ONLINE LEARNING ALLIANCE ON COMMUNITY BASED CRIME PREVENTION

An exploration of Community Based Crime Prevention (CBCP) initiatives contrasting those from Latin America and Africa

The Online Learning Alliance (LEA) on Community Based Crime Prevention focused onthe potential for community based approaches to crime prevention, how they are being implemented, under what conditions they are likely to be more effective and what this means for supporting CBCP approaches.

The ELLA Learning Alliances bring together peers from across the global South . from government, civil society, the private sector, the academic community and the wider development community . to learn from each other, drawing on rigorous, evidence-based research.

Participants of the Online Learning Alliance on Community Based Crime Prevention came from 25 different countries. Comparative analysis of the two regions, facilitated by the moderators, supported this inter-regional lesson learning.

The moderation of the Online Learning Alliance on Community Based Crime Prevention was led jointly by FundaUngo, based in El Salvador, and the University of Ibadan in Nigeria[1]. FundaUngo is a think tank dedicated to knowledge generation and capacity building of social and political actors, to promote development and democratic governance in El Salvador and Central America. The University of Ibadan´s core mission is to expand knowledge, the University partners with different organisations and academic institutions, both local and international, to foster research and knowledge exchange, and drive policy change.

The Online Learning Alliance discussions were based on and drew from existing literature, and on new research conducted by the research centers for the ELLA Progamme:

- *Explaining the Effectiveness of Community-Based Crime Prevention Practices in Nigeria* authored by The University of Ibadan
- *Social Capital, Collective Efficacy and Community Based Crime Prevention in El Salvador* authored by FundaUngo

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[1]The lead moderator for FundaUngo was Alan Melara with the support of Ricardo Cordoba and Maria Elena Rivera. The lead moderator for The University of Ibadan was Ayobami Ojebode with the support of Babatunde Ojebuyi and Oyewole Oladapo.

Content

The Learning Alliance promoted analysis and discussion of how crime prevention in Latin America and Africa has performed and evolved over time, and of the public policy implications of high levels of crime and insecurity in both regions, focusing on the contribution of Community-based Crime Prevention (CBCP) approaches.

Contrasting case studies from Latin America and Africa were presented, analysed and reviewed by participants, who were also invited to present CBCP experiences and examples from their own countries. The goal was to identify CBCP strategies for crime and violence prevention that are effective in reducing crime and the perception of insecurity.

The Learning Alliance ran from May until September 2016 and covered the following six topics:

- Crime in Latin America and Africa: Nature, trends, indicators and implications
- Crime prevention approaches in Latin America and Africa
- CBCP models in Latin America and Africa
- The importance of the community in crime prevention strategies in Latin America and Africa
- How crime severity influences the potential for CBCP approaches and the role of communities
- Conclusion. Best practices and recommendations on factors that can strengthen CBCP initiatives in Latin America and Africa

Key Conclusions

- CBCP strategies are prevalent in Africa and Latin America, however, with differences that relate to the presence of the state in their territories and the way actors involved intervene for the common goal of providing security. In Africa, state presence is weak compared to strong state presence in Latin America. Also, whereas communities in Africa are active drivers of crime prevention initiatives, communities in Latin America are passive actors.
- Both Africa and Latin America share conditions that produce criminal and violent behaviour. Among others, we can find social and economic exclusion, unemployment, lack of educational opportunities and idle youth.

Topic 1: Crime in Latin America and Africa: Nature, trends, indicators and implications

Focus of the Topic

According United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) (2014)[2] data on intentional homicide[3], murder was the cause of death of almost half a million people (437,000) across the world in 2012. More than a third of those (36%) occurred in the Americas, 31% in Africa and 28% in Asia, while Europe (5%) and Oceania (0.3%) accounted for the lowest shares of homicide at the regional level.

In this first topic, the focus was on the different types of crime and insecurity afflicting Latin American and African countries. This enabled participants to obtain a general view of the different trends of crime in each region, and to identify and analyse trends, as well as the sources and availability of data of a good international standard.

The topic also discussed the difficulties in measuring crime rates, the reliability of data sources in the different countries of Africa and Latin America, and how they capture and measure crime and insecurity. Participantsqcontributions helped shed light on the situation in different countries and on possible improvements to help formulate evidence-based public policies.

The continuous rise in crime rates has four interconnected implications:
- It is often a demonstration of the failure of the state to provide security;
- In some cases, citizens have resorted to non-state methods for security, such as vigilantism or lynching;
- It contributes to the erosion of support for the rule of law and democratic values; and
- It also creates the conditions that allow for a repositioning of prevention policies in the public agenda.

In summary, the main issues discussed were:
- The nature of crime in Latin America and Africa
- Difficulties in measuring crime rates, the reliability of data sources in Africa and Latin America
- Trends, indicators and implications of crime in Latin America and Africa

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[2] UNODC. 2014. _Drug Trafficking: West and Central Africa_. United Nations Publications, Vienna.
[3]The homicide rate per one hundred thousand inhabitants is the most common single indicator for measuring crime and violence.

The discussion was supported by the following reference materials:

- Ibadan, 2016. _Crime Rates and Trends in Africa_
- FundaUngo, 2016. _Crime, Violence and Prevention Initiatives in Latin America_
- UNDP, 2013. _Citizen Security with a Human Face: Executive Summary_
- UNODC, 2015. _Crime and Development in Africa_

To guide the discussion and exchange, the following questions were posted:

1. How confident are you about the reported data on crime trends in your country/region? Are there any types of crime in particular that go under-reported?
2. What are the main trends in serious/petty and/or violent/non-violent crime and as a consequence of these trends what are the implications for public policy in your country/region?
3. How do you think reliable and available data can be used to prevent and/or control the main crime trends identified by you in your country?

Discussion

The following is a summary of the discussion held on the platform.

Confidence about Reported Data and Under-reported Crimes

There was a general sense of distrust in officially reported data. In Nigeria, for example, Olajumoke Fatokun mentioned that the reason for mistrusting data is, "_that most of the studies are usually concentrated on the urban areas. The rural set ups are usually neglected both in reportage and investigations_". In El Salvador, on the other hand, inconsistency of figures presented by the institutions in charge of gathering the data appears to be more of an issue.

> _It is very imperative to have reliable facts and figures to deal with for the purpose of policy formulation. I am not very confident about the reported data for Nigeria in the sense that most of the studies are usually concentrated on the urban areas. The rural set ups are usually neglected both in reportage and investigations. How many domestic disputes, for example, get reported? Is any organisation keeping tabs on violent conflicts over land resources? Killing by armed groups etc._
>
> Olajumoke Fatokun, Nigeria

Some participants mentioned a few reasons why certain types of crime go under-reported, such as the feeling that reporting is useless due to mistrust in the police or the feeling that reporting is not worth it. Additionally, the sense that many criminals enjoy impunity is also very common, as are perceptions of police and political corruption.

Some of the specific types of under-reported crime mentioned were domestic violence, extortion, gang related crimes and sex crimes.

Main Trends and Implications of Crime

The main crime trends in Africa as expressed by most participants were: increasing gang related violence targeting black males between the ages of 15-25 for territorial/market drug related disputes; domestic violence; expansion of drug trafficking and kidnapping to rural areas; violent crimes committed by groups such as Boko haram insurgents in northern Nigeria, the Niger delta Avengers and the Fulani herdsmen. Not forgetting supposedly less serious crimes such as police brutality, ritual kidnapping and killing. As for Latin America, the main trends are high rates of robbery, injuries, extortions and homicides.

As for the implications of these main trends, Jorge Laffite stated that in Brazil *"the results are ambivalent, depending of the geographical territory, law enforcement composition, training and leadership. In general, local population cooperation with local authorities is rather limited resulting from a negative public image of the police and their practices".* As for Nigeria, Gbola Adiamoh mentioned that *"the implication for public policy in all these is that there should be an enabling legal framework for the operations of organised local police in order to combat crimes".* Finally, Freddy Miranda Castro stated that *"the best way to build security and social peace is investing in prevention through alternative income generation methods, training and personal growth especially for young people".* Another common suggestion for Latin American was that the best way to build security and social peace is investing in prevention through alternative strategies especially targeting young people.

Uses of Reliable and Available Data

Access to reliable and available data emerged as a key issue for participants, who argued that this can be used to address specific conditions that could be triggering criminal behaviour. The importance of data also resides in the necessity to develop evidence-based policies and accurately distribute resources in order to prevent crime.

> *"Available and reliable data is imperative to accurately access crime trends and make practical and impactful policies that can lower crime trends and assist in helping to access key indicators for new legal frameworks as well as charters for initiatives that can assist in the reform of minor offenders and to aid in preventing young people from becoming a part of the criminal element. This data also aids experts to focus on areas of crime that go unnoticed and have the opportunity to grow and lead to collusion and hierarchical methodologies of crime. Data also helps governments to work through weak capacities and form a structure of accountability that promotes good governance practices. Reliable data makes those responsible for the operations of organised local policing accountable and able to report on key performance indicators relative to social initiatives, proper policing, new fundamentals of the criminal element and proper policy initiatives."*
>
> Rochelle Dean, Bahamas.

As a final conclusion, the moderators argued that the necessity of reliable data is shared between the countries of Africa and Latin America and that in both regions accessing data is a challenge which undermines the uses and benefits for evidence-based policies.

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Topic 2: Crime Prevention Approaches in Latin America and Africa

Focus of the Topic

Crime rates are high in both Latin America and Africa, and these crime and insecurity levels in different countries spawn many types of responses. Countries have adopted a variety of prevention policies and programmes in their own contexts. The different approaches have been occasioned by the complexity of the crime problem in the two regions which defies a single solution.

Contrasting the experiences of Latin America and Africa, the approaches that were discussed and reviewed included:

- ˝ Those led by central government
- ˝ Community-based crime prevention
- ˝ Community policing

Focusing on these approaches helped participants to understand the similar and contrasting experiences of crime prevention efforts in the two regions.

The discussion was supported by the following main reference materials:

- FundaUngo, 2015. *Crime Prevention Initiatives in Latin America* (extract from the ELLA Regional Evidence Paper)
- University of Ibadan, 2015. *Crime Prevention Approaches in Africa* (extract from the ELLA Regional Evidence Paper)
- UNODOC, 2010. *Handbook on Crime Prevention Guidelines* (chapters 1 and 2)
- UNODOC, 2011.*Handbook Policing Urban Space* (chapter 3)

To guide the discussion and exchange, the following questions were posted:

1. What is the relative role of the state and of communities in tackling crime in your country, and how does this compare to the other cases presented for Latin America and Africa? What are the similarities and differences?
2. Security is a responsibility of the state. In your view, and looking at the examples that we have discussed, in which contexts do you think it is justified for communities to become involved in crime prevention?

Discussion

Participants offered insightful comments and there was a fluid exchange of ideas on the questions about state-led crime prevention efforts, community-based crime prevention efforts and community policing in El Salvador and Nigeria. The similarities and differences between the crime prevention efforts in these two countries and the contexts in which

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community involvement in crime prevention is justified helped enrich the understanding of crime prevention approaches in both regions.

The major themes in the discussions were:

Country-specific Role of the State and Communities in Tackling Crime

There was a consensus among participants in Nigeria that state and communities actively collaborate in crime prevention. This collaboration comes in various forms as noted by Ademola Atanda in the box below.

> *"In Nigeria, the case is very close to many of the Latin American countries. The state provides the primary security which is the Nigeria Police. This is being completed by others such as the Civil Defence, Road Safety Corp, etc. While this is in place, communities have decided not to rely on the primary security system of the government, hence there are other community based arrangements (some of which have alliances with the police and some not) -ranging from the use of militias (such as Oodua People's Congress), community vigilante groups and private security formations."*
>
> Ademola Atanda, Nigeria

However, in El Salvador, the state has dominated crime prevention strategies with reduced community participation in taking the initiative. This is reflected in the submission of Wilson Hernandez who said that *"community members in Latin America do not necessarily attend meetings... The community participation is directed to the recovery of physical and social spaces. These actions do not receive too much emphasis, and when they do, the objective is not security but the improvement of the conditions and environment."*

Most of the participants from Nigeria mentioned mob justice, bribery and corruption, shortage of equipment, lack of training, manpower and others as challenges facing effective state and community crime prevention efforts in Nigeria. Mutiu Lasisi, for instance, captured this when he said, *"Governments and communities are playing security roles expected of them but inadequate communication infrastructure, personnel and other necessary policing equipment remain critical challenges."*

Similarities and Differences in Crime Prevention Efforts in Latin America and Africa

In Latin America and Africa, the government and the community participate in crime prevention, through to varied degrees and intensities. For examples, in both Latin America and Africa, governments have the state institutions and apparatuses for crime prevention. In Nigeria, the state police are assisted by other state agencies such as the Civil Defence, and the Department of State Security to prevent crimes. In Latin America, as presented by Wilson Hernandez from Peru, the state police and the judiciary are some of the state institutions responsible for crime prevention. In both regions, communities are also involved in crime prevention activities. In Nigeria, for example, the vigilante groups, night guards, etc. are co-ordinated by community associations to complement the state police, as are the "Sungusungu" groups in Tanzania, as mentioned by Charlotte Cross. In Africa,

communities are more visible and active in crime prevention when compared to Latin American communities.

In general most participants were able to map the similarities and differences in crime prevention efforts between Latin America and Africa with specific references to El Salvador and Nigeria. State efforts and availability of community-based crime prevention practices were the notable similarities clearly mapped by some. However, as explained by participants based on their experiences from their different countries or regions, in El Salvador, citizens rely on state efforts and fail to actively participate and donate to CBCP efforts unlike in Nigeria where communities mostly rely on their CBCP, fund and run it with some state presence in crime prevention. This is summarised in what Wilson Hernandez said, *‰ think one of the variables that could condition the success of CBCP is the combination of state institutions and weak social ties. In regard to this last issue, we have low interpersonal trust which creates difficulties in most actions led by community-based organisations. We have some successful CBCP experiences. The common feature I think they share is that they are based on personal leadership (local police chief) and state-community cooperation rather than on a sound public policy orientation.+*

Justifications for Community Involvement in Crime Prevention

All participants agreed that security is primarily the responsibility of a state, and crime prevention is the duty of the state police and other state agencies as indicated in the contribution of Jamiu Adebayo Lawal that, *‰Security is a responsibility of the state because training a security personnel, provision of the equipment, formulation of the policy that guides both the security and the members of the public, security welfare, and the power conferred on them to cover all the state jurisdiction, are only given by the government.+*

From the observations of participants from Nigeria, it was acknowledged that weak state actors and apparatus, lack of trust in the state police, a combination of history, politics, corruption and maladministration, necessitate the introduction of community efforts in crime prevention. As Olajumoke Fatokun noted, *‰States are usually weak while non-state actors are well-organised and embedded. Police, therefore, need them in order to control crime. Police have problems with unplanned communities, active criminal organisations that quickly adapt to police strategies, and fleets of vehicles that prevent ease of movement.+*Solomon Abiodun Oyeleye shared this position when he explained that, *‰when states are unable to meet their obligations to the security of the communities, which is what is happening in Nigeria, then to me it is justified for communities to become involved in crime prevention.+*The lack of societal cohesion in cities and the traditional mechanisms of rural areas, public fear and mistrust of the police all led to reforms of the state police in Nigeria. Charlotte Cross cautioned that, *‰t is also important to bear in mind that even if 'justified', it can be difficult for communities to initiate and sustain crime prevention activities. Groups must find some way to overcome collective action problems and to finance activities. Many of those I worked with in Tanzania desired greater state support rather than greater community autonomy. Another issue is the extent to which community-provided services might evolve over time to operate in similar ways to the state police as they accumulate power and face similar incentives to ensure their own survival.+*

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be argued that CBCP is stronger in Nigeria where the state presence is weak but where social ties are stronger compared with the situation in El Salvador where relatively stronger state presence exists. On the other hand, we find that the type and severity of crime could be affecting the will of the communities to actively participate with their presence, labour or money to contribute to the success of CBCP activities. In essence, in a country where the state fails to effectively perform its statutory roles especially in providing security, community members could become more active in providing security for themselves. On the contrary in Latin America, CBCP initiatives tend to complement the efforts made by the government (as is the case in El Salvador).

Topic 3: CBCP Models in Latin America and Africa

Focus of the Topic

CBCP stands out among crime prevention initiatives adopted in both Latin America and Africa as a promising response to insecurity, but variations in the nature of crime, as well as social and institutional factors, and a variety of other contextual factors, have resulted in the emergence of a range of CBCP approaches.

A community based crime prevention (CBCP) strategy can be understood:

- An instrument to prevent crime and violence, and to reduce public fear of crime;
- A tool to bring together different actors involved in crime prevention;
- A means of developing local crime and violence prevention partnerships;
- A method to ensure coordination and management of crime prevention initiatives;
- A way to identify priority areas and tasks (World Bank, 2003)[4].

The focus in this discussion was centred on comparing and contrasting the CBCP approaches that have been implemented in Africa and Latin America and in particular in the two case study countries, El Salvador and Nigeria.

In the case of Latin America, CBCP experiences are characterised by the important role given to local governments in designing and implementing programmes and plans for crime prevention. The local government ensures the participation of other local actors in the process, and, at the same time, coordinates with the national government. In this type of intervention, local governments are co-responsible for public security, working with the community in order to prevent crime and violence. On the other hand, other types of initiative exist whereby crime prevention is self-funded and initiated by the community, including neighbourhood watch schemes, or indeed vigilantes or militias, which are less common and sometimes function outside the law.

Specifically in the case of Nigeria, community associations have combined elements from three non-state models of security provisioning: private security arrangements, vigilantism and neighbourhood watch. In the process of ensuring safety and preventing crime, community associations in Ibadan exercised an oversight function over, or even control of, private freedoms, spaces and property. Whereas the practice of ±communitisingqpersonal spaces is widespread, it is by no means universal. In the case of El Salvador, CBCP initiatives rely heavily on local governments to provide a link between the central government, private corporations, CSOs and international cooperation agencies.

The discussion was supported by the following main reference materials:

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[4] World Bank, 2003 .*A Resource Guide for Municipalities Community Based Crime and Violence Prevention in Urban Latin America*

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- Ibadan, 2016. *Models and Practices of CBCP- Examples from Nigeria* (Extract from the ELLA Regional Evidence Paper)
- FundaUngo, 2016.*Models and Practices of CBCP, Examples from El Salvador* (Extract from the ELLA Regional Evidence Paper)
- World Bank, 2003.*A Resource Guide for Municipalities Community Based Crime and Violence Prevention in Urban Latin America*[5]
- Owen, O. and Cooper Knock, S. J. 2015.*Between Vigilantism and Bureaucracy*
- *Additional Readings*

To guide the discussion and exchange, the following questions were posted:

1. How do the CBCP initiatives in your country compare to those described in the Latin American and African cases described in the material? Why do you think they are the same/different?
2. Compared to the examples described (in the materials, by other participants), are the CBCP initiatives in your country successful in preventing crime? And why do you think this is?

Discussion

The following is a summary of the discussion held on the platform.

CBCP Initiatives in Latin America and Africa

The most predominant model in Nigeria is vigilante groups, in several forms or models, which are funded by the same community and receive little funding from the local government. As Mutiu Lasisi stated, *"Nigeria's model is yielding desired results because the community owns and implements it because there is an absolute lack of trust in government agencies saddled with the responsibility"*. Many participants also mentioned private security arrangements made by the community which pays for the provision of security in the absence of the state.

As for Latin America, in specific countries such as Peru and Mexico vigilante groups have been famous for acting outside the law, effectively replacing the authority of the state in specific places. The prevalent model seems to be the local government leading crime prevention with participation of the community, as stated by Josue Antonio Medina Bocanegra from Peru, *"In my country, CBCP initiatives have not been successful because the perception of insecurity and actual victimization have been rising or remaining the same in recent years. Also, our greatest evidence of involvement of communities, "peasant patrols", presents serious deficiencies in crime prevention, as they act independently and outside the law (resulting in attacks against suspects who may be innocent) and its reach even goes beyond crime because people who go against "morality" get attacked, for example, there have been cases of peasant patrols attacking women engaged in prostitution."*

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[5]Spanish version, World Bank, 2003. Guía Didáctica para Municipios Prevención

As for the success of these kinds of CBCP initiatives, participants argued that in Nigeria these have enjoyed a fair share of success due to the involvement of communities without the participation of the local government. This is opposite to what happens in Latin America where the local government plays a pivotal role. As Obasanjo Joseph Oyedele from Nigeria stated, *"I think the micro level of community involvement in crime prevention in Nigeria is a big lesson. Instead of a state-wide or town-wide crime prevention outfit, each community takes over crime prevention within its capacity. This, I think, encourages effectiveness. When people own anything, they are always ready to defend it and actively participate in its success. Again, because people contribute money and other resources, they are interested in how it is managed. This is a big solution to the existing mismanagement and lack of effectiveness that affect state policing. These may be adopted by Latin America where crime rate is also high but CBCP is not as effective as the case in Nigeria."*

Lessons Learned from CBCP

The discussion about the effectiveness or failure of CBCP initiatives in both regions yielded interesting contributions, as Ademola Atanda stated, *"there is a need for a collective approach, this will make more security conscious and oriented people to contribute and see to the effective management of community policing. This will help bring in better orientation for community police teams and hence help in maintaining the balance... Also, it could be seen that where the governments are failing, there is no alternative to the communities rising up to face the challenges of community security but with caution and proper involvement of government security agents."*

Adebukola Bassey raised a good point that, *"cooperation with police and other state security is very important"*. As mentioned before, cooperation between the state and the community is the way to go to ensure successful CBCP in both regions. However, CBCP initiatives will also have to consider the dynamics within each community and the limits of this type of initiatives, as Obasanjo Joseph Oyedele put it, *"micro level community involvement in crime prevention in Nigeria is a big lesson. Instead a state-wide or town-wide crime prevention outfit, each community takes over crime prevention within its capacity."*

As a final conclusion we can all agree that CBCP initiatives in Africa and Latin America are a very common tool adopted by communities across both continents due to the lack of official or state security provision, thus people get themselves organised and prepared to protect what is theirs, within their own limitations. Ideally, the perfect CBCP would involve the government and the community working together for a common goal, in this case crime prevention.

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Topic 4: The Importance of the Community in Crime Prevention Strategies in Latin America and Africa

Focus of the Topic

The theory of community social disorganisation focuses on the characteristics of the community that shape the opportunities for crime. The argument runs that the development and strengthening of social capital and collective efficacy help to mitigate the risk factors that encourage criminal and violent behaviour.

This topic reviewed how the following factors affect CBCP approaches and their likelihood of success, comparing cases from Latin America and Africa, focusing on:

- Social capital
- Collective efficacy
- Socio-environmental risk factors associated with insecurity

In previous discussions participants learned that both Latin America and Africa are experiencing high rates of crime. However, while the state and community actively collaborate in crime prevention in both regions, the state is more dominant in crime prevention in Latin America, and CBCP is more prevalent in Nigeria where state presence is weak.

The similarities and differences between Africa and Latin America in the types of CBCP practices have also been discussed. Communities in the two regions have adopted different CBCP models including private security arrangements, vigilantism and neighbourhood watch, as is the case in Nigeria, and different forms of community-based crime and violence prevention projects in El Salvador.

In this topic participants examined the specific factors that make community contributions to crime prevention more effective including participation (citizens' active involvement in community affairs), social capital (mutuality, trust and cooperation among community members) and collective efficacy (ability and willingness of a community to act to control the behaviour of individuals or groups in the community).

The discussion was supported by the following main reference materials, which describe the factors that make CBCP effective, conditions that may impede CBCP effectiveness (with examples from Nigeria), and the relationship between social capital, collective efficacy and CBCP in El Salvador.

- Ibadan, 2016. *Explaining the Effectiveness of CBCP* (Extract from the ELLA Regional Evidence Paper)
- Ibadan, 2016.*Explaining Ineffectiveness of CBCP*(Extract from the ELLA Regional Evidence Paper)

- FundaUngo, 2016. *Social Capital in CBCP* (Extract from the ELLA Regional Evidence Paper)
- Urb- AI III, 2012. *Seguridad Ciudadana y Cohesión Social en América Latina (Citizen Security and Social Cohesion in Latin America).*

To guide the discussion and exchange, the following questions were posted:

1. What factors pose security risks to your community, and how does your community respond to these risk factors to enhance its crime prevention capabilities?
2. We have identified and discussed various security factors and how the community responds to mitigate them. What specific attributes and abilities in your community make it effective at promoting safety, security and crime prevention? And how do these attributes compare to those reported in our study of El Salvador and Nigeria?

Discussion

Participants offered community-specific experiences on how and why the "community" is crucial to effective CBCP. These insightful comments provided an all-encompassing understanding of factors that pose security risks in their communities, how their communities respond to the risk factors, specific resources and attributes of the communities that help them in preventing crimes and how these factors and attributes compare to the reported cases in El Salvador and Nigeria.

Factors Posing Security Risks to the Communities

In presenting factors that pose security to communities, participants mentioned the excesses of youth and students, unemployment, increased number of miscreants and proximity to industrial and educational areas as prominent factors. Other factors include activities of motorcyclists and taxi drivers (popularly known in Nigeria as Okada riders), lack of infrastructure, religious radicalisation and presence of bars and hang-out spots. Similar experiences were shared by almost all of the participants. In the case of El Salvador, young people appear to be at the same time victims and perpetrators of a high amount of crime and insecurity. This is related to the prevalence of youth gangs in the northern triangle countries of Central America (Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador) which are fueled by economic, educational and social disadvantages.

Obasanjo Joseph Oyedele captured it thus, *"I live in a community close to a diploma-awarding educational institution and by the virtue of this many young men and women are in my community. These people are fond of fomenting trouble and they usually exhibit violent behaviour. Besides this, many unemployed people (scavengers) roam our community looking for used tins, bottles, iron and other materials. They constitute a potent threat to the security of my community. Furthermore, there are commercial motorcyclists and cab drivers who unleash violence on just anybody when there is a misunderstanding."* Faith Eghomi buttressed this position, *"I live in a student-dominated area. There are drinking bars and hang out spots where many gangs hang out at night. This poses a security challenge. Fighting and disagreement between cult groups and sometimes gang*

mates who are high on hard drugs are rampant.+ Weak social capital, which manifests in lack of trust among community members, as identified by Josue Antonio Medina Bocanegra from Peru, is one the prominent risk factors in most Latin American communities. *"Most people do not trust others because it is the safest action to do. Here, one phrase that is well-ingrained is "the worst enemy of a Peruvian is another Peruvian",* he explained.

Community Response to the Risk Factors

It is clear from the participants' analysis of the risk factors that a strong community association with effective CBCP is appropriate for crime prevention and control. Participants mentioned restriction of movement at some hours, hiring of vigilantes and night guards, neighbourhood night-watchmen, community watch, extra care by landlords when getting tenants, provision of necessary infrastructure and collaboration between police and community associations as community responses to crime situations. Adebukola Bassey mentioned that, *"through a combination of hired vigilantes, extra-judicial judgement on those who misbehave within the market, lots of gates barring movements from street to street from 8pm-4am, and police take community relations meetings very seriously, the area is actually very safe. People move about till 11pm but it has also meant teenage and young adult males get searched a lot if their faces look unfamiliar to the vigilantes.*+

Olajumoke Fatokun also explained the steps taken by her community to mitigate security risk factors, *"To improve security, people are advised to put on battery powered radios when not around. We have also installed street lights to improve visibility at night. To stem the tide of constant vandalism of our transformers, we have recently fortified the enclosures and built some guard houses nearby. We have also recently donated a fairly used vehicle to the police station near us to improve patrolling at night in conjunction with the neighbourhood watchmen that have been hired. Their leader is also given a motorcycle to patrol. Just two months ago, we decided to buy a motorcycle for a day guard to patrol the neighbourhood. I have lived here for ten years now with no serious incidents due to preventive measures.*+

Effective Community Attributes and Abilities in Crime Prevention

Furthermore, participants' contributions showed that there are many attributes and abilities in the communities that make them effective in preventing crimes. Most of the communities, if not all, bank on collective action, strong participation, accountability, quick response when there are needs and trust. Participants also mentioned payment of levies and special donations and good relationship with the police as important attributes of their communities. Olajumoke Fatokun presented a representative picture, *"A high sense of cooperation and dedication is usually displayed except in a few cases. We contribute in material and physical terms when the need arises. We have manned gates, guard houses, day and night guards with the provision of motorcycles to patrol at night and even during the day. We also work closely with the policemen in the station close by. We provide them*

*with a vehicle to patrol at night and fuel it.+*Fidelis Ernesto Orellana Benavides observed that these attributes are lacking in communities in El Salvador, the reason for their weak CBCP, *‰The problem that we have in El Salvador is the breakdown of the social fabric at the community level, people, instead of joining, hide in the face of threats. On the other hand, there is distrust of the justice system and it demonstrates a weak capacity to respond. This is because the justice system operator is listed as corrupt and incapable. There is also territorial control exercised by criminal structures that have been installed through violence and live in the territories.+*

Comparison of Reported Cases in El Salvador and Nigeria

Participants qcomments validated or affirmed country-specific cases reported in the studies conducted in El Salvador and Nigeria. Furthermore, they were able to clearly show that trust among residents, collective efficacy, strong participation and monetary contribution make CBCP stronger in Nigeria than in El Salvador, where it was observed that CBCP is weak. Again, Olajumoke Fatokun's contribution is germane here, *‰The situation here contrasts with that in El Salvador where state presence is more felt than in Nigeria where the state presence is weak. CBCP is stronger in Nigeria while in El Salvador communities fail to actively participate in and donate to CBCP activities.+*This last statement needs to be understood within a context of a high prevalence of youth gangs and the dynamic of power they exercise over the communities in El Salvador.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are as many risks in the communities as there are CBCP activities as responses to the risks. Strong collective efficacy, trust, accountability, participation and monetary contributions to CBCP are some of the potent attributes and abilities that communities deploy to prevent crimes; and these attributes are more prominent in Nigeria than in El Salvador, that is why CBCP efforts in El Salvador rely heavily on local and central government efforts.

Topic 5: How Crime Severity Influences the Potential for CBCP Approaches and the Role of Communities

Focus of the Topic

A review and discussion of how the type and severity of crime affects the scope for and the shape of CBCP approaches, taking the contrasting experiences of Nigeria and El Salvador as an example, focused on:

- Levels of social capital, collective efficacy and insecurity in El Salvador and Nigeria
- How crime severity affects the levels of social capital, collective efficacy and the fear of crime in these two countries
- The contrasting roles of communities and of the state in these two contexts

Both Latin America and Africa are experiencing high rates of crime with the governments and communities reacting differently in both regions in order to face insecurity, and this is why we find different models of CBCP in each country.

In this topic participants and moderators discussed how the different types and severity of crime affects levels of interpersonal trust and willingness to act to address the problem of insecurity at the community level; and how these can shape the different models of CBCP in both regions.

The discussion was supported by the following main reference materials:

- FundaUngo and Ibadan, 2016. *Community-Based Crime Prevention Practices in El Salvador and Nigeria: Understanding Communities̓ Willingness to Act* (Extract from the ELLA Comparative Evidence Paper[6])
- *Additional Readings*

To guide the discussion and exchange, the following questions were posted:

1. Considering the actual types and severity of crime in your community, are these affecting the levels of trust and the willingness to act among neighbours to address crime and insecurity? Do you believe these are equally affected in African and Latin American communities?
2. Do you consider that trusting and getting together with the people of your community to prevent crime matters? What types of measures to increase trust and willingness to act together among neighbours have been used in your community that might be adapted into other African or Latin American communities?

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[6] This document was being developed during the time the Learning Alliance was active.

Discussion

The following is a summary of the discussion held on the platform.

Trust and Willingness to Act among Neighbours in Latin America and Africa

As Israel Ayinla Fadipe mentioned, trust and willingness to act are two very important variables in curtailing crimes in communities as they affect the severity of crime, since, as some participants mentioned, in the case of Nigeria, what encourages people to act collectively is the occurrence of crime in the community. On the other hand, Ademola Atanda drew on the reference materials and raised a valid point when it comes to trust in the Nigerian case, *"while trust should have a vital role in effective participation in CBCP, I found that it has little or no effect as the case may be in Nigeria (…) where analysis was given on the level of trust in communities, we found out that this has not had a significant effect on participation by community members, rather, I think what slows the activities down most times is boredom (…) when new initiatives are involved people put trust aside and come together."*

Olajumoke Fatokun focused her comment on the comparative part of the discussion, stating that, *"CBCP remains a prominent means of addressing the problem of crime in both Africa and Latin America; even though it is more cohesive in Latin America than in Africa. CBCP practices vary in many ways, especially in name and structure. Latin Americans identify specific focus for different forms of CBCP, for example the security roundtables in Mexico are a type of organisation that became the main force between the government and organised society; the Citizen Medical Committee is one such organisation. However, the willingness of community members to act in Africa is higher than in Latin America. As for Latin America, trust and willingness to act are present in specific countries, such as Peru and Mexico, where vigilante groups have been famous for acting outside the law, replacing the authority of the state, in specific places. The prevalent model seems to be the local government leading crime prevention with the participation of the community."*

In Peru, crime has affected the level of trust and the will of its inhabitants, especially in Lima. The ability to act is affected by the fear in being involved in a risky situation, so it is very common here to perceive a sense of selfishness of citizens. In El Salvador, there is the problem of the gangs operating in the same communities.

> *"In El Salvador, definitely trust and willingness of the community to participate against violence and crime are weakened because of crime. There is also the influence of social media that extols, speculates, they are sensationalist about criminal events causing increased perception of crime."*
>
> Karla Andrade, El Salvador

A final conclusion was reached that the levels of trust and willingness to act are very important for effective CBCP initiatives in Africa and Latin America but these are affected by the different types and severity of crime unique for each region

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Topic 6: Best Practices and Recommendations on Factors that Can Strengthen CBCP Initiatives

Focus of the Topic

This discussion concluded the Learning Alliance, drawing together the previous discussions in order to identify best practices in CBCP from across the two regions. The aim was to conclude by recognising the lessons that Latin America and Africa can learn from each other.

The discussion focused on the best known projects and experiences and considered the following two issues in particular:

- The importance and challenges of evaluating crime prevention projects
- Best practices and lessons in a comparison of Latin America and Africa

This discussion synthesised thoughts on the various factors that drive successful CBCP practices as identified in previous discussions.

Conclusions from Previous Discussions

1. Crime in Latin America and Africa: Nature, trends, indicators and implications

While discussing the topic, the problems that are associated with crime statistics in Latin America and Africa were highlighted. First, it was found that there is a general sense of distrust in official data reported. In Nigeria, for example, Olajumoke Fatokun mentioned that the reason for mistrusting the data is that most of the available studies focus on crimes in urban areas. She notes also that, "*the rural set ups are usually neglected both in reportage and investigations*". In El Salvador, on the other hand, the main problem with official crime statistics is the inconsistency of figures presented by the institutions in charge of gathering the data. In the discussion we also concur that the following types of crime are under-reported in the two continents: domestic violence, extortion, gang related crimes and sex crimes. Despite the situation on ground in both El Salvador and Nigeria, it was agreed that reliable data is imperative to crime prevention.

The main trends of crime in both regions were also discussed and their implications examined. There was a general agreement that the following crimes are on the increase in Africa: youth and gang related violence targeting black males between the ages of 15-25 for territorial/ drug related disputes; domestic violence; and expansion of drug trafficking and kidnapping to rural areas. Additionally, participants from Africa included violent crimes committed by groups such as Boko haram insurgents in the northern Nigeria, the Niger delta Avengers and the Fulani herdsmen, police brutality, ritual kidnapping and killing. As

for Latin America, the main trends are identified are high rates of robbery, injuries, extortions and homicides.

On the implications of these main trends, Jorge Laffite stated that in Brazil, *"the results are ambivalent, depending of the geographical territory; law enforcement composition, training and leadership. In general local population cooperation with local authorities is rather limited resulting from police negative public image and practices."* As for Nigeria Gbola Adiamoh mentioned that, *"the implication for public policy in all these is that there should be an enabling legal framework for the operations of organised local police in order to combat crimes."* Finally Freddy Miranda Castro stated that, *"the best way to build security and social peace is investing in prevention through alternative income generation methods, training and personal growth especially for young people."*

2. Crime Prevention Approaches in Latin America and Africa

The following three key themes emerged from discussions:

1. *Country-specific role of the state and communities in tackling crime*

   First of all, there is a consensus among participants in Nigeria that the state and communities actively collaborate in crime prevention. This collaboration comes in various forms as noted by Ademola Atanda that, *"the state provides the primary security which is the Nigeria Police. This is being complemented by other state outfits such as the Civil Defence and the Road Safety Corps. While this is in place, communities have decided not to rely on the primary security system of the government, hence there are other community-based arrangements (some of which have alliances with the police and some not) -ranging from the use of militias (such as Oodua People's Congress), community vigilante groups and private security formations."*

   However, in El Salvador state dominated crime prevention strategies exist with reduced community participation. This is reflected in the submission of Wilson Hernandez who said that, *"community members do not necessarily attend meetings… .. Community participation in actions is directed to the recovery of physical and social spaces. This does not receive much emphasis. When it does, the objective is not security but beautification of the environment".* Furthermore, most of the participants from Nigeria mentioned mob justice, bribery and corruption, shortage of equipment, lack of training, manpower and others as challenges facing effective state and community crime prevention efforts in Nigeria. Mutiu Lasisi, for instance, captured this when he said that, *"Governments and communities are playing security roles expected of them but inadequate communication infrastructure, personnel and other necessary policing equipment remain critical challenges."*

2. *Similarities and differences in crime prevention efforts in Latin America and Africa*

   Most participants mapped the similarities and differences in crime prevention efforts between the Latin America and Africa with specific references to El Salvador and

Nigeria. State efforts and availability of community-based crime prevention practices were the notable similarities clearly mapped by some. However, as participants explained based on their experiences from their different countries or regions, in El Salvador, citizens rely on state efforts, fail to actively participate and donate to CBCP efforts unlike Nigeria where communities mostly rely on their CBCP, fund and run it with some state presence in crime prevention. This is summarised in what Wilson Hernandez said, *‰think CBCP does not work because of the combination of state institutions and weak social ties. In regard to this last issue, we have low interpersonal trust which creates difficulties in more CB organisations acting. We have some successful CBCP experiences. The common feature I think they share is that they are based on personal leadership (local police chief) and state-community cooperation rather than on a sound public policy orientation.+*

3. *Justifications for community involvement in crime prevention*

Participants agreed that security is primarily the responsibility of a state, and crime prevention is the duty of the state police and other state agencies as indicated in the contribution of Jamiu Adebayo Lawal that, *‰Security is a responsibility of the state because training security personnel, provision of the equipment, formulation of the policy that guides both the security and the members of the public, security welfare, and the power conferred on them to cover all the state jurisdiction are only given by the government.+* However, participants learned from the observations of participants from Nigeria that weak state actors and apparatus, lack of trust in the state police, a combination of history, politics, corruption and maladministration, necessitate the introduction of community efforts in crime prevention. As Olajumoke Fatokun noted, *‰States are usually weak while non-state actors are well organised and embedded. Police, therefore, need them in order to control crime. Police have problems with unplanned communities, active criminal organisations that quickly adapt to police strategies and fleets of vehicles that prevent ease of movement.+* Solomon Abiodun Oyeleye also shares this position as he explained that, *‰when states are unable to meet their obligations to the security of the communities, which is what is happening in Nigeria, then to me it is justified for communities to become involved in crime prevention.+* The lack of societal cohesion in cities and the traditional mechanisms of rural areas, public fear and mistrust of the police all led to reforms of the state police in Nigeria. Charlotte Cross cautioned that *‰t is also important to bear in mind that even if 'justified', it can be difficult for communities to initiate and sustain crime prevention activities. Groups must find some way to overcome collective action problems and to finance activities. Many of those I worked with in Tanzania desired greater state support rather than greater community autonomy. Another issue is the extent to which community-provided services might evolve over time to operate in similar ways to the state police as they accumulate power and face similar incentives to ensure their own survival.+*

The discussion concluded with a strong basis to argue that CBCP is stronger in Nigeria where state presence is weak compared with the situation in El Salvador

where relatively stronger state presence exists but where citizens fail to actively participate in or donate to CBCP activities. In essence, in a country where the state fails to effectively perform its statutory roles, especially in providing security, and where citizens have low trust in the state and its numerous institutions as a result of corruption and gross ineptitude, community members become more active in providing alternative security for themselves.

3. CBCP Models in Latin America and Africa

The most predominant model of CBCP in Nigeria is vigilante groups which come in several forms or models. They are funded by the same community that initiates them. Mutiu Lasisi explained the reason underlying this trend, *"Nigeria's model is yielding desired results because the community owns and implements it, because there is absolute lack of trust in those government agencies saddled with the responsibility [of providing security]."* Many participants from Nigeria also mentioned private security arrangements made by the community which pays for the provision of security in the absence of the state.

As for Latin America, in specific countries such as Peru and Mexico vigilante groups have been famous for acting outside the law and replacing the authority of the state in specific places. The prevalent model seems to be local government leading crime prevention with the participation of the community.

Interesting contributions emerged on the effectiveness or failure of CBCP initiatives in both regions. Ademola Atanda stated that, *"there is a need for a collective approach, this will make more security conscious and oriented people to contribute and see to the effective management of the community policing, this will help bring in better orientation for community police team and hence help in maintaining the balance. Also, it could be seen that where the governments are failing, there is no alternative to the communities rising up to face the challenges of community security but with caution and proper involvement of the government security agents."*

Adebukola Bassey raised an equally important point that, *"cooperation with police and other state security is very important".* Obasanjo Joseph Oyedele emphasised this position when he said that, *"micro level community involvement in crime prevention in Nigeria is a big lesson. Instead a state-wide or town-wide crime prevention outfit, each community takes over crime prevention within its capacity."* We then concluded in agreement that even though the CBCP models in the two regions vary, they constitute an important part of crime prevention.

4. The Importance of the Community in Crime Prevention Strategies in Latin America and Africa

The following themes emerged from discussions:

1. *Factors Posing Security Risks to the Communities*
   In terms of factors that pose security to communities, participants mentioned the excesses of the youth and students, unemployment, increased number of miscreants

and proximity to industrial and educational areas as prominent factors. Others are activities of motorcyclists and taxi drivers (popularly known in Nigeria as Okada riders), lack of infrastructure, religious radicalisation and presence of bars and hang-out spots. In the case of El Salvador, young people appears to be at the same time victims and perpetrators of a high amount of crime and insecurity and this is related to the prevalence of youth gangs in the northern triangle countries of Central America (Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador) which are fueled by economic, educational and social disadvantages.

2. *Community Response to the Risk Factors*

Having identified the security risk factors across communities, it was agreed that a strong community association with effective CBCP is an appropriate strategy to crime prevention and control. The specific behavioral responses mentioned include restriction of movement at some hours of the day, hiring of vigilantes and night guards, neighborhood night-watchmen, community watch, extra care by landlords when getting tenants, provision of necessary infrastructure and collaboration between police and community associations.

3. *Effective Community Attributes and Abilities in Crime Prevention*

It was also agreed that there are many attributes and abilities in the communities that make them effective in preventing crimes. Most of the communities, if not all, depend on collective action, strong participation, accountability and quick response when the needs arise and trust is present. Also mentioned were: payment of levies and special donations and good relationship with the police as important attributes of communities. Olajumoke Fatokun painted a representative picture of the situation in African communities, *"A high sense of cooperation and dedication is usually displayed except in a few cases. We contribute in material and physical terms when the need arises. We have manned gates, provided guard houses, provided day and night guards with motorcycles to patrol at night and even during the day. We also work closely with the policemen in the station close by. We provide them with a vehicle to patrol at night and fuel it."*

From Latin America, Fidel Ernesto Orellana Benavides observed that those attributes identified in African communities are lacking in communities in El Salvador, and mentioned a few reasons for weak CBCP in the country, *"The problem that we have in El Salvador is the breakdown of the social fabric at the community level, people, instead of joining, hide in the face of threats. On the other hand there is distrust of the justice system and it has weak capacity to respond. This is because the justice system operator is listed as corrupt and incapable. There is also territorial control by criminal structures that have been installed by criminals who live in the territories through violence."*

Conclusion

The Online Learning Alliance conducted by the University of Ibadan and FundaUngo benefited from participants from many sectors of Africa and Latin American societies, ranging from academics, media, government officials and international cooperation agencies. They shared their experiences and knowledge and learned about Community Based Crime Prevention strategies across Africa and America Latin, discussing other participantsqpoints of view in a respectful and productive environment.

In conclusion, it can be observed that Africa and Latin America share some of the factors that produce crime and insecurity, such as social and economic exclusion and a lack of employment and educational opportunities, among others. Both continents have also implemented similar strategies for addressing the problem of insecurity, with different nuances related to their very unique cultural and social contexts.

Key lessons include:

- Best practices of community-based crime prevention include: proactive community association, accountability, mutual trust and responsibility, sustainability, cooperation, transparency, participation and clear communication.
- In some countries, strong state support, communality, appropriate legislation, training, re-training and provision of good equipment and welfare for security agencies, accountability and trust are important for effective CBCP, while in other countries, a strong sense of ownership by the community is required, among others.