radio and TV broadcast workshops, also there are a lot of things that can be mentioned, for me all of them are important and valuable, whether they are held at the facility or outside.]

Entrevistador: ¿Qué actividad te gustaría que hubiese en los Centros de Alcance, que taller o qué curso?

[Interviewer: Which activity would you like the Outreach Centers to have, which workshop or course?]

Joven: Me gustaría que si se pudiera impartir los talleres de dibujo, pero a un nivel avanzado, no a un nivel de niños sino a un nivel avanzado. Eh pintura, siempre a nivel avanzado, en el que sea básico avanzado. También que pudieran haber electrónica a la disposición, que pudieran haber talleres de tecnología, muy importantes, que estén al análisis de la tecnología. Hay muchos de los jóvenes que asisten. Son activos, lo son bastante.

[Young man: I'd like it if they could have drawing workshops, but at an advanced level, not for little kids, but advanced. Also I'd like them to offer specialized electronics courses, technology workshops, very important, to be able to do technological analysis. There are a lot of young people who take them. They're pretty active in this respect.]

An interview with a 30-year old woman who represents the youth sector in the Municipal Committee for the Prevention of Crime and Violence is far more positive about the working of the Outreach Centers. She lists the accomplishments of the Centers for 2012.

Entrevistador: Como primera pregunta me gustaría saber ¿Cómo fue el trabajo que se desempeñó dentro de lo que es el comité que representa la juventud de Zaragoza durante este último año 2012?

[Interviewer: As my first question, I'd like to know about the work that was done by the committee that represents the youth of Zaragoza during this past year 2012.]

*(Mujer de 30 años, joven participante del Comité para la Prevención de la Violencia)
Joven:*

Bueno el trabajo fue bastante arduo y bastante productivo ya que la mayor parte de metas que teníamos trazadas para este año que pasó 2012, podemos decir misión cumplida, ya que logramos participar dentro del Consejo de Prevención de Violencia en grandes proyectos de diferentes ONG's y que todos fueron un éxito, ya que eh comenzamos primero con centros escolares con la ONG FUNPRES, que dio asistencia psicológica eh general y psicología clínica a los diferentes alumnos de los centros escolares. Eh teniendo como éxito pues eh que muchos alumnos lograron despejar inquietudes y lograron poder escapar un poco de sus problemas con ayuda de la psicóloga. Eso fue bastante beneficioso para la población de, juve-juvenil de Zaragoza. Eh por otra parte eh siempre las psicólogas de FUNPRES ayudaron junto con los jóvenes a realizar manuales, eh de convivencia escolar, entonces hubo una interacción de jóvenes con maestros y los maestros con las psicólogas a fin de que los tres trabajaron en un mismo manual que dio bastantes frutos y dio buenos resultados, ya que dentro del manual de convivencia se realizó un comité de, un comité que iba a velar porque ese manual se cumpliera y que era llevado a cabo por los mismos jóvenes de las escuelas. Así es que los jóvenes adoptaron esa responsabilidad muy bien adoptada y han sido un-un-un, buen ejemplo y han sido también bastante productivos esos manuales de convivencia. Eh por otro lado, tuvimos también la intervención de la ONG "Fe y Alegría," que trajo un programa para adultos y jóvenes que se llamaba "Familia Fuerte y Familia Feliz." Ese programa logró que en todas las comunidades--que fueron siete comunidades que se tocó dentro del proyecto--este programa eh logró la asistencia con charlas, a familias de estas comunidades, lo cual cada familia tenía la libertad de pedirle asistencia al psicólogo que estaba en su comunidad ¿verdad? Entonces "Fe Y Alegría" tuvo a bien eh hacer visitas domiciliarias, y ayudarles a esas familias a salir pro-proceso problemático que pasó, todo eso también de forma gratuita. Muchos jóvenes eh se nos acercaron y dijeron que, que su familia en realidad había logrado cambiar con, con la intervención de ese programa, verdad. "Escénica," otra ONG, eh trajo bastantes frutos especiales con sus talleres de danza, teatro, eh música andina y muchos jóvenes lograron incursionar también en el programa de "Pasa calle" que es danza en zancos. Ya tenemos un grupo de jóvenes que ya toca batucada y hacen presentaciones en zancos. Eh todo eso también gracias a las escuelas de artes, que hubieron en este "Verano sin violencia" ya para finalizar el año. Todo este trabajo que le he venido hablando, se dio eh durante todo el año, verdad. "Fe Y Alegría," eh FUNDASAL también, eh que no, tal vez no trajo un proyecto específicamente en jóvenes sino que se partió en tres. FUNDASAL trajo la conformación de directivas de adultos, la conformación de una red juvenil en el municipio de Zaragoza que está trabajando y también hizo una parte estructural en el centro escolar Los Cedros, les hizo la cancha y los juegos y los baños a ese centro escolar que tanto lo necesita. Este, para finalizar el año tuvimos "Verano sin violencia" con el apoyo de la municipalidad eh tuvimos escuelas de artes marciales, escuela de football, de básquetbol, aeróbicos para mujeres, danza moderna eh el taller de batucada, el taller de locución, el taller de bisutería, el taller de bordado, litografía eh quiero ver, se me está escapando alguno, el taller de litografía,

bisutería, bordado bueno esos talleres son los más específicos. También tuvieron el diseño de tarjetas navideñas. Eh y todo esto, se atendieron a más de, 1,000 jóvenes que se graduaron de de eso ya para finalizar el taller de “Verano sin violencia,” total de que la juventud de Zaragoza, cuando salió de clases ya tenía en qué invertir su tiempo.

[(30-year old woman, youth participant on the Violence Prevention Committee) Young woman:

Well, the work was hard and fairly productive since for most of the goals we had set for this past year, 2012, we can say mission accomplished because we were able to participate within the Violence Prevention Council on their big projects for several NGOs and that all were a success, since, uh, we began first with school centers with the NGO FUNPRES, which offered general psychological support and clinical psychology to the various students in the school centers. Uh, the success we had, well, uh, that many students were able to dispel their uneasiness and were able to get away a little from their problems with psychological help. That was quite beneficial for the population of, juv...juveniles in Zaragoza. Uh, on the other hand, uh, the female psychologists always assisted along with the young people to do manual tasks, you know, of school fellowship, so there was interaction between young people and teachers, and the between the teachers and the psychologists with the aim of having the three groups work together on the same craft which was very productive and had good results because within the fellowship of the tasks a committee was formed, to, to keep an eye out and make sure that the task was completed and which was carried out by the young people at the schools. So the young people took on that responsibility, very seriously, and they have been a, a, a good example, and the crafts made within the fellowship have been quite productive. On the other hand, we also had the participation of the NGO “Faith and Joy” which brought a program for adults and young people called “Strong Family, Happy Family.” That program was able to achieve that in all the communities – there were seven communities in the Project –this program, uh, got people to come for talks, families from these communities, for which each family had the choice of requesting help from the psychologist in their community, you see? So “Faith and Joy” saw fit to make home visits and help those families talk about problems they had experienced, all that was free of charge. Many of the young people came to us to tell us that, that their families were truly able to change because, because of this program, you know? “Scenic,” another NGO, uh, produced some especially good results with their workshops on dance, theater, uh Andean music, and many young people were also able to participate in the “Street Music” program, which is dancing on stilts. We already have a group of young people who play percussion instruments and do shows on stilts. Uh, all that thanks to the arts schools, which participated in this “Summer without Violence” to wrap up the year. All this work I’ve been telling you about happened, uh, over a year’s time, you see. “Faith and Joy”, uh, FUNDASAL also, uh, which didn’t, didn’t bring contribute a Project specifically for young people; rather, they divided what they had into three parts. FUNDASAL brought the structure for the guidelines for the adults, the structure for a youth network in the Zaragoza municipality which is operational, and also a structural plan for the Los Cedros school center. They built the court, games, and bathrooms for that school which was greatly in need of these things. Um, to wrap up the year, we had “Summer without Violence,” and with the support of the municipality, instruction in martial arts, soccer, basketball, aerobics for women, modern dance, uh, workshops in performing in a percussion street band, public speaking, uh, costume jewelry making, embroidery, lithography, uh, let me see, am I forgetting one of them? The workshops on lithography, costume jewelry, embroidery, well, those are the most specific ones. They also had Christmas card design. You know, and with all that we helped about 1,000 young people

who graduated from that to end the year with “Summer without Violence.” Overall, when the school year was over for the young people of Zaragoza, they had plenty to do with their time off.]

An 18-year old young man from Santa Ana is equally positive about the success of the Outreach Centers. He points out that there has been a reduction in crime, and that there has been a major change in his community overall.

Entrevistador: En los 5 años y fechas que tienes tú de vivir en la comunidad, ¿sentiste algún cambio antes de que estuviera el Centro de Alcance a cuando ya estaba establecido? ¿Hubo un cambio para ti, observaste ese cambio?

[Interviewer: In the five years and the dates that you have been living in the community, did you notice any change between before the Outreach Center was here and after it started operating? Was there any change for you, did you see that change?]

(Hombre de 18 años, Santa Ana): Joven: Sí hubo un cambio y muy grande porque como le repito los jóvenes el tiempo que yo vine aquí todos en la tarde en la calle molestando y todo eso y, o sea un desorden que se veía. Ahora ya no hay jóvenes que de aquí han salido beneficiarios de un trabajo, están trabajando. Otros están aprendiendo cursos aquí, otros que vienen a jugar. O sea ya no hay mucho tiempo salen a la calle y no se ven muchos jóvenes en las calles.

[(18-year old male, Santa Ana): Young man: Yeah, there was a change, a big one because as I repeat, the youth the time that I can here every afternoon were out in the streets harassing people and all that and, I mean, you could see that it was very disorderly. Now there aren't young people because from here they have gotten work benefits, they're working. I mean now they don't have a lot of time to go out and you don't see a lot of young people out on the streets.]

To sum up, the youth who use the Outreach Centers provide a mixed picture of their value. The major complaint is about the lack of courses that have sufficient depth to them (i.e., the need for more advanced courses in given areas, mainly computer proficiency). The major complimentary comments have to do with taking at-risk-youth off the streets, and giving them something productive to spend their free time on. The value for these youths, therefore, is that it decreases the time they would have spent engaged in unlawful and socially undesirable activities, which is one of the goals of the CARSI crime prevention program.

IX. Opinions of Creative Associates and RTI Implementing Partners on the CARSI project

The qualitative component of the study included interviews with USAID implementing partners. Specifically, Creative and RTI field coordinators were interviewed; in the case of the Outreach Centers, the designated *coordinador(a)* of each one was the person we talked to. Their comments are quite revealing.

One implementer of an Outreach Center in Santa Ana (see below) commented that the number of murders in his community have noticeably gone down, and links this decrease in the murder rate to youths no longer hanging out in the streets, but instead making use of the resources of the Centro de Alcance.

Centro de Alcance coordinador, Santa Ana

[Outreach Center coordinator, Santa Ana]

Entrevistador: ¿Qué se daba antes en esta comunidad que ahora no se está dando y que da la percepción de que ha mejorado esa situación?

[Interviewer: What was going on here in this community that is no longer happening and which gives the impression that the situation has improved?

Coordinador: Yo creo de que uno de los, de las cosas bien importantes de que, por ejemplo, a-antes escuchaba más, matanza más “¿Qué? “Mataron a alguien allá arriba o aquí abajo.” Gracias a Dios yo tengo varios meses de no escuchar eso, varios meses varios días, y es gracias a Dios punto número uno, primero que nada. Y gracias a lo que se está haciendo la prevención de violencia los Centros de Alcance, como le mencionaba anteriormente los muchachos en vez de estar quizás en la calle están en el Centro de Alcance jugando un partido de ping pong, jugando un partido de Playstation.

[Coordinator: I believe that one of the, one of the really important things is, for example, be-, before we’d hear about more, more murders, “What? Somebody was killed up there or down here.” Thank God, I haven’t heard that for several months now, several months, some time, and thank God, it’s the very first thing, and thanks to what the Outreach Centers are doing to prevent violence. As I mentioned before, the kids rather than be out on the street are at the Outreach Center playing a round of ping pong or games on the Playstation.]

Another outreach coordinator, one based in Chalchuapa, found that the youth who attend his center have changed dramatically. He finds them knocking on the door of the center at opening time. Just as importantly, he sees a dramatic change in the attitude of the parents of these youths. He notices a renewed level of trust on the part of the parents with respect to their children. Seeing the change in their children’s behavior, the parents now have faith in them and appear to behave more positively toward them, this outreach coordinator reported. He believes that the mentoring role that he has taken on has played an important role in turning around these youths. It has led them to trust him.

Outreach Center coordinator, Chalchuapa

Entrevistador: ¿Ha notado usted algún comportamiento positivo o sea un cambio significativo en su... en los niños que frecuentan el Centro de Alcance?

[Interviewer: Have you noticed any positive behavior, meaning a significant change in their...in the kids who frequent the Outreach Center?]

Entrevistado: Ah... sí... sólo con el hecho que nosotros abrimos a la una y media y a la una ya estén tocando es una... es una buena señal. Se sienten cómodos aquí, se sienten felices ellos acá. Ellos han cambiado tanto aquí: practican el fútbol, tenemos juegos, tenemos tantas cosas, entonces ha habido un cambio en los niños. Padres de familia se han acercado a mí y me han dicho que están bien felices con este proyecto porque antes a sus hijos los miraban vagando, pero ahora verlos acá en el Centro de Alcance para ellos es un zumo gozo, una felicidad, porque ellos vienen y me dicen este de repente, “Nosotros tenemos accesibles a un número telefónico para ellos.” De repente me dicen buena mire esta... si mire pásemelo. Hola, ¿Qué tal? ¿Cómo estás? Ya voy a llegar, sólo voy a terminar de navegar, vaya está bueno.” Entonces ellos con confianza hablan porque confían confían... confían ahora en los hijos, ahora ya confían. Mira éste es el teléfono del Centro de Alcance porque cualquier cosa allá estoy. Ya me llaman y dicen, “Buenas, mire pásame,” no me preguntan, “Mire ¿ahí está?” No, que “Mire pásame por favor” “Ah... sí, yo lo paso.” Entonces porque ellos ya tienen confianza en los hijos, la confianza que los hijos jóvenes habían perdido ahora ya están recuperando por su forma de vivir, por su forma de comportarse, por poner en prácticas los valores que se les enseña en cada Centro de Alcance y ése es uno de gran felicidad y satisfacción, uno como coordinador del Centro de Alcance.

[Interviewee: Ahh...yes...just the fact that we open up at one-thirty, the kids are already knocking on the door at one. That’s a good sign. They feel comfortable here, they feel happy to be here. They have changed so much here: they play soccer, we have games, we have so many things. This has brought about a change in the kids. The parents have come to see me and have told me that they’re very happy with this project because before their children were wandering around, but seeing them here at the Outreach Center for them is joy, happiness, because them come here and tell me and blurt out, “We have a phone number where they can call.” So I tell them, “Well, uh, yes, of course, give it to me. Hello, how’s everything? How are you? I’ll be going home, I’m just going to finish surfing. You know, this is good. They speak with confidence because they trust, they trust... they trust their kids now, now they trust them. The parents say that this is the Outreach Center phone, because I’m there if you need me. Sometimes they call me and say, “Good afternoon, please let me speak to my child.” They don’t ask me, “Could you tell me if he’s there?” No, just, “put him on, please.” And I say, “OK, I’ll put him on.” This is because they trust their children. They had lost their trust in them and now they’re getting it back because of their lifestyle, their behavior, because the put into practice the values they learn in each Outreach Center, and that is a great joy and satisfaction for me as an Outreach Center coordinator.]

Santa Ana, Centro de Alcance implementer

Entrevistador: ¿Ha notado algunos eventos positivos o negativos en los últimos 12 meses en cuanto a los niños y voluntarios que vienen a diario a este Centro de Alcance y “Me interesa poder ayudar a otros niños y poder darles algún tipo de Consejo, para poder ser mentor? ¿Hay algún tipo de capacitación previa, para que yo pueda ser mentor?” o solamente digo, “Yo quiero ser mentor”?

[Interviewer: Have you noticed any positive or negative events in the last twelve months involving the children and volunteers who come to this Outreach Center every day? And I’m interested in helping other children and being able to give them some advice, to be a mentor. Is there some type of training needed before becoming a mentor, or do I just have to say “I want to be a mentor?”]

Coordinador: Va, eh, eso a decirte iba, este acá AJR tiene como herramienta el, el mentoraje. Este, es, es una herramienta eh detallista, eh, en donde se informa, eh en donde se informa como un perfil completo, pero si es un voluntario y ve a un niño que tiene problemas, yo me puedo acercar al niño y comenzar una relación con el niño y aunque se le llame quizá, ayuda o qué sé yo, ya estoy siendo parte de mentoraje, ajá. Y aunque digamos eh acá en AJR es lo que se hace es perfeccionar esa técnica, ajá pe... pero si este, bu, bueno... bueno eh en, en, en mi caso cuando comencé aquí, este, yo eh veía así niños como, como que apartaditos del grupo que no se involucraban, que no jugaban. Me les acercaba yo y decía:

“Mira ¿qué te pasa?” Y me decían ellos, “¡Ah que mi familia aquí!” Entonces todo eso es parte del mentoraje, verdad y pues, lo que se hace es como te decía yo per, perfeccionar esa técnica para, para que tenga un logro más efectivo, ujum.

[Coordinator: Well, um, that’s what I was going to tell you, uh, here AJR uses mentoring as a tool. Uh, it’s, it’s a tool for getting details, you know, a tool by which we get, we get like a complete profile, but if it’s a volunteer who sees that a child has problems, I can approach the child and try to form a relationship with him and even though maybe this is called help or whatever, I am already a part of the mentoring process, you see. Although, uh, around here let’s say in AJR what we do is perfect this technique, you see, but, but if this, well, um in, in, in my case, when I started working here, uh, I, ah, observed the children to be, well, sort of isolated from the group, they didn’t get involved, they didn’t play. I would approach them and say,

“What’s wrong?” And they would tell me. “Ah, it’s my family here.” So all of this is part of mentoring, you see, and what we do, as I was telling you, is perfecting this technique so that, so that it can help us reach our goals more effectively, uh huh.]

The relationship between parents of Outreach Center users and the Center is a complex one. The comments of several Center coordinators elucidate the complexity of this relationship. Whereas many of the parents are 100 per cent supportive of the Centers, others are apathetic about them.

Santa Ana, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Hay alguna interacción entre ustedes y con los padres y madres de familia de los niños y jóvenes que asisten acá?

[Interviewer: Is there any interaction between you and the parents of the children and young people who come here?]

Coordinador: En un principio sí verdad, había umm lo que es un lazo bastante fuerte. Después de un cierto tiempo, verdad, yo como coordinador sentí que se se se que se quebró, rompió el lazo, se reventó ese lazo que había. Entonces nos preocupamos bastante y entonces dijimos a buscar a los padres de familia, dijimos hacer actividades a ver si los padres apoyaban, verdad. Pero nos dimos la sorpresa que quizás como Centro de Alcance lo vimos así, por eso nos alejamos un poquito de ellos, verdad, pero los padres de familia están aún cien por cien dando apoyo al Alcance, lo hemos podido comprobar.

[Coordinator: At the beginning there was, there was, umm, a fairly strong connection. After a time, you see, I, as coordinator, felt that it, it, it broke down, the connection was broken, it just blew up. So we were pretty worried about it so we said we'd get the parents, we decided to have activities to see if the parents would support them, you know. But we were surprised that maybe we saw the Outreach Center this way, because we distanced ourselves a little from the parents, you see, but the parents are still 100 percent supportive of the Center. We've been able to confirm that.]

Chalchuapa, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Hay alguna interacción entre ustedes y los padres y madres de los niños y jóvenes que vienen acá al Centro de Alcance?

[Interviewer: Is there any interaction between you and the parents of the children and young people who come here to the Outreach Center?]

Coordinador: Pues, muy poca, muy poca, al menos aquí en el Centro de Alcance, son pocos los padres de familia que vienen a preguntar, vea, por su hijo o qué está haciendo su hijo, es poca, vea. Podría decir que es poca. Eh, a... hay, hay personas, hay padres de familia, que hasta también tratan de, de ayudar, ya, de ponerse, "Mire, ¿en qué le puedo ayudar?" o si hay una actividad, en que le puede ayudar o hagamos esto. Hay, hay, pero, son pocos los padres de familia que están interesados.

[Coordinator: Well, very little, very little, at least here at the Outreach Center. Very few parents come in to ask, right, about their child, what their child is doing, little interaction. You could say that it's not much. You see, there, there are people, parents who even try to, to help, you know. They say, "How can I help you?" Or if there is an activity, how can I help or why don't we do thus and so. There are some, there are, but there just aren't many parents who are interested.]

Chalchuapa, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Cada cuánto están hablando Uds. con los padres de familia de los niños y jóvenes que asisten frecuentemente acá al centro de alcance?

[Interviewer: How often do you speak to the parents of the children and young people who come regularly to the Outreach Center?]

Entrevistado: Pues se puede decir que siempre estamos en comunicación todo el tiempo. Porque la mayoría de ellos vienen a dejar a sus hijos, lo hacemos eventos cada mes, cada dos meses. Siempre estamos, lo que hacemos a veces, bajamos por allí, empezamos a visitar casa por casa porque gracias a Dios los padres de familias tienen un buen concepto de su comunidad ahora, ahora sí puedo decir que ellos disfrutan la comunidad. No como antes.

[Interviewee: Well, you could say that we are in constant communication all the time. Because most of them come to drop off their children and we have events every month or every two months. We're always here. What we do sometimes is go down there and start visiting house by house because thank God the parents have a positive view of the community now. Now I can really say that they are enjoying the community. Not like before.]

Outreach Center coordinators are very proud of their centers' accomplishments. One such coordinator, who is in charge of a Santa Ana Center, boasts of its Peace Band (*Banda de Paz*, a *batucada*, or Peace Beats). Apparently the musical events put on by this *Banda* have been highly successful in attracting 9- to 12-year olds.

Entrevistador: Este proyecto de las batucadas, o Bandas de Paz, ¿ustedes lo tienen acá en la Tazumal?

[Interviewer: This project involving the percussion bands, or Peace Bands, do you have this here in the Tazumal?]

Coordinador: Sí, eh particularmente, yo siempre he dicho dondequiera que voy, que, que este grupo es como el que le pone la florcita verdad, es como el que le pone la, la cereza que nuestro pas.. a al pastel, verdad. Este, nuestro Centro de Alcance, se caracteriza, este, por el club de batucada que se llama Tazucada, así se llama. Este, son eh que... alrededor de 8 niños que oscilan entre la edad de, entre 9 a 12 años y en el cual el, el líder es un chico de 10 años y pues gracias a Dios, este, todo, un su poquito ahí, algunos sus ritmos, y déjeme decirle que ahí han aprendido ellos solitos, sólo ahí, este, viendo algunos videos, algunos tips que les han venido a dar y pues han ido a tocar a varias partes, incluso ya estuvieron en la, en la inauguración del, del Centro número cien, han ido ca, a es... tocar a otras ciudades, a escuelas, a iglesias. Y pues para nosotros es un orgullo, porque es un tiempo muy invertido. La batucada es un arte y pues todo ese tiempo tal vez ellos estuvieran en una esquina eh ingiriendo drogas, tomando alcohol, pero qué bueno que gracias a acá a AJR verdad y a USAID, SICA, este (psss) tenemos ese proyecto. Para nosotros es, es un orgullo decir, que tenemos nuestro grupo de batucada.

[Coordinator: Yes, uh, for sure, wherever I go, I've always said that, that this group is the one that puts the frosting on the cake, it's like the one who puts the cherry on the sundae, you know? Uh, our Outreach Center is known, uh, for its percussion band club which is called Tazucada, that's its name. Uh, they're, uh, well, there are about eight kids between

nine and twelve years old. The leader is a ten year old boy, and thank God, uh, everything, a little here, some of their rhythms, and let me tell you that they've learned this all by themselves, just within the club, uh, watching some videos, and some tips they've gotten and they've gone several places to play, they've even been at the, at the inauguration of, of the 100th Center. They've gone each, to that...to play in other cities, to schools and churches. And it's a great source of pride because they're very entertaining. The percussion music is an art, and all the time they were on street corners doing drugs and drinking, well now thanks to the Center, to AJR, you see, and to USAID, SICA, uh, (psst) we have this project. We feel proud to say that we have our own percussion band.]

Another Centro de Alcance coordinator confirms that programs like “Mentoring” and “I Dare to Dream my Life,” while challenging for coordinators like him, are worth the effort. He considers them to be very good programs.

Centro de Alcance, Santa Ana, coordinator

Entrevistador: Hasta el día de ahora, este, “Mentoraje,” “Desafío Soñar mi Vida,” ¿siguen ejecutando estos programas?

[Interviewer: Today, uh, are the “mentoring,” and “My Life Dream Challenge” programs still going on?]

Coordinador: Sí, estamos trabajando siempre con ellos eh, tanto el “Mentoraje” tanto el “Desafío Soñar mi Vida.” Eh no es algo fácil, no es algo fácil, pero con la ayuda de Dios que es lo principal, y con el deseo de los de los, de la gente que está trabajando al frente de todos estos proyectos lo estamos logrando, lo estamos haciendo, y lo esperamos 2013--ya estamos por final dos mil, finalizar 2012--esperamos 2013 poder seguir trabajando con estos programas que son muy, buenos.

[Coordinator: Yes, we continue to carry them out, uh, “Mentoring” and well as “My Life Dream Challenge.” You know, it's not easy, not easy at all, but with God's help, which is the most important thing, and with the enthusiasm of the, of the, of the people who are leading the way in all these projects, we're getting there, we're doing it, and we hope that in 2013—we're at the end of 2012—we hope that in 2012 we will continue to be able to work with these programs that are very good.]

The Outreach Centers are not without problems. One problem that coordinators face is filling the instructional staff needs of their Center. These centers rely on volunteer instructors, and as one Santa Ana/Chalchuapa field coordinator explained (below), selection of the volunteers is highly rigorous. The applicants are screened carefully, to the extent that the Coordinator can screen them. Their names are proposed by either a community church or the community ADESCO. For any open position, whenever either one of these institutions recommends an applicant, he or she has to be approved by the other institution. As this field coordinator said, sometimes the person who is given the volunteer staff position is not the ideal person for the job, but it is the best that the Outreach Center can do, and it settles for someone who does not have all the qualities the coordinator is looking for.

Facilities coordinator, Creative projects, Santa Ana and Chalchuapa

Entrevistador: ¿Ha resultado bien el trabajo con las iglesias? ¿Las iglesias se han puesto de la mano con ustedes, disponibilidad, organización, cooperación? ¿Ha habido un estrechez de trabajo en ese caso?

[Interviewer: Has working with the churches turned out well? Have the churches worked alongside you regarding availability, organization, cooperation? Has there been any, anything lacking in this respect?]

Coordinador: Va eh eh nosotros nosotros satisfechos, nosotros satisfechos. Y y tenemos eh igual eh impacto con una u otra denominación. No tenemos preferencias por denominaciones de católicos o evangélicos, es decir más depende eso de que la gente que se, de que designa, “El Socio de la Fe,” como nosotros le llamamos. Socio de la Fe le llamamos al al al a la institución de iglesia. Eh, el éxito más bien depende de quiénes son las personas que nos asignan esas iglesias, porque pueden haber iglesias, iglesias evangélicas, iglesias católicas que nos designan a lo mejor personas que no tienen el perfil para trabajar, ni las competencias para trabajar con este tema, entonces eh ahí estamos hablando del Coordinador de Centro de Alcance que por lo general nos lo proponen las iglesias. Estamos hablando de staff, staff de voluntarios que están en el Centro de Alcance ¿sí? Eh, los voluntarios de los de los de los eh, de deportes instructores y voluntarios de deporte que usted sabe cómo es la sociedad. En la sociedad hay de todo, entonces eh eh no la pertenencia a una iglesia no te da, eh una dijéramos una, competencia per se o sea tenés que tener, tienes que tener ya, un un, un trabajo encaminado, un trabajo desarrollado. Tenés que tener haber trabajado con jóvenes, tenés que haber mostrado liderazgo en el terreno, es decir, un coordinador de Centro de Alcance por ejemplo, tenés un cen-, un coordinador de Centro de Alcance que no tiene las competencias ni el perfil, no lograrás nada, puede ser que retroceda, retroceder. Entonces por eso es que nosotros somos muy vigilantes en cuanto (ríe) a eso, y a pesar de que nosotros no somos quienes ponemos los, los coordinadores de Centro de Alcance, pero sí nosotros somos los que finalmente le damos el aval de las propuestas que ellos hagan ¿sí? Después de, después de entrevistarlos, después de, hablar con ellos, después de, investigar sobre su su su involucramiento en la comunidad, sobre su liderazgo, y no nos hemos equivocado, no nos hemos equivocado en en mucho, ¿sí? No nos hemos equivocado en mucho o sea, podemos, a lo mejor eh entre tres candidatos, dos candidatos, porque a veces no te presentan muchas opciones, elegir al mejor y a lo mejor ese que hemos elegido todavía le falta, todavía le falta para el perfil, pero eso es lo que tenés. Entonces ¿qué vas a hacer? Eso es lo que la iglesia te propone y no podés hacer más. La iglesia y la ADESCO, porque eh eh ambos tienen que proponer ¿sí? Porque no puede ser de que la ADESCO proponga o la iglesia proponga y el otro, y el otro no esté de acuerdo, porque entonces no, no hay, no hay coherencia ¿verdad?

[Coordinator: Right, uh, uh, we, we satisfied, we satisfied. And, and we have, uh, the same, uh, impact with the various denominations. We no preference for denominations whether they're Catholics or Evangelicals, I mean, it depends more on the people selected by the “The Partner in Faith,” as we call it. We call Partner in Faith the, the, the, the institution of the church. Uh, success depends rather on who is assigned to us by those churches because there might be churches, Evangelical churches or Catholic churches who send us people who are not able to do this kind of work, who don't have the skills to work at this, so, uh, we're talking about the Outreach Center coordinator who is generally the person who is suggested by the churches. We're talking about staff, volunteer staff that is at the

Outreach Center, yes? Uh, the uh, sports volunteers. You know how society is. In a society there's all kinds of people, so, uh, uh, so the congregations don't have enough, uh, we might say, skilled people, I mean, you have to have, you have to have a job already underway, a job in progress. You have to have worked with young people, you have to have demonstrated leadership in the field. In other words, an Outreach Center coordinator, for example, doesn't have the skills or the experience, and you don't get anywhere, you may even lose ground, lose ground. That's why we are very vigilant regarding (laughs) that, and even though we're not the ones who hire the Outreach Center coordinators, we are the ones who in the end endorse the proposals they make, you see. After, after we interview them, after we talk to them, after we investigate their, their, their involvement in the community, their leadership, and we haven't been wrong, we haven't made a lot of mistakes, you know, we haven't made a lot of mistakes, we can maybe choose from three candidates, two candidates, because sometimes you don't have a lot to choose from, so we choose the best one, and maybe that person is still lacking, lacking the experience, but that's what you have. So what are you going to do? That's what the church proposes, and you can't do anything else. The church and ADESCO because uh, uh, both have to make proposals, you see? It can't happen that ADESCO makes a proposal or the church makes a proposal, and the other one, the other one disagrees because then there's no, there's no, no coherence, isn't that right?]

The relationship between the Outreach Centers and the partnering churches and ADESCOs is a crucial one, as the interview extract above indicates. The following two interview extracts from a Santa Ana Centro de Alcance coordinator give evidence of the collaborative nature of the relationship in some cases. In the first extract, the coordinator shows how strongly engaged the pastor of the local Church of God is with the girls who utilize the Outreach Center: he is often seen playing some athletic game with them. In the extract that follows, this coordinator makes the point that before the Outreach Center existed, there were practically no youths who attended the local church. In fact, there were only two: himself and one other boy, who eventually stopped going to church. At the time of the interview, in contrast, there were 39 youths involved in that church, **many of them former gang members**, according to this outreach coordinator. This is a striking finding.

Santa Ana, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Esta Iglesia de Dios, eh, qué tanto ha influido en el desarrollo de las actividades de este Centro de Alcance, según tú?

[Interviewer: This Church of God, yes? In your view, how much has it influenced the activities of this Outreach Center?]

Coordinador: Pues, en lo que, en lo que está a la vista, la Iglesia de Dios, el pastor (name of pastor), él está en eso, del joven que, que les decía yo, que está trabajando con las señoritas. Él muchas veces agarra el balón y se va a jugar con las señoritas. Y eso es notorio, eso lo ven la, la, la comunidad, eso lo observan, eso está a la vista. Entonces, la organización basada en la fe, lo que, en lo que en sí está trabajando y lo que le compete en sí, según el convenio, también, es impartir valores, y lo consigue a través del medio del deporte.

[Coordinator: Well, what's, what is obvious, the Church of God, the pastor (name), he is involved in that, he works with the young person, the one I was telling you about, who is

working with young single women. Lots of times he grabs a ball and goes off to place with the young single women. What he does is notorious, the people in the community see that, they observe him, that's plain to see. So the faith based organization, what, what it really works on and should work on, according to the agreement, also, is to instill values, and he achieves this through sports activities.]

Santa Ana. Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: En este caso, antes, eh, de que estuviera el Centro de Alcance, ¿cómo trataba de trabajar o cómo estaba estructurado el trabajo de esta iglesia con los jóvenes de la comunidad, qué hacían ellos, antes de que estuviera este Centro de Alcance?

[Interviewer: In this case, before, uh, before the Outreach Center was here, what kind of work went on here, or what was the organization of the work done by this church with the youth in the community? What did they do before the Outreach Center was here?]

Coordinador: Pues, lamentablemente, no habían jóvenes en la iglesia. Y, me atrevo decir que yo fui el primer joven ahí en la iglesia (ríe), porque junto con otro joven, luego ese joven se retiró y sólo yo quedé trabajando en la iglesia como joven. Eh, una iglesia que ha ido de abajo para arriba. Entonces, hoy, gracias a Dios, estamos más de, de, estamos enlistados como 39 jóvenes. Estamos hablando de que sea tanto el Centro de Alcance, la iglesia de jóvenes. Ah muchos jóvenes que estaban allí que fueron pandilleros están acá en la iglesia.

[Coordinator: Well, unfortunately there were no young congregants in the church. And I dare say that I was the first young person there in the church (laughs), because together with another young person, later that young man left and I was the only young person working in the church. You know, it's a church that rose up from humble beginnings. So today, thank God, there are more than, than 39 young people registered. We're saying that it's due as much to the church as to the Outreach Center. Uh, many young people that were gang members are here in the church.]

The close relationship between Outreach Centers and ADESCOs is attested to by the same coordinator. In the extract that follows, he explains how supportive the local ADESCO has been with respect to the Center. The two institutions hold regular planning/informational meetings, and whenever the Center has a problem related to its infrastructure, the ADESCO comes in to fix the problem (e.g., physical maintenance work).

Entrevistador: ¿Qué tan fuerte es el, el nexa que existe entre el Centro de Alcance y los líderes de la junta directiva (traslapo de voces)?

[Interviewer: How strong is the, the link between the Outreach Center and the leaders of the board of directors? (overlapping voices)]

Coordinador: ¿La ADESCO?

[Coordinator: ADESCO?]

Entrevistador: O la ADESCO? (traslapo de voces)

[Interviewer: Or ADESCO? (Overlapping voices)]

Coordinador: aja, va, vaya.

[Coordinator: Oh, yes, now I see what you mean.]

Coordinador: Este, en este caso eh, nuestra presidenta (no se comprende)... ella sí... siempre está bien pendiente de lo que está aquí, yo le informo cualquier cosa, eh si me traen algo nuevo acá al Centro de Alcance. Por decirte te pongo un ejemplo: que me traigan una computadora, ella sabe cuándo me la trajieron, este, nos reunimos periódicamente cada cierto tiempo para, para eh corroborar datos, para ver cómo está el Centro de Alcance que, qué actividades, eh se pueden hacer para mejorar el Centro de Alcance y si, este siempre están ellos bien, bien actualizados y pues, también eh contamos con el apoyo en, en lo, en lo que se refiere al mantenimiento. Por ejemplo cuando, cuando se, te... esta averiado el chorro de la pila, hay alguien de la ADESCO que pueda eso y viene, lo arregla. Así también el baño o, o algún cable que se nos, eh rompa ahí o algo, siempre es tan bien, pendientes en...

[Coordinator: Um, in that case, you see, our president (unintelligible)...she really...she's always aware of what's going on here. I report something to her, you see, if something new is brought to the Outreach Center. To show you what I mean, a computer is brought in, she know when they brought it to me, uh, we meet periodically at regular intervals to, to, uh, corroborate data to see how the Outreach Center is going; what activities, uh, can be carried out to improve the Outreach Center, and whether, uh, the kids are doing well, if they are up to date, and, well, also, uh, we have the support regarding, regarding the maintenance of the Center. For example, when, when it's, the faucets are not running properly, someone from ADESCO who knows about this will come and fix them. The same with the bathrooms, or, or if a power cord, uh, is not working or something, they are always at the ready [thought not finished here].

According to the coordinator of another Santa Ana Outreach Center, when asked about the functioning of the Municipal Council for the Prevention of Violence, said that the Council has been doing a good job, and that the mayor has been committed to the Outreach Center's projects, although not as strongly as the coordinator would like. He finds need for improvement on the part of the municipality, with respect to the Center. As for the young people who are involved with the Center, however, this coordinator said that they are very happy with it, as evidenced by their frequent coming and going.

Centro de Alance, coordinator

Entrevistador: A usted eh eh ¿cómo calificaría el trabajo que está desempeñando el Consejo Municipal para la Prevención de Violencia del municipio? Eh ¿está de acuerdo con el tipo de metodología o como va marchando el trabajo? o usted como, eh cabeza de este lugar de esta comunidad, ¿Ha solicitado en algún momento algo para seguir trabajando y y ha habido algún eh, alto por decirlo, verdad?

[Interviewer: How would you, uh, uh, rate the work performed for the municipality's Council for the Prevention of Violence? Uh, do you approve of the methods they use or how the work is progressing? Or have you, as the leader of this community, ever put in a

request to continue the work, and, and has there been any, uh, stoppage, to put it that way, right?]

Coordinador: Sí, yo creo de que el Consejo Municipal de Prevención de Violencia, de la ciudad de Santa Ana, verdad, hemos trabajado de la mejor manera hasta el día de hoy, y, y yo creo de que si seguimos trabajando de esa manera vamos a seguir trabajando siempre l-, el Alcalde de Santa Ana está muy comprometido con los proyectos, amm y, bueno yo lo calificaría bueno, bueno, quizás no excelente porque siempre necesitamos algunas áreas en mejorar, pero sí estamos trabajando bueno, muy bueno.

[Coordinator: Yes, I think that the Municipal Council for the Prevention of Violence in the city of Santa Ana, you know, we've worked the best way possible up to now, and , and I think that if we continue working like this we'll always be working like this –the mayor of Santa Ana is very committed to the projects, mmm, and, well, I would rate it as good, good, maybe not excellent because there are always some areas that need improvement, but, yes, we are working good, very good.. . .]

Entrevistador: ¿Qué le comentan los jóvenes a usted de la comunidad?

[Interviewer: What kinds of comments do you get from the youth in the community?]

Coordinador: Pues ellos están...

[Coordinator: Well, they are...]

Entrevistador: Ya en confianza ¿verdad? Personalmente ¿verdad? ¿Ca-, qué le dicen ellos?

[Interviewer: Off the record, all right? In your personal view, yes? What do they tell you?]

Coordinador: Eh del Centro de Alcance, si hablamos del Centro de Alcance están felices, están felices gracias a Dios. Están visitándonos siempre, siempre aquí están jugando, siempre aquí están entrando saliendo, y es la mejor la mayor felicidad de de uno como coordinador, ah si no me equivoco alguien decía una frase bien bonita, “Gente pequeña en lugares pequeños haciendo cosas grandes.” Eh “Gente pequeña” quizás somos nosotros ¿verdad? Eh muchas veces sin saber qué podemos hacer o qué vamos a hacer. “En lugares pequeños” son el Centro de Alcance, no es una mansión sino que son lugares chiquititos, pero han sido cosas grandes, haciendo cosas grandes por la juventud, por la niñez de nuestras comunidades.

[Coordinator: You know, the Outreach Center, if we're talking about the Outreach Center, they're happy, they're happy, thank God. They always come to see us, they're always here playing here, always coming in and going out, and it's the best, the greatest joy for, for me as a coordinator. Uh, if I'm not mistaken someone once said, “Little people in little places making big things happen.” You know, “little people,” maybe that's us, right? You know, a lot of times we don't know what we can do or what we're going to do. “In little places” that's the Outreach Center. It's not a mansion but rather a little place, but big things are accomplished, big things for young people, for the children in our communities...]

Outreach Center coordinators were asked to evaluate the role of the national police in the work of the Centers. The answers were mixed. One coordinator (below) complained that the police do not

provide the Centers with security. This complaint echoes the statements made by some school directors in regard to school protection.

Santa Ana, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: Con respecto al trabajo que se ha hecho con la policía, ¿de qué manera se ha integrado a este tipo de programas de prevención de la violencia en el trabajo que ellos desempeñaban antes, de formar parte de este Comité de Prevención de la Violencia y la Delincuencia tanto en Santa Ana como...?

[Interviewer: Regarding the work that has been done with the police, in what way have the police become a part of the violence prevention programs in the work they performed before, of being a part of this Violence and Crime Prevention Committee in Santa Ana as well as...?]

Coordinador: En otro municipio.

[Coordinator: In another municipality.]

Entrevistador: ¿...El Comité Fomento por la Paz y el Bien Común ahí en Chalchuapa? ¿Han implementado algún tipo de programa o proyecto que ustedes han sugerido o han cooperado mutuamente?

[Interviewer: And what about the Committee for the Promotion of Peace and the Common Good over in Chalchuapa? Have they implemented any type of program or project that you have suggested to them or have you experienced mutual cooperation?]

Coordinador: Sí, la cooperación con la policía es eh, es un factor de éxito. No, no puede, a ver pesa tanto, pesa mucho la la policía en esto, pesa mucho, eh la figura del, la figura del jefe policial, eh nuevos oficiales que designa para represi-, repre-, que les representa a nivel de Comité Municipal, a los del Departamento de, de Policía Comunitaria. Eh, no hay una División de Prevención en la, en la, en la, en la Policía. Ese personal eh, todo eso influye mucho. Ahora eh, no hay mayor cambio eh un cambio significativo del in-, del involu-, del involucramiento de la Policía del año pasado y este, pasa también que ha sido igual, es decir la presencia en el Comité Municipal de Prevención, emm el acompañamiento en actividades puntuales ah la designación de Policías para, pa-, policías por, policía mm preventiva, eh para apoyo a los a los, vigilancia a los Centros de Alcance, charlas a los Centros de Alcance, charlas en los, en los en los Centros Escolares eh, eh apoyo al programa de “Fomento de Valores a través del Deporte” e-en algunos casos son los policías los que desarrollan las, las eh las charlas de de prevención y la cultura de paz, sí,-- pero no a la la la vigilancia de los Centros de Alcance, que no es vigilancia, tradicio-tradicional vamos a decirlo así eh, sino que eh los los policías eh los policías realmente llegan a los Centros de Alcance, se sientan en una computadora, hablan con los chicos chatean de algunos temas, se toman 10 minutos 5 minutos para estar en el Centro de Alcance, eh conviven, interactúan eh con los-- es otra naturaleza completamente cam-, y en otras comunidades que saben que hay presencia de pandillas y todo eso, pero la policía hace eso, interactúa.

[Coordinator: Yes, the cooperation with the police is, you know, a factor in our success. No, no, it can't, it's so vital, the police participation in this, it's very important. The figure of, the figure of the police chief, you know, new officers that he assigns to repre-, repre-, who represent the police on the Municipal Committee and the Department of, of

Community Police. You see, there's no Prevention Division in the, in the, in the, in the Police Department. Those agents, you know, really hold a lot of sway. At this time, there are no big changes, any significant change in the, in the involvement of the Police between last year and this year. It's been about the same, I mean, their presence on the Municipal Prevention Committee, umm, their presence at key activities, uh the assignment of agents to, for, police for, preventive police, you know, to support the, the security at the schools, you see, uh, support for the Value Development through Sports program. In some cases it's the police themselves who create the, the, uh, the talks on, on, on prevention and the culture of peace, yes—but not the security at the Outreach Centers. That's not traditional security, we could say, you know, but rather, uh, the, the police, uh, the police agents arrive at the Outreach Centers, they sit down at the computers with the kids and chat with them, they spend 10 minutes, 5 minutes with them at the Outreach Center, you know, spending time together, they interact with—you know—it's a whole other atmosphere, and in other communities where they know that there are gangs and all that, but the police do that, they interact with them.]

On the other hand, the police were given credit for improving the perception that youths had of them. As the Outreach Center coordinator below explains, the Center beneficiaries no longer view the police as people whose job is to pursue young people. Through the influence of Center coordinators and volunteers, and through engagement with the police in the Center's athletic programs, the children and adolescents have formed a more benevolent impression of the police force.

Santa Ana, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Hasta el día de ahora ustedes solamente se han reunido con la policía para que les den a conocer el tipo de trabajo a desempeñar, ya que usted me decía que aún no han hecho nada con los muchachos de acá? (Coordinador: Sí.) Eh, ¿qué expectativas tiene usted, como, como coordinador del Centro de Alcance cuando ya se esté trabajando por parte de la policía con los muchachos, qué, qué cree que pueda pasar? ¿Cree que mejore la situación, que empeore, qué, qué perspectivas tiene usted?

[Interviewer: Up to now have you met with the police only to be informed about the kind of work to be performed, since you were telling me that they haven't done any kind of work with the youth here? (Coordinator: Yes) Well, what are your expectations, as, as coordinator of the Outreach Center, when the police actually start working with the kids? What, what do you think may happen? Do you think the situation will improve, deteriorate? What are your views?]

Coordinador: Pues, para mí, mi punto de vista es que mejore y de hecho lo va a mejorar. Cuando las primeras veces que entraba la PNC al Centro de Alcance sólo a echarse un vistazo, a observar qué está pasando, ellos decían y me preguntaban, cuando la PNC se retiraba, ellos me preguntaban, “Qué ondas, qué, qué hacen?” “Que investigándome andan o qué” algo así. “¿Investigándome andan o qué?” No nos han dado que, las otras veces, últimamente, que las veces que han entrado, no me dicen eso, porque ya les hice ver qué es lo que la PNC quiere, “Quieren trabajar con ustedes,” les digo yo. “Quieren trabajar con el comité de deporte.” Entonces, ellos, ellos me dicen, “ah, vaya pues, está bien, está bien”, y si los jóvenes, “no”. “Entonces, está habilitado,” le dije yo, “para la próxima reunión con la PNC para que vean.” Entonces, ellos ya van entendiendo en sí qué quiere la PNC, pues, que no andan así como persiguiendo así como supuestamente dicen.

[Coordinator: Well, for me, my point of view is that it's better and in fact it's going to make it better. When they started coming, the National Civil Police came into the Outreach Center just to take a look around, to watch what was going on. The kids would say and ask me, when the police left the Center, they'd ask me, "What's happening, what, what are they doing?" What, are they looking to investigate me or what?" Like that. "Are they investigating me or what?" They aren't worrying us, those other times. Lately, the times they've come in, they don't say that to me because I assured them what the police were doing here. "They want to work with you," I tell them. "They want to work on the sports committee." So they, they tell me, Oh, well, then it's OK, it's OK." And if it's the young people, "no." "They're getting ready," I told them, "for the next meeting with the NCP, just so you know. So they start to understand why the NCP are there, that they're not looking to go after anybody, as they supposedly say.]

The Outreach Coordinators were asked about the utility of specific interventions in promoting positive outcomes among the youths. When asked about the "I Dare to Dream my Life" program, two coordinators gave highly positive evaluations of it, as the extracts below demonstrate.

Chalchuapa, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Este proyecto del Desafío de Soñar mi Vida, para usted qué tan efectivo es?

[Interviewer: The My Dream Life Challenge project, in your view how effective is it?]

Coordinador: Vaya, este, primeramente para nosotros, este, que a nuestra edad, eh han impactado. Yo, yo recuerdo cuando, lo recibí hace como un año quizás, este, me puse en qué pensar, porque muchas veces uno con el trajinar del día, que voy aquí pa el otro y las, las preocupaciones nos olvidamos de nuestra vida, muchas veces de nuestros sueño, de nuestro futuro, qué queremos en la vida, que a dónde estamos, qué somos. Y pues a mí en lo personal me ayudó. Este, en los niños, como te decía, cada uno con en principio hemos visto, cómo ese cambio eh nosotros tenemos nue... nuestra imagen de los niños cuando venimos al Centro de Alcance y hasta ahora ya, ya para finalizar este año y sí han habido muchos cambios y muchos manifiestan que el taller Desafío, ha sido este, algo, algo importante para su vida ujum.

[Coordinator: Well, uh, firstly, for us, uh, at our age, you see, it has had an impact. I, I remember when he came maybe about a year ago, uh, I started thinking, because a lot of time with the daily running around, I go from one place to another, and with the, the worries we forget about our lives, we forget about our dreams, of our future, what we want out of life, where we are, what we are. And, well, for me personally this helped. Um, for the kids, as I was telling you, in each of the at the beginning we have seen how that change, you know...we have our concept of the kids when we come to the Outreach Center and up to now, almost at the end of this year, there have been many changes and many of the kids have expressed that the Challenge workshop has been, uh, an important thing in their lives, yes, indeed.]

The coordinator below touts not only the "My Dream Life Challenge" program, but also "Values through Sports." He also gives high marks to the role of the churches in keeping youths out of gangs.

Santa Ana, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Crees tú que este tipo de programas como los Centros de Alcance, como los cursos, talleres, capacitaciones, esto que hemos hablado del mentoraje, del Desafío Soñar mi Vida, eh, Valores a Través del Deporte, ha servido estos proyectos, estos programas para disuadir a los niños y jóvenes a que se metan a maras o pandillas?

[Interviewer: Do you think that this type of program like the Outreach Centers, like the courses, workshops, trainings, this mentoring we've talked about, the Dream My Life Challenge, you know, Values through Sports—have these projects, these programs been able to dissuade children and young people from joining gangs?]

Coordinador: Sí, ha servido mucho, ha servido mucho. Yo en lo personal, bueno, eso en lo personal traté, he tratado, en lo que he estado aquí con tres jóvenes que han estado a punto, que han estado a punto de brincarse a una pandilla. Y gracias a ese programa de mentoraje que nos han dado una herramienta en sí cómo tratar con los protegidos y cómo saber qué darles a ellos, es que estos jóvenes es que estos jóvenes no han ido a pandilla, sino que dos de ellos que están en la iglesia. Y otros están así, pero sí nos visitan a la iglesia, nos visitan, aunque sean los domingos nos están visitando en la iglesia.

[Coordinator: Yes, it's worked well, very well. For me personally, well, I personally tried, have tried, since I've been here with three young people that have been just about to jump into a gang. And thanks to the mentoring program that has given us a tool regarding how to treat them, to know what to give them. These young people, these young people have not joined gangs but instead, two of them have joined a church. And others are like that too, but they do visit us at church, they come to visit, even if it's just on Sundays, they are visiting us at the church.]

Chalchuapa, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Cree usted, que los programas y actividades que se desarrollan en los Centros de Alcance, han servido para disuadir que los niños y jóvenes, no se involucren a maras y pandillas?

[Interviewer: Do you think that the programs and activities developed in the Outreach Centers have helped dissuade children and young people from joining gangs?]

Coordinador: Sí, sí y te lo garantizo, porque bueno, por lo menos cuando me metí yo, nunca estaba una parte así, para ir a aprender computación gratis, todo era eh, todo era cobrado verdad, todo, todo era costoso y mucho menos, este, tener una parte en donde ir a jugar playstation en una pantalla, o sea creo que eso a los niños los cautiva y los hace sentir como especiales. Pero lo que eh, aquí eh... no solamente es, eh, se trata que el niño venga y el niño diga: “¡Ay qué chivo el centro y que puedo ir a jugar y aprender la computación!” sino que también, hay un lapso del día, en el que se le da, este, valores al niño, donde se sientan a todos los niños se da una reflexión y se hace, par, participativo: “¿qué piensa usted de tal tema?” o “¿qué piensa usted de esto? ¿qué puede hacer para cambiar eso?” Entonces esa relación entre los, entre los, los beneficiarios y voluntarios creo, creo que ha sido como de las cosas más fuertes que en este 2012, porque nos hemos, eh acercado tanto a los niños, que han, que hay días en que los niños, no quisieran ni que cerráramos aquí, verdad, ajá, y pues eso gracias a Dios para nosotros, es un patrón para

decir vamos, vamos por buen camino, aunque necesitamos como siempre perfeccionar todo.

[Coordinator: Yes, yes, and I can guarantee you that it has, because, well, at least when I got into it, there was never a place like that, that you could go to and learn computing for free. The places you could go, you know, you had to pay for everything, you know. It was all so expensive, and much less was there at place where you could go and play on a Playstation with a screen. I mean, I think that this engages the children and makes them feel special. But what, uh, here, you know, it's not just, uh, that the child comes in and says: "Wow, what a cool place the Center is! I can go there and play and learn computing!" It's also that there's time during the day in which, uh, we also try to instill values in the child, where the children sit down and are given something to ponder and then have a participatory time. "What do you think about this topic?" Or, "what do you think about that?" "What can be done to change that?" So the relationship between, between the recipients and the volunteers, I think, I think has been one of the best things that has happened in 2012 because we have, you know, gotten close to the children. There are days that the children wish that we didn't have to close up the Center, you know, yes, and thank God, for us this is an encouragement for us to be able to say, we're doing it, we're on the right path, although we also have to be working on perfecting everything.]

Violence prevention implementers were asked specifically whether they thought that the prevention program had been successful at keeping youths from joining gangs. The answers were uniformly "Yes." Three Outreach Center coordinators explained (below) why they came to this conclusion.

Chalchuapa, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Cree usted que los programas y actividades que han desarrollado de este Centro de Alcance, ha logrado disuadir a jóvenes que vienen acá, de que no se metan a pandillas o maras?

[Interviewer: Do you think that the programs and activities developed at this Outreach Center have been able to dissuade the young people who come here not to join gangs?]

Coordinador: Sí, o sea sí porque, se les trata de... no se les trata directamente de que no pertenezcan va, porque no se les dice directamente, "No te metas a una pandilla ya," pero se, se trata al joven de que, que se aleje de esas malas juntas, de estar en la calle, de estar en la esquina, porque ahí son, eh, presas fáciles para los pandilleros de, de empezarles a hablar, de, de traérselos, mientras que cuando vienen aquí, pues pasan entretenidos, se les enseña, entonces su tiempo que tal vez, digo yo, puedan estar en la, en la esquina, pues lo vienen a pasar aquí a divertirse sanamente. Y sí ha influenciado bastante para que ellos no caigan, y las charlas también les ayuda bastante a alejarlos también de, de eso. Se les trata de, de, pero no directamente, pero se les trata de enseñar que, perteneciendo a eso pues nada trae bueno.

[Coordinator: Yes, I mean yes because we try to...we don't tell them straight out, "Don't go joining a gang, now," but rather we, we try to steer young people away from those bad influences, away from being out on the streets, from hanging out on street corners because there they are, you know, easy pickings for gang members to, to start talking to them about

joining the gang. On the other hand, when they come here, they are engaged, they are being taught, so maybe, I would say, instead of being on a street corner, they come here to have fun in a wholesome way. And it really has had a big influence on their not being pulled into gangs. The talks have also helped a lot to draw them away from, from that. We try to, to, not directly, but we try to teach them that being in a gang does not lead to anything good.]

Chalchuapa, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿Cree usted que los programas que desarrolla este Centro de Alcance ha servido para disuadir que los niños, jóvenes no se involucren en esos grupos?

[Interviewer: Do you think that the programs that this Outreach Center develops have been able to dissuade children, young people from joining gangs?]

Entrevistado: Sí, ha ayudado bastante porque de la manera digamos, como lo hablábamos anteriormente, cuando ellos miran que hay jóvenes que ellos empiezan a... y..." ¡Hey! Mira este joven, hey mira este, vos, ya aprendió algo... ¡hey mire! yo quiero aprender también a tocar guitarra." Entonces, ellos como que le empiezan a poner interés, porque cuando nosotros hablamos, cuando nosotros hablamos de estos riesgos de pandillas, ya sabemos que hay un trasfondo, un meollo, que pasaríamos quizás todo el día del paso por paso de cuáles son los factores de riesgos por el cual, un joven ha entrado a pandillas, que son muchísimos. Entonces este joven cuando empieza a ver que ellos empiezan a recibir una motivación, ellos, "¡Hey! Yo quiero aprender." De esa manera ellos vienen y empiezan a aprender y se dan cuenta que es divertido estar en el facebook, que es divertido estar escuchando música, que es bonito estar escuchando los valores, cómo obedecer a los padres, cómo ser honesto, cómo tener confianza, de la unidad, etcétera.

[Interviewee: Yes, it's helped a lot because, shall we say, the way we used to talk to them, when they look around, they see young people and they say, "Hey! Look at this guy, hey, look at this one, you, he's already learned something...hey, look here! I want to learn to play the guitar too." They start becoming interested, because when we talk to them, when we tell them about the risks of joining a gang, we know that there are backstories, a core, and we could spend the whole day telling them step by step what the risk factors are of getting into a gang, and there are many risks. So a young person starts to realize that they are starting to feel motivated, the say, "Hey! I want to learn." That way they come here and start learning and they realize that it's fun to go on Facebook, that it's fun to listen to music, that it's nice to hear about values, how to be obedient with their parents, how to be honest, how to feel confident, about unity, etc.]

Implementers were asked if they noticed any change in the behavior of the children and adolescents who participated in the Outreach Centers' programs, whether positive or negative ones. The response of a Chalchuapa Center coordinator, below, indicates a highly positive assessment of how the youths had changed: from misbehaving, badly behaved kids to smiling kids who were willing to talk to him.

Chalchuapa, Centro de Alcance, coordinator

Entrevistador: ¿En el tiempo que usted ha tenido la oportunidad de estar acá en esta comunidad, eh, de trabajar con el Centro de Alcance, qué cambios positivos o ya sean negativos, ha observado usted en los jóvenes, en los niños en cuanto al comportamiento, qué sé yo, otro tipo de, de, de características que usted haya anotado en, en ellos? ¿Ha visto un cambio?

[Interviewer: During the time you have had the opportunity to be here in the community, you know, to work with the Outreach Center, what kinds of positive or negative changes have you observed among the young people, the children regarding their behavior, or whatever, any other kind of, of, of characteristics that you may have noticed in, in them? Have you seen any change?]

Coordinador: Sí, eh, por lo menos cuando yo vine habían tal vez algunos, algunos niños, jóvenes que eran bien así inquietos, algunos malcriados, pero, como le digo, uno tal vez, porque mi persona, pues era, primera vez que yo venía y eran unas personas, pero realmente cuando yo empecé a salir con ellos, (inteligible), cómo se llama (inteligible) entonces, sí, la mayoría han notado cambios, eh, a veces, incluso, hasta le tienen una gran confianza a uno que si tienen problemas familiares, ellos se lo cuentan con toda confianza a uno. Y, realmente sí he visto, he visto cambios, he visto cambios en muchachos que de que aquellos que eran algo enojados o algo imperativos pues ya, ya cambiaron. Tuvo que ser ya más, más calmado. Antes no sonreían, ahora ya se les saca una sonrisa a ese niño. Entonces, pero ya hoy, ya hablan, ya se comunican con uno, se ríen y para mí, pues, es un gran logro, de que (no inteligible) el Centro de Alcance para ellos es (no inteligible).

[Coordinator: Yes, you see, at least when I started here there were maybe a few, a few children, youngsters who were very fidgety, some ill-mannered ones, but, as I say, maybe I, because of who I am, well, it was the first time I was here, and they were people, but really when I started to go out with them (unintelligible), how to you say, (unintelligible) so, yes, most of us have noticed changes, you know, sometimes even, they even have great trust in me. If they have family problems, they tell me about them with total trust in me. And, truly, yes, I've seen, I've seen changes, I've seen the changes in the kids, in the ones who seemed angry or a somewhat bossy, well, they've changed. They've calmed down. Before, they wouldn't smile; now you can get the kid to smile. These days, they talk, they communicate with me, they laugh, and for me, well, that's a great achievement, that (unintelligible) the Outreach Center for them is (unintelligible).]

Another Chalchuapa Outreach Center coordinator, one who is in charge of a large territory, was similarly pleased with the impact of the Centers' programs on participants. He enthusiastically reported the impressive record of job placements of these youths. He gave additional evidence of the success of the Center, comparing youth attendance in municipal vocational workshops before the Outreach Centers existed (enrollments used to be between 70 and 100, he recalled), whereas at the time of the interview enrollments had risen to between 300 and 400 young people, with courses filled to capacity. He attributed this dramatic increase to the influence of the Outreach Centers.

Coordinador de terreno, Creative

Entrevistador: De estos jóvenes que se capacitan en esos talleres en estos cursos eh que me gustaría s-saber, verdad, o recordar ¿Cuáles son las comunidades en donde se han beneficiado la mayoría de estos jóvenes? De este número que usted me acaba de dar de estos mil, ¿cuántos jóvenes de estos pudieron conseguir un empleo?

[Interviewer: Among these young people who are trained in those workshops, in these courses, you know, I'd like to k..know, right, or review in which communities have most of the young people benefitted. From the number you just gave me, of these one thousand, how many young people were able to get jobs?]

Coordinador: Esa es una es una duda nuestra, tenemos que ser honestos en eso, es una deuda nue-nuestra. En primer lugar eh, el el año pasado eh todo estaba orientado hacia el tema turístico y por eso es que capacitamos muchos chicos en el tema, en los, en los temas que están más relacionados con proyectos turísticos, verdad. Como por ejemplo este, ce-cerámica, este repujado, eh artesanías eh, eh to-todo tipo de artesanías, bisutería, eh marroquinería, etcétera. Entonces casi vías turísticos, casi todo estaba relacionado con el tema turístico porque nuestra pretensión era desarrollar turísticamente los municipios donde estábamos trabajando. Pero en el transcurso de los años, del año, nos dimos cuenta que eso no dependía de nosotros. Es decir que había que mover una cantidad de voluntades y y de actores eh locales y de empresarios de de de todos los tamaños, y entonces eh entonces no tenemos no, no. Al final del año pudimos tener un reporte: entre 200 350 chicos insertados laboralmente. Ahora sabemos que son muchos más que esos ¿sí? Porque nos hemos ido dando cuenta en el transcurso del año de que, de que muchos chicos de estos se insertaron laboralmente, emm pero este año, este año hemos sido como te dije más selectivos en la, en la, en las capacitaciones que estamos, que estamos impartiendo, eh que son mucho más interesantes, eh tienen posibilidad, enormes posibilidades de, de, de insertarse laboralmente. Además previo a eso fue pagada una consultora que hizo un un análisis un un estudio laboral ¿sí? Y que fueron eh finalmente las recomendaciones que se que se tomaron en cuenta para la elección de los cursos vocacionales de este año, o sea en este sentido tenemos muchas más posibilidades por decirte algo. La mmm, las eh, la reparación de celulares es algo que, que eh nos va a permitir no menos de un 50, 60% de inserción, ya sea al mercado o a la, a la, al auto auto empleo, porque está previsto que se les entregue un kit de de para autoempleo. Este mmm, la parte de Servicio al Cliente que el el el estudio laboral nos indicó que era donde más posibilidades había. Eh la otra, Estética y Belleza, que también facilita las posibilidades de que las chicas se vuelvan a, auto eh auto generadoras de, es decir que sean ah que puedan poner su propia empresa, o su micro empresa o que, pueda generar su sus sus propios ingresos. Entonces eh este año vamos a tener muchas más posibilidades de tenemos ya, muchas más posibilidades de de, de mmm insertarlos laboralmente. Sin embargo en todo esto hay, hay una lección que no tenés idea, pero no tenés idea de la, de la, de la, de lo, de lo impactante que es. Y te la comento, por ejemplo uno de los, de los servidores que nos dan a nosotros las, las ahora las formación vocacional son los, eh son los talleres, talleres vocacionales municipales. Estos talleres vocacionales municipales antes de la llegada de nosotros tenían una meta anual entre 70 y 100, beneficiarios hoy hoy tienen entre 300 y 400. Nosotros, nosotros el equipo de nosotros, el equipo de nosotros y muchas voluntades de Santa Ana pudimos mover a los talleres vocacionales a que, a que se trabajara sábado y domingo, ¿sí? Eh eh entonces hoy tenemos full, full time, eh todo el tiempo sólo los días eh y y eso no sólo no solo nos ha fortalecido a nosotros, o sea fortalece al municipio y eh y y y, y este y están llenísimos los cursos y la demanda es es

impresionante, es impresionante. Entonces eso no hubiera sido posible si nosotros no hubiésemos eh incidido enormemente en, en, en ese tema.

[Coordinator: That's one, it's one of the doubts we have, we have to be honest here, we have doubts about that. In the first place, you know, last year, you see, everything was directed toward the tourist business. For that reason we trained many young kids in this area, in the, in the aspects that are most closely related to tourism projects, right? For example, uh, cer- ceramics, uh, embossing, uh, crafts, you know, uh, ev- every type of craft, costume jewelry, uh, leather tooling, etc. So everything connected to tourism, everything related to tourism because our aim was to develop tourism in all the municipalities we were working in. But over the years, the year, we realized that it did not depend on us. I mean, it required having a lot of volunteers and, you know, local actors and business people of, of, of all sizes, and then, you know, then we couldn't do that, no, no. At the end of the year we were able to get a report: between 200 and 350 kids got jobs. Now we know that the number was much higher than that. We have been seeing that over the course of the year that, that many of the kids got jobs, umm, but this year, this year we have been, as I told you, more selective in the, in the, in the training that we are, we are teaching, you see, which are much more interesting, you know, that offer possibilities, enormous possibilities of, of, of getting jobs. In addition, before that a female consultant was paid to do an analysis, a, a study of the labor market, yes? In the end her recommendations were acted on in the selection of this year's vocational courses, in other words, in this sense, we have many more possibilities, to put it that way. The, mmm, the, you know, cell phone repair is something that, that, you know, will allow for not less than 50, 60% of the students getting jobs, be it in businesses or, or, or self-employment because we have plans to provide them with a, a, a self-employment kit. This, umm, the customer service sector shown in the, the, the labor study indicated that this was where there were the highest possibilities. Uh, the other sector, Aesthetics and Beauty, also offers possibilities for young women to become self-employed, meaning that they could start their own businesses or micro-businesses and generate their, their, their own income. So you see, this year we'll have a lot more possibilities of, of, of, umm, getting jobs. Nevertheless, in all of this there is, there is a lesson that you have no idea, you really have no idea, of the, of the, of the, of the, of how powerful it is. And I tell you about this; for example, one of the, of the helpers they give us now, the ones now, for vocation training are the, you know, they're workshops, municipal vocational workshops. Before we got here, these vocational workshops had an annual goal of 70-100 recipients; today there are between 300 and 400. We, we, our team, our team and many volunteers from Santa Ana were able to push for and get them to be offered on Saturdays and Sundays, yes? So, so now we have full groups, full all the time, you see, all the time, every day, you see, and, and not only, not only has this made us stronger, meaning it's made the municipality stronger and, you know, and, and, and, and, and, uh, the classes are full and the demand is stunning, it's stunning. This would not have been possible is we had not, you know, involved ourselves so much in this endeavor.]

Because RTI does not have stand-alone centers, in contrast to Creative Associates, the RTI coordinators we interviewed were the ones who were responsible for overseeing RTI's crime and violence prevention programs at the level of entire municipalities. The RTI coordinator whose opinions and evaluations are excerpted below was quite frank in expressing her views. Perhaps the most significant point that she raised was the role of the municipality in relation to the prevention programs. She faulted political maneuverings within the municipal government as posing obstacles to the work of RTI and that of the Municipal Council for the Prevention of Violence and Crime. She mentioned, for example, that whereas at the outset of the treatment, the

Council used to meet twice per month, over time the rate of meeting changed to every two or one and a half months. She referred to the “absence of political goodwill” on the part of the municipality.

Another criticism of this RTI coordinator is that the selection of communities for prevention treatment should have been done with greater care. Specifically, she believes, communities with greater chances of sustainability after USAID no longer supports the program should have been the ones to be selected.

Finally, when asked to name the specific programs that she thought had been the most useful or successful, from the standpoint of the goals of RTI, she named: (1) Artes Escénicas, (2) the batucadas, (3) the work of FUMPRES in the schools, particularly in training the teachers to work within the framework of a culture of peace, and to make children aware of the new laws that protect them, as well bring to their attention the phenomenon of sexual harassment.

Coordinadora RTI

Entrevistada: ‘Pereme ahorita lo estoy dándole el problema. Es que empezaron unos cursos pero no los finalizaron por un de... Un...ejemplo. Eran cuatro cursos: uno era violencia y derechos humanos, el otro era convivencia escolar, fortaleciendo valores en el marco y resolución de conflictos, y cultura y paz. Estos cursos por ejemplo la UCA los da como diplomados y tienen un costo, verdad. Entonces póngale que eran dos hombres y cuatro mujeres los que finalizaron los cuatro, los cuatro cursos. Otros trabajaron la parte de metodología de para escuelas de padres y madres y así, y ahí tengo que dos hombres y dos mujeres participaron en tres cursos de los cuatro, y así dos hombres y siete mujeres participaron en dos cursos de los cuatro, y cinco participaron en uno, en un curso especializado. O sea porque era todos los sábados de ocho a cinco, todos los sábados de ocho a cinco. Hubo un curso de violencia en derechos humanos y por ejemplo no lo completaron, un curso de ciudadanía y cultura de paz, por ejemplo sólo tres mujeres. Quizás en el último fue dirigido líderes y líderesas que era fortaleciendo valores en marco de la recesión de conflictos--veinte hombres y dieciocho mujeres--eso fue el que, pero ahí se articuló lideres y lideresas que estaban trabajando por el proyecto PATI de distintas comunidades a nivel municipal.

[Interviewee: Allow me now, I’m telling you what the problem is. It is that some courses were started, but were not finished because of... An example. There were four courses: one was violence and human rights; the others were school fellowship, strengthening values within the frame of conflict resolution, and culture and peace. These courses, for example, the UCA offers them as certification courses and they are charged for, you see. So imagine that there are two men and four women who complete the four, the four courses. Others worked on the methodology area for the schools for parents, and like that, and like that I have two men and two women who took three of the four courses, and like that two men and seven women who participated in two of the four courses, and five who participated in one, in one specialized course. Because all the courses were given every Saturday from 8 am to 5 pm, every Saturday from 8am to 5 pm. There was a course on violence and human rights, and, for example, they didn’t finish it, a course in citizenship and culture and peace, for example, with only three female students. Perhaps the last one was given for male and female leaders which was about strengthening values within the framework of conflict

resolution—twenty men and eighteen women—that was the one that...brought together male and female leaders that were working on the PATI project at the municipal level in various communities.]

Entrevistador: ¿Ese es el proyecto del gobierno verdad?

[Interviewer: That's the government project, isn't it?]

Entrevistada: Ajá...por ejemplo esos líderes y lideresas se capacitaron y han conocido el comité, vea, pero era difícil mantener a tantas personas. O sea yo puedo decir que han ido a un taller pero no que finalizaron el curso especializado. Eso es lo que se trabajó más en formación, verdad.

[Interviewee: Uh huh...for example, those male and female leaders were trained and were introduced to the committee, you see, but it was difficult to keep so many people. In other words, I can say that that went to a workshop but they did not complete the specialized course. That is what was most worked on in terms of training, you know.]

Entrevistador: ¿En el caso de...de la entrevista anterior me había comentado usted que eran diez ONG'S y ahora se menciona sólo cuatro?

[Interviewer: In the case of...in the previous interview you commented that there were ten NGOs and now only four are mentioned.]

Entrevistada: Sí sólo con cuatro.

[Interviewee: Yes, only four.]

Entrevistador: ¿Eso de que dependió?

[Interviewer: What did that stem from?]

Entrevistada: Dependió de la...de la cantidad de dinero asignada al... al municipio y dependió que por ejemplo habían el año pasado se tuvieron eh...creo que eran cinco proyectos con ejes transversales o temáticos y los otros eran a nivel...a nivel este que lo había...lo había co... seleccionado el comité municipal era menor cantidad de plata este... y por tanto también la gente tenía eh...tenía que ser la distribución y seleccionar verdad y también creo que se especializaron un poco en decidir con qué ONG'S querían trabajar y con qué no, por la experticia de cada una de...de ellas. Quiero ver sí cuatro, cinco sí eran transversales eran uno, dos, tres, cuatro la UCA el año pasado y nada más una consultoría de un mes que fue la última institución que se agregó, verdad, que estuvo una consultoría por un mes en el...en el... la parte de ubicación local.

[Interviewee: It depended on the, on the amount of money allotted to...to the municipality, and it depended on that, for example, last year there were, they had, you know...I think there were five projects with horizontal axes or themes and the other were at the level, at the level, uh, what there was, they had... the funds chosen by the municipal committee was less, uh...so for that reason the people had, you know...they had to make the distribution and the choices, you see, and also I think that they kind of narrowly focused on which NGOs they wanted to work with and which ones they didn't, because of the expertise of each, of each one of them. Lets' see; yes, four, yes, five were horizontal; there were one, two, three, four UCA last year and only one month of consulting from the last institution

that was added, you see, a month of consulting on the...on the...the issue of local placement.]

...

Entrevistador: ¿En el caso del trabajo del comité de prevención social y eh...ese nuevo nombre pues que...que tiene ahora lo que es el comité municipal de prevención de la violencia en (name of municipality) y como se desarrolló el trabajo a nivel de...del comité en este año?

[Interviewer: Regarding the work done by the social prevention committee and, uh, that new name that...that it has now, meaning the municipal committee for the prevention of violence in (name of municipality) and how did the work of the committee turn out this year?]

Entrevistada: Bueno le voy ah...decir la... la... la verdad oficial quizás ahorita un poco para no...ser bastante objetiva en el caso de... de (name of municipality)... un momento, quizás ahí una de las cosas de destacar es que el gobierno local ha sido como el actor principal del comité, verdad. Pero ha impedido la... la incorporación protagónica de otros autores, autoras claves, verdad, para poderlos involucrar. Entonces eh...la dinámica del comité se ha caracterizado un poco por ausencia de coordinación y articulación inter...institucional. Entonces no se ha tenido esas estrategias para ser acciones de prevención de la violencia a nivel local. Todo lo ha hecho la alcaldía. Entonces no hay una autonomía, hay exclusión. Incluso terminaron sacándola de la bolsa de empleo porque, por ejemplo ahorita no hay bolsa de empleo en el municipio porque era una autora clave para...para mover o dinamizar. Por ejemplo la comisión de empleo y...eh...no les gusta...como que no les gusta que la gente tome un rol protagónico dentro del espacio de la alcaldía, entonces ahí ha habido modelos jerárquico y el poder lo ha recibido la alcaldía, vea, porque las, porque por ejemplo eh... la según la estructura del comité, comisiones temáticas no se reunieron, no se elaboraron los planes los operativos pero no... no... no lo operativizaron y ahí por ejemplo las asambleas han...sido contadas han sido esporádicas no han sido continuas ni temáticas, sobre todo para monitorear los proyectos. Entonces cuando se han hecho las asambleas de una manera se ha intentado que puedan las ONG'S formar otras actores y actrices de lo que ha estado haciendo, verdad. Y, por ejemplo ha impedido la parte de que...que...Un ejemplo: ha habido integrantes del comité que han querido hacer reuniones, verdad, de comités, de comisiones temáticas y no se lo ha permitido la alcaldía. Y ahí por ejemplo el gerente general y la de...la jefa de promoción social prácticamente han obstaculizado todo el proceso de funcionamiento de las comisiones, de las asambleas. Quizás la única que ha funcionado es la comisión de géneros por...porque ha venido el proyecto de PREVIMO que es de CECI, que han traído plata para que pueda...pueda ejecutarse el que tiene esa comisión dentro del comité.

[Interviewee: Well, I'll, oh, tell you the...the...the official story, maybe right now just a bit of it so that I don't...I want to be fairly objective in the case of...of (name of municipality)...just a moment, maybe there is on the things to point out is that the local government has been pretty much the main actor of the committee, you see? But it has obstructed the...the incorporation of other actors from playing a major role. Then, you know, the dynamic of the committee had been characterized by the absence of inter...institutional coordination and cohesion. They didn't have the strategies to carry out preventive actions against violence at the local level. Everything has been done by the mayor's office. So there's no autonomy; there's exclusion. They even went as far as taking

one of the key actors out of the employment agency because, for example, right now there is no employment agency in the municipality because she was a mover and shaker. For example, the employment commission and...you know...they don't like...since they don't like people to take a leading role within the mayor's office, there is a hierarchical structure and the mayor's office has the power, you see, because the, because for example, you know, the, according to the structure of the committee, special commissions did not meet, did not create operating plans, but not...not...they didn't make them operational and there, for example, the assemblies can be counted on one hand, they've been sporadic and not regular nor topic focused above all to be monitor projects. When assemblies have been held, in some way they've tried to allow the NGOs to create other actors of what they it has been doing, you see. And, for example, this has obstructed the section from...from: an example: there have been committee members who have wanted to call meetings, you know, of committees, of special commissions and the mayor's office has not allowed this. And there, for example, the general manager and...the...chief of social promotions have obstructed practically the whole process of the workings of the assembly and the commissions. I think the only one that has been able to function is the textile commission bec...because the PROVIMO project has started, which is part of the CECI, that has brought in funds so that action can be taken by the one who on the committee who has that commission.]

Entrevistador: ¿Cómo se llama ese...ese... ese proyecto?

[Interviewer: What's the name of that...that...that project?]

Entrevistada: Se llama Proyecto de Prevención de la Violencia contra las Mujeres y las Niñas PREVIMO.

[Interviewee: It's called Project for the Prevention of Violence against Women and Girls PREVIMO.]

Entrevistador: ¿PREVIMOS?

[Interviewer: PREVIMOS?]

Entrevistada: Que está en El Salvador y está en Guatemala—FUNCECI--ese mismo. Entonces eh...por ejemplo el año pasado se tenía uno de los resultados con plan internacional. Era la aprobación de política municipal de equidad de género. Este año no...se...este año con CECI se va a aprobar o sea lleva dos años esa política porque...porque muchas trabas por la alcaldía municipal, entonces hay muchos liderazgos autocráticos, autoritarios dentro de la alcaldía.

[Interviewee: The one in El Salvador and Guatemala—FUNCECI—that's the one. So, you see, for example, last year we got some results with the international plan. It was the approval of the municipal policy of gender equality. Not this year...it...this year with CECI it will be approved, in other words, the policy has been going on for two years because...because the mayor's office has put up a lot of obstacles. There are a lot autocratic leadership styles, authoritarian styles within the mayor's office.]

Entrevistador: ¿Por qué será que se dio eso, si se venía trabajando de una manera constante y de repente cambió la forma de operar de lo que es el personal de la alcaldía y que están dentro del comité?

[Interviewer: Why is it that if the work was being done steadily all of sudden the way they operate changed regarding personnel from the mayor's office and that they're on the committee?]

Entrevistada: Lo que siempre es que...al menos desde que yo estuve en... en (municipality) se ha mantenido mi compañero que estaba. Bueno no sé si lo entrevistaron a... a (man's name) pero al menos eh...siempre se ha mantenido es...ese funcionamiento. Me imagino que también por lineamientos de AID, verdad, no se ha podido... no se ha podido retirarse del municipio. Entonces ha habido como obstáculos para, vea, quizás la otra cosa a mencionar es... eh... que... se han hecho planificaciones y evaluaciones pero ha sido como no ha sido tan operativo, verdad. Quizás faltó que se tuviera una postura institucional un poco más clara o más eh...que ante estas dificultades, este, no sé, y va a continuar, verdad. Pero es más a nivel dirección, o sea ya como facilitadoras no podemos tomar esas decisiones de ese tipo de decirle a la alcaldía, "Ustedes están obstaculizando el comité," verdad. De esta manera no podemos seguir trabajando. Entonces también ha sido una postura más...una postura más institucional, verdad, que no se tomó como debería de haberse tomado, vea. Creo que se le dio mucho tiempo a...a ver si había un cambio, a ver si era un proceso a tratar de ir sensibilizando que había un compromiso. Quizás lo único que se logró es que por ejemplo a través de ese comité lleguen otros proyectos o que no hagan como reuniones bilaterales entre la alcaldía y las instituciones sino que todas las ONG'S y instituciones llegan ahí a informar, pero sí ha faltado.

[Interviewee: It's always that...at least since I've been in...in (municipality) my colleague has remained there, We, I don't know if (man's name) was interviewed, but at least, you know, he's kept his...job. I imagine that because of instructions from AID, you know, he hasn't been able to retire from the municipality. There have been obstacles to, you see, maybe the other thing that must be mentioned is...uh...that...plans and evaluations have been made but they have not been operationalized as yet, you know. Maybe there was no clear institutional consensus or a more...uh...in the face of such difficulties, uh, I don't know, it's going to continue, you know. If this goes on more at the management level, I mean as facilitators we can't make those kinds of decisions to tell the mayor's office, "You all are hampering the work of the committee," you know. We cannot continue to work this way. It's also been more...more of an institutional position, you see, it wasn't taken as it was supposed to have been, you see. I think that we let too much time go by, just to see if there was a change, to see if it was worth it to try to create awareness that there was a commitment. Maybe the only thing that was achieved is that, for example, through that committee maybe more projects came through or that they can't hold bilateral meeting between the mayor's office and the institutions but rather that all the NGOs and institutions are there to offer information, but yes, it's been lacking.]

Entrevistador: ¿En este caso y...por esa por esa forma de trabajar que...que han adaptado lo que es ese personal del comité en sí, las reuniones antes eran dos veces al mes cada quince días del comité de prevención?

[Interviewer: In this case and...because of, because of that way of working that...that they've adapted personnel from the committee itself, the prevention committee meetings before were twice a month, every fifteen days?]

Entrevistada: Más o menos.

[Interviewee: More or less.]

Entrevistador: ¿Dónde se reunían los líderes de las comunidades es...?

[Interviewer: Where did the leaders of the communities leaders meet...?

Entrevistada: Am...uju...

[Interviewee: Um... uh huh...]

Entrevistador: ¿Con líderes de iglesias, la policía eh...directores de centros escolares eh...y personal que estaba dentro del comité de la alcaldía como las ONG'S? ¿Estas reuniones con qué frecuencia se realizaron? Ahora ya que usted me dice que estuvieron bastante esporádicas con qué frecuencia ¿se dieron este año después de que ya se estuvo lo que es que escoger aquellas cuatro ONG'S para escoger?

[Interviewer: With church leaders, the police, right?...school directors, uh...and personnel on the mayor's office committee like the NGOs? How often did these meeting take place? Now you tell me that they were fairly sporadic; how often did they meet this year after the four NGOs were selected?]

Entrevistada: Cada dos meses, quiero ver cada dos meses o cada mes y medio más o menos. Es que al principio se pensaba tener cada mes y de ahí después el ritmo fue cada dos meses, cada mes y medio. Por ejemplo, este, esta semana tuvimos la última. Después de dos meses se tuvo la... la de noviembre y se va a tener una dentro de quince días. Entonces es como...

[Interviewee: Every two months, I want to say every two months or every month and a half, more or less. The reason is that at the beginning we thought about meeting every month, and from there it turned out to be every two months, every month and a half. For example, uh, this week we had our latest meeting. Two months ago we had the...the November meeting and we're going to have another on in two weeks. So it's almost like...]

....

Entrevistador: ¿En el caso que se tuvo la coordinación con la policía nacional civil eh...se mejoró la capacidad de ellos o se le fomentó a trabajar más lo que es la prevención en ese municipio de (name of municipality)?

[Interviewer: When there was coordination with the national civil police, you know...did their skills improve or were they encouraged to work harder on prevention in that municipality (name of municipality)?]

Entrevistada: Quizás eh...ah...a la Policía Nacional Civil y quizás por... por los tiempos que ellos manejan tuvieron lo...no tuvieron no pusieron el tiempo para que elementos de la... del... del... de la PNC por ejemplo se capacitaran en todos estos cursos. De ahí hubo la ODAC. Se les capa...se les...se les capacitó y se les entregó la oficina de atención ciudadana que ahí sólo estuvo uno, una persona nada más que llegaba esporádicamente a la...a la conformación de la ODAC. De ahí por ejemplo han estado participando en...capacitaciones eh... pero no ha sido permanente entonces ahí yo creo que...es más el tiempo la disponibilidad que han tenido la PNC porque tienen que asignar día... días entonces para ellos implicaba.

[Interviewee: Perhaps, you know, uh, the National Civil Police and perhaps because of the occasions that they were managing, they had...no, they didn't have they didn't put in

the time so that the elements of the, of the, of the, of the PNC, for example, they were all trained in those courses. From there we got the ODAC. They were trai...they were...they were trained and were sent to the office of citizen assistance; there was one, exactly one person who went there sporadically as...as ODAC had requested. And then, for example, they have been participating in...trainings, you know...but it isn't permanent. So I think that...it's more a question of the PNC's available time because they have to assign da...days which has some implications.]

...

Entrevistador: ¿En su opinión cual de los proyectos o actividades de las que se llevaron a cabo fueron las que mayor éxito tuvieron para disuadir que los niños los jóvenes no se afiliaran o no se agruparan en pandillas o maras en estas comunidades cuales cree que son las actividades que más impacto tuvieron en las comunidades?

[Interviewer: In your opinion, which of the projects or activities which were carried out were the most successful in dissuading children and young people from joining gangs in these communities? Which activities do you think had the greatest impact in the communities?]

Entrevistada: Am...

[Interviewee: Umm...]

Entrevistador: ¿Las que usted recuerde que me puede decir?

[Interviewer: Could you tell me about the ones you remember?]

Entrevistada: ¿Sería de este año, verdad?

[Interviewee: Do you mean the ones this year?]

Entrevistador: ¿Eh...podrían ser de este año o a nivel del año pasado o de éste?

[Interviewer: Well, they could be this year's or last year's.]

Entrevistada: Qué difícil me la...

[Interviewee: This is really difficult...]

Entrevistador: Ja...ja...

[Interviewer: Ha ha...]

Entrevistada: Me tengo que acordar de las diez, no así como una...una...lo de exitosa es como una palabra muy... no sé cómo decirle.

[Interviewer: I have to remember all ten of them, not just one...one... that word "successful" is a word that's very...I don't know how to explain it.]

Entrevistador: ¿Muy medida ya que necesito un nivel de evaluación me imagino?

[Interviewer: Quite measured since I imagine that I need some type of evaluation?]

Entrevistada: Sí tal vez no exitosa, pero que se...valora como...como un aporte verdad, un aporte a nivel comunitario. Quizás es una parte fueron los talleres de artes escénicas que las y los jóvenes encontraron un espacio verdad para pertenecer a esos grupos. Las batucadas, por ejemplo, como una utilización adecuada del tiempo libre, sentirse que ahí eran... apoyados o entendidos. Eso es como una... una... buena experi... yo digo como una buena experiencia, una práctica, una buena experiencia para lo de los talleres de artes escénicas verdad, porque la gen...las y los jóvenes se siente atraídos por la parte del arte. Eh... cuestiones más que formativas les llama más la atención. Están más ocupados pasan más entretenidos eh... conocieron a otras... estuvieron en contacto con otras...otras habilidades. Tal vez el arte, tal vez ellos en sí mismo el... el... el... que están más abiertos eh... ya no eran más tímidos, desarrollaron otras expresiones, habilidades. Quizás eh... no sé... yo no podría valorar por ejemplo el trabajo de FUMPRES porque es muy o sea hacer una valoración así como puede ser a trave...o que lo digan las... los docentes por ejemplo que tuvieron más cerca del...del...programa: sí les pareció no les pareció, sí les ayudó, no les ayudó, porque yo tengo...tengo...mis valoraciones personales que eh...son más objetivas. No podría decir FUMPRES verdad eh...cual otra está así a bueno, algo que quizás que yo valoro como positivo que tal vez es la principal. Es que son especializados de docentes y haya sido pocas personas beneficiarias, vea. Creo que... fue interesante que las y los docentes que son personas claves y que son los que formadores, verdad, los que tienen la parte del curriculum oculto y que modelan los niños y las niñas, se darán cuenta de su trabajo del marco...del marco referente de prevención de la violencia y cultura de paz por ejemplo. Escuchar en esos talleres que...habiendo que desconocían de las leyes juveniles, vea, o que desconocían acoso sexual, de tantos delitos o sea que se... que se dieran cuenta verdad que son los principales que están permitiendo o que no están corrigiendo dentro de los centros educativos. Y por ejemplo en la hay algunos...algunos que participaron en la metodología de escuelas de madres y padres, vea, como están capacitados los y las docentes con herramientas metodológicas de contenido, para mí eso fue una experiencia. Lástima que el grupo no...no...o sea que no aprovecharon las y los docentes porque son claros a veces los principales...los principales personas son las adultas que están ejerciendo violencia dentro de los centros educativos. A mí, por ejemplo, a mí...como yo he...estado en varias actividades, verdad, el escuchar de una docente que no ve acoso sexual, que hay un... un niño le está tocan...le...le...pasa tocando eh...si pasa le pasa tocando...una niña lo ve tan normal o sea que vean tan normalizada la violencia y que a través de eso se den cuenta de que tienen que...de que tienen que... no tienen que ir permitiendo que tienen que ir a través de docencia también, vea, porque son los prin... son claves y principales, verdad. Quizás el taller de...de...de lo de FUMPRES yo sí tengo mis reservas por la cuestión subjetiva y personal, verdad, de qué y cómo se miden los cambios de actitud, vea. Pero hay que hacer todo un estudio para poder dar valoraciones mucho más objetivas y quizás por ejemplo hay experiencias eh... de buenas prácticas. Por ejemplo lo de la (name of treatment community) la construcción, no la construcción en sí misma sino que por ejemplo lo que permitió esa metodología y de vida mutua que por ejemplo ahora en esta casa comunal que se construyó partic...se hacen muchas acciones de prevención o se articulan o se organizan y han involucrado a la escuela, han involucrado ah...por ejemplo alguien que llega de la unidad de salud escuela... la parte de comité de deportes, la junta directiva. Por eso es una experiencia, una buena práctica que yo he visto, al menos lo he...visto en el caso de (name of community), en (name of community) como eh...que el proyecto es de construcción ayudó

a que se apropiaran del espacio, pero la metodología que utilizó en ese caso FUNDASAL, verdad, eso es como una experiencia.

[Interviewee: Yes, maybe not successful, but it's valued as ...a contribution, you see, a contribution to the community. Maybe in part it was the scenic art workshops that gave the young people a place to belong to those groups. The percussion bands, for example, as a good use of free time, so that that could feel that they were... supported or understood. It's like a...a good exper...I call it a good experience, a practice, a good experience those scenic art workshops were, you know, because peop...the young people feel drawn to art activities. You know...issues that are attractive for them rather than just educational. When they are busy they are engaged, you know. They became acquainted with other...they came in contact with other skills. Maybe art, maybe they themselves, the...the...the...they're more open, you see, not as shy as before, they developed the ability to express themselves and their skills. Maybe, you know, I don't know, I couldn't evaluate the work FUMPRES has done because it is very, I mean an evaluation like a...or what they say...the teachers, for example, that were most involved in the, in the program" if they thought so or didn't think so, if it helped them or didn't help them, because I have...I have my personal evaluations that, you know, are more objective. I couldn't say FUMPRES, you know, right, which other is that good, something that perhaps I see as positive, which is maybe the most important thing. They specialize in teachers and there are few who benefit, you see. I think that...it was interesting that the male and female teachers are key people and that they are the instructors, you know, the ones who carry out the part of the hidden curriculum and are models for the boys and girls; they'll realize that they're working within the context of prevention of violence and culture and peace, for example. In those workshops, hearing that...not knowing anything about juvenile law, you see, or not knowing anything about sexual harassment, about so many crime, I mean, to realize, you know, that it is the school directors that are allowing this or not correcting this in their educational centers. And, for example, there are some, some who participated in the methodology of the schools for parents, you see, how these teachers are trained with methodological tools of content, for me that was quite an experience. It's a shame that the group didn't...didn't, I mean, take advantage of the teachers because they were clear that sometime the directors...the directors are the adults that are acting violently in the schools. To me, for example, to me...since I have...been in several activities, you know, hearing from a teacher who doesn't see any sexual harassment, when there is a child who is being touched...he's...he's always being fondled, you know...you see a little girl who thinks that this is perfectly normal, I mean, that they see violence as such a normal thing and that by means of that they realize that they have to...that they have to...they can't be allowing this, that they have to go through the teachers too, you see, because they are the mai...they are the key and the main actors, you know. Maybe the FUMPRES workshop...I do have me reservations about the personal and subjective issues, you know, from what and how they measure attitude changes, you see. But a whole study has to be done to be able to provide much more objective evaluations, and maybe, for example, there are experiences, you know, of good practices. For example, the issue of (name of treatment community) the construction, no, not the construction itself but rather that, for example, what that methodology allowed and living together that, for example, now in this communal house that was built espe...they do a lot of preventive actions or they are articulated or they are organized and have involved the schools, they have involved, uh, for example, someone who goes to the school health unit...or the sports committee, the board of directors. That's why it is an experience, a good practice that I have seen, at least I have...seen it in the case of (name of community) in (name of town) like, uh, that it is a construction project that helped expropriate the land

for it, but the methodology that was used, in that case it was FUNDASAL, you know, that was like an experience.]

.....

Entrevistador: ¿Qué recomendaciones eh... haría usted en cuanto a mejorar esos proyectos en esas comunidades a nivel de municipio?

[Interviewer: What recommendations, you know, would you make regarding the improvement of those projects in those communities at the level of the municipality?]

Entrevistada: ¿Qué recomendaciones?

[Interviewee: Which recommendations?]

Entrevistador: ¿En este caso pues de por el tipo de trabajo que se venía desarrollando a lo largo de estos años y que usted estaba al tanto, verdad, de esto en algún momento usted tuvo alguna idea de cómo poder mejorar ese trabajo que pudiera...?

[Interviewer: Meaning, in view of the kind of work being done over the years and of which you were aware, yes? at any time did you have any idea of how to improve the work that could...?]

Entrevistada: Quizás uno de los...

[Interviewee: Maybe one of the...]

Entrevistador: ¿Oh...por menos sugerido verdad?

[Interviewer: Oh, at least something that was suggested, yes?]

Entrevistada: Ajá...

[Interviewee: Oh, now I see...]

Entrevistador: ¿O...recomendar?

[Interviewer: Or recommend?]

Entrevistada: Quizás una de las cuestiones el tiempo de evaluación de proyectos de ahí realmente, este, realmente previo a seleccionar la comunidad conocer cuáles son los factores o las... más bien las condiciones que pueden garantizar, este, que un proyecto un poco para garantizar la sostenibilidad de ese proyecto, verdad. Eh...las condiciones previas que debería de tener la comunidad o el centro educativo o el espacio de intervención, porque yo creo que no realmente toda esa comunidad no todas esa comunidad estaría organización comunitaria o sea creo que se debió escoger o sea tal vez poner más condiciones, verdad, para...para... para... que... para que esos proyectos tuvieran un mayor desarrollo, sobre todo para la sostenibilidad. Eso es otra cosa. Es ver lo de los proyectos realmente ver proyectos donde... donde se está trabajando en la sostenibilidad y por eso lo del tiempo se necesita uno, dos años o tres años para que un proyecto realmente funcione, porque es que lo que pasa es que la ONG entra, lo ejecuta, y se va y la... y la comunidad ya no continúa con algo de ahí, de buscar una parte de la organización comunitaria, sobre todo la juvenil. Y ahí, este, no sé qué recomendación realmente tiene que ser eh...

[Interviewee: Perhaps one of the issues is the evaluation period for the projects, really, uh, really, before choosing the community, you need to know what factors or the...I mean the conditions that can guarantee, uh, that a project, a little to guarantee the sustainability of that project, you see? You know...the conditions a community, or an educational center needs to have, or the intervention time because I think that really not the whole community, not all those communities would be have a community organization, I mean, I think that a choice should have been made, in other words, maybe set more conditions, you know, so that...so that...so that...so that those projects could be more fully developed, above all for their sustainability. That's another thing, to see if the projects, really see project where...where sustainability is being worked on and for that reason the time needed is on, two year, three years for a project to really function because it this is what happens: the NGO comes in, puts it together and they leave. And the...the community doesn't follow up with something, trying for community organization, most of all for youth. And so, uh, I don't know what kind of recommendation is really has to be, you see...]

Entrevistador: ¿A nivel municipal?

[Interviewer: At the municipal level?]

Entrevistada: A nivel municipal...a nivel municipal igual por ejemplo la ausencia de voluntad política sí hace tener siempre a ser una...ver las condiciones previas porque sí van a haber muchos obstáculos de la alcaldía es mejor no... no continuar porque no...no hay una muestra real de querer trabajar realmente y trabajar de manera concertada, promoviendo la participación ciudadana. Yo creo que habría que tenerse un tiempo prudencial para... para... conocer eh... el funcionamiento de la alcaldía, verdad, no a puras entrevistas porque siempre la alcaldía, o sea buscar otras formas o medios para el municipio, verdad, conocer un poco también cuáles son sus planes estratégicos a nivel municipal, planes de desarrollo para ver sí por ejemplo el tema...tema...el tema que se...quiera intervenir ahí hay una propuesta entonces habría que dar un poco más, no escogerlo así muy a la rápida. Las... los municipios, las...alcaldías estoy pensando vea...poner más condiciones a la hora de los... de los convenios aunque sea el autor clave la alcaldía. Por ejemplo hasta...hasta donde también poner sí incumple la alcaldía poner...poner sanciones. O sea yo creo que eso faltó un poco vea... porque controlaron a su manera y al final este... la cooperación o sea no se le dio. Se le reforzó más la conducta y no se le puso un límite. Le confrontó a la alcaldía pero es como, mire la cooperación trabaja así. Era como real...realmente era así se debía de haber sentado un precedente con las alcaldías y hacer tan como rendirle pleitesía.

[Interviewee: At the municipal level...at the municipal level it was the same, for example, the absence of political will always makes there be...you need to see the prior conditions because if there are going to be a lot of obstacles from the mayor's office, it's better not to...not to continue because there's no...there's no actual model of really wanting to work, and work in a concerted way, promoting citizen participation. I think that there needs to be a reasonable amount of time to...to...learn, you know, the workings of the mayor's office, you see, also to become familiar with their strategic plans at the municipal level, their development plans, to see if, for example the topic...the topic...the topic that...we want to get into. If there's a proposal that we'll have to ponder it a little more, not just select it too fast. The...the municipalities, the...mayor's offices, I'm thinking, you see,...put in more clauses when the...when the agreements are made, even if the principal actor is

the mayor's office. For example, even...even to the extent of establishing that if the mayor's office reneges, there will be sanctions. In other words, I think that was lacking a bit, you see...because they controlled things their way, and in the end....uh, they didn't get the cooperation they needed. Their behavior was reinforced and no limits were set. The mayor's office was confronted, but it's like, like, this is the way cooperation works. It was real...really like a standard should have been set with the mayors' offices and not be bowing down to them.]

Entrevistador: ¿En algún momento el factor financiamiento fue un obstáculo para poder desempeñar algún tipo de actividad que se tuvo en mente o se planificó y no se pudo ejecutar?

[Interviewer: At any time was the financing issue an obstacle to carrying out some type of activity that you had in mind to do or had been planned and was not able to be carried out?]

Entrevistada: Yo creo que no...no por la parte financiera no porque (municipality) ha sido uno de los que más... creo que más de medio millón, sí sumamos unos setecientos mil estos dos años. Quizás ahí... más que financiamiento fue que no... por esa misma autonomía del comité verdad no aprendieron a darle seguimiento a los proyectos. No... no... más le dio seguimiento a la alcaldía pero no la gente del comité y de ahí por ejemplo la parte de ir pensando cómo formulan proyectos creo que faltó trabajar esa sostenibilidad. No sé. Mire, eso que tantas cosas que sí creo que ahí me quedaría.

[Interviewee: I don't think so...not due to the funding aspect, no because (municipality) has been one of the ones that most...I think more than half a million if we add about seven hundred thousand from these two years. Perhaps there...more than funding it was that...because of the committee's autonomy, you see, they didn't learn to follow up on the projects. No...no...they followed up more with the mayor's office but not with the people on the committee and from there, for example, the factor of giving thought on how the projects are drawn up, I think that the sustainability should have been worked on more.]

An interview with another RTI regional coordinator, in which she expressed very positive views regarding the success of its program, pointed out a serious problem that had been noted by the other RTI coordinator: that the mayor's office had placed barriers in front of them, obstacles that made their work more difficult than it would have been otherwise. She referred to the "resistance" that had come from the municipal government, which slowed down their progress in getting the programs off the ground.

One insight into how the municipalities are seen as creating obstacles to the success of the Outreach Centers comes from a community police officer. He said (see below) that the municipality's authorization of the placement of a beer brewery/bar two-hundred meters away from an Outreach Center was a serious mistake, and demonstrated total lack of concern for the impact that this would have on the youths who were making use of the Center. This bar allows dancing in addition to the sale of alcohol, and has attracted single women in addition to men. This police officer complained that people are drinking until 1:00, 2:00 in the morning, and that he would like this bar to be shut down, because there is no logic to placing it in such proximity to an Outreach Center, where prevention efforts stress the dangers of alcohol and drug consumption.

Entrevistador: ¿Qué les parece a ustedes este tipo de proyectos como los Centros de Alcance?

[Interviewer: What do all of you think of about think about project of this type, like Outreach Centers?]

Policía: No, bien fabuloso pero, pero sí, tendría que ser un poco más serio porque nosotros por ejemplo tenemos Centro de Alcance en ..., pero as-, 200 metros de ahí, autorizaron un chupadero, una cervecería que ahí, a altas horas de la noche cipotes tomando, gran bu-, estridente entonces ahí es donde nosotros decimos “No tiene lógica” pues autorizar pues y tener Centro de Alcance que a los jóvenes se les está previniendo sobre drogas sobre alcohol sobre pandillas, y a las 2 cuadras es-, autorizaron ese chupadero pero ahí es cuestión de la Alcaldía ¿Va? Es situación de ellos, en donde nosotros no, no estamos de acuerdo y yo soy uno yo ya tuve dos enfrentamientos con estas personas y ya les dije, que si siguen con esta actitud de que permiten jóvenes menores de edad adentro, ingiriendo bebidas alcohólicas, se pasan de la hora establecida de lo que son las 10 de la noche, hasta ahí no más pero a veces a la 1 a las 2 de la mañana la gente armando la gran bulla, yo ya les dije que la próxima vez lo que voy a hacer es ir para el CAM voy a traer dos inspectores de-de-del CAM y, que les cierran el negocio. Pero como ahí hay gente siempre pudiente ¿Verdad? El dinero y todo ahí sale un señor que habla solo de dinero, y qué, problema ahí hombre, pero nosotros en lo-en nos interesa mantener tranquila la comunidad y esos factores para nosotros son factores de riesgo, lugares donde hay maquinitas, cervecerías, tiendas ventas de droga, y nos vienen a poner ese negocio ahí que hasta mujeres bailan o sea, para los jóvenes ahorita como está la situación no es adecuado, y el lugar también no es adecuado.

[Police Officer: No, really fabulous, but, but, yes, it would have to be a little more serious because we, for example, have an Outreach Center in ..., but about—200 meters from the center—a bar was authorized to operate. It’s a beer place where young kids drink late at night, very noisy—raucous. We say that this, “doesn’t make any sense” because allowing that and having an Outreach Center where they are trying to prevent youngsters from getting into drugs and alcohol, from joining gangs, and two blocks away they allow a bar to operate. But that’s a matter for the mayor’s office, you know? It’s their problem, and we don’t, we disagree with this. And I’m someone who, I already had two confrontations with those people, and I told them that if their position of letting young kids in, minors, to drink alcoholic beverages and letting them stay there past closing time which is 10 pm, but as late as one or two a.m. there are people there making a big ruckus. I have told them that the next time what I’m going to do is go to the CAM and bring two inspectors from, from, from the CAM to shut down the business. But since there are always well-heeled people involved, you know, the money and everything, there’s a man there who talks about nothing but money and what’s the problem, man? But we, what we’re after is to keep the community peaceful, and those things are risk factors for us: places where there are game machines, beer joints, places where drugs are sold, they come and put that kind of business there—they even have women who dance. So for the young people right now, this is not a good situation, and neither is the location.]

Coordinadora RTI

Entrevistador: Si usted hubiese podido hacer algunos cambios para mejorar los proyectos, ¿qué cambios hubiera llevado a cabo?

[Interviewer: If you had been able to make some changes in order to improve the projects, which ones would you have made?]

Coordinadora: ¿Eh con los siete proyectos?

[Coordinator: Um, with all seven projects?]

Entrevistador: Puede ser con los proyectos o el trabajo que se desempeñó en general.

[Interviewer: It could be all the projects or the work performed in general.]

Coordinadora: Bueno yo lo siento un poco difícil porque no habría cambios, haber quizá mayor involucramiento desde el inicio. Quizá ése hubiera sido el cambio que yo hubiera hecho. Todo funcionó bien este año a nivel de la municipalidad, a nivel de las comunidades, a nivel del Consejo de Prevención. Los proyectos: quizás el único cambio arrancar desde enero-febrero que hicimos el ejercicio con todas estas mismas condiciones—siempre habían como condiciones al inicio de año adversas, verdad, poquito de resistencia de la alcaldía. Ese es el único cambio que yo le hubiera hecho: haber dejado las condiciones desde el año pasado para arrancar bien enero, pero eso tampoco fue una limitante. Ese sería como el único cambio que yo le haría.

[Coordinator: Well, I feel that it's a bit difficult because there wouldn't be any changes, perhaps to have greater involvement from the very beginning. Perhaps that is a change that I would have made. Everything worked well this year at the level of the municipality, at the community level, and at the level of the Prevention Council. The projects: perhaps the only change would be to get going starting in January-February when we did the exercise with all the same conditions—there were always difficult conditions at the beginning of the year, you know, a bit of resistance from the mayor's office. That the only change that I would have made: to have kept the conditions from last year to have a good start in January, but that wasn't a limitation either. That might be the only change I'd make.]

Entrevistador: Lecciones aprendidas con el RTI con el trabajo que se desempeñó con el trabajo que se realizó en el municipio y de alguna manera que ustedes pudieron formar parte cuales puede mencionar que fueron más significativas, en cada lugar pues se aprende algo nuevo.

[Interviewer: Lessons learned with the RTI with the work performed, with the work done in the municipality and in some way that you all could have been a part of, which could you mention that were the most significant; every place you go, you learn something new.]

Coordinadora: Yo creo que una de las lecciones aprendidas para nosotros eh a nivel de municipalidad y sobre todo el tema de (name of municipality) es sentar precedente de cómo hacer el trabajo de forma coordinada en el que la alcaldía no presente obstáculos, entonces como que la lección nuestra es sentar precedente de cuál es el rol que debe jugar la alcaldía claro nosotros lo ponemos en los convenios, ellos lo saben, nosotros se los decimos pero como se juegan voluntades políticas, como se juegan personalidades propias

de los referentes municipales de los concejales que alguna vez se metieron en el proceso. A pesar de todos esos inconvenientes que tuvimos ciento que siempre hay que sentar precedente para fijar postura, verdad, de decirle va a trabajar de esta forma en la que pide el proyecto o retirémonos del municipio. En (name of municipality) ésa fue una de las máximas lecciones aprendidas. Ahora quizás otra de las lecciones puede ser el tema que es importante el tema de formar sinergias, tanto con las instituciones locales como con la municipalidad que es como el referente o el líder de esto verdad esa.

[Coordinator: I think that one of the lessons learned for us, you know, at the municipal level, and above all, on the topic of (municipality) is setting standards regarding how to carry out the work in a coordinated way such that the mayor's office doesn't feel the need to interfere. So our lesson is the set standards which determine the role that the mayor's office plays. Of course we put this in the agreements, and they know it, we tell them this, but there are political egos involved, how the individual personalities play in the municipal models of the council members who sometimes insert themselves into the process. In spite of all those issues we had, I feel that we have to set standards to establish our position, you see, to be able to say that this how we're going to work the way the project requires, or we'll get out of the municipality. In (municipality) that was one the greatest lessons learned. Now perhaps another lesson would be the important topic of establishing synergies, with local institutions as well as the municipality which is like the model or the leader of this, you see.]

Conclusions

I. Main Findings

Two main approaches have been taken to reducing the levels of criminal violence in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. The first and most widely used, has been to “get tough on crime,” widely referred to in the region as “*mano dura*” (iron fist) and “*super mano dura*.” Since the application of this approach has been broad, while, for the most part criminal violence has either increased or not diminished, it is difficult to find hard empirical evidence that *mano dura* has worked. The second, newer and largely untested approach has been community¹-based violence prevention, of which the CARSi program in El Salvador that is the subject of this report, is an example. This report presents the first systematic, longitudinal, treatment/control “gold standard” impact evaluation of the CARSi El Salvador community-based violence prevention program.

To summarize the main finding of this impact evaluation of the CARSi community intervention programs in El Salvador, *we conclude that in several key respects the programs have been a success. Specifically, the outcomes in the treatment communities improved more (or declined less) than they would have if USAID’s programs had not been administered.* We base this conclusion on the direct evidence we have from the survey data among more than 8,800 respondents living in 41 neighborhoods and supplemented by the qualitative stakeholder interviews. Among our specific key quantitative findings in support of the overall conclusion, as found by our analysis of answers provided to us by the respondents in the three waves of our survey in the treated and control communities, we observe the following:

(1) Significant reduction in the expected level of crime victimization and violence:

- 25% fewer reported occurrences of robberies than would be expected without treatment
- 36% fewer reported cases of illegal drug sales than would be expected without treatment
- 52% fewer reported cases of extortion and blackmail than would be expected without treatment
- 40% fewer reported occurrences of murders than would be expected without treatment

(2) Significant increase in the expected level of citizens’ sense of security:

- Perception of neighborhood insecurity declined 17% more than would be expected without treatment
- Perception of insecurity when walking alone at night declined 13% more than would be expected without treatment

(3) Significant decline in the perception of neighborhood disorder (including youth vulnerability to crime and gang activity)

- Perception of youth loitering as a problem declined 8% more than would be expected without treatment

¹ Throughout this report, the term “community” is used interchangeably with “neighborhood.”

- Perception of youth in gangs as a problem declined 14% more than would be expected without treatment
- Perception of gang fights as a problem declined 12% more than would be expected without treatment

(4) Social control of disorder has improved significantly over the expected level:

- Residents are 40% less significantly likely to avoid dangerous areas of the neighborhood because of fear of crime than would be expected without treatment
- Perception that the community is organized to prevent crime increased 18% more than would be expected without treatment

(5) Satisfaction with police performance has increased significantly over the expected level:

- Satisfaction with police performance increased 11% more than would be expected without treatment

(6) Indirect effects in strengthening democratic values have increased significantly over the expected level:

- 11% greater interpersonal trust levels within neighborhoods than would be expected without treatment
- 8% more satisfaction with the functioning of democracy than would be expected without treatment
- Perceptions of government security efforts and police performance increased 8% more than expected without treatment

As noted, the study included information not only at the individual level, but at the community, i.e., contextual level. We found that the context in which the treatment was administered was related to the effectiveness of the treatment in some cases. In particular, the effectiveness of the treatment in lowering reports of robberies, murder, and youth loitering was enhanced in the presence of Catholic (but not Evangelical) churches in the community. These differences relate only to the physical presence of these churches and not to the intensity of activity or nature of the clergy itself, a factor we could not measure in with our neighborhood-level context data base.

In addition, the presence of schools in the community increased the effectiveness of the treatment on murders, youth loitering, and youth in gangs. However, these context effects were few and limited, suggesting that impact was a generalized phenomenon, not limited to one contextual condition or another.

While the qualitative findings are presented in the body of the report below in an integrated fashion along with the quantitative findings, we signal here some of the key unique findings that emerged from the qualitative interviews, ones that may be seen as having policy implications for USAID. These are:

11. A major factor associated with youth dropping out of school and joining violent gangs, according to many interviewees across all stakeholder groups, is what is universally

referred to as the “broken home” (“*la familia desintegrada*”). More concretely, single-parent households, typically matrifocal, are frequently characterized by having older children taking care of younger siblings so that the mother can leave the house for work. Under these conditions, the poorly cared for children all too-often end up joining gangs. We were told that the risk is especially high when the single-mother takes on a partner who is not the biological father of the children. Such a situation frequently, we were told, results in child abuse and/or intimate partner abuse, which then pushes the minor out of the house and into the arms of a gang. Our respondents told us repeatedly that gangs represent surrogate families for youths seeking friendship and protection.

12. There is widespread agreement among many of our stakeholders that the schools are playing an important role in crime prevention. Through the innovative Convivencia Escolar (School Harmony) program, and the institutionalization of various student leadership groups within the schools, along with the training of teachers and students in mediation and alternative conflict resolution, the schools are creating a better environment for at-risk youth. One improvement in the Salvadoran public school system is the reduction and/or elimination of home suspensions and the substitution of in-school penalties (e.g., assigning school maintenance work to such students) for students who have seriously violated school norms and regulations. Forcing the children to stay home, often in broken homes with no parents present, our stakeholders told us, is akin to throwing the kids into the proverbial “briar patch.” In schools that have the benefit of on-site psychologists, the in-school punishment has been transformed from the assignment of menial tasks to the administration of counseling. Many teachers and school administrators could not say enough good things about the role of school psychologists.
13. The previously widespread practice of expulsion from school (currently prohibited *de jure*, but which *de facto* continues on in practice), and subsequent transfer to a another school too far from the minor’s home to allow him/her to live with his/her parent(s), results in a further disintegration of home life for the child. The collateral damage of these *de facto* expulsions and transfers is that they frighten parents in the receiving schools. In instances of gang members, reassignment to a new school, we were told, often results in other students moving away from the school in which the gang members have been enrolled. Thus a vicious cycle of musical chairs begins, with well-behaved youths moving away from schools into which known gang members have been transferred. Furthermore, if the parents of the well-behaved children do not move with their offspring, then the latter also become separated from their nuclear families, producing additional second-order collateral damage.
14. Police officers who were interviewed in each of the three rounds consistently reported to us that it was no longer possible for gang members to dissociate themselves from their gangs. In El Salvador, police reported that the only way out of a gang is in a coffin. This, they told us, contrasts with the previous situation, in which gang members could exit the gangs by joining a church for safety. Often they were attracted to Evangelical churches, so much so, we were told, that there have been several cases of former gang members becoming Evangelical pastors. Some police officers interviewed, however, said that some of these reformed gang members now functioning as pastors continue to belong to their

gang, *sub-rosa*, and who continue to engage in illegal activities. As one police officer explained, a member never leaves a gang; even in middle age, when a gang member has a family and a regular job, they still are required to perform services for the gang (generally non-violent services, such as money-laundering).

15. Teachers whose schools have had the benefit of school-based, on-site psychologists (generally paid for, we were told, by USAID funds) were highly enthusiastic about the results of this new resource. As teachers have been trained to forego corporal punishment and substitute the use of psychological counseling and mediation for conflict resolution, they are seeing positive results in troubled youths. The teachers report that children and youths divulge child abuse and other problems to psychologists, which they had not been willing to do with their school teachers and directors, and that they see a marked change for the better in the behavior of many of these troubled students.
16. Many ADESCO (Community Development Association) leaders, a key element in violence prevention efforts, reported that they were willing to share intelligence with police officers only if they knew them personally and trusted them. For these leaders, the dedicated police hotlines were very useful for getting the authorities to show up when a crime is either in progress or is rumored to be in the planning, but only when the official answering the call was known to them.
17. The churches play an especially important role in crime and violence prevention. Their youth group programs, some of them funded by USAID, are seen as preventing youths from hanging out on street corners and getting them engaged in socially positive activities, some of them recreational (e.g., sports), some religious, and some empowering because they involve job training skills. Evangelical pastors were considered by our stakeholders to be especially active in reaching out to youth already in gangs, in an effort to get them out. They also often serve as mediators between warring gangs, in order to prevent bloodshed. In addition to pastors, we were told of “Christian police officers” (*policías cristianos*, also known as *capellanes*, or chaplains), who evangelize in the prisons. This is a crime prevention measure, as it tries to turn around gang members before they are released from prison. The Catholic Church was seen as being effective in reducing crime levels possibly because of its longstanding, well-established age-graded programs, beginning in early childhood and continuing into adulthood. Those who have gone through the various youth programs, we were told, end up being community leaders as young adults, and apparently they are more resistant to the lure of the gangs.
18. At-risk youth reported that of the various outreach center activities in which they have participated, the one that they found to be the most useful and valuable was vocational training. These youth saw training as their path to a good job and a more self-sufficient future.
19. The Municipal Councils for the Prevention of Violence and Crime are an innovative structure, one that we were told is supported by USAID. They appear to be successful in galvanizing the various stakeholding sectors of the targeted municipalities (specifically, the police, the school directors, the clergy, the community development association leaders

[ADESCO], and health service providers), by incorporating representatives of each sector on every council. These representatives, we were told, become the link between the municipality and the various communities that have been selected for the crime prevention treatment. They regularly report the Council's plans to community stakeholders, thereby involving them in the planning process. Indeed, the CARSI interventions, or treatments, were selected through input from the communities, by means of focus groups held with community leaders. Perhaps because of the corporatist nature of the composition of the municipal councils (that is, representation by the various stakeholding sectors enumerated above), to varying degrees, there is interaction and cooperation among the stakeholding groups at the community level.

20. It should not be forgotten that in a country that has only recently emerged from a brutal civil war, that everything, especially and including violence prevention, is a *political* process, as well as a “simply” technical one. Throughout the qualitative interviews reference is made to what appear to be partisan disagreements between violence prevention committees and the municipal leadership, especially the mayor. When elections result in an alteration in the party of the mayor, these disagreements can fracture relationships, resulting in weakening of implementation of violence prevention.

II. Policy Recommendations

General:

- The single most important recommendation emerging from this study is that community-based violence prevention programs should become a frontline weapon in reducing crime and violence, since, as this impact evaluation has shown, the programs work in El Salvador (at least in the communities where the impact evaluation was carried out, but there is no reason to believe that they would not work elsewhere).
- Deepening, broadening, and scaling-up these programs so that they can have an impact on the national level of crime and violence will be costly. However, the expense is trivial when compared to the cost in wasted lives, broken bodies and minds, and economic losses due to crime and violence, not to mention the budgetary and private costs of policing and private guard services, lost days of work, and the loss of potential members of the work force who have had to flee El Salvador to seek a secure life in another country.

Specific:

- Better coordination between the municipal governments and their violence prevention committees, on the one hand, and neighborhood-based actors on the other, needs to be achieved if the violence prevention programs are to be maximally effective.
- The Municipal Councils for the Prevention of Crime and Violence should have the representation and subcommittee participation of each at-risk community of the municipality, not merely selected ones. At present, typically only one or only a few school directors serve on the committee representing *all* schools in the municipality. However

there are many schools that must be represented, and similarly many pastors, each from different communities. It is difficult for the varying needs of each distinct neighborhood to be represented on the committee when there is no one from that neighborhood serving. The prevention programs of these councils need to be made available to all communities in need of them.

- Since broken homes are seen nearly universally as the root cause of the epidemic of crime and violence, expanded pre-school, after-school, weekend and summer vacation childcare (day care facilities subsidized by government and/or NGO funds) is urgently needed for children living in single-parent households.
- The widespread recognition of the value of school-based staff clinical psychologists supports an argument for broader coverage in elementary and secondary schools in at-risk communities. As far as is known, these clinical psychologists are present only in CARSI-supported schools. The CARSI research has found that on-site psychologists (both clinical and educational) are seen by school administrators and teachers as very effective agents in their work with troubled youths who would otherwise become prime targets for gang recruiters.
- Even though school expulsions are no longer officially allowed in El Salvador, *de facto* school expulsions still exist in the form of “transfers” which should not be tolerated except in unusual circumstances. Instead, whenever a student is identified as being highly problematic in his/her behavior, that student should be provided with all of the psychological, counseling and other support services that the school can make available. *De facto* school expulsions often lead to students dropping out of school entirely, which is an important causal element in the chain of events that leads to the youth joining gangs.
- Community leaders should be given the phone numbers and web address of dedicated police hotlines, to facilitate their access to the police. For leaders who do not trust such phone numbers, efforts should be made by the police to make the cell phone numbers of particular officers who are trusted by specific leaders available to them. Many leaders will not report crimes or provide intelligence to any police officer other than those they personally know and trust.
- More funds (governmental and non-governmental) need to be invested in church youth programs. These programs appear to be successful in drawing youth away from crime-oriented peer groups, and in some instances they offer one of the few alternatives to gangs.
- Far more resources need to be put into school security, primarily in the form of police protection at the entrances of elementary and secondary schools. Police guards are widely seen as effective in preventing gangs from lurking outside of schools and preying upon students (attempting either to subject them to extortion or to induce them to join the gangs). Since the LAPOP project was not tasked with doing an efficiency audit of the police and how they are deployed, it may be that more police officers could be tasked with patrolling the school environs. However, in our interviews the police themselves state flatly that they were already spread too thin.
- Evidence from the qualitative interviews repeatedly suggests that young people do not have the skill sets to deal with conflict in any way other than with violence. Yet, training in

conflict resolution and mediation was broadly seen as effective. Therefore it is recommended that this kind of training should be given to all school administrators and to as many schoolteachers as can be afforded. Even more importantly, perhaps, peer mediation should be taught in all schools, beginning in the early primary grades.

- Far more needs to be done in the schools to educate students regarding physical and sexual abuse in the home. This education might not only reduce the instances of teenage pregnancy, but it might also help students cope better with broken homes. Most importantly, children might stay at home, rather than leaving, joining gangs and/or migrating to the North.
- Expanded summer recreational programs (such as *Verano Feliz*) should be provided, either through the National Civil Police, as they have been in the past, or through the Ministry of Education.
- Considerable education already goes on at the community level through various USAID-supported programs, especially in the Outreach Centers that have been established in the CARSI-treated communities. However, there are concerns that the level of the courses being offered, largely taught by volunteers who have little or no pedagogical training and who have limited skill sets, is often too low for the career aspirations of the young people in the CARSI neighborhoods. Vocational courses for at-risk youth should include much more white-collar job training (especially computer literacy). Such courses need to go beyond beginning level competence, to include advanced proficiency.
- Workshops and courses geared toward at-risk youth must not be limited to traditional, gender-stereotyped skills such as car repairs, electrical repairs, beauty salon work, baking, and sewing. Courses of this nature are a reminder of the post-Civil War training many combatants received (e.g., vegetable garden farming), which often proved ineffectual in providing skill sets that were applicable within the opportunity structure of the rapidly urbanizing and modernizing Salvadoran economy. For some students with low ambition and cognitive abilities, training to work in a beauty salon might be effective, but for most students higher levels of courses need to be developed and taught. This may sound idealistic, but world-wide those with limited skill-sets are losing ground in employment and pay to those with higher-level skills. Youths in El Salvador with sufficient training could, for example, begin to develop computer apps, or work for software firms that are developing such apps.
- Students in workshops and courses are rightly demanding certificates of completion so that they can have a valid work credential attesting to the skill-sets they have acquired. If a young Salvadoran successfully completes a 90-hour course in computer or auto repair, they should be offered the official credential that would allow them to market that newly acquired skill.

The context in which the treatment was administered was related to the effectiveness of the treatment in some cases. In particular, the effectiveness of the treatment in lowering reports of robberies, murder, and youth loitering was enhanced in the presence of Catholic churches in the community. In addition, schools in the community increased the effectiveness of the treatment on murders, youth loitering, and youth in gangs.

The treatment was also able to counteract some of the pernicious effects of poor neighborhood context. Where there was general social disorder on the block, the treatment was able to stem the otherwise strong tendency for disorder to increase the likelihood of reported murders. Likewise, physical disorder at the block-level in non-treated neighborhoods is associated with more reported problems of youth loitering and youth in gangs. Where the treatment was implemented, this relationship was reversed, improving outcomes in the community with even high levels of physical disorder.

In most cases, the quantitative results of the effectiveness of USAID's crime prevention programs in treatment communities were supported by qualitative data, as evidenced by the following quote by a community leader:

"...hemos sentido paz, alivio porque, porque no se ha visto digamos que, que haiga habido asesinato o que quieran obligar a los jóvenes a introducirse a sus grupos, he sentido yo, se siente una paz vea, porque se ve que el joven también, más que todo, con todo lo que ha habido en la organización y las ONGS que han venido a capacitar a la, a la juventud, eh, todo eso siento yo, que ha ayudado bastante, porque el joven ya está entretenido, en su mente como que ya está cambiando va."

Translation ["... we felt peace, relief that, because they say it has been seen that there were murders or they want to force young people to enter their groups, I feel peace you see, because we can see that the youth, too, above all, with all that has been in the organization and NGOs that have come to train, the youth, uh, all that I feel, that has helped a lot, because the youth is entertained—their minds, are like they are changing."]

—Community Leader from [name of community redacted]

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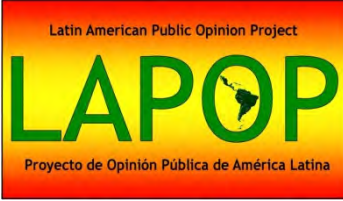
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Appendixes

Appendix A: Individual Level Questionnaire

LAPOP estudio de comunidades en Centroamérica Core Spanish Version # 21 IRB Approval: 091357

 USAID FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE	 B&A Borge y Asociados
 Latin American Public Opinion Project LAPOP Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina	 AmericasBarometer Barómetro de las Américas by LAPOP www.AmericasBarometer.org
 VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY	

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PAIS.	03. El Salvador	☐ ☐
IDNUM. Número de cuestionario [asignado en la oficina]	_____	☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
PROV. Departamento : (1) La Libertad (2) Santa Ana		☐ ☐
MUNICIPIO. Nombre Municipio: (1) Chalchuapa (2) San Juan Opico (3) Santa Ana (4) Zaragoza		☐ ☐
NOMBAR. Nombre del Barrio/ Colonia/Comunidad	_____	
Manzana. Número de manzana	_____	☐ ☐
CUADRA. Número de cuadra dentro de la manzana o pasaje	_____	☐ ☐ ☐
NUMVIVI. NÚMERO DE LA VIVIENDA DENTRO DE LA MANZANA:	_____	☐ ☐
NUMHOGAR. NÚMERO DE ORDEN DEL HOGAR DENTRO DE LA VIVIENDA:	_____	☐ ☐

HORA. Hora de inicio: ____:____ AM PM

ATENCIÓN: ES UN REQUISITO LEER SIEMPRE LA HOJA DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO ANTES DE COMENZAR

Q1. Género [ANOTAR, NO PREGUNTE]: (1) Hombre (2) Mujer

LS3. Para comenzar, ¿en general, qué tan satisfecho(a) está con su vida? ¿Usted diría que se encuentra: [LEER ALTERNATIVAS]
 (1) Muy satisfecho(a) (2) Algo satisfecho(a) (3) Algo insatisfecho(a) (4) Muy insatisfecho(a)
 (88) NS (98) NR

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

Ahora para cada una de las siguientes asociaciones que le voy a mencionar, quiero que por favor me diga si actualmente es usted miembro y si participa en reuniones de estas asociaciones [Para cada una de las asociaciones primero preguntar si es miembro y, después, preguntar si participa en reuniones de esa asociación aun cuando NO sea miembro]										
	A. ¿Es usted miembro?				B. y diría usted que participa en reuniones					
	Sí	No	NS	NR	[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]					
					Una vez a la semana	Una o dos veces al mes	Una o dos veces al año	Nunca	NS	NR
CP6N. De un grupo religioso	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP7N. De una asociación educativa (de la escuela, colegio, instituto, o universidad)	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP8N. De un comité o junta de mejoras para la comunidad	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP9N. De una asociación de profesionales, comerciantes, productores, y/u organizaciones campesinas	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP13N. De un partido político	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP14N. De algún otro grupo o asociación voluntaria o comunitaria?	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98

[RECOGER TARJETA “A”]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “A”]

LS6. En esta tarjeta hay una escalera con gradas numeradas del cero al diez. El cero es la grada más baja y representa la peor vida posible para usted. El diez es la grada más alta y representa la mejor vida posible para usted.

¿En qué grada de la escalera se siente usted en estos momentos? **Por favor, escoja la grada que mejor represente su opinión.**

[Señale en la tarjeta el número que representa la “peor vida posible” y el que representa “la mejor vida posible”. Indíquelo a la persona entrevistada que puede seleccionar un número intermedio en la escala].

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “B”]

IT1B1. Ahora, usando la misma escalera, suponga que el cero, la grada más baja, significa **hay que tener mucho cuidado cuando uno trata con otras personas** y el diez, la grada más alta, significa que **se puede confiar en la mayoría de las personas**. ¿Qué piensa usted? Por favor escoja la grada que mejor represente su opinión. **[Señale el número en la tarjeta que representa “se puede confiar en la mayoría de las personas” y el que significa “ hay que tener mucho cuidado cuando uno trata con otras personas ”. Indíquelo a la persona entrevistada que puede seleccionar un número intermedio]**

[RECOGER TARJETA “B”]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “C”]

IT1B2. Ahora usando la misma escalera, suponga que el cero, la grada más baja, significa que la **mayoría de las personas sólo se preocupan de sí mismas** y el diez, la grada más alta, significa que la **mayoría de las personas tratan de ser serviciales**. ¿Qué piensa usted? Por favor escoja la grada que mejor represente su opinión.

[RECOGER TARJETA “C”]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “D”]

IT1B3. Ahora usando la misma escalera, suponga que el cero, la grada más baja, significa que la **mayoría de las personas tratarían de aprovecharse de usted** y el diez, la grada más alta, significa que la **mayoría de las personas tratarían de ser justas con usted**. ¿Qué piensa usted? Por favor escoja la grada que mejor represente su opinión.

[RECOGER TARJETA “D”]

A continuación me gustaría hacerle unas preguntas sobre **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**

IT1. Hablando de la gente de aquí, ¿diría que la gente de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** es: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

(1) Muy confiable (2) Algo confiable (3) Poco confiable (4) Nada confiable (88) NS (98) NR

SOCTIE1. ¿Nació usted aquí en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**?

(1) Sí **[Pase a SOCTIE3]** (2) No **[Siga]** (88) NS **[Pase a SOCTIE3]** (98) NR **[Pase a SOCTIE3]**

SOCTIE2. ¿En qué año se vino a vivir aquí? **[Si el entrevistado no recuerda, sondee: me podría decir más o menos en qué año]**

Año **[Cuatro dígitos]** | | | | (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

SOCTIE3. ¿Aparte de las personas que viven en su casa, tiene otros familiares que viven aquí en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**?

(1) Sí (2) No **[Pase a SOCTIE5]** (88) NS **[Pase a SOCTIE5]** (98) NR **[Pase a SOCTIE5]**

SOCTIE4. Sin contar a los que viven en su casa, ¿me podría decir cuántos de sus familiares viven en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** **[Sondee: "me podría decir más o menos cuántos"]** _____

(888) NS (988) NR (999) INAP

SOCTIE5. Sin incluir a sus familiares, ¿cuántos vecinos adultos conoce usted por su nombre en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? Diría usted que... **[Leer alternativas]**

(1) A ninguno **[Pase a SOCTIE7]**

(2) A pocos **[Siga]**

(3) A muchos **[Siga]**

(4) A casi todos **[Siga]**

(5) A todos **[Siga]**

(88) NS (98) NR

SOCTIE6. Sin tomar en cuenta a sus familiares, aproximadamente, ¿cuántos amigos tiene usted que viven en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? **[NO LEER ALTERNATIVAS]** **[Sondee: "me podría decir más o menos cuántos"]**

(1) Ninguno

(2) Entre 1 y 2

(3) Entre 3 y 5

(4) Entre 6 y 10

(5) Entre 11 y 20

(6) Más de 20

(88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

SOCTIE7. Hablando en general de los vecinos adultos que usted conoce, ¿aproximadamente con qué frecuencia habla con ellos? **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

(1) Todos los días

(2) Algunas veces a la semana

(3) Algunas veces al mes

(4) Algunas veces al año

(5) Nunca

(88) NS (98) NR (99) Inap

SOCTIE8. En general, diría usted que **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** es **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]** :

(1) Un lugar **muy bueno** para vivir

(2) Un lugar **bueno** para vivir

(3) **[No leer; espontánea: ni bueno, ni malo]**

(4) Un lugar **malo** para vivir, o

(5) Un lugar **muy malo** para vivir

(88) NS (98) NR

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

A4C. En su opinión ¿cuál es el problema más grave que enfrenta [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]? [NO LEER ALTERNATIVAS; SÓLO UNA OPCIÓN]			<input style="width: 20px; height: 20px;" type="checkbox"/>
Agua, falta de	19	Medio ambiente/Basura en las calles	10
Areas de recreación, falta de	71	Migración	16
Areas de recreación, mal estado	72	Narcotráfico	12
Balaceras o tiroteos	74	No hay problemas	73
Caminos/vías en mal estado	18	Pandillas/Maras	14
Corrupción	13	Pobreza	04
Delincuencia, crimen	05	Protestas populares (huelgas, cierre de carreteras, paros, etc.)	06
Desempleo/falta de empleo	03	Salud, falta de servicio	22
Desigualdad	58	Secuestro	31
Desnutrición	23	Seguridad (falta de)	27
Desplazamiento forzado	32	Tierra para cultivar, falta de	07
Discriminación	25	Transporte, problemas con el	60
Consumo de drogas	11	Violencia	57
Economía, problemas con, crisis de	01	Vivienda, malas condiciones	55
Educación, falta de, mala calidad	21	Otro	70
Electricidad, falta de	24	NS	88
Explosión demográfica/sobre población/hacinamiento	20	NR	98
Drenajes, falta de (no hay tuberías)	75		

Ahora, le voy a leer algunas frases acerca de cosas que las personas en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] pueden o no hacer. Para cada una de estas frases, por favor dígame si usted está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo. **[Repita después de cada pregunta “muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo” para ayudar al entrevistado]**

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo	NS	NR
SOCO1. La primera frase dice...cuando hay un problema en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] , los vecinos suelen organizarse para tratar de resolverlo. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO2. [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] es un barrio unido. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO3. La gente de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] está dispuesta a ayudar a sus vecinos. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO4. Generalmente, los vecinos de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] se llevan unos con otros. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO6. Sus vecinos suelen echarle un ojo a su casa cuando no hay nadie. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO7. Los vecinos de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] comparten los mismos valores. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO8. Usted puede confiar en los vecinos de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] . ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO11. Usted siente temor o desconfianza cuando tiene que tratar con un policía. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO12. Cuando usted ve a un policía, piensa que está allí para protegerlo (a). ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98

¿Para tratar de resolver algún problema alguna vez ha pedido usted ayuda o cooperación ... [LEA CADA OPCIÓN Y ANOTE LA RESPUESTA]	Sí	No	NS	NR
CP2. A algún diputado de la Asamblea Legislativa?	1	2	88	98
CP4A. A alguna autoridad local como el Alcalde o un Concejal ?	1	2	88	98
CP4. A algún ministerio/secretario, institución pública, u oficina del estado?	1	2	88	98

PN4. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a) o muy insatisfecho(a) con la forma en que la democracia funciona en El Salvador?				
(1) Muy satisfecho (2) Satisfecho (3) Insatisfecho (4) Muy insatisfecho (88) NS (98) NR				

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

	Muy seguro	Algo seguro	Algo inseguro	Muy inseguro	NS	NR
FEAR0. Estar en su casa con su familia cuando es de día ¿se sentiría usted...	1	2	3	4	88	98
FEAR1. Estar solo (a) en su casa cuando es de día ¿se sentiría usted...	1	2	3	4	88	98
FEAR2. Estar solo (a) en su casa cuando es de noche ¿se sentiría usted...	1	2	3	4	88	98
FEAR3. Caminar solo (a) por este barrio cuando es de día ¿se sentiría usted...	1	2	3	4	88	98
FEAR4. Caminar solo (a) por este barrio cuando es de noche ¿se sentiría usted...	1	2	3	4	88	98

FEAR6. En general ¿qué tan preocupado está usted de que alguien entre a su casa a robar cuando no hay nadie? Está usted ...

(1) Muy preocupado (2) Algo preocupado (3) Poco preocupado (4) Nada preocupado (88) NS (98) NR

FEAR7. En general, ¿qué tan preocupado (a) está usted de que alguien lo (la) detenga en la calle, lo (la) amenace, golpee, o le haga daño en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]? Está usted...

(1) Muy preocupado (2) Algo preocupado (3) Poco preocupado (4) Nada preocupado (88) NS (98) NR

FEAR8. En general, ¿qué tan preocupado(a) está usted de que a algún miembro de su familia lo detengan en la calle, lo amenacen, golpeen, o le hagan daño en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]? Está usted...

(1) Muy preocupado (2) Algo preocupado (3) Poco preocupado (4) Nada preocupado (88) NS (98) NR

FEAR9. Ahora hablando de otros lugares de [NOMBRE MUNICIPIO], ¿qué tan preocupado (a) está usted de que alguien lo (a) detenga en la calle, lo (a) amenace, golpee, o le haga daño en este municipio? Está usted...

(1) Muy preocupado (2) Algo preocupado (3) Poco preocupado (4) Nada preocupado (88) NS (98) NR

Para protegerse de la delincuencia, en los últimos 12 meses, ¿usted realizó algún tipo de medida como...	Sí	No	NS	NR
FEAR10. Evitó pasar por algunos lugares en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] porque pueden ser peligrosos?	1	2	88	98
FEAR11. Tomó medidas conjuntas con sus vecinos para protegerse de la delincuencia?	1	2	88	98
FEAR12. Contrató un servicio de seguridad privada o a un vigilante privado?	1	2	88	98
FEAR13. Pidió ayuda a la policía?	1	2	88	98
FEAR14. Pidió ayuda a la municipalidad?	1	2	88	98
FEAR15. Construyó muros, rejas o paredes exteriores adicionales en su casa?	1	2	88	98
FEAR16. Puso alambre de púas, "razor", malla electrificada o vidrio roto alrededor de su casa?	1	2	88	98
FEAR17. Puso más candados o chapas a las puertas de su casa?	1	2	88	98
FEAR21. Adquirió o compró un arma de fuego?	1	2	88	98

FEAR22. ¿Ha sentido usted la necesidad de cambiar de barrio o colonia por temor a la delincuencia?

(1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

PESE0. En su opinión, [Nombre Barrio] ¿es una comunidad muy segura, algo segura, algo insegura, o muy insegura?

(1) Muy segura (2) Algo segura (3) Algo insegura (4) Muy insegura (88) NS (98) NR

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

	Mayor	Igual	Menor	NS	NR
PESE1. ¿Considera usted que el nivel de violencia actual en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] es mayor, igual, o menor que el de otras colonias o comunidades en este municipio?	1	2	3	88	98
PESE2. ¿Considera usted que el nivel de violencia actual en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] es mayor, igual, o menor que el de hace 12 meses?	1	2	3	88	98

	Muy serio	Algo serio	Poco serio	Nada serio	No es un problema	NS	NR
DISO1. Manchas o grafiti en los muros de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO3. Casas abandonadas en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO4. Basura en las cunetas, veredas o calles de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO5. Lotes baldíos con montes altos en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO6. Calles o lugares oscuros o sin iluminación en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO7. Jóvenes o niños en las calles sin hacer nada, que andan vagando en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO8. Jóvenes o niños que viven en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] en pandillas o maras	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO9. Ataques o daños intencionales a la propiedad privada en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO10. Venta o tráfico de drogas ilegales en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO11. Gente peleando y discutiendo en la calle de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO12. Gente que insulta o molesta a la gente cuando caminan por las calles de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO13. Gente borracha en las calles de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO14. Gente endrogada en las calles de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO15. Robo a viviendas en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO16. Asaltos a las personas cuando caminan por la calle de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO17. Balaceras en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO18. Riñas o peleas de pandillas o maras en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO].	1	2	3	4	5	88	98

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

	Muy probable	Algo probable	Poco probable	Nada probable	NS	NR
ICON1. Si un grupo de niños del vecindario estuviera faltando a la escuela y vagando en las calles, ¿qué tan probable es que sus vecinos hagan algo al respecto?	1	2	3	4	88	98
ICON2. Si algunos niños estuvieran manchando las paredes del vecindario, ¿qué tan probable es que sus vecinos hagan algo al respecto?	1	2	3	4	88	98
ICON3. Si hay un pleito enfrente de su casa y alguien está siendo amenazado o golpeado, ¿qué tan probable es que sus vecinos traten de parar la pelea?	1	2	3	4	88	98

Pasando a otro tema y hablando de cosas que le pueden suceder a uno en el país...

VIC1EXT. ¿Ha sido usted víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿ha sido usted víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o algún otro tipo de acto delictual en los últimos 12 meses?	(1) Sí [Siga]	(2) No [Pasar a VIC1HOGAR]	(88) NS [Pasar a VIC1HOGAR]	(98) NR [Pasar a VIC1HOGAR]
VIC2B. La última vez que fue víctima de la delincuencia, el o los atacantes eran:	(1) Un extraño o un grupo de extraños (2) Personas de otras comunidades en el municipio (3) Vecinos (4) Amigos cercanos a usted o su familia (5) Miembros de su hogar (6) Otros parientes (7) No vio (88) No sabe (98) No responde (99) INAP			
AOJ1. ¿La última vez que fue víctima, denunció el hecho a alguna institución?	(1) Sí (2) No lo denunció	(88) NS	(98) NR	(99) Inap (no víctima)
VIC1HOGAR. ¿Alguna otra persona que vive en su hogar ha sido víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿alguna otra persona que vive en su hogar ha sido víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o algún otro tipo de acto delictual en los últimos 12 meses?	(1) Sí (2) No	(88) NS	(98) NR	

Ahora hablando de su comunidad o barrio...

Teniendo en cuenta su experiencia o lo que ha oído mencionar, ¿cuáles de los siguientes actos de delincuencia han ocurrido en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]	Sí [Pasar a VICBAR XA]	No	NS	NR	VICBARXA. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió eso? (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP																			
VICBAR1. Han ocurrido robos en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]?	1	2	88	98	<table><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10 mas</td></tr></table> (88) (98) (99)										1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas															
VICBAR2. Han ocurrido daños a la propiedad privada en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]?	1	2	88	98	<table><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10 mas</td></tr></table> (88) (98) (99)										1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas															
VICBAR3. Han ocurrido ventas de drogas ilícitas en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]?	1	2	88	98	<table><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10 mas</td></tr></table> (88) (98) (99)										1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas															
VICBAR4. Han ocurrido extorsiones o cobros de renta en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]?	1	2	88	98	<table><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10 mas</td></tr></table> (88) (98) (99)										1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas															

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

VICBAR5. Han ocurrido violaciones sexuales en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]?	1	2	88	98	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas
					(88)	(98)	(99)							
VICBAR8. Han ocurrido balaceras en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]?	1	2	88	98	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas
					(88)	(98)	(99)							
VICBAR6. Han ocurrido secuestros en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]?	1	2	88	98	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas
					(88)	(98)	(99)							
VICBAR7. Han ocurrido asesinatos en los últimos 12 meses en [NOMBRE BARRIO]?	1	2	88	98	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 mas
					(88)	(98)	(99)							

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

[Entrevistador: si la respuesta, en el literal A, es NO, NS, o NR, marcar y pasar a la siguiente; si la respuesta es Sí continuar con los literales B hasta F; las celdas en gris o negro indican que las preguntas de ese literal no se hace y se pasa al siguiente literal]	A. (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98)NR (99) INAP	B. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió esto en los últimos 12 meses? [Leer opciones] (1) Una vez (2) Dos veces (3) Tres veces (4) Más de tres veces (88) NS (98)NR (99) INAP	C. La última vez que esto pasó, ¿dónde ocurrió el hecho? [Leer opciones] (1) En su hogar (2) En este barrio o comunidad (3) En este municipio (4) En otro municipio (5) Fuera del país (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP	D. La última vez que esto pasó, ¿le agredieron físicamente a usted o a alguien que vive en su hogar? (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98)NR (99) INAP	E. La última vez que esto pasó, ¿le amenazaron... (1) Con un arma blanca (2) Con un arma de fuego (3) No le amenazaron con arma, o (4) No tuvo contacto con los delincuentes (88) NS (98)NR (99) INAP	F. ¿ La última vez que esto pasó, le ocurrió a usted o a alguien que vive en su hogar? (1) A usted (2) Alguien que vive en el hogar (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP
VIC70. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿alguien entró a robar algo en su casa, que no sea un vehículo?						
VIC72. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o a alguien que vive en su hogar le robaron algún objeto dejado dentro de su vehículo o alguna parte de su vehículo? [(99) INAP No tienen vehículo]						
VIC71. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o alguien que vive en su hogar le robaron el vehículo o una moto? [(99) INAP No tienen vehículo]						
VIC73. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o alguien que vive en su hogar le robaron algo estando fuera de su casa?						
VIC74. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿alguien deliberadamente destruyó o dañó su casa, negocio o cualquier propiedad suya o de alguien que vive en su hogar?						
VIC75. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o alguien que vive en su hogar le atacaron a golpes sin que le robaran algo?						
VIC78. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o alguien que vive en su hogar lo han tocado o atacado por motivos sexuales de un modo ofensivo?						
VIC79. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha sido usted o alguien que vive en su hogar víctima de alguna estafa?						
VIC80. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha sido usted o alguien que vive en su hogar víctima de un chantaje, extorsión o renta?						
VIC81. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha sido usted o alguien que vive en su hogar víctima de un secuestro o un secuestro exprés?						
VIC82. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿alguien que vivía en su hogar fue asesinado?						

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

AOJ8. Para poder capturar delincuentes, ¿cree usted que las autoridades siempre deben respetar las leyes o en ocasiones pueden actuar al margen de la ley?

(1) Deben respetar las leyes siempre (2) En ocasiones pueden actuar al margen de la ley
(88) NS (98) NR

AOJ12. Si usted fuera víctima de un robo o asalto, ¿cuánto confiaría en que el sistema judicial castigaría al culpable? Confiaría... **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (88)NS (98) NR

Ahora vamos a hablar de su municipio...

NP1. ¿Ha asistido a un cabildo abierto o una sesión municipal durante los últimos 12 meses?

(1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la municipalidad está dando a la gente son: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

(1) Muy buenos (2) Buenos (3) Ni buenos ni malos (regulares) (4) Malos (5) Muy malos (pésimos)
(88) NS (98) NR

ENTREGAR TARJETA "E"

En esta tarjeta hay una escalera con gradas numeradas del uno al siete, en la cual el 1 es la grada más baja y significa NADA y el 7 es la grada más alta y significa MUCHO. Por ejemplo, si yo le preguntara hasta qué punto le gusta ver televisión, si a usted no le gusta ver nada, elegiría un puntaje de 1. Si por el contrario le gusta ver mucha televisión me diría el número 7. Si su opinión está entre nada y mucho elegiría un puntaje intermedio. ¿Entonces, hasta qué punto le gusta a usted ver televisión? Léame el número. **[ASEGÚRESE QUE EL ENTREVISTADO ENTIENDA CORRECTAMENTE].**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NS=88 NR=98
Nada				Mucho			

Anotar el número, 1-7, NS=88, NR=98

Voy a hacerle una serie de preguntas, y le voy a pedir que para darme su respuesta utilice los números de esta escalera. Recuerde que puede usar cualquier número.

B1. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que los tribunales de justicia de El Salvador garantizan un juicio justo?
(*Sondee: Si usted cree que los tribunales no garantizan en nada la justicia, escoja el número 1; si cree que los tribunales garantizan mucho la justicia escoja el número 7 o escoja un puntaje intermedio*)

B2. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted respeto por las instituciones políticas de El Salvador?

B3. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que los derechos básicos del ciudadano están bien protegidos por el sistema político salvadoreño?

B4. ¿Hasta qué punto se siente usted orgulloso de vivir bajo el sistema político salvadoreño?

B6. ¿Hasta qué punto piensa usted que se debe apoyar al sistema político salvadoreño?

B10A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el sistema de justicia?

B12. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en las Fuerzas Armadas?

B13. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Asamblea Legislativa?

B14. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Gobierno Nacional?

B15. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Fiscalía General de la República?

B18. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Policía Nacional Civil?

B20. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Iglesia Católica?

B20A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en las Iglesias Evangélicas?

B21. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en los partidos políticos?

B21A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el presidente?

B31. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en la Corte Suprema de Justicia?

B32. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en su municipalidad?

B43. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted orgullo de ser salvadoreño(a)?

B17. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Procuraduría para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos?

B104. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Ministerio de Justicia y Seguridad Pública?

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

Usando la misma escalera	NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO	Anotar 1-7, NS=88 NR=98
N11. ¿Hasta qué punto diría que el gobierno actual mejora la seguridad ciudadana?		
N15. ¿Hasta qué punto diría que el gobierno actual está manejando bien la economía?		
N16. Y ahora hablando de su municipalidad, ¿hasta qué punto diría que el gobierno municipal actual mejora la seguridad ciudadana?		
SOC09. Y ahora hablando de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] , ¿hasta qué punto diría que los vecinos de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] están organizados para prevenir la delincuencia y la violencia?		

[Recoger tarjeta "E"]

M1. Y hablando en general acerca del gobierno actual, ¿diría usted que el trabajo que está realizando el Presidente Mauricio Funes es...?: [LEER ALTERNATIVAS]				
(1) Muy bueno	(2) Bueno	(3) Ni bueno, ni malo (regular)	(4) Malo	(5) Muy malo (pésimo)
(88) NS	(98) NR			

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "F"]

L1. Cambiando de tema, en esta tarjeta tenemos una escala del 1 a 10 que va de izquierda a derecha, en la cual el número 1 significa izquierda y el 10 significa derecha. Hoy en día, cuando se habla de tendencias políticas, mucha gente habla de aquellos que simpatizan más con la izquierda o con la derecha. Según el sentido que tengan para usted los términos "izquierda" y "derecha" cuando piensa sobre su punto de vista político, ¿dónde se encontraría usted en esta escala?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NS	NR
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[RECOGER TARJETA "F"]

POLE2. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a) o muy insatisfecho(a) con el trabajo realizado por la Policía Nacional Civil (PNC) en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] ? [Leer alternativas]				
(1) Muy satisfecho	(2) Satisfecho	(3) Insatisfecho	(4) Muy insatisfecho	
(7) [Espontánea no leer] La policía no está haciendo nada	(88) NS	(98) NR		

ICO2. ¿Con qué frecuencia la policía nacional civil patrulla en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] ? Usted diría: [LEER ALTERNATIVAS]				
(1) Varias veces al día				
(2) Al menos una vez al día				
(3) Algunas veces por semana				
(4) Algunas veces por mes				
(5) Rara vez				
(6) Nunca				
(88) NS	(98) NR			

En los últimos 12 meses, cuáles de las siguientes actividades ha visto a la Policía Nacional Civil hacer en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]	SÍ	No	NS	NR
CPOL1. Conversar con los residentes de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]	1	2	88	98
CPOL2. Asistir a reuniones de vecinos de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]	1	2	88	98
CPOL3. Ha visto a la Policía Nacional Civil ayudar a realizar actividades de prevención de la delincuencia en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]	1	2	88	98
CPOL4. Relacionarse con los niños y jóvenes de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] a través de actividades recreativas y escolares	1	2	88	98

DEMP1. ¿Qué preferiría usted?, [LEER ALTERNATIVAS]				
(1) Que la Policía Nacional Civil participe más en la resolución de los problemas de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] , o				
(2) Que la Policía Nacional Civil participe menos en la resolución de los problemas de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]				
o				
(3) Que todo siga igual				
(88) NS	(98) NR			

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “G”]

Ahora, vamos a usar una escalera similar a la anterior, pero el número 1 representa “muy en desacuerdo” y el número 7 representa “muy de acuerdo”. Un número entre el 1 y el 7, representa un puntaje intermedio. **Anotar Número 1-7, 88 para los que NS y 98 para los NR**

Número 1-7, de 1 para NS y 7 para NR							NS	NS	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
Muy en desacuerdo						Muy de acuerdo		88	98
							Anotar Número 1-7, NS=88, NR=98		

ING4. Puede que la democracia tenga problemas, pero es mejor que cualquier otra forma de gobierno. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?

[Recoger tarjeta “G”]

[ENTRÉGUELE AL ENTREVISTADO LA TARJETA “H”]

Ahora vamos a cambiar a otra tarjeta. Esta nueva tarjeta tiene una escalera del 1 a 10, el 1 indica que usted *desaprueba firmemente* y el 10 indica que usted *aprueba firmemente*. Voy a leerle una lista de algunas acciones o cosas que las personas pueden hacer para alcanzar sus metas y objetivos políticos. Quisiera que me dijera con qué firmeza usted aprobaría o desaprobaría que las personas hagan las siguientes acciones.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NS	NR
Desaprueba firmemente					Aprueba firmemente					88	98
										1-10, 88, 98	
E5. Que las personas participen en manifestaciones permitidas por la ley. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?											
E8. Que las personas participen en una organización o grupo para tratar de resolver los problemas de las comunidades. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?											
E11. Que las personas trabajen en campañas electorales para un partido político o candidato. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?											
E15. Que las personas participen en un cierre o bloqueo de calles o carreteras como forma de protesta. Usando la misma escala, ¿hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?											
E14. Que las personas invadan propiedades o terrenos privados como forma de protesta. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?											
E2. Que las personas ocupen (invadan) fábricas, oficinas y otros edificios como forma de protesta. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?											
E3. Que las personas participen en un grupo que quiera derrocar por medios violentos a un gobierno electo. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?											
E16. Que las personas hagan justicia por su propia cuenta cuando el Estado no castiga a los criminales. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?											

Las preguntas que siguen son para saber su opinión sobre las diferentes ideas que tienen las personas que viven en El Salvador. Por favor continúe usando la escalera de 10 puntos.

										1-10, NS=88, NR=98	
D1. Hay personas que siempre hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de El Salvador, no sólo del gobierno de turno, sino del sistema de gobierno, ¿con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted el derecho de votar de esas personas? Por favor léame el número de la escala: [Sondee: ¿Hasta qué punto?]											
D2. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas puedan llevar a cabo manifestaciones pacíficas con el propósito de expresar sus puntos de vista? Por favor léame el número.											

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

D3. Siempre pensando en los que hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de El Salvador . ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas puedan postularse para cargos públicos ?	
D4. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas salgan en la televisión para dar un discurso ?	
D5. Y ahora, cambiando el tema, y pensando en los homosexuales. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que estas personas puedan postularse para cargos públicos ?	

[Recoger tarjeta "H"]

AUT1. Hay gente que dice que necesitamos un líder fuerte que no tenga que ser electo a través del voto popular. Otros dicen que, aunque las cosas no funcionen, la democracia electoral, o sea el voto popular, es siempre lo mejor. ¿Qué piensa usted? [LEER ALTERNATIVAS] (1) Necesitamos un líder fuerte que no tenga que ser electo, o (2) La democracia electoral es lo mejor (88) NS (98) NR	
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	INAP No trató o tuvo contacto	No	Sí	NS	NR
Ahora queremos hablar de su experiencia personal con cosas que pasan en la vida...					
EXC2. ¿Algún agente de policía le pidió una mordida (o soborno) en los últimos 12 meses		0	1	88	98
EXC6. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿algún empleado público le ha solicitado una mordida (o soborno)?		0	1	88	98
EXC11. ¿Ha tramitado algo en la alcaldía de la ciudad donde vive en los últimos 12 meses? No → Marcar 9 Sí → Preguntar: Para tramitar algo en la Alcaldía, como un permiso, por ejemplo, durante el último año, ¿ha tenido que pagar alguna suma además de lo exigido por la ley?	9	0	1	88	98

EXC7. Teniendo en cuenta su experiencia o lo que ha oído mencionar, ¿la corrupción de los funcionarios públicos en el país está: [LEER] (1) Muy generalizada (2) Algo generalizada (3) Poco generalizada (4) Nada generalizada (88) NS (98) NR	
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VB1. ¿Tiene usted Documento Único de Identidad (DUI)?] (1) Sí (2) No (3) En trámite (88) NS (98) NR	
VB2. ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2009? (1) Sí votó [Siga] (2) No votó [Pasar a VB3B] (88) NS [Pasar a VB3B] (98) NR [Pasar a VB3B]	
VB3. ¿Por quién votó para Presidente en las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2009? [NO LEER LISTA] (00) Ninguno (fue a votar pero dejó la boleta en blanco o anuló su voto) (301) Rodrigo Ávila, ARENA (302) Mauricio Funes, FMLN (88) NS (98) NR (99) Inap (No votó)	

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

VB3B. ¿Por qué partido político votó en las últimas elecciones municipales de 2012? **[NO LEER LISTA]**

(00) Ninguno (fue a votar pero dejó boleta en blanco o anuló su voto)

- (1) ARENA
(2) FMLN
(3) CD
(4) PCN
(5) FMLN –CD
(6) FDR

- (7) PDC
(8) No votó
(77) Otro
(88) NS
(98) NR

PROT3. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha participado en una manifestación o protesta pública?

(1) Sí ha participado **[Siga]** (2) No ha participado **[Pase a SOCT1]**

(88) NS **[Pase a SOCT1]** (98) NR **[Pase a SOCT1]**

PROT4. ¿Cuántas veces ha participado en una manifestación o protesta pública en los últimos 12 meses?

(88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

SOCT1. Ahora, hablando de la economía... ¿Cómo calificaría la situación económica del país? ¿Diría usted que es muy buena, buena, ni buena ni mala, mala o muy mala?

(1) Muy buena (2) Buena (3) Ni buena, ni mala (regular) (4) Mala (5) Muy mala (pésima)

(88) NS (98) NR

SOCT2. ¿Considera usted que la situación económica actual del país es mejor, igual o peor que hace doce meses?

(1) Mejor (2) Igual (3) Peor (88) NS (98) NR

IDIO1. ¿Cómo calificaría en general su situación económica? ¿Diría usted que es muy buena, buena, ni buena ni mala, mala o muy mala?

(1) Muy buena (2) Buena (3) Ni buena, ni mala (regular) (4) Mala

(5) Muy mala (pésima) (88) NS (98) NR

IDIO2. ¿Considera usted que su situación económica actual es mejor, igual o peor que la de hace doce meses?

(1) Mejor (2) Igual (3) Peor (88) NS (98) NR

POL1. ¿Qué tanto interés tiene usted en la política: mucho, algo, poco o nada?

(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (88) NS (98) NR

Por propósitos estadísticos, ahora queremos saber cuánta información sobre política y sobre el país se le transmite a la gente...

G10. ¿Con qué frecuencia sigue las noticias, ya sea en la televisión, la radio, los periódicos, o el internet? **[Leer opciones]:** (1) A diario (2) Algunas veces por semana (3) Algunas veces por mes

(4) Rara vez (5) Nunca (88) NS (98) NR

¿Alguna vez se ha sentido discriminado o tratado de manera injusta por... **[Repetir después de cada pregunta: muchas veces, algunas veces, pocas veces, o nunca]**

	Muchas veces	Algunas veces	Pocas veces	Nunca	NS	NR
DIS11. Su color de piel, usted diría que eso ha sucedido muchas veces, algunas veces, pocas veces, o nunca?	1	2	3	4	88	98
DIS12. Por su sexo?	1	2	3	4	88	98
DIS13. ¿Alguna vez se ha sentido discriminado o tratado de manera injusta por su condición económica?	1	2	3	4	88	98
DIS17. Por su manera de hablar o acento?	1	2	3	4	88	98
DIS14. Por su apariencia física?	1	2	3	4	88	98
DIS15. Por su orientación sexual?	1	2	3	4	88	98
DIS16. ¿Alguna vez se ha sentido discriminado o tratado de manera injusta por alguna otra razón?	1	2	3	4	88	98

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

ED. ¿Cuál fue el último año de educación que usted completó o aprobó? Año de _____ (primaria, secundaria, universitaria, superior no universitaria) = _____ años total [Usar tabla abajo para código]						
	1º	2º	3º	4º	5º	6º
Ninguno	0					
Primaria	1	2	3	4	5	6
Secundaria	7	8	9	10	12	12
Universitaria	13	14	15	16	18+	18+
Superior no universitaria	13	14	15	16		
NS	88					
NR	98					

EDU1. ¿Cuántos niños entre 6 y 17 años viven en esta casa? _____ 0. Ninguno [Pase a SEG1] (NS=888, NR=988) [Pase a SEG1]	□□
EDU2. ¿Cuántos de estos [Número de niños en EDU1] niños entre 6 y 17 años estudian o van a la escuela actualmente? _____ 0. Ninguno [Pase a SEG1] (NS=888, NR=988, INAP=999) [Pase a SEG1]	□□
EDU3. ¿Cuántos de estos [Número de niños en EDU2] niños entre 6 y 17 años que estudian participan regularmente en actividades extra escolares, es decir actividades después de clases o de la jornada escolar, como por ejemplo actividades culturales o deportivas? _____ 0. Ninguno (NS=888, NR=988)	□□

SEG1. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha visto u oído que alguna institución haya realizado actividades dirigidas a los jóvenes de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] para que usen mejor su tiempo libre? (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR
SEG2. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha visto u oído que alguna institución haya realizado obras públicas en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] , tales como mejoramiento del alumbrado público, actividades de limpieza o construcción o reparación de calles, canchas, o parques? (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR
SEG3. Comparando la situación actual de esta comunidad con la de hace 12 meses, ¿cree usted que los vecinos de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] colaboran más, lo mismo, o menos para resolver los problemas de la comunidad? (1) Colaboran más (2) Colaboran lo mismo (3) Colaboran menos (88) NS (98) NR

	Sí	No	NS	NR	Inap
CP21. ¿Hay una asociación o junta directiva de vecinos en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] ? [Si la respuesta es NO, pase a CP26]	1	0	88	98	
CP22. ¿Es usted miembro de esa asociación o junta directiva?	1	0	88	98	99
CP23. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha asistido usted a una reunión convocada por la asociación o junta directiva de vecinos?	1	0	88	98	99
CP24. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha realizado usted trabajo voluntario para esa asociación o junta directiva?	1	0	88	98	99
CP25. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha promovido la asociación o junta directiva de vecinos de [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] actividades para prevenir la delincuencia, tales como tomar medidas de seguridad para el vecindario u otras actividades?	1	0	88	98	99
CP26. ¿Hay alguna otra asociación o institución que esté promoviendo programas para la prevención de la delincuencia en [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] ?	1	0	88	98	99
ESCP27. ¿Ha oído hablar del Comité o Consejo de Prevención de la Violencia de [NOMBRE MUNICIPALIDAD] ? [Si la respuesta es NO, pase a ESCP29]	1	0	88	98	99

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

	Sí	No	NS	NR	Inap
ESCP28. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha asistido usted a una reunión convocada por el Comité o Consejo de Prevención de la Violencia de este municipio?	1	0	88	98	99

[ENTREGAR TARJETA “E”] NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO	Anotar 1-7, NS=88 NR=98
ESCP29. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que el Comité o Consejo de Prevención de la Violencia de este municipio ha logrado reducir el nivel de la delincuencia?	

TREG0. Pasando a otro tema, ¿ha oído hablar de la tregua con los pandilleros? [Si la respuesta es NO indicar “se dice en las noticias que existe una tregua con los pandilleros, le voy a realizar algunas preguntas relacionadas a este tema”]	
[ENSEÑAR TARJETA “E”] NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO	NS=88 NR=98
TREG1. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que la tregua con los pandilleros ha reducido la delincuencia en los últimos cinco meses?	
TREG2. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que sería malo para el país si la tregua con los pandilleros se rompe?	
TREG3. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que uno de los objetivos de los pandilleros con la tregua es el de mejorar sus condiciones de vida?	
TREG4. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que uno de los objetivos de los pandilleros con la tregua es que la policía los persiga menos?	
TREG5. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que uno de los objetivos de los pandilleros con la tregua es evitar matar civiles que no tengan que ver con las pandillas?	
[RECOGER TARJETA “E”]	

[ENTREGAR AL ENTREVISTADO LA TARJETA “H”]	Anotar 1-10, NS=88 NR=98
DESAPRUEBA FIRMEMENTE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 APRUEBA FIRMEMENTE	

Ahora vamos a cambiar a otra tarjeta. Esta nueva tarjeta tiene una escalera del 1 a 10, el 1 indica que usted <i>desaprueba firmemente</i> y el 10 indica que usted <i>aprueba firmemente</i> . Voy a leerle una lista de algunos de los resultados de la tregua con las pandillas. Quisiera que me dijera con qué firmeza usted aprobaría o desaprobaría	
TREG6. Que con la tregua actual, los pandilleros en los centros penitenciarios tengan acceso a talleres de formación vocacional. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba que tengan estos privilegios?	
TREG7. Que con la tregua actual, los pandilleros en los centros penitenciarios tengan acceso a la radio, televisión y periódicos. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba que tengan estos privilegios?	
TREG8. Que con la tregua actual, los pandilleros en los centros penitenciarios extiendan sus visitas, permitiendo las visitas íntimas nocturnas. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueban que tengan estos privilegios?	
[RECOGER TARJETA “H”]	
TREG9. Según lo que usted sepa o ha escuchado hablar, ¿los líderes de las pandillas permiten que sus miembros salgan de las pandillas si éstos quieren buscar un empleo estable? (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR	

Ahora, hablando de usted...

Q2. ¿Cuál es su edad en años cumplidos? _____ años (NS=888, NR=988)	☐ ☐
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Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

Q3C. Si usted es de alguna religión, ¿podría decirme cuál es su religión? **[NO LEER OPCIONES]**

- (01) Católico
- (02) Protestante, Protestante Tradicional o Protestante no Evangélico (Cristiano, Calvinista; Luterano; Metodista; Presbiteriano; Discípulo de Cristo; Anglicano; Episcopaliano; Iglesia Morava).
- (03) Religiones Orientales no Cristianas (Islam; Budista; Hinduista; Taoísta; Confucianismo; Baha'i).
- (04) Ninguna (Cree en un Ser Superior pero no pertenece a ninguna religión)
- (05) Evangélica y Pentecostal (Evangélico, Pentecostal; Iglesia de Dios; Asambleas de Dios; Iglesia Universal del Reino de Dios; Iglesia Cuadrangular; Iglesia de Cristo; Congregación Cristiana; Menonita; Hermanos de Cristo; Iglesia Cristiana Reformada; Carismático no Católico; Luz del Mundo; Bautista; Iglesia del Nazareno; Ejército de Salvación; Adventista; Adventista del Séptimo Día, Sara Nossa Terra).
- (06) Iglesia de los Santos de los Últimos Días (Mormones) y Testigos de Jehová.
- (07) Religiones Tradicionales (Candomblé, Vodou, Rastafari, Religiones Mayas, Umbanda; María Lonza; Inti, Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica).
- (10) Judío (Ortodoxo, Conservador o Reformado)
- (11) Agnóstico o ateo (no cree en Dios)
- (88) NS
- (98) NR

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "I"]

Q10. ¿En cuál de los siguientes rangos se encuentran los ingresos familiares mensuales de este hogar, incluyendo las remesas del exterior y el ingreso de todos los adultos e hijos que trabajan?

[Si el entrevistado no entiende, pregunte: ¿Cuánto dinero entra en total a su casa por mes?]

- (00) Ningún ingreso
- (01) Menos de \$45
- (02) Entre \$46- \$90
- (03) \$91-\$144
- (04) \$145-\$288
- (05) \$289-\$432
- (06) \$433-\$576
- (07) \$577-\$720
- (08) \$721-1008
- (09) \$1009-\$1440
- (10) \$1441 y más
- (88) NS
- (98) NR

[RECOGER TARJETA "I"]

Q10A. ¿Usted o alguien que vive en su casa recibe remesas, es decir, ayuda económica del exterior?

- (1) Sí **[Siga]** (2) No **[Pase a Q14]** (88) NS **[Pase a Q14]** (98) NR **[Pase a Q14]**

Q10B. [Sólo si recibe remesas] ¿Hasta qué punto dependen los ingresos familiares de esta casa de las remesas del exterior? **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

- (1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (88) NS (98) NR (99) Inap

Q14. ¿Tiene usted intenciones de irse a vivir o a trabajar a otro país en los próximos tres años? (1) Sí

- (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

Q10D. El salario o sueldo que usted recibe y el total del ingreso familiar: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

- (1) Les alcanza bien y pueden ahorrar
- (2) Les alcanza justo sin grandes dificultades
- (3) No les alcanza y tienen dificultades
- (4) No les alcanza y tienen grandes dificultades
- (88) **[No leer]** NS
- (98) **[No leer]** NR

Q11. ¿Cuál es su estado civil? **[NO LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

- (1) Soltero (2) Casado (3) Unión libre (acompañado) (4) Divorciado
- (5) Separado (6) Viudo (88) NS (98) NR

Q12. ¿Tiene hijos(as)? ¿Cuántos? _____ (00= ninguno) NS=88 NR=98

Impact Evaluation El Salvador - Report

Para finalizar, podría decirme si en su casa tienen: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

R1. Televisor	(0) No	(1) Sí
R3. Refrigeradora (nevera)	(0) No	(1) Sí
R4. Teléfono convencional /fijo (no celular)	(0) No	(1) Sí
R4A. Teléfono celular	(0) No	(1) Sí
R5. Vehículo. ¿Cuántos?	(0) No (1) Uno	(2) Dos
R6. Lavadora de ropa	(0) No	(1) Sí
R7. Microondas	(0) No	(1) Sí
R8. Motocicleta	(0) No	(1) Sí
R12. Agua potable dentro de la casa	(0) No	(1) Sí
R14. Cuarto de baño dentro de la casa	(0) No	(1) Sí
R19. Ducha para agua caliente	(0) No	(1) Sí
R15. Computadora	(0) No	(1) Sí
R16. Televisor de pantalla plana	(0) No	(1) Sí
R18. Servicio de internet	(0) No	(1) Sí

OCUP4A. ¿A qué se dedica usted principalmente? ¿Está usted actualmente: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

- (1) ¿Trabajando? **[Siga]**
 (2) ¿No está trabajando en este momento pero tiene trabajo? **[Siga]**
 (3) ¿Está buscando trabajo activamente? **[TERMINA]**
 (4) ¿Es estudiante? **[TERMINA]**
 (5) ¿Se dedica a los quehaceres de su hogar? **[TERMINA]**
 (6) Está jubilado, pensionado o incapacitado permanentemente para trabajar? **[TERMINA]**
 (7) ¿No trabaja y no está buscando trabajo? **[TERMINA]**
 (88) NS **[TERMINA]** (98) NR **[TERMINA]**

OCUP1A. En su ocupación principal usted es: **[Leer alternativas]**

- (1) ¿Asalariado del gobierno o empresa estatal?
 (2) ¿Asalariado en el sector privado?
 (3) ¿Patrono o socio de empresa?
 (4) ¿Trabajador por cuenta propia?
 (5) ¿Trabajador no remunerado o sin pago?
 (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

OCUP1C. ¿Tiene seguro de salud o seguro social a través de su empresa o su empleador?

- (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo. Muchísimas gracias por su colaboración.

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada a cabo con la persona indicada.

Firma del entrevistador _____ Fecha ____ / ____ / ____

Firma del supervisor de campo _____

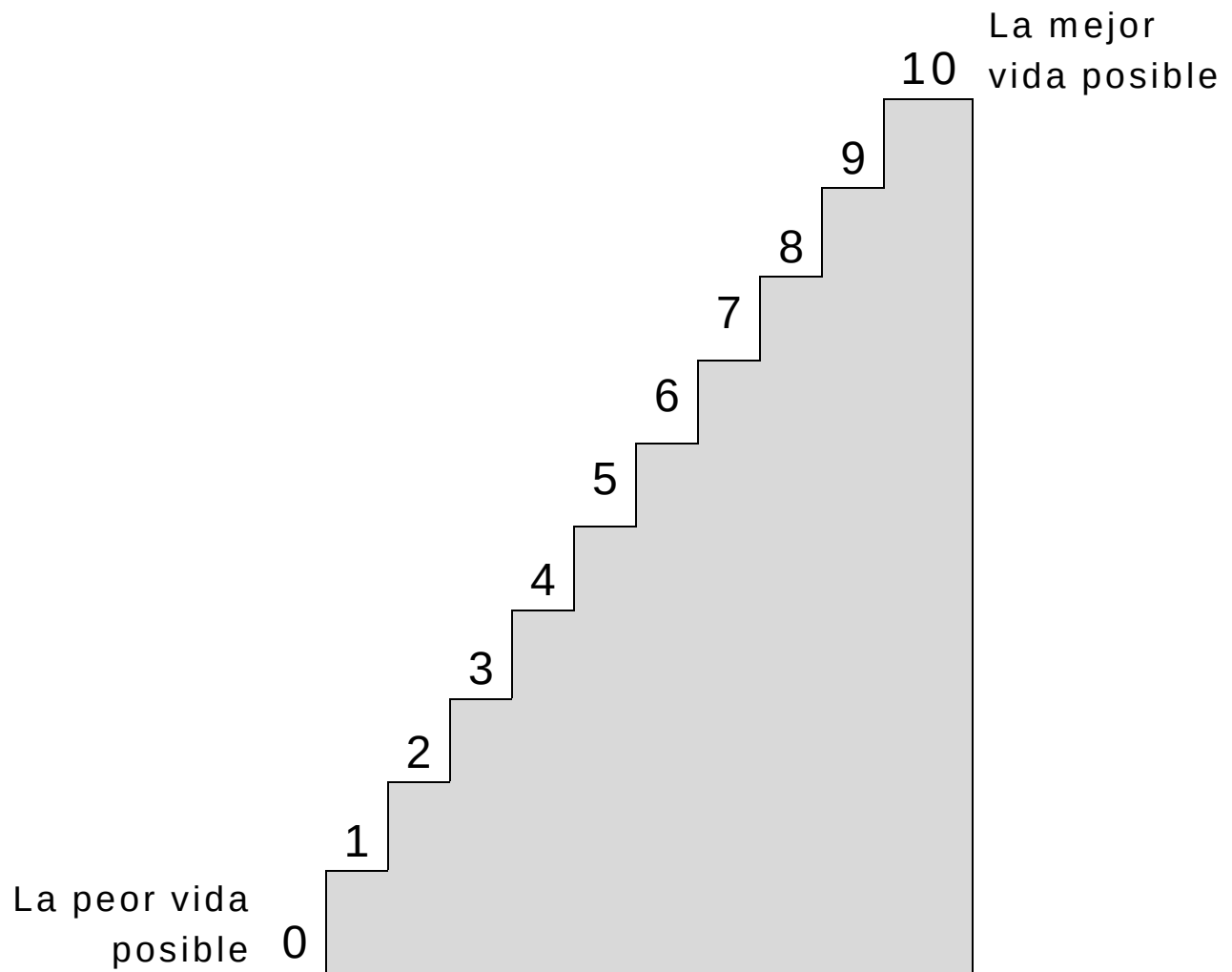
Comentarios:

[No usar por PDA] Firma de la persona que digitó los datos _____

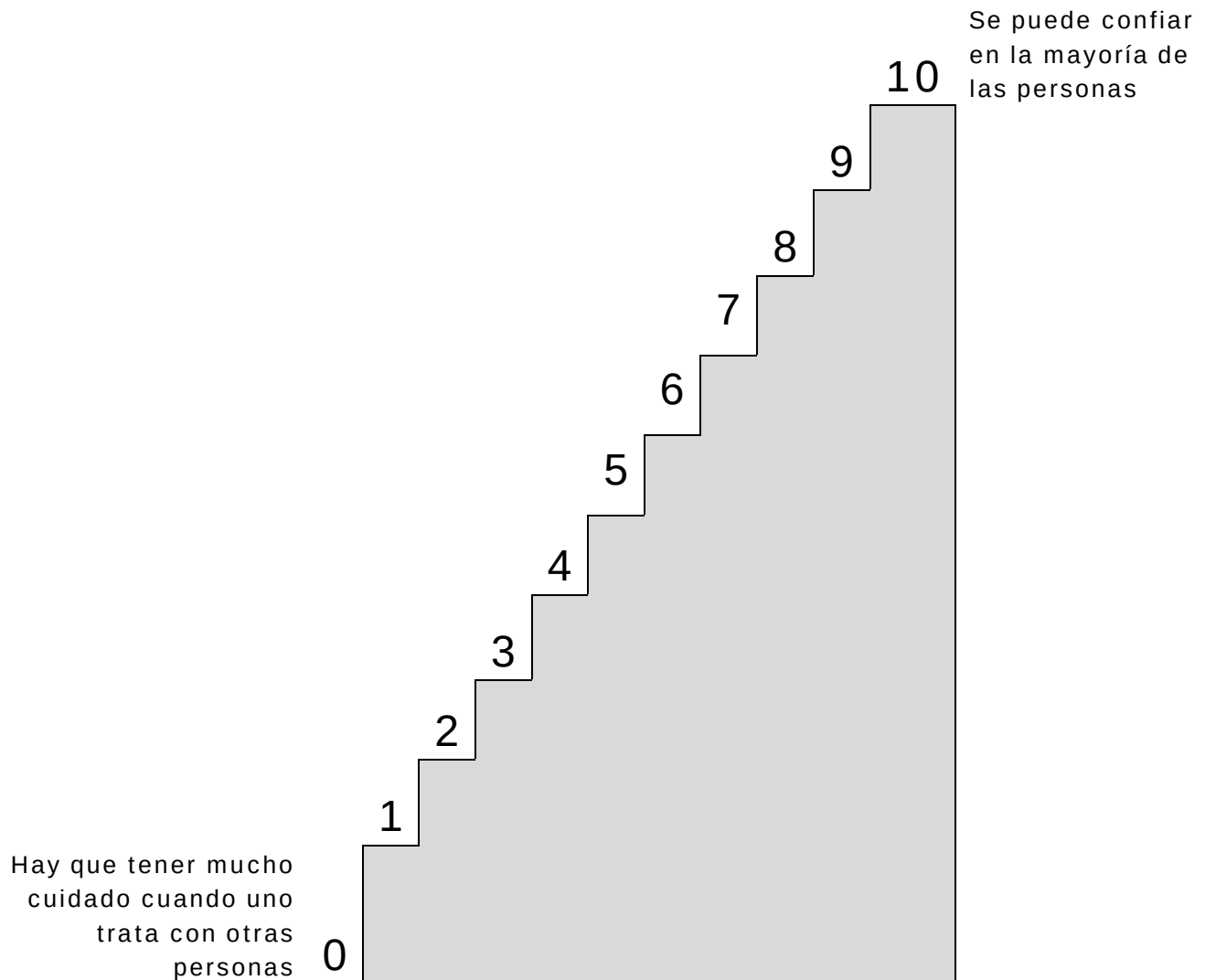
[No usar por PDA] Firma de la persona que verificó los datos _____

HORA1. Hora de finalización: ____:____AM PM

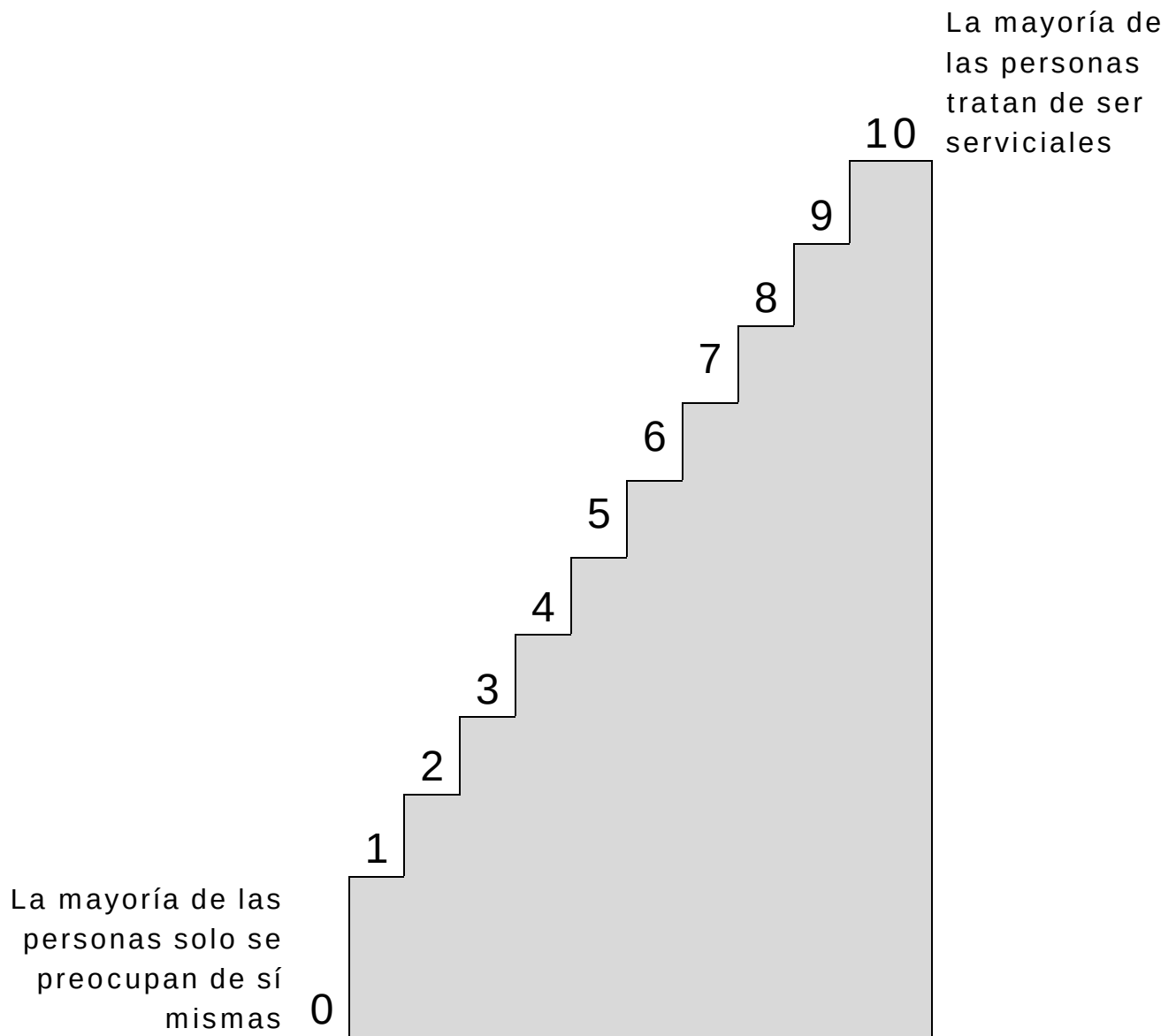
Tarjeta “A”



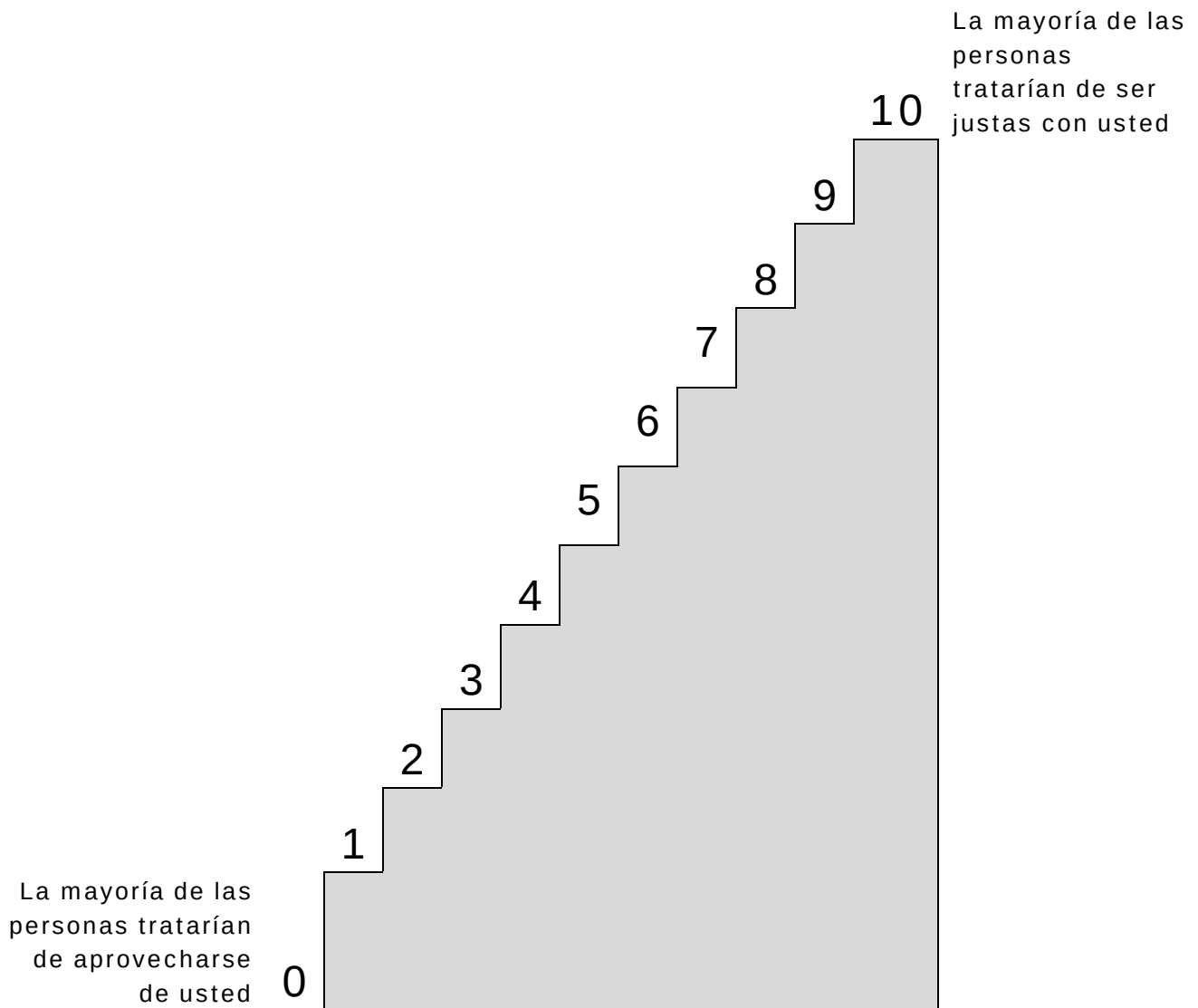
Tarjeta "B"



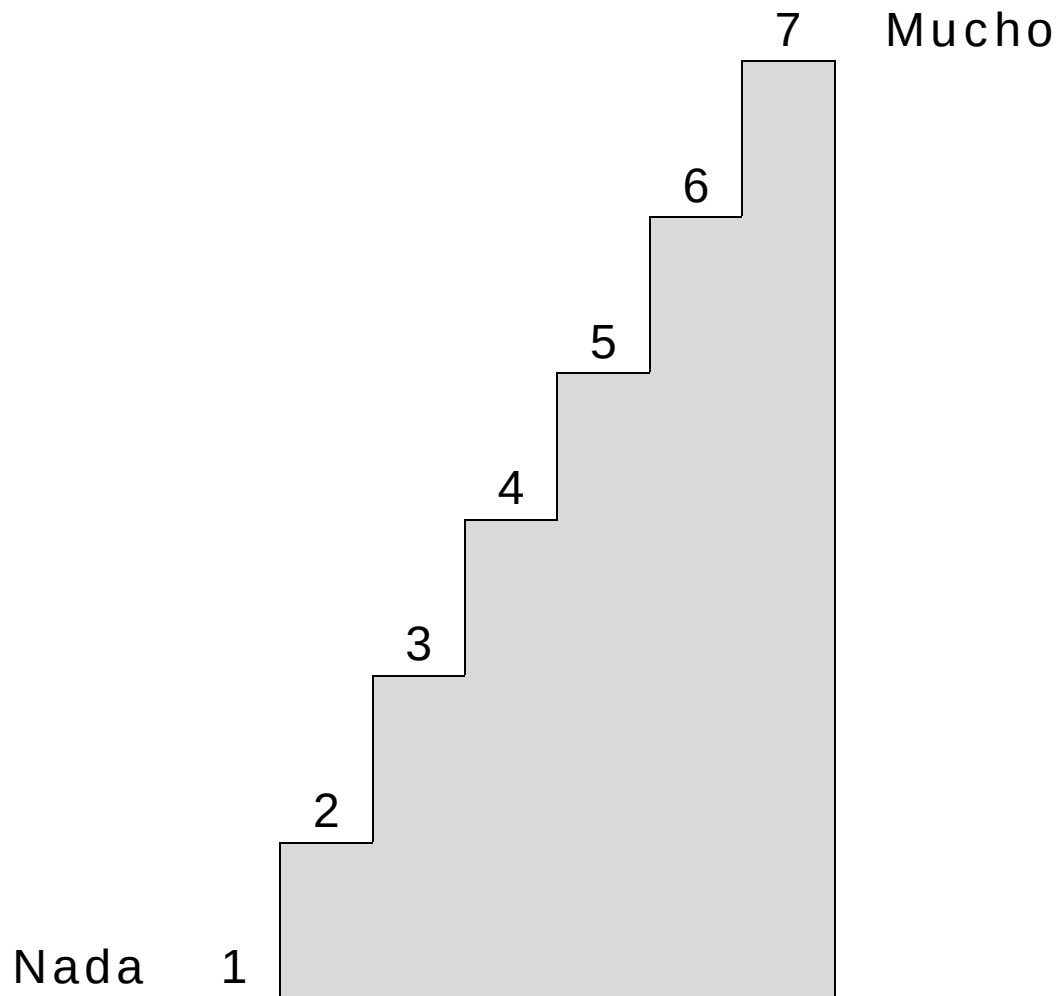
Tarjeta "C"



Tarjeta "D"



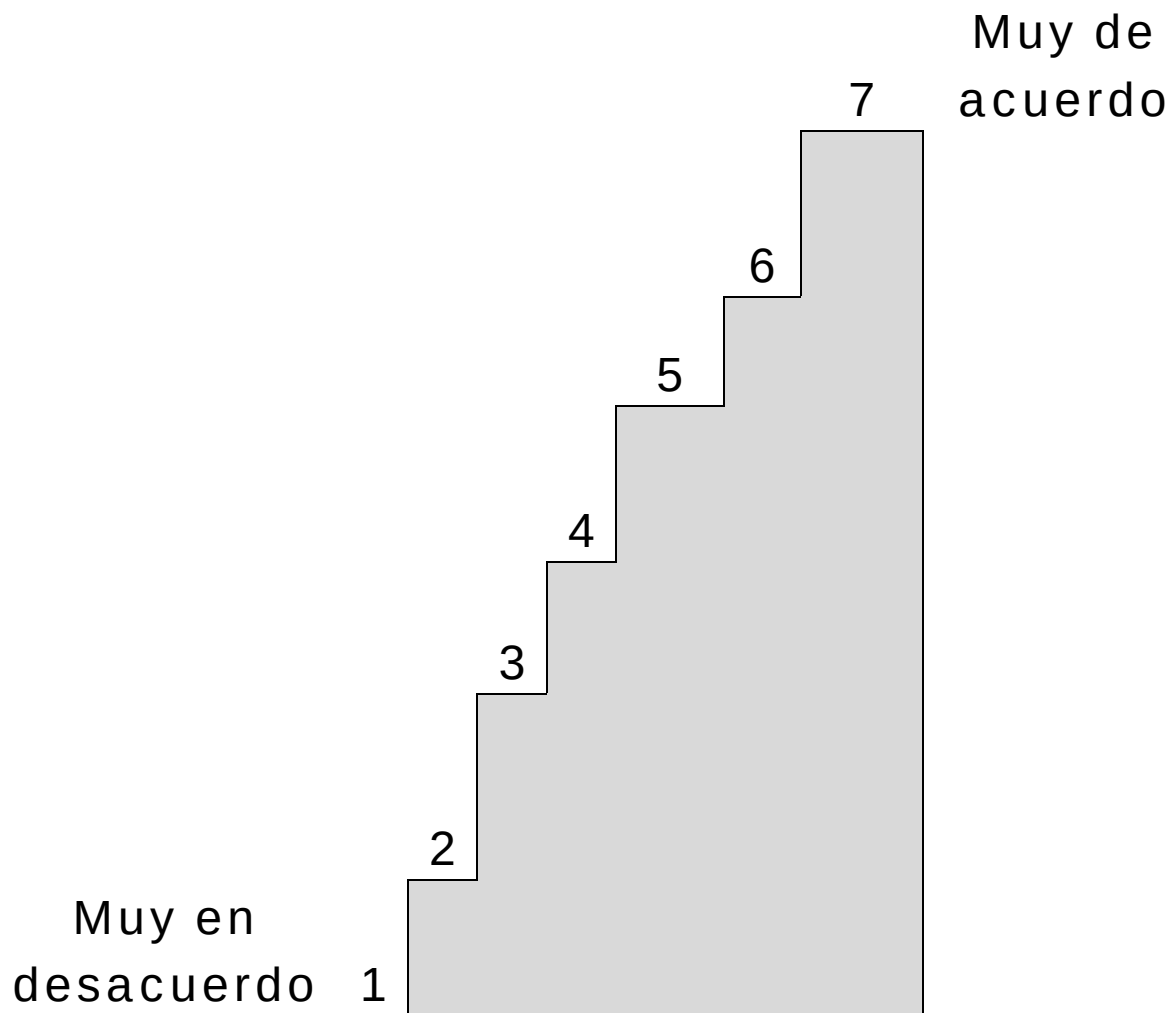
Tarjeta “E”



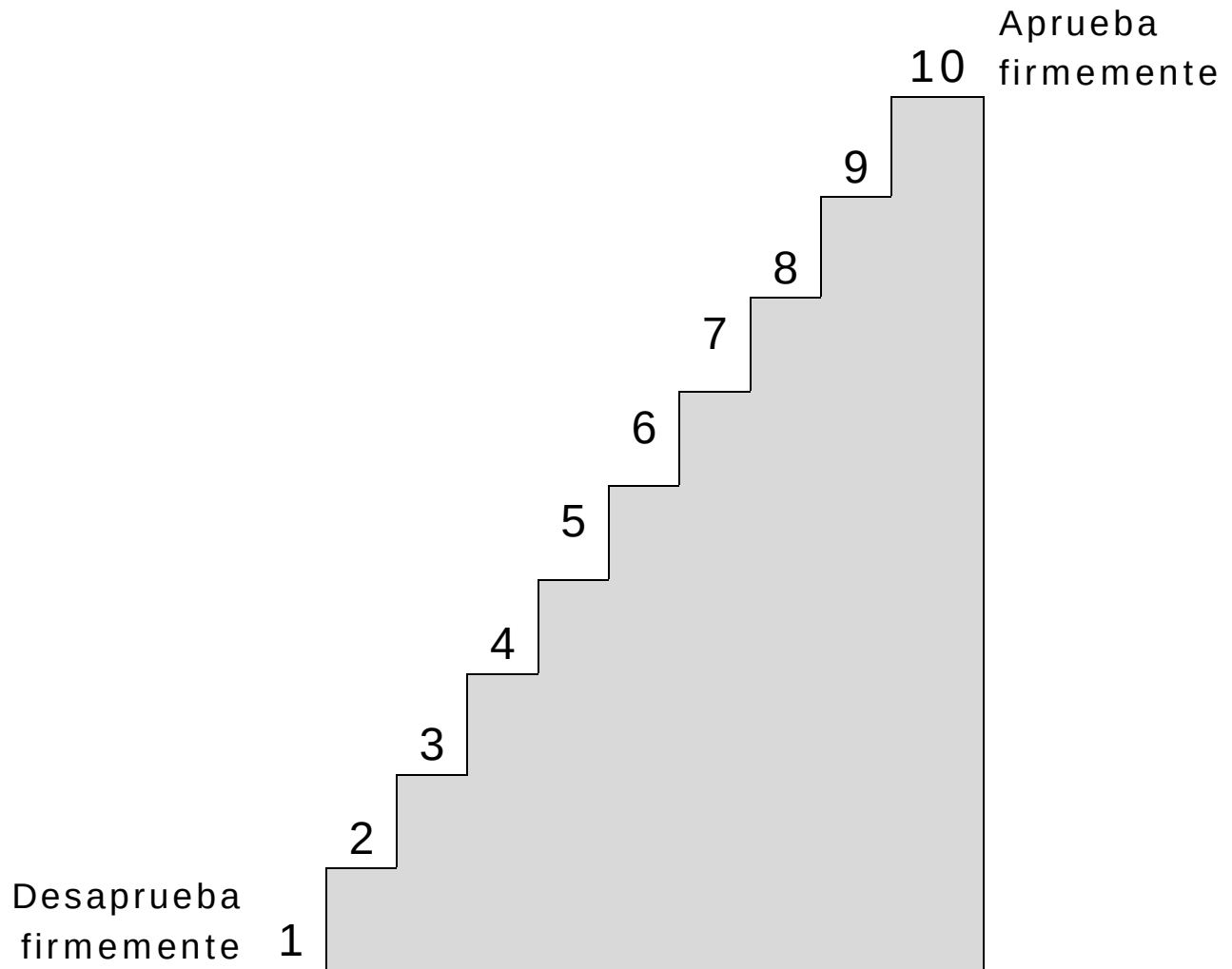
Tarjeta “F”

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Izquierda					Derecha				

Tarjeta “G”



Tarjeta "H"



Tarjeta “I”

- (00) Ningún ingreso
- (01) Menos de \$45
- (02) Entre \$46- \$90
- (03) \$91-\$144
- (04) \$145-\$288
- (05) \$289-\$432
- (06) \$433-\$576
- (07) \$577-\$720
- (08) \$721-1008
- (09) \$1009-\$1440
- (10) \$1441-y más

Appendix B: Systematic Observation Questionnaire

LAPOP estudio de comunidades Observación Spanish Version # 10 IRB Approval: 091357

 USAID FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE	 B&A Borge y Asociados
	
	

El Salvador, 2012.- Cuestionario de Observación Sistemática
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PAIS. 03. El Salvador	□	□	
IDNUM. Número de cuestionario [asignado en la oficina] _____	□	□	
PROV. Departamento	□	□	
(1) La Libertad (2) Santa Ana			
MUNICIPIO. Nombre del Municipio:	□	□	
(1) Chalchuapa (2) San Juan Opico (3) Santa Ana (4) Zaragoza			
NOMBAR. Nombre del Barrio/ Colonia/Comunidad _____			
MANZANA. Número de manzana	□	□	
CUADRA. Número de cuadra dentro de la manzana o pasaje	□	□	

FECHA. Fecha de la entrevista día: _____ mes: _____ año: 2012 HORA. Hora de inicio: _____ : _____ AM PM	-----
--	-------

Apariencia física de la cuadra

Anotar el número de veces que observa lo siguiente en esta cuadra del barrio:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 o más	Total
PHD1. Botaderos o promontorios de basura al aire libre												
PHD2. Basura o cristales rotos tirados en la calle o acera												
PHD6. Paradas de buses o microbuses en esta cuadra												
PHD7. Cervecerías o tiendas para la venta de alcohol en esta cuadra												
PHD9. Locales de bailes exóticos ("barra shows" o "table dance") en esta cuadra												
PHD3. Graffiti o murales alusivos a pandillas												
PHD4. Graffiti o murales no alusivos a pandillas												
PHD5. Número de viviendas en esta cuadra que tienen defensas o barrotes de metal en las ventanas												
FPH1. Número de botellas/latas de licor o cerveza vacías tiradas en la calle o acera												

[illegible]

Anotar si observa o no lo siguiente en esta cuadra del barrio:	Sí	No	
FPH7. Presencia de aguas negras o residuales en las calles.	1	2	
FPH8. Lugares que generen malos olores (mataderos, fábricas, letrinas).	1	2	

Material de la calle de la cuadra

PHD8. Material de la calle en la cuadra

1. Pavimento o asfalto	2. Cemento	3. Adoquines	4. Tierra	5. Piedra	6. Grava
7. Otro					

Observaciones de personas en la cuadra

Observaciones de personas en la cuadra	Sí	No
Anotar si observa o no lo siguiente en esta cuadra del barrio:		
DISO1. Personas discutiendo de una forma agresiva o violenta (hablando en un tono de voz muy alto, con enojo)	1	2
DISO2. Niños en la acera o calle sin la supervisión de un adulto	1	2
DISO3. Jóvenes en las calles sin hacer nada, vagando	1	2
DISO4. Presencia de jóvenes con tatuajes en partes visibles del cuerpo	1	2
DISO5. Mendigos o personas pidiendo dinero	1	2
DISO6. Personas prostituyéndose en la calle	1	2
DISO7. Personas en estado de ebriedad o bajo la influencia de drogas en la vía pública	1	2

Recursos de la cuadra

Anotar si esta cuadra cuenta con los siguientes recursos:	Sí	No
RESO1. Alumbrado eléctrico público	1	2
RESO2. Puesto de policía	1	2
RESO3. Parques o áreas recreativas	1	2
RESO4. Iglesia católica	1	2
RESO5. Iglesia evangélica/protestante	1	2
RESO6. Centro educativo público	1	2
RESO7. Centro educativo privado	1	2
RESO8. Guardería infantil	1	2
RESO9. Hospital o puesto de salud público	1	2
RESO10. Clínica privada	1	2
RESO11. Casa comunal	1	2
RESO12. Casa de la cultura	1	2
RESO13. Otra oficina de una institución privada	1	2
RESO14. Otra oficina de una institución pública	1	2
RESO15. Cyber-café, Infocentro u otro establecimiento que provea servicios de Internet a la comunidad.	1	2

Observación final

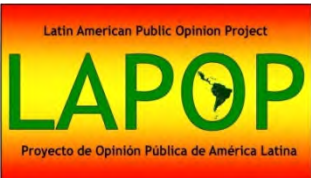
TRAT1. ¿Cómo le trataron las personas residentes en esta cuadra del barrio?

- (1) No había gente alrededor
- (2) No le pusieron mucha atención
- (3) Le trataron bien, lo saludaron
- (4) Le trataron con desconfianza
- (5) Le interrogaron de forma agresiva sobre lo que andaba haciendo

Comentarios sobre el aspecto físico/recursos de la cuadra:

Appendix C: Enumeration Survey (Census)

LAPOP estudio de comunidades Enumeration Spanish Version # 11 IRB Approval: 091357

 USAID FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE	 B&A Borge y Asociados
 Latin American Public Opinion Project LAPOP Proyecto de Opinión Pública de América Latina	 AmericasBarometer Barómetro de las Américas by LAPOP www.AmericasBarometer.org
 VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY	

El Salvador, 2010

Cuestionario de enumeración (censo)

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SECCION I. LOCALIZACIÓN GEOGRÁFICA

PAIS. 03. El Salvador	☐ ☐
IDNUM. Número de cuestionario [asignado en la oficina] _____	☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
PROV. Departamento : (1) La Libertad (2) Santa Ana	☐ ☐
MUNICIPIO. Nombre municipio: (1) Chalchuapa (2) San Juan Opico (3) Santa Ana (4) Zaragoza	☐ ☐
NOMBAR. Nombre del Barrio/ Colonia/Comunidad _____	
MANZANA. Número de manzana _____	☐ ☐ ☐
CUADRA. Número de cuadra dentro de la manzana o pasaje. _____	☐ ☐
NUMVIVI. NÚMERO DE LA VIVIENDA DENTRO DE LA CUADRA: _____	☐ ☐
NUMHOGAR. NÚMERO DEL HOGAR DENTRO DE LA VIVIENDA _____	☐ ☐
FECHA. Fecha de la entrevista día: _____ mes: _____ año: 2010 Hora de inicio: _____ : _____ AM PM	_____
ATENCIÓN: ES UN REQUISITO LEER SIEMPRE LA HOJA DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO ANTES DE COMENZAR	

SECCION II. CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA VIVIENDA

VIV1. [No preguntar] La vivienda es: (1) Casa independiente (2) Casa en fila (3) En edificio (condominio o apartamento) (4) Pieza en casa (5) Pieza en mesón (6) Rancho o choza (7) Otra (vivienda móvil, carpa, etc.) (8) Comercial [TERMINA]	
VIV2. [No preguntar] La vivienda está: (1) Ocupada [Siga] (2) Desocupada, de uso ocasional [Termina] (3) Desocupada, en alquiler [Termina] (4) Desocupada, en venta [Termina] (5) Desocupada, en reparación o construcción [Termina] (6) Desocupada, por otra razón [Termina]	

[Para uso del entrevistador] Estado de la entrevista	INT1A. Primer intento	INT1B. Segundo intento	INT1C. Tercer intento	INT1D. Cuarto intento	INT1E. Quinto intento
Informante apto aceptó ser entrevistado	1	1	1	1	1
Nadie en casa	2	2	2	2	2
No hay personas mayores de 18 años presentes	3	3	3	3	3
Sólo empleada (o) doméstica o visitante presente	4	4	4	4	4
Informante no apto (mudo, enfermos mentales, borrachos, personas agresivas, etc.)	5	5	5	5	5
Informante no habla el idioma de la encuesta o es extranjero	6	6	6	6	6
Todos los habitantes son extranjeros [Terminar cuestionario]	7	7	7	7	7
Informante presente rehusó pero indicó que otro miembro del hogar puede ser entrevistado en otro momento	8	8	8	8	8
Nadie en el hogar quiso ser entrevistado	9	9	9	9	9

[Comenzar entrevista]

VIV4. Para comenzar, me podría decir, ¿De qué material es la mayor parte de las paredes de la vivienda? [No leer alternativas] (1) Concreto, bloque, o ladrillos pegados con cemento (2) Bahareque (3) Adobe (4) Madera (5) Lámina metálica (6) Paja, palma u otro vegetal (7) Materiales reciclables (8) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	
--	--

VIV5. ¿De qué material es la mayor parte del techo de la vivienda? [No leer alternativas] (1) Plataforma de concreto o cemento (2) Lámina de asbesto (Duralita) (4) Teja (5) Lámina metálica (6) Paja, palma u otro vegetal (7) Materiales reciclables (8) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	
VIV6. ¿De qué material es la mayor parte del piso? [Leer alternativas] (1) Cerámica (2) Ladrillo de cemento (3) Ladrillo de barro (4) Madera (5) Tierra (7) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	

Podría decirme si en esta vivienda tienen: [Leer todos]				
R1. Televisor	(0) No			(1) Sí
R3. Refrigeradora (nevera)	(0) No			(1) Sí
R4. Teléfono convencional/fijo (no celular)	(0) No			(1) Sí
R4A. Teléfono celular	(0) No			(1) Sí
R5. Vehículo. ¿Cuántos?	(0) No	(1) Uno	(2) Dos	(3) Tres o más
R6. Lavadora de ropa	(0) No			(1) Sí
R7. Microondas	(0) No			(1) Sí
R8. Motocicleta	(0) No			(1) Sí
R14. Cuarto de baño dentro de la casa	(0) No			(1) Sí
R19. Ducha para agua caliente	(0) No			(1) Sí
R15. Computadora	(0) No			(1) Sí
R16. Televisor de pantalla plana	(0) No			(1) Sí
R18. Servicio de internet	(0) No			(1) Sí

HOG1. ¿Cuántas personas habitan en esta vivienda contando los niños pequeños, los ancianos, y otras personas que duermen aquí?
HOG4. ¿Cuántas de las personas que habitan esta vivienda tienen 18 años o más?
HOG2. ¿Todas las personas que habitan en esta vivienda comparten un mismo gasto para la comida? (1) Sí (2) No
HOG3. ¿Cuántos hogares o grupos de personas tienen gasto separado para la comida contando el de usted? [Anotar Número] _____

HOGID. Número de orden del hogar dentro de la vivienda [En PDA crear registros individuales para cada posible hogar (máximo 10 hogares)]:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	-----------

LAS SIGUIENTES PREGUNTAS APLICAN A CADA UNO DE LOS HOGARES DENTRO DE LA VIVIENDA.

SECCION III. HOGARES

VIV7. ¿De cuántos cuartos dispone este hogar sin contar baño, corredor, cocina ni garaje? [Anote uno si no hay divisiones en la vivienda y pase a VIV9] (88) NS (98) NR	☐ ☐
VIV8. Del total de cuartos, ¿Cuántos utilizan exclusivamente como dormitorios? _____ (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP	☐ ☐
VIV9. ¿Cuál es la forma de tenencia de la vivienda/cuarto que ocupa este hogar? Esta vivienda/cuarto es [Leer alternativas] : (1) Propia (4) La ocupa gratuitamente (2) Propia pagándose a plazos (7) Otra tenencia (3) Alquilada (88) NS (98) NR	
VIV10. ¿Cómo se deshacen de las aguas negras en este hogar? [Leer alternativas] (1) Por alcantarillado (4) Por calle o al aire libre (2) Por fosa séptica (5) Otra forma (3) Por quebrada, río, lago (88) NS (98) NR	
VIV11. ¿Cómo se deshacen de la basura en este hogar? [Leer alternativas] (1) Hay servicio municipal de recolección de basura (2) Hay servicio privado de recolección de basura (3) La depositan en contenedores (4) La entierran (5) La queman (6) En botadero al aire libre (7) La depositan en cualquier lugar (8) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	
VIV12. ¿De dónde proviene el agua que utilizan en este hogar? [Leer alternativas] (1) Cañería dentro de la vivienda [Siga] (2) Cañería fuera de la vivienda pero dentro de la propiedad [Siga] (3) Cañería del vecino [Siga] (4) Pila o chorro público [Siga] (5) Pozo [Pase a VIV14] (6) Camión, carreta o pipa [Pase a VIV14] (7) Ojo de agua, río o quebrada [Pase a VIV14] (8) Agua lluvia [Pase a VIV14] (9) Otro [Pase a VIV14] (88) NS [Pase a VIV14] (98) NR [Pase a VIV14]	
VIV13. ¿Con qué frecuencia le llega el agua? [Leer alternativas] (1) Todos los días (2) Cada dos días (3) Cada tres días (4) Una vez a la semana (5) Una vez cada dos semanas (6) Una vez al mes (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP	
VIV14. ¿Qué tipo de alumbrado utilizan principalmente en este hogar? [Leer alternativas] (1) Electricidad (4) Panel solar (2) Kerosene o gas (5) Batería de carro (3) Candela (6) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	

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SECCION III. MIEMBROS DEL HOGAR Y CARACTERÍSTICAS SOCIODEMOGRÁFICAS [No olvide registrar a los miembros ausentes temporales por un período menor de 4 meses, recién nacidos y domésticas que duermen en el hogar, estudiantes en el extranjero y/o enfermos financiados por el hogar]

ID.	HM01. Por favor, dígame el primer nombre de las personas que habitualmente residen en esta vivienda, empezando por el jefe o jefa del hogar.	HM02. ¿Qué relación de parentesco tiene (NOMBRE)...con el jefe(a) del hogar? (1) Jefe (a) (2) Esposo(a), compañero(a) (3) Hijo(a) (4) Padre/madre (5) Yerno/nuera (6) Nieto(a) /bisnieto(a) (7) Hermano(a) (8) Sobrino(a) (9) Padre/madre (10) Suegro(a) (11) Otros familiares (tío, etc.) (12) Empleada doméstica (13) Otra persona no pariente (88) NS (98) NR	HM03. [ANOTAR, NO PREGUNTE]: (1) Hombre (2) Mujer	HM04. ¿Qué edad tiene (NOMBRE) en años cumplidos? Anote 00 para los menores de un año. (888) NS (998) NR	HM08. [Solo para mayores de 5 años] ¿(Nombre) asiste o asistió a un centro de educación formal? (1) Asiste actualmente (2) No asiste actualmente, pero asistía antes (3) Nunca asistió [Pasar a HM06] (88) NS [Pase a HM06] (98) NR [Pase a HM06]	[HM05.Solo para mayores de 5 años] ¿Cuál fue el último grado o nivel de educación que (NOMBRE) completó o aprobó? (0) Ninguno (1) Parvularia (2) Primaria (de 1 a 6 grado) (3) Secundaria (de 7 a 9 grado) (4) Bachillerato (5) Superior universitario (6) Superior no universitario (técnico, vocacional) (7) Educación especial [para personas con discapacidades] (8) Otros (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP	HM06. [Solo para mayores de 10 años] ¿Cuál es el estado civil de (NOMBRE)? (1) Soltero (2) Casado (3) Unión libre (acompañado) (4) Divorciado (5) Separado (6) Viudo (88) NS (98)NR	HM07. [Solo para mayores de 10 años] ¿A qué se dedica (NOMBRE) principalmente? [Leer alternativas] (1) ¿Está Trabajando? (2) ¿No está trabajando en este momento pero tiene trabajo? (3) ¿Está buscando trabajo activamente? (4) ¿Es estudiante? (5) ¿Se dedica a los quehaceres de su hogar? (6) ¿Está jubilado, pensionado o incapacitado permanentemente para trabajar? (7) ¿No trabaja y no está buscando trabajo? (88) NS (98) NR
01								
02								
03								
04								
05								
06								
07								
08								
09								
10								
11								
12								

SECCION IV. INGRESOS Y MIGRACION

Q10D. El salario o sueldo que usted recibe y el total del ingreso familiar: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

- (1) Les alcanza bien y pueden ahorrar
- (2) Les alcanza justo sin grandes dificultades
- (3) No les alcanza y tienen dificultades
- (4) No les alcanza y tienen grandes dificultades
- (88) **[No leer]** NS
- (98) **[No leer]** NR

Q10A. ¿Usted o alguien que vive en su casa recibe remesas (ayuda económica) del exterior?

- (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

Q10C. [Preguntar a todos] ¿Tiene usted familiares cercanos que antes vivieron en esta casa y que hoy estén residiendo en el exterior? **[Si dijo “Sí”, preguntar ¿en dónde?]**

[No leer alternativas]

- (1) Sí, en los Estados Unidos solamente **[Siga]**
- (2) Sí, en los estados Unidos y en otros países **[Siga]**
- (3) Sí, en otros países (no en estados Unidos) **[Siga]**
- (4) No **[Pase a Q14]**
- (88) NS **[Pase a Q14]**
- (98) NR **[Pase a Q14]**

Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo. Muchísimas gracias por su colaboración. Es posible que visitemos su hogar nuevamente en los próximos días para saber su opinión sobre lo que pasa en el país y en su comunidad. Le agradecemos de antemano su colaboración.

Hora terminada la entrevista _____ : _____

TI. Duración de la entrevista *[minutos, ver página # 1]* _____

TI

☐	☐
☐	☐

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada a cabo con la persona indicada y el lugar indicado.

Firma del entrevistador _____ Fecha ____ / ____ / ____

Firma del supervisor de campo _____

Comentarios:

Firma de la persona que digitó los datos _____

Firma de la persona que verificó los datos _____

Appendix D: Previsit Questionnaire

Guía para la realización de visitas previas

Fecha de la visita: Día _____ Mes _____ Año _____

Hora: _____ AM PM

I. Ubicación

Departamento: _____

Municipio: _____

Zona: _____

Cantón: _____

II. Identificación de la comunidad

Número asignado en oficina: _____

Nombre completo de la comunidad: _____

Nombre como es conocida la comunidad entre los pobladores: _____

Dirección exacta: _____

Cómo llegar a la comunidad: _____

III. Características de las comunidades

Distancia aproximada de la comunidad a la alcaldía (en kilómetros): _____

Forma de acceso a la comunidad:	Sí	No
Peatonal	1	2
Vehicular	1	2
Ruta de buses, microbuses	1	2

En promedio, cuántas viviendas estima que hay en esta comunidad: _____

Teniendo en cuenta las condiciones socio-económicas del municipio, ¿cómo calificaría a esta comunidad?:

- (1) Estrato socio-económico alto
- (2) Estrato socio-económico medio
- (3) Estrato socio-económico bajo

¿Hay otras comunidades a la par o contiguas a esta comunidad?

No _____

Sí _____ [Listar nombre (s) abajo]

--

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¿Hay junta directiva o una ADESCO en esta comunidad?

IV. Experiencia en la comunidad

- 1) ¿Para realizar la visita tuvo el acompañamiento de alguien que reside en la comunidad (un líder comunitario, un miembro de la junta directiva, o vecino residente en el lugar)?

Sí_

No_

- 2) ¿Sostuvo alguna conversación o intercambio de palabras con algún otro residente de la comunidad?

Sí, con una persona

Sí, con dos personas

Sí, con tres personas

Sí, con más de tres personas

No

- 3) En general, ¿Cómo le recibió la gente de la comunidad?

- 4) Observaciones:

INDICACIONES PARA TRAZADO DE CROQUIS/MAPA

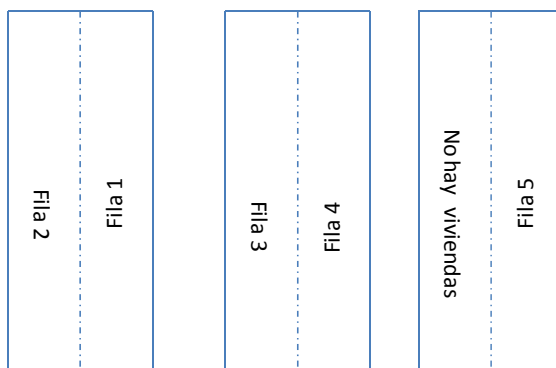
En una página de papel bond, dibujar un croquis o mapa de cada comunidad. En el mapa se debe de indicar:

- 1) Los límites exactos de la comunidad (el nombre de la calle, pasaje, vereda que delimitan a la comunidad)
- 2) Puntos de referencia claves:
 - Canchas (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que son accesibles a pie)
 - Iglesias (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que son accesibles a pie)
 - Escuelas (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que son accesibles a pie)
 - Centros de salud (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que son accesibles a pie)
 - Casa comunal (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que es accesible a pie)
- 3) Delimitación interna de la comunidad: dibujo de cada manzana indicando si hay una o dos filas de casas en cada manzana. Esta información es clave para determinar el diseño de la muestra en cada comunidad.

Indicaciones para el trazado del dibujo: a) línea solida: delimita la manzana b) línea punteada: delimita cada fila de viviendas

Por ejemplo, en el siguiente croquis de la delimitación interna de la comunidad X, se observa que hay tres manzanas con un total de 5 filas de casas. La manzana de la derecha indica que solo hay viviendas en una cara de la manzana. Por supuesto, el dibujo tiene que coincidir con la forma de cada manzana, no tiene que ser necesariamente rectangular (puede ser de forma circular u cualquier otra forma).

Comunidad/Colonia X



INDICACIONES PARA FOTOGRAFIAS

Se solicita tomar **un número mínimo de 10 fotografías de buena calidad** por cada comunidad. Las fotografías deberán ser tomadas de acuerdo a los siguientes criterios:

- 1) Mínimo dos fotografías panorámicas, mostrando la parte externa o la entrada a la comunidad
- 2) Mínimo dos fotografías panorámicas, mostrando como lucen las viviendas de la comunidad
- 3) Mínimo dos fotografías panorámicas, mostrando como lucen los caminos o calles de la comunidad
- 4) Mínimo dos fotografías, mostrando algún tipo de actividad económica dentro de la comunidad (tienda, mercado, supermercado, etc.)
- 5) Mínimo una fotografía a cada uno de los puntos de referencia claves encontrados adentro de la comunidad o en las afueras:
 - Canchas (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que son accesibles a pie)
 - Iglesias (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que son accesibles a pie)
 - Escuelas (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que son accesibles a pie)
 - Centros de salud (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que son accesibles a pie)
 - Casa comunal (adentro o en las afueras de la comunidad que es accesible a pie)

Appendix E: Qualitative Interview Questionnaires

The qualitative questionnaires in this section are those used in round three of the qualitative interviews. The core of these questionnaires also served as a basis for the questions asked at the focus groups. The versions of the questionnaires used in round three were based on those constructed for round one, the baseline year. However, the questions asked in rounds two and three included items asking the stakeholders if they noticed any changes “in the past 12 months” regarding key outcomes (e.g., frequency of homicides, robberies, extortion). In addition, the questionnaires evolved, and were modified, as new information was discovered in the first and second rounds of interviews. Finally, two additional stakeholder groups were added in rounds two and three: (1) treatment implementers (Creative Associates and RTI staff) and (2) youth-at-risk.



Estudio de comunidades en Centroamérica: El Salvador, year 3, 2012
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Cuestionario para Líderes Comunales y Sacerdotes/Pastores (y representantes de la Alcaldía)

[Antes de comenzar la entrevista, léale al/la entrevistado/a el formulario de consentimiento. Se debe grabar la lectura del formulario.]

I. [La siguiente serie a-i solamente es para miembros de los Consejos (o comités) Municipales para la Prevención de la Violencia. Si el/la entrevistado/a no pertenece a tal consejo/comité, ni es alcalde, se debe brincar esta serie y seguir con #1.]

Hablando primero del Consejo Municipal para la Prevención de la Violencia [o el comité que se halla en Panama]):

- a. ¿Cómo nació o cómo se fundó este Consejo/comité?
- b. ¿Me puede decir que objetivos, o metas, ha establecido este Consejo/comité?
- c. ¿Me puede explicar la forma de trabajar de este Consejo/comité (en qué sectores se especializan los y las miembros, con qué frecuencia se reúnen, que problemas específicas están tratando de resolver?
- d. ¿Hay subcomisiones dentro del Consejo/comité? ¿Cuáles son?
- e. ¿Qué logros ha tenido el Consejo/comité hasta el momento?
- f. ¿Cuáles son los obstáculos al éxito que enfrenta el Consejo/comité? ¿Siente usted frustrado(a) con su forma de trabajar? ¿Por qué?
- g. ¿Qué cambios propondría usted para mejorar el funcionamiento del Consejo/comité?
- h. ¿Qué sector comunitario representa usted?

- i. ¿Qué proyectos para bajar el nivel de violencia tienen ustedes planeados en este momento? [Pedir que los explique con detalles]
- j. ¿Cuál es el rol del representante de la policía en el Consejo/comité?
- k. ¿Qué tipos de violencia trata de mitigar el Consejo/comité?
- l. ¿Qué rol juega el alcalde en el Consejo/comité?

Preguntas especiales para alcaldes u otros miembros de la alcaldía:

- a. ¿Qué rol juega la alcaldía en prevenir la violencia en el distrito?
- b.. ¿Si hay un comité especial dedicado a la prevención de la violencia, cómo es distinto el trabajo de este comité al trabajo de los otros comités de la alcaldía?
- c. Si usted pudiera cambiar la forma de trabajar de este comité, ¿Qué cambios llevaría a cabo?
- d. ¿Hay algún contacto entre la alcaldía y las escuelas y colegios del distrito? ¿Cómo es ese contacto? (que explique el entrevistado)
- e. ¿Hay coordinación entre la alcaldía y las iglesias o templos del distrito de [nombrar el distrito]?
- f. ¿Qué tipo de coordinación hay entre la alcaldía y los comités o asociaciones comunitarias de las distintas comunidades del distrito? Por ejemplo, hay contacto entre la alcaldía y las asociaciones comunales? [¿qué tipo de contacto hay?]
- g. ¿Hay coordinación entre la alcaldía y el hospital u otra unidad de salud?
- h. ¿Cuáles son los enfoques distintos de la Policía Nacional Civil y la Seguridad Ciudadana? ¿Cómo trabajan estos organismos con la alcaldía? ¿Qué trata de lograr cada una al nivel del distrito?
- i. [Si hay un comité enfocado en la prevención de la violencia, preguntar] ¿El comité de prevención de violencia tiene sus propios recursos económicos? ¿De dónde vienen estos recursos? Si no son suficientes, cuáles de los sectores que tienen representación en el comité más necesitan fondos para bajar el nivel de violencia en el municipio?
- j. De los sectores que tienen representación en el comité, ¿cuál o cuáles más merecen fondos municipales para bajar el nivel de violencia?

1. En su opinión, ¿cuál es el problema más grave que enfrenta la comunidad en la que usted trabaja?

[Sondear: En qué sentido? ¿Me puede explicar esto?]

Y en la comunidad en la que usted vive, ¿cuál es el problema más grave?

2. Cuando hay un problema aquí, los vecinos hacen algo para resolverlo? ¿Qué han hecho los vecinos para resolver los problemas de la comunidad? (Sondeo: ¿me puede dar un ejemplo en que los vecinos han resuelto un problema de la comunidad?)

3. ¿Qué tan unida es la comunidad en que trabaja? [Sondeo: ¿por qué dice esto? Favor de explicar.]

4. ¿Hasta qué punto está la gente de la comunidad en la que trabaja dispuesta a ayudar a sus vecinos? [Explicar]

5. Con respecto al tema de la policía, ¿cómo siente Ud. cuando tiene que tratar con un policía? [Sondear]

6. ¿Siente temor o desconfianza? [Sondeo: ¿Por qué?]

7. ¿Piensa usted que el policía está allí para protegerlo(a)? ¿Me puede explicar por qué piensa así? [Sondeo: ¿Qué experiencias ha tenido Ud. personalmente con un policía en los últimos 12 meses?

Y su familia, ¿qué experiencias han tenido los miembros de su familia con la policía en los últimos 12 meses?

8. Continuando con el tema de la policía y su rol con respecto a la delincuencia, ¿los policías que vienen a su comunidad hacen algo para reducir el nivel de delincuencia? [Sondeo: favor de explicar]

9. ¿Usted tiene conocimiento de si la policía *en los últimos 12 meses* ha impartido charlas en las escuelas, colegios o institutos, para prevenir la delincuencia entre los jóvenes?

[Si dice que sí, preguntar: ¿Sobre qué temas imparten charlas?]

[Si dice que no sabe, pregunta: Si se hicieran charlas, ¿estaría Ud. de acuerdo con que la policía haga esto? ¿Por qué (no)?]

10. ¿La policía que viene a la comunidad en la que trabaja, participa en otros esfuerzos de la comunidad para combatir la delincuencia entre los jóvenes? Por ejemplo, participa en comités, juntas, o asociaciones comunitarios para prevenir la delincuencia juvenil?

[Sondeo: ¿con qué comités trabaja, y qué hace la policía en estos comités?]

a. ¿Qué tanto éxito han tenido los esfuerzos de la policía en prevenir la delincuencia juvenil por medio de estos comités? [Explicar]

b. ¿Las personas de su comunidad hacen denuncias en las delegaciones de policía? [Si dice que no, o que algunos no, preguntar que por qué no.]

¿Hay Centros de Denuncia por ahí, adonde uno puede ir para hacer una denuncia?

c. ¿Hay cierto período después de enterarse de un delito dentro del cual hay que hacer la denuncia?

d. ¿Ha hecho usted una denuncia *en los últimos 12 meses*? ¿Cómo era esta experiencia? ¿Fue usted a la delegación o subdelegación de policía, o simplemente llamó por teléfono? Supo después qué pasó al final con el delincuente?

d. (1) Las personas de esta comunidad, ¿a veces toman la justicia en sus propias manos (¿usan el linchamiento?) cuando la policía no hace suficiente para encontrar y detener los delincuentes? ¿Qué han hecho en tal caso? (¿Me puede contar de un incidente de justicia por las propias manos que ha pasado en esta comunidad?)

e. Pasando a otro tema, ¿ha sido usted víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿ha sido usted víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o **algún otro tipo** de acto delictual en los últimos 12 meses? La última vez que fue víctima, el atacante era:

- (1) Un miembro de su hogar
- (2) Otro pariente
- (3) Un amigo cercano a usted o su familia
- (4) Un vecino
- (5) Un conocido o grupo de personas que conoce de vista
- (6) Un extraño o un grupo de extraños
- (7) No lo vio
- (88) No sabe
- (98) No responde
- (99) INAP

f. ¿La última vez que fue víctima, denunció el hecho a alguna institución?
[Si dice que no, preguntar por qué no denunció el hecho]

g. ¿En qué situaciones denunciaría Ud. un acto de delincuencia a las autoridades?
¿Dónde haría la denuncia?
¿Qué tipos de delincuencia ha denunciado a la policía en el pasado? (¿Hace cuánto tiempo fue eso?)

h. En la comunidad en la que trabaja, ¿qué actos de delincuencia se denuncian, por lo general? ¿Y en la comunidad en la que vive?

i. ¿Qué actos no se denuncian, generalmente en la comunidad en la que trabaja?
¿Por qué no? Y en la comunidad en la que vive?

j. Hablando ahora de la policía, si usted fuera víctima de un robo o asalto, ¿cuánto confiaría en que la policía capturaría al culpable?

k. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que la policía de este barrio protege a la gente frente a los delincuentes?

l. ¿Hasta qué punto cree que la policía está involucrada en la delincuencia?

m. ¿Qué tan confiables son los policías que usted conoce?

n. ¿Hasta qué punto está usted satisfecho o insatisfecho con la calidad de servicios policiales por parte de la policía nacional en este barrio?

o. ¿Con qué frecuencia la policía nacional patrulla su barrio?

p. ¿La policía nacional se involucra con los niños y jóvenes de su barrio a través de actividades recreacionales y escolares en [nombre del barrio]? [que explique]

q. ¿La policía nacional habla con los residentes del barrio? ¿Dónde, en su casa, en las calles?

r. ¿La policía nacional asiste a reuniones de vecinos del barrio?

s. ¿Ha oído hablar del programa Vecino Vigilante? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?
¿Usted participa en el programa Vecino Vigilante?

¿Qué tan exitoso ha sido el programa en reducir el nivel de violencia en este barrio, según su opinión?

t. ¿Ha oído hablar del programa de Jóvenes Contra el Delito?

¿Qué sabe de este program? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Qué ha logrado el programa hasta el momento, según su entender?

u. ¿Ha oído del programa “Verano Feliz”? ¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito?

u2. ¿Ha oído hablar del programa “Verano sin Violencia”? ¿Qué sabe al respecto?

v. ¿Conoce el programa “Dame una Oportunidad”? ¿Qué sabe al respecto?

w. ¿Ha oído hablar de “Los Conquistadores”? ¿Qué sabe de ellos?

x. ¿Ha oído del programa Soldados Anónimas? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?

¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito?

y. ¿Ha oído de los Jóvenes en el Mundo y la Violencia? ¿Qué sabe del programa?

z. ¿Ha oído hablar del programa Jóvenes contra el Delito? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?

11. ¿Cuáles son los comités o asociaciones en la comunidad en la que trabaja que tratan de prevenir la delincuencia de los jóvenes (por ejemplo, qué esfuerzos hacen para prevenir que los jóvenes se metan en pandillas)?

12. ¿Qué hacen estos comités o asociaciones para prevenir que se metan los jóvenes en pandillas?

12a. ¿Hasta qué punto diría que su barrio está afectado por las pandillas? ¿Diría que mucho, algo, poco, o nada? [que explique su respuesta]

12b. Los pandilleros viven en su barrio? [Si dice que “no”, preguntar: ¿De dónde vienen?

12c. Los pandilleros que viven en su barrio, ¿hay algunos que han sido deportados de los Estados Unidos?

¿Qué delitos habían cometido en los Estados Unidos?

¿Qué estatus tienen los deportados entre sus compañeros pandilleros? ¿Tienen un rol especial en las pandillas?

¿Los deportados, habían sido inmigrantes legales o ilegales en los Estados Unidos?

¿A cuál mara pertenecían en los Estados Unidos? ¿En que estado habían vivido?

13. ¿Los comités o asociaciones en el barrio [nombrarlo], han hecho algo para animarles a los pandilleros que abandonen las pandillas? ¿Qué han hecho?

14. ¿Hay en esa comunidad programas de rehabilitación para los que han dejado las pandillas? ¿Cómo se llaman estos programas?

[Si dice que no los hay, preguntar: ¿Por qué será que no hay programas de rehabilitación en su comunidad?]

15. ¿Cree usted que los jóvenes pueden dejar de ser pandilleros? [Sondear: ¿Por qué cree que no?]

[Si dice que sí, preguntar: ¿Cuál es la forma de salir de una pandilla?]

****15ª.** *¿Qué opina usted de la paz que ha habido recientemente entre las maras? ¿Cuál es el motivo por esta cesación de violencia de parte de las maras? ¿Qué se podría hacer para alargar la paz para que sea permanente?*

16. Los comités/asociaciones que tratan de prevenir que los jóvenes se metan en pandillas, ¿hasta qué punto han tenido éxito en sus esfuerzos en los últimos 12 meses? [Explicar. ¿Me puede dar unos ejemplos de los logros que han tenido?]

17. Los líderes de esa comunidad en la que trabaja, ¿han hecho algo para prevenir la delincuencia en la niñez o la adolescencia en esta comunidad *en los últimos 12 meses*? ¿Qué han hecho?

18. Los líderes de la comunidad o los comités/asociaciones, ¿en los últimos 12 meses han pedido la ayuda al alcalde para resolver el problema de la delincuencia en su comunidad? ¿Qué ha hecho el alcalde?

19. Los líderes de estos comités o asociaciones, ¿en los últimos 12 meses han pedido la ayuda a algún diputado de la Asamblea Legislativa para reducir el nivel de delincuencia en la comunidad en que trabaja?

¿Qué pasó? ¿Logró el comité/asociación conseguir lo que quería? ¿Quedó satisfecho en cuanto a lograr sus metas?

[Explicar]

20. Los líderes de estos comités o asociaciones, ¿en los últimos 12 meses han pedido la ayuda a algún ministerio, o institución u oficina del estado para reducir el nivel de delincuencia en el barrio?

¿Cómo resultaron estas peticiones? ¿Se logró lo que se quería?

21. ¿Qué organizaciones que tratan de prevenir la delincuencia entre los niños y adolescentes han trabajado en este barrio? ¿Qué sabe de sus éxitos y logros?

22. Algunas comunidades en El Salvador han creados programas para prevenir la delincuencia y violencia de parte de los jóvenes. Le voy a nombrar algunos programas. Favor de decirme qué sabe al respecto (que hacen estos programas) y hasta qué punto han tenido éxito o no últimamente (¿qué sabe de sus logros?):

(1) Asociación Cultural para las Artes Escénicas (Asociación Escénica)

(2) CIDEP: Asociación Intersectorial para el Desarrollo Económico y el Progreso Social

- (3) Jóvenes Emprendedores(as) Sociales (Asociación Salvadoreña Pro Salud Rural)
- (4) SUPERATE: (COMTEC, complejo Técnico San Francisco de Sales)
- (5) FEPADE: Fundación Empresarial para el Desarrollo Educativo
- (6) FUNPRES: Fundación Pro Educación de El Salvador
- (7) FUNDASAL: Fundación Salvadoreña de Desarrollo y Vivienda Mínima
- (8) ISD: Iniciativa Social para la Democracia
- (9) PLAN El Salvador
- (10) FIECA: Fundación Innovaciones Educativas Centroamericanas
- (11) FUNDEMOSPAZ: Fundación para la Democracia, Seguridad y Paz
- (12) Somos Capaces de Proteger a Nuestros Jóvenes
- (13) Me Amo Me Respeto
- (14) Hay un Empleo Digno Para Mí
- (15) Disfruto Mi Comunidad

[La pregunta #23 es para las entrevistas que *no son* de miembros del Consejo Municipal para la Prevención de la Violencia]

23. ¿Ha oído de alguna programa de la alcaldía que trata de prevenir la violencia? Según lo que Ud. entiende, ¿qué hace, y cómo trabaja este programa?

a. ¿Hasta qué punto han tenido éxito este programa de Prevención de Violencia por acá (o en otros lugares)?

24. En su comunidad, hay una asociación educativa (por ejemplo, Comité Escolar o Comité de Colegio o Instituto)? Este comité, ¿hace algo para prevenir que los jóvenes se metan en pandillas? ¿Qué hace?

25. Entre los comités/asociaciones de su barrio, hay algunos que traten de mediar entre las pandillas? [Si dice que "sí"] ¿En qué forma se lleva a cabo tal mediación? [Favor de explicar, *dar un ejemplo]

25a. ¿Hay Centros de Mediación en este barrio? ¿Quiénes son las personas que llevan a cabo la mediación? ¿Qué tipos de casos se medían en esos centros? ¿Tratan casos de violencia?

26. En su opinión, ¿qué se debe de hacer en su comunidad para prevenir la delincuencia de los niños y adolescentes? ¿Qué medidas se deben de tomar y quién debe de encargarse de tomar estas medidas?

[Serie de preguntas para clérigos o líderes de grupos juveniles de iglesias/templos]

- a. ¿Su iglesia/templo organiza a los jóvenes en algún tipo de grupo?
- b. Este grupo, ¿hace algo para disuadir a los jóvenes que ingresen en pandillas? ¿Qué se hace? [Que el clérigo o líder del grupo dé ejemplos de los esfuerzos que están haciendo]
- c. ¿Cree usted que los esfuerzos de este grupo han logrado convencer a los jóvenes que no se ingresen en pandillas? ¿Qué le da esta impresión?
- d. ¿Qué recursos le hacen falta para lograr la meta de disuadir a los jóvenes que ingresen en pandillas? ¿Qué es lo que necesita y lo que le ayudaría tener más éxito en sus esfuerzos en este respecto?
- e. ¿Hay miembros de este grupo que actualmente son miembros de alguna pandilla?
- f. ¿Cree usted que estos pandilleros utilizan la iglesia/el templo como una manera de salir de la pandilla?
- g. ¿Es posible dejar de ser pandillero por esta ruta? ¿Ha habido casos de este tipo?
- h. ¿Coordina su iglesia/templo con otras instituciones de la comunidad?
 1. ¿Trabajan ustedes con los centros escolares? ¿En qué forma?
 2. ¿Trabajan juntos con el municipio? ¿Tienen contacto con el Consejo Municipal para la Prevención de la Violencia? ¿Qué tipo de contacto mantienen?
 3. ¿Trabajan ustedes juntos con alguna Adesco o con otras asociaciones comunitarias? ¿En qué forma? [Que explique]
 4. ¿Tienen ustedes contacto con la policía? ¿Con qué propósito se comunican?

[Serie de preguntas para líderes de asociaciones comunales]

- a. ¿Qué esfuerzos hace su asociación para reducir el nivel de violencia en su comunidad? [Dejarle explicar con profundidad]
- b. ¿Cuáles esfuerzos han tenido éxito? ¿Por qué cree que han sido exitosos? ¿Qué evidencia hay que han logrado sus metas?
- c. ¿Cuáles esfuerzos no han logrado su objetivo? ¿Por qué no han tenido éxito esos esfuerzos?
- d. Además de tratar de bajar el nivel de violencia en su comunidad, ¿qué otros proyectos tiene esta asociación actualmente? ¿Cómo andan estos proyectos, en cuanto a ser exitosos o no?
- e. Para lograr la meta de reducir el nivel de violencia en su comunidad, su asociación coopera con alguna otra institución? ¿Cuál? ¿En qué forma trabajan ustedes juntamente?
- f. [Si no ha mencionado las escuelas, sondear: ¿Tiene su asociación contacto con las escuelas o los colegios? ¿Qué tipo de contacto tienen ustedes?
- g. ¿Tiene relación con la alcaldía? ¿En qué forma?
- h. ¿Tiene vínculos con la alcaldía con respecto a la prevención de la violencia? ¿Cómo es este vínculo?
- i. ¿Tiene relación su asociación con alguna iglesia o algún templo? ¿En qué forma trabajan juntos?
- j. ¿Tiene relación su asociación con algún centro de salud? ¿Cuál es esta relación?

27. Hablando ahora de las maras y pandillas,

- a. ¿Hay maras o pandillas en la comunidad en que usted trabaja? ¿Cuáles son? [Si contestó que no, pasar a (c)]
- b. ¿Qué tipos de delitos cometen los pandilleros en las comunidades en que usted trabaja?
- c. ¿Cómo sabe usted si un joven es pandillero al verlo en la calle, qué características lo identifican como pandillero?
- [Dejarle mencionarlas. Después sondear:
- Ropa (¿cómo es?)
 - Tatuajes (¿Cómo son?)
 - Corte de pelo (¿Cómo es?)
1. ¿Los pandilleros tienen una forma de hablar especial de ellos? ¿Cómo es?
 2. ¿Usan una forma de comunicación **no verbal** -con las manos, gestos-especial?
- ¿Me las puede describir?
- d. Y si es niña o mujer, ¿cuáles son las características que señalan que ella es miembro de alguna pandilla?
- e. ¿Por qué motivos, cree usted, se ingresan los jóvenes en las pandillas y maras?
- ¿A qué edad lo hacen?
- f. Y las niñas y mujeres, ¿por qué se meten en ellas?
- g. ¿Hasta qué edad se quedan en las pandillas o maras?
- h. ¿Hay manera de salir de una pandilla o mara? ¿Cuál es la manera?
- i. ¿Conoce cuál es la diferencia entre “pandilla” y “clica”?
- j. Cuando usted ve grafitis (manchas), ¿los entiende? ¿Sabe qué significado tienen y a quién se dirigen estos mensajes [Sondear: A otra pandilla; a los miembros de la misma pandilla; a la Policía]?
- k. [Mostrarle fotos de grafitis y murallas, y pedirle que explique lo que significa cada uno].
- l. Hablando ahora de las bandas del crimen organizado, ¿Qué hacen?
- m. ¿En qué forma son distintas a las pandillas y maras? ¿En qué forma son parecidas? O sea, ¿qué tienen en común las bandas del crimen organizado con las pandillas y las maras?
28. Hablando ahora de su sentido de seguridad en la comunidad en que usted vive, ¿hasta qué punto se siente seguro(a) o inseguro(a) al caminar solo por el barrio cuando es de día? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué le hace sentir seguro(a)/ inseguro(a)? [Explicar]
29. Y cuando es de noche, ¿qué tan seguro(a) se siente al caminar por su comunidad? ¿Por qué?
30. ¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de que alguien entre a su casa a robar cuando no hay nadie? [Explicar por qué?]
31. ¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de que alguien lo detenga en la calle, lo amenace, lo golpee, o le haga daño en su comunidad? [¿Por qué?]

32. Para protegerse de la delincuencia, ¿tiene Ud. la costumbre de evitar pasar por algunos lugares en su barrio porque pueden ser peligrosos? ¿Por qué evita pasar por estos lugares?

33. ¿Ha hecho cambios físicos en su hogar para protegerse de la delincuencia (por ejemplo, ha construido muros, rejas, paredes exteriores adicionales a su casa)? ¿Cuándo hizo estos cambios?

34. ¿Ha puesto alambre de púas, “razor”, malla electrificada o vidrio roto alrededor de su casa? ¿Cuándo?

35. ¿Ha puesto más candados o chapas a las puertas de su casa? ¿Cuándo?

36. ¿Se ha comprado un perro guardián? ¿Cuándo?

37. ¿Ha adquirido o comprado un arma de fuego? ¿Cuándo?

38. ¿Ha contratado un servicio de seguridad privada o a un vigilante privado?

39. ¿Considera Ud. que el nivel de violencia actual en su barrio es **mayor, igual, o menor** que el de otros? ¿Qué le da esta impresión?

40. ¿Considera usted que el nivel de violencia actual en su barrio es **mayor, igual, o menor** que el de hace 12 meses? ¿Qué le da esta impresión? ¿Qué ha notado?

41. Ahora voy a leerle una lista de situaciones que pueden o no ser problema en algunos barrios. Por favor dígame si las siguientes situaciones son un problema muy serio, algo serio, poco serio, nada serio o no son un problema en **su barrio**. **[Repita después cada pregunta “es esto un problema muy serio, algo serio, poco serio, nada serio o no es un problema” para ayudar al entrevistado]. Si la persona dice “muy serio” o “algo serio,” sondear: ¿Me puede explicar por qué lo considera un problema?**

	Muy serio	Algo serio	Poco serio	Nada serio	No es un problema	NS	NR
DISO1. Manchas, graffiti o pintas en los muros.							
DISO3. Casas abandonadas							
DISO4. Basura en los andenes o calles							
DISO5. Predios baldíos con montes altos							
DISO6. Calles o lugares oscuros o sin iluminación							
DISO7. Jóvenes en las calles sin hacer nada, vagando							

DISO8. Jóvenes que viven en su barrio en pandillas o maras							
DISO9. Vandalismo o ataques intencionales a la propiedad privada							
DISO10. Venta o tráfico de drogas ilegales en su barrio							
DISO11. Gente peleando y discutiendo en la calle							
DISO12. Gente que insulta o molesta a la gente cuando caminan por las calles del barrio							
DISO13. Gente borracha en las calles							
DISO14. Gente endrogada en las calles							
DISO15. Robo a viviendas							
DISO16. Asaltos a las personas cuando caminan por la calle							
DISO17. Balaceras							
DISO18. Riñas o peleas de pandillas o maras							

Encuestador: Favor de dictar esta información en la grabadora

PAIS. 02. Panama 03. El Salvador 07. Panamáá
DEPARTAMENTO _____
MUNICIPIO _____
Nombre del Barrio/ Colonia/Comunidad _____

¿Cuál fue el último año de enseñanza que Ud. completó o aprobó? _____ Año de _____ (primaria, secundaria, universitaria, superior no universitaria) = _____ años total
Q2. ¿Cuál es su edad en años cumplidos? _____ años (NS=888, NR=988)
Q3C. Si usted es de alguna religión, ¿podría decirme de cuál es?

Q5A. ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste usted a servicios religiosos? [LEER ALTERNATIVAS]

- (1) Más de una vez por semana
- (2) Una vez por semana
- (3) Una vez al mes
- (4) Una o dos veces al año
- (5) Nunca o casi nunca
- (88) NS
- (98) NR

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "I"]

Q10. ¿En cuál de los siguientes rangos se encuentran los ingresos familiares mensuales de este hogar, incluyendo las remesas del exterior y el ingreso de todos los adultos e hijos que trabajan?

[Si no entiende, pregunte: ¿Cuánto dinero entra en total a su casa por mes?]

[10 Deciles basados en la moneda y distribución del país]

Tarjeta "I"

- (00) Ningún ingreso
- (01) Menos de \$25
- (02) Entre \$26- \$50
- (03) \$51-\$100
- (04) \$101-\$150
- (05) \$151-\$200
- (06) \$201-\$300
- (07) \$301-\$400
- (08) \$401-500
- (09) \$501-\$750
- (10) \$751-y más

Q12. ¿Tiene Ud. hijos(as)? ¿Cuántos? _____

OCUP1A. En su ocupación principal usted es: [Leer alternativas]

- (1) ¿Asalariado del gobierno o empresa estatal?
- (2) ¿Asalariado en el sector privado?
- (3) ¿Patrono o socio de empresa?
- (4) ¿Trabajador por cuenta propia?
- (5) ¿Trabajador no remunerado o sin pago?
- (88) NS
- (98) NR
- (99) INAP

Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo. Muchísimas gracias por su colaboración.

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada a cabo con la persona indicada.

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Estudio de comunidades en Centroamérica: El Salvador, year 3, 2013
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Cuestionario para Oficiales de Policía

- A. La unidad policial en la que trabaja el entrevistado(a) es:
- (1) Delegación policial
 - (2) Subdelegación policial
 - (3) Puesto policial
- B. ¿Cuál es el rango policial de la persona entrevistada? _____.
- C. ¿Cuál es su sexo? _____.
- D. ¿Cuál es su edad? _____.
- E. Escolaridad:
- (1) Secundaria (bachillerato)
 - (2) Universitaria (número de años aprobados) _____.
- F. Número de años que ha trabajado como policía: _____.
- G. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de estar trabajando en esta sub-estación policial? Y en el municipio de Esquipulas, ¿cuánto tiempo tiene de estar trabajando en Esquipulas?
- a. ¿Con qué frecuencia lo rotan de una sub-estación a otra?
 - b. Cuando lo rotan, ¿la rotación es dentro del mismo municipio, o lo rotan de un municipio a otro?

A. Actividades de prevención social de delincuencia

1. a. ¿Qué rol desempeña usted en esta sub-estación (o delegación o subdelegación)?
2. ¿Hay un Departamento de Prevención en su unidad policial?
[Si dice que sí, preguntar la siguiente]
¿Realiza usted actividades de prevención de delincuencia? ¿Cuáles son?
3. ¿Usted o sus colegas hacen algo para facilitar que otros servicios sociales o comunitarios, aparte de los servicios policiales, se provean a las comunidades? (Por ejemplo, ¿qué servicios sociales se proveen?).

4. Hablando de su rol dentro de las comunidades, ¿ha tenido usted contacto con las escuelas y los colegios? ¿Cuáles son las actividades que realiza en las escuelas y en los colegios? ¿Con qué frecuencia va usted a cada una/uno?

a. [Si no dice que está presente en la escuela al entrar y salir los alumnos, entonces preguntar: ¿Se estaciona usted o sus agentes en las entradas de los centros escolares cuando entran y salen los alumnos?]

Si dice que sí, entonces preguntar: ¿Cuál es el propósito de estacionarse en las entradas y salidas? ¿Qué hace usted o sus agentes ahí?

Al terminar de contestar, preguntar: ¿Cree usted que estas actividades tienen éxito en prevenir [nombrar la actividad que el/la policía ha nombrado]? (sondear: ¿Por qué dice esto? ¿Qué evidencia hay que esta estrategia logra (o no logra) prevenir [nombrar la actividad]?)

b. ¿Tiene usted (o sus agentes) reuniones con maestros? ¿Cuál es su rol en estas reuniones?

c. ¿Asiste usted (o sus agentes) a reuniones de La Escuela de Padres de Familia? ¿Cuál es su participación o su rol en estas reuniones? ¿Me puede dar un ejemplo de un caso que era el enfoque de tal reunión?

d. ¿Asiste usted (o otros policías de esta sub-estación o jefatura) a reuniones del Comité o Asociación de Padres y Madres de la Escuela o del Colegio? ¿Qué rol tiene en estas reuniones?

e. ¿Tiene usted reuniones con los alumnos? ¿De qué se habla en estas reuniones?

f. ¿Ha oído hablar de algún programa del Ministerio de Educación que fomente la convivencia escolar, o sea un programa donde hay mediación de conflictos? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?

¿Ha oído si ha tenido éxito o no en disminuir o prevenir la violencia entre los alumnos?

La policía participa en alguna forma en este programa? ¿En qué forma?

*g. ¿Usted o sus compañeros en esta delegación (subdelegación o puesto policial) participan en el programa escolar “Disciplina a través del deporte”? ¿Qué sabe en cuanto al éxito o falta de éxito que ha tenido este programa policial escolar?

*¿Cómo se enseña la disciplina a los y las estudiantes?

¿Piensa usted que a veces es necesario usar castigos corporales (pegarlos) a los estudiantes que se comportan mal durante los juegos deportivos?

Si algún estudiante se porta mal durante el deporte, cuáles son las maneras de disciplinarlo?

*h. ¿Qué sabe usted de la Escuelas Seguras? ¿Cómo funciona este programa? ¿Quién se encarga del programa? ¿Cuántas Escuelas Seguras hay, y dónde se están ubicadas? ¿Qué tan exitosas han sido hasta el momento, en reducir el nivel de delincuencia y violencia? (¿Cómo se sabe esto—a base de qué datos?)

5. ¿Hace usted visitas casa por casa? ¿Por cuáles motivos visita las casas? ¿Con qué frecuencia hace usted estas visitas a las casas?

6. Los y las policías actúan como mediadores en la comunidad?

¿Usted ha servido de mediador? ¿Qué tipo de asuntos trata usted en su rol de mediador? [Sondear--¿me puede dar un ejemplo de qué ha hecho Ud. durante un caso de mediación?]

6a. ¿Hay Centros de Mediación en los barrios donde usted trabaja? ¿Quiénes son las personas que llevan a cabo la mediación? ¿Qué tipos de casos se medían en esos centros? ¿Tratan casos de violencia?

7. ¿Hay ocasiones en las que le llaman de algún hogar por motivos de violencia doméstica (o sea, violencia intrafamiliar)? ¿Quién suele llamar? [Sondear: Una mujer a quien se le está maltratando; un hombre del hogar; un vecino?]

¿Qué hace usted en los casos de violencia doméstica? [¿Me puede dar un ejemplo?]

8. ¿Tiene usted algún contacto con la alcaldía? ¿Qué rol juega usted en las actividades de la alcaldía? [Si no tiene contacto con ninguno de los dos en el distrito donde trabaja actualmente, preguntarle si había tenido contacto con ellas en la intendencia donde trabajó anteriormente.]

Según su opinión, ¿cuáles han sido los logros y los fracasos de la alcaldía hasta el momento en prevenir la violencia en este distrito?

8a. ¿Y los ADESCOS, tiene usted algún contacto con los líderes de los ADESCOS ¿Qué rol juega usted en las actividades de los ADESCOS?

9. ¿Ha tenido usted contacto con algunas organizaciones de la sociedad civil (ONG o asociaciones religiosas) que se enfocan en la prevención de la violencia y la delincuencia juvenil?

¿Cuáles ONGs?

¿Cuáles iglesias y templos?

¿Qué rol desempeña usted con respecto a estas organizaciones?

10. ¿Qué relación tiene usted con el programa nacional de Seguridad Ciudadana?

¿Qué tipo de actividades se llevan a cabo de manera conjunta entre su unidad policial y el CNSP [o el equivalente en El Salvador]? (Si él/ella dice que no trabaja con el CNSP, preguntar si otros policías en su unidad policial trabajan con él).

10a. ¿Utiliza usted los llamados “mapas de protección” o mapas de recursos socio-comunitarios?

11. La jefatura policial de [nombre del municipio] tiene un Departamento de Niñez y Adolescencia? ¿Qué hace este departamento para prevenir la violencia contra los niños y adolescentes?

12. ¿Hay una Oficina de Atención al Ciudadano en [nombre del municipio]. Hay tal oficina en las colonias donde están ubicadas las subestaciones policiales? ¿Qué exactamente hace la Oficina de Atención al Ciudadano?

13. ¿Hay una Departamento de Prevención del Delito en la jefatura policial de este municipio? ¿En qué formas hace la prevención?

14. ¿Hay un Departamento de Seguridad Pública en este municipio? ¿En qué forma hace la prevención de la delincuencia?

15. ¿Hay un juzgado de paz en este municipio? ¿Cuál es su rol principal? ¿Cuál es la relación entre el juzgado de paz y la policía?
16. ¿Hay una Dirección de Relaciones Comunitarias (DIRC) en este municipio? ¿Cómo funciona y cuál es su meta?
17. ¿La SENA trabaja en este municipio? ¿Cuál es el rol de la SENA? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito en [nombre del municipio]?
18. ¿La Municipalidad tiene algún programa de seguridad? ¿Cómo trabaja este programa? ¿Tiene vínculo con la Policía Nacional?
19. Hablando de la información que usted maneja de las aldeas y colonias, ¿Cuánto cree que es usted capaz de prevenir algunos acontecimientos sobre la base de esta información? [Sondear— pedir ejemplos]
20. ¿Existe en el municipio un programa que protege a los empresarios? (En Guatemala se llama **POLIMER**). ¿Cómo funciona este programa? ¿En cuántas comunidades del municipio de Guatemala hay POLIMERC? ¿Qué tan exitoso ha sido por el momento, en bajar el nivel de delincuencia, violencia, o extorsión?
21. ¿Ha oído hablar del "Plan Batalla por la Paz"? ¿Qué sabe al respecto? Se lleva a cabo acá el Plan de Batalla por la Paz? ¿Qué opina usted de este plan? (que explique su opinión).
22. ¿Ha oído de los Foros de Consulta Ciudadana (en otros países se llama Rendición de Cuentas). ¿Qué sabe al respecto? ¿Cuáles son sus metas? ¿Se usan Foros de Consulta Ciudadana acá en [nombre del municipio]? ¿Qué tan exitoso han sido?
23. ¿Ha oído del programa de "Control Social" (en otros países se llama "Vecino Vigilante"). ¿Cómo funciona este programa? ¿Se realiza el control social acá en [nombre del municipio]? ¿Qué tan exitoso ha sido, según su parecer?

B. Actividades de prevención y combate a la delincuencia juvenil

13. ¿Sabe usted en qué formas trabaja toda la institución policial junto con las comunidades para prevenir la delincuencia juvenil? ¿Cuáles son esas formas?
14. ¿Qué acciones **preventivas** cree que serían las más eficaces para resolver los problemas de delincuencia juvenil?
15. ¿Qué acciones **de control** cree que se podrían tomar para tratar los problemas de delincuencia juvenil?
16. ¿Ha elaborado usted (o su unidad policial) mapas de crimen en las comunidades donde le toca trabajar?

18. ¿Existe en [nombre del municipio] un programa de Convivencia Pacífica?
¿Qué sabe de este programa?
¿Participa usted en este programa? ¿En qué forma? [dejarle explicar, con ejemplos, detalles]
¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que ha tenido éxito el Programa de Convivencia Pacífica? ¿Por qué opina que sí [o no] ha tenido éxito? ¿Qué evidencia hay del éxito [o falta de éxito] de él?
19. ¿Existe en [nombre del municipio] un programa que se llama “Vecino Vigilante”? ¿Qué sabe del programa?
¿Participa usted en este programa?
¿Hasta qué punto cree que ha tenido éxito el programa del Vecino Vigilante? ¿Por qué cree esto?
- 19a. ¿Hay en este municipio un programa que se llama “Fuente Viva”? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?
- 19b. ¿Hay en este municipio un programa que se llama Rendición de Cuentas? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Para qué sirve? (que lo explique).
De lo que usted sepa, hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito la Rendición de Cuentas?
- 19c. En algunos países de Centroamérica existe un programa policial que se llama Jóvenes Contra el Delito. ¿Ha oído de este programa
¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Qué ha logrado hasta el momento, según su entender?
- 19d. ¿La policía en Esquipulas tiene algún programa para niños y adolescentes durante las vacaciones de verano? ¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito?
- 19e. ¿Existe en este municipio un programa que se llama “**Escuelas Abiertas**”? ¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿La policía participa en este programa? Lo tienen acá en [nombre del municipio]? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito en prevenir la delincuencia juvenil?
- 19f. ¿Hay por acá un programa que se llama “Dame una Oportunidad”? ¿Qué sabe al respecto?
- 19g. ¿Ha oído de un programa que se llama Soldados Anónimas? ¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito?
- 19h. ¿Ha oído de los Jóvenes en el Mundo y la Violencia? ¿Qué sabe del programa?
- 19i. ¿Ha oído hablar de un programa que se llama Jóvenes contra el Delito? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?

C. Actividades de toma de denuncia

20. Hablando ahora de la toma de denuncia y atención ciudadana, ¿las comunidades por acá tienen acceso a Centros de Denuncia)? ¿Cómo se llaman estas oficinas en Panamá.

Si las comunidades no tienen acceso a tales oficinas de denuncia, ¿adónde van las personas para hacer las denuncias?

21. ¿Por qué será que hay personas que no denuncian los delitos? ¿Qué obstáculos enfrentan?

¿Por qué será que hay personas que ni llaman a la policía para informar de un delito?

22. Cuando alguien de alguna comunidad viene a la unidad policial para hacer una denuncia, ¿qué tipo de seguimiento y supervisión da usted a la denuncia?

23. Además de la unidad policial, ¿adónde puede ir una persona para hacer una denuncia?

23a. ¿Conoce el programa de “contacto directo”? ¿Cómo funciona?

¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito el “contacto directo” en los barrios en que le toca trabajar?
[que explique su respuesta]

24. ¿Hay alguna coordinación entre este puesto policial [subdelegación] y la fiscalía? ¿Cómo funciona esta coordinación [favor de explicar].

25. ¿Hay comunidades en el municipio de [nombrarlo] que han tomado la justicia en sus propias manos? ¿Cuáles lo han hecho? ¿Por qué motivo han tomado la justicia en sus propias manos? ¿Qué fue el incidente que la provocó? ¿Qué hicieron los miembros de la comunidad con respecto al sospechoso? ¿Qué había hecho el sospechoso para provocar la comunidad? ¿Cómo se resolvió este conflicto entre el sospechoso y la comunidad?

D. Características de las comunidades de intervención

25. ¿Usted se da cuenta de los problemas que las comunidades consideran prioritarios?

26. En el caso de [nombre del municipio donde trabaja el/la entrevistado/a], ¿cuáles son los problemas prioritarios que identifican?

27. ¿Qué tipos de problemas **sociales** en general enfrentan estas comunidades?

28. ¿Cuáles son los problemas de violencia y delincuencia que existen en estas comunidades?

¿Cuáles son los delitos más comunes en estas comunidades?

28a. ¿Cuáles son los factores de riesgo social y situacional que amenazan a la comunidad?

29. ¿Qué tan violentas son las comunidades del municipio de [nombrarlo]?

30. ¿Quiénes son los que cometen estos actos de violencia?

31. ¿Cuáles son las comunidades menos peligrosas en que usted trabaja? ¿Y las más peligrosas?

32. ¿Qué porcentaje de los delincuentes que viven en las comunidades en que usted trabaja son personas que han sido deportadas de los Estados Unidos? (la menor parte, la mayoría, o la mitad)

33. ¿Qué porcentaje de ellos han salido directamente de cárceles? (la menor parte, la mayoría, la mitad)

E. Acciones de maras y pandillas

34. ¿Hay maras o pandillas en las comunidades en que usted trabaja? ¿Cuáles son?

35. ¿Qué tipos de delitos cometen los pandilleros en las comunidades en que usted trabaja actualmente (o en que ha trabajado, si no hay pandillas en las comunidades donde trabaja actualmente?)

Los pandilleros que viven en las comunidades donde usted trabaja, ¿hay algunos que han sido deportados de los Estados Unidos?

¿Qué delitos habían cometido en los Estados Unidos?

¿Qué estatus tienen los deportados entre sus compañeros pandilleros? ¿Tienen un rol especial en las pandillas?

¿Los deportados, habían sido inmigrantes legales o ilegales en los Estados Unidos?

¿A cuál mara pertenecían en los Estados Unidos? ¿En qué estado habían vivido?

36. ¿Cómo sabe usted si un joven es pandillero al verlo en la calle, qué características lo identifican como pandillero? [Sondear: Ropa, tatuajes, corte de pelo]

¿Los pandilleros tienen una forma de hablar especial de ellos? ¿Cómo es?

¿Usan una forma de comunicación **no verbal** -con las manos, gestos- especial? ¿Me las puede describir?

37. Y si es niña o mujer, ¿cuáles son las características que señalan que ella es miembro de alguna pandilla?

38. ¿Por qué, cree usted, se meten los jóvenes en las pandillas? ¿A qué edad lo hacen?

39. Y las niñas y mujeres, ¿por qué se meten en ellas?

40. ¿Hasta qué edad se quedan en las pandillas?

41. ¿Hay manera de salir de una pandilla o mara? ¿Cuál es la manera?

42. ¿Conoce cuál es la diferencia entre “pandilla” y “clica”?

43. Cuando usted ve grafitis (manchas), ¿los entiende? ¿Sabe qué significado tienen y a quién se dirigen estos mensajes? [Sondear: A otra pandilla? A los miembros de la misma pandilla? A la Policía?]

44. [Mostrarle fotos de grafitis y murallas, y pedirle que explique lo que significa cada uno].

45. Hablando ahora de las bandas del crimen organizado, ¿Qué hacen?

46. ¿En qué forma son distintas a las pandillas y maras? ¿En qué forma son parecidas? O sea, ¿qué tienen en común las bandas del crimen organizado con las pandillas y las maras?

47. Para los pandilleros que salen de las cárceles después de haber cumplido con su sentencia, ¿hay programas de rehabilitación? ¿Hay suficientes para todos los que salen de los cárceles? ¿Qué tipos de rehabilitación se ofrecen?

48. Para los pandilleros menores, ¿hay suficientes Centros de Resocialización? ¿Qué tipos de actividades ofrecen estos Centros?

48a. Hablando de la treguas de 2011, ¿qué impacto cree usted han tenido estas dos treguas en bajar el nivel de violencia en esta zona (mencionar el nombre del municipio)? ¿Qué opina de la tregua? ¿Por qué ha tenido éxito en reducir los niveles de violencia? (que explique).

F. Actividades de patrullaje de acuerdo a las Patrullas de Intervención Policial

49. ¿Desempeña usted labores de patrullaje policial? [Si contestó que no, pasar a #51]

50. ¿Cuáles son sus deberes en su condición de patrullero?

51. ¿Hace usted alguna forma de vigilancia preventiva? ¿Qué hace exactamente?

52. ¿Capturar delincuentes forma parte de su trabajo? ¿Qué tan a menudo ha capturado delincuentes en los últimos seis meses?

53. ¿Sabe si se trabaja en su unidad policial de acuerdo al modelo de las **Patrullas de Intervención Policial Comunitaria**? ¿Qué hacen exactamente? O sea, ¿cuáles son sus formas de intervenir? ¿Cuáles son sus ventajas y desventajas?

54. ¿Qué ha oído usted de la medida de éxito o fracaso que han tenido las Patrullas de Policía Comunitaria? ¿Por qué cree usted que la policía comunitaria ha tenido éxito, o no ha tenido éxito?

55. ¿Qué podrían hacer los patrulleros de policía comunitaria para lograr mejores resultados en cuanto a prevenir la delincuencia? ¿Qué reformas se podrían llevar a cabo, en su opinión?

56. ¿Ha participado usted en el patrullaje de policía comunitaria? ¿En qué lugares? [Si contestó que no, pasar a #58]

57. ¿Le habían dado entrenamiento especial en trabajar en patrullaje de policía comunitaria? ¿Qué tipo de entrenamiento ha recibido?

G. Actividades de coordinación y participación comunitaria

58. ¿Realiza usted actividades en conjunto y coordinadamente con las comunidades? [Sondear-- ¿Cuáles por ejemplo?]

59. ¿Planifica usted, juntamente con los líderes comunitarios, los servicios policiales?

60. ¿Hasta qué punto el trabajo de la Policía en su jurisdicción se dirige según las necesidades que se identifiquen junto con las comunidades?

61. ¿Hay algunas responsabilidades que la Policía comparte con los líderes comunitarios en las comunidades en que usted trabaja?

¿Qué tipos de líderes son? (líderes de centros comunitarios, sacerdotes/pastores, maestros)

62. ¿Ha establecido usted contactos con miembros de las comunidades en que usted trabaja, que sirvan de informantes sobre hechos de delincuencia y violencia? ¿Con qué frecuencia conversa usted con estas personas?

*62A. ¿Tiene usted (o tienen sus compañeros oficiales de policía) contacto con los Centros de Alcance de este municipio (o esta zona del municipio)? ¿Qué tipo de contacto tienen con esos Centros de Alcance?

63. ¿Hay algunas responsabilidades que el alcalde de [nombre del distrito pertinente] comparte con la Policía? ¿Cuáles son?

H. Opiniones generales finales

64. ¿Ha oído hablar de la política anti-delincuencial de “Mano dura” que se está usando en El Salvador? ¿Qué sabe usted de este plan? ¿Existe semejante política en Panamá?

65. ¿Qué opina usted del rol del Ejército en prevenir la delincuencia?

66. [Mostrarle al entrevistado(a) la siguiente lista de **comunidades que pertenecen al municipio** en que se encuentra la (sub-)delegación pertinente, y preguntar:]

a. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿cuántas veces ha ido a las siguientes comunidades por motivo de atender a un caso de delincuencia [leerle la lista—sólo del distrito en que trabaja el entrevistado(a)--una por una]. [Para cada comunidad a que responde afirmativamente, preguntarle lo siguiente]

b. ¿Qué tipos de delitos fueron cometidos en esa comunidad, de lo que recuerde?