

TURNING AWAY FROM MS-13 AND ALSHABAAAB

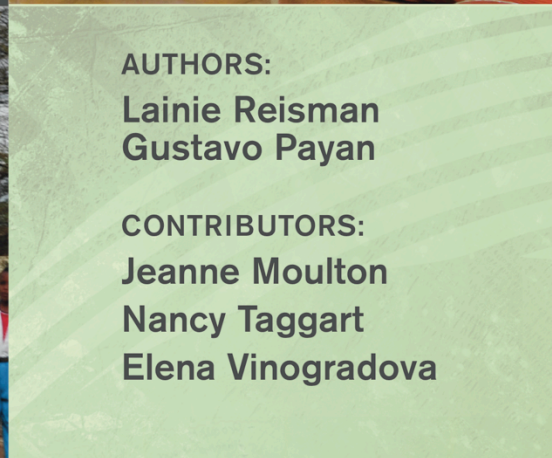
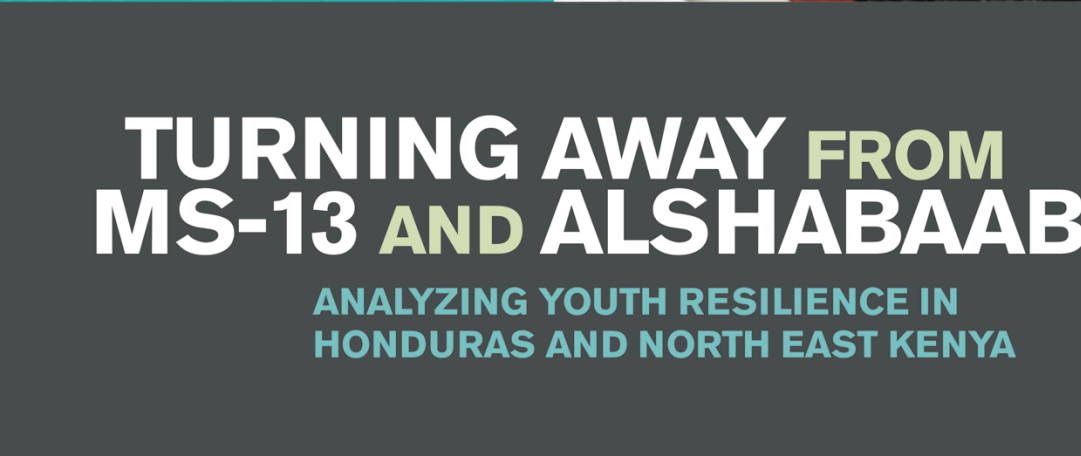
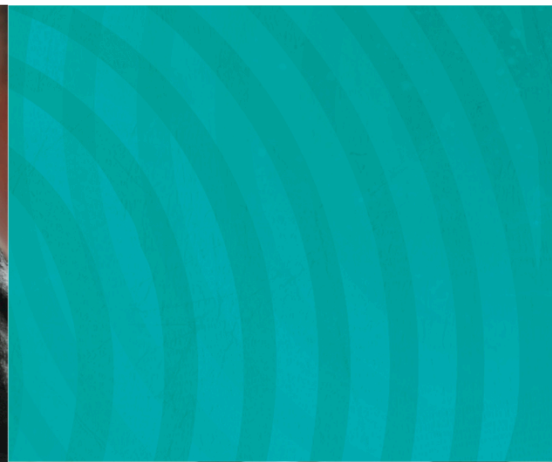
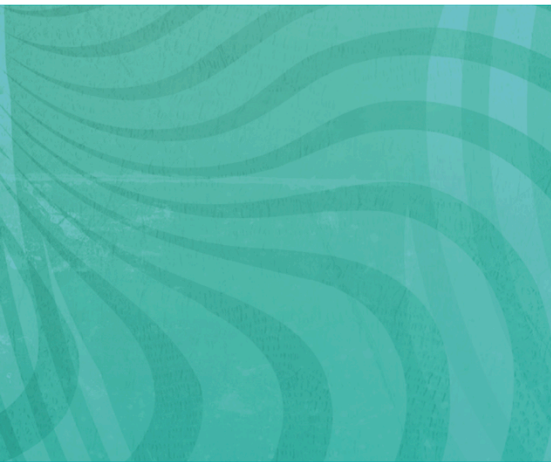
ANALYZING YOUTH RESILIENCE IN
HONDURAS AND NORTH EAST KENYA

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First and foremost, we want to thank the youth who participated in this study for opening up and sharing very important information. These youth's responses gave life to this report, which, we hope, will inform youth resilience policy and practice globally. More importantly, we hope that these youth's lives full of courage will continue to inspire us as we do our part in building a more resilient, safe world that provides the right opportunities to its youth.

We thank EDC's leadership for their support in the development of this unique and interesting study. Particularly, we are grateful for the hands-on guidance from three members of the International Development Division: Jeanne Moulton (Director of Fragility and Conflict); Nancy Taggart (Director of International Youth Programs), and Elena Vinogradova (Director of Monitoring, Evaluation and Research). Their technical leadership and advice was critical to take this study from an 'interesting idea' to a final report.

This study would have not been possible without the extraordinary support from our field teams. Our Chiefs of Party in Kenya and Honduras, Amina Issa and Alejandro Paredes respectively, were instrumental in ensuring data was timely and appropriately collected and reported. We applaud their bravery as they lead EDC's teams in regions of the world that are both beautiful and challenging.

Last but not least, we thank Honduras and Kenya for everything that these two countries have taught and given us. We join them in their efforts to build more peaceful and prosperous communities.

COMPARATIVE STUDY – YOUTH RESILIENCE

Turning Away from MS-13 and al-Shabaab: Analyzing Youth Resilience in Honduras and North East Kenya

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study compares multiple resiliency factors (individual, caregiver, context) displayed by youth who are participating in international-donor-funded youth development programs implemented by Education Development Center, Inc. (EDC), in Central America (Honduras) and the Horn of Africa (North East Kenya), two regions that suffer from high levels of violence in communities. In Honduras, gangs such as *Mara Salvatrucha* (MS-13) plague vulnerable neighborhoods, while along the border of Kenya and Somalia, extremist groups such as al-Shabaab both terrorize and stigmatize the predominantly ethnic Somali local population. Although significant research and programming focused on resiliency has been undertaken in North America, much less data are available in other regions. Furthermore, little attempt has been made to compare and contrast regions in a manner that could facilitate the sharing of experiences and lessons learned. This study used a combination of interviews and focus groups and the application of the Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM-28, developed by the Resilience Research Centre) with a small sample in both regions.

Findings in both regions showed a surprisingly high level of resilience among youth who are enrolled in programs implemented by EDC and funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Respondents in North East Kenya scored slightly higher than respondents in Honduras on the CYRM-28 survey, including in all three survey scales (individual, caregiver, and context). Participants in North East Kenya had statistically significantly higher scores on the peer support subscale (individual scale) and spiritual subscale (context scale). Overall, females scored higher than males in Honduras and lower than males in North East Kenya. Honduran youth noted the important and positive role of the church and strong community cohesion, and females in particular were proud of their neighborhoods and keen to help other youth. Honduran respondents were gravely concerned with gangs, organized crime groups, and general insecurity in their communities. North East Kenyan youth noted significant pride in the Somali cultural and religious heritage, but they also acknowledged that differences in beliefs and attitudes have led to clashes.

Based on the data and analysis, EDC has made a series of programmatic considerations:

- Make the most out of youth optimism
- Enhance cooperation with religious leaders and institutions
- Emphasize the role of parents and caregivers

- Build on community cohesion and pride
- Encourage cross-region knowledge sharing
- Consider more gender-nuanced programming
- Promote peace, reconciliation, interfaith, and interfaith programs

Other considerations proposed by EDC regarding data collection and dissemination include a more strategic application of the CYRM-28 and other data collection tools, the administration of surveys to youth directly engaged in violent groups, the use of CYRM-28 for baseline and end line diagnostics for youth development programs, and further data refinement.

The data collected for this study show strong similarities in resiliency factors between youth in gang-affected neighborhoods in Honduras and youth in communities in North East Kenya affected by violent extremism. There are also significant commonalities between the push and pull factors that drive youth to orient with violent groups. Gang and criminal violence have not been closely compared with violent extremism, yet membership and victimization patterns are similar. Lessons learned and documented in more-studied regions, such as the Americas, can and should be shared, adapted, and applied in less-studied regions, such as Africa and the Middle East.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study compares multiple resiliency factors (individual, caregiver, context) displayed by youth who are participating in international donor-funded youth development programs in Central America (Honduras) and the Horn of Africa (North East Kenya), two regions that suffer from high levels of violence in communities. While significant research and programming focused on resiliency has been undertaken in North America, there is much less data available in other regions. Furthermore, little attempt has been made to compare and contrast regions in a manner that could facilitate the sharing of experiences and lessons learned.

Resilience in youth is defined as follows:

- The capacity of youth to navigate their way to resources that sustain well-being
- The capacity of their physical and social ecologies to provide those resources
- The capacity of their families and their communities, as well as themselves, to negotiate culturally meaningful ways to share resources

This definition suggests that to realize their potential and overcome harmful social forces, youth need the support of their family, peers and community as well as that of any outside interventions designed to attract them to safe and healthy endeavors.

This paper is based upon the experience of the Education Development Center, Inc. (EDC), in implementing youth programs in Honduras and North East Kenya through its USAID-funded *METAS* and *Yes Youth Can! North East Region projects*, respectively. While the projects have distinct histories and objectives, both are providing critical support to youth in high-risk communities who are potential targets for recruitment by violent criminal organizations such as the Central American *maras* or gangs (e.g., MS-13 and Calle 18) or violent extremist organizations (e.g., al-Shabaab). Given that these organizations have such different aims, little has been done to compare the two environments to better understand what common factors may influence youth decisions to repudiate membership versus participate in or support violent and illicit activities.

The EDC research team began this study with the following hypothesis:

While the types and aims of violent organizations that threaten youth in the two regions are very distinct, there are significant similarities between the push and pull factors that attract youth to these organizations and the resiliency factors that enable them to resist the organizations.

EDC had the rare opportunity of direct access, combined with established trust, to be able to openly discuss hot-topic issues such as violence and security with youth who have opted to engage in self-improvement training programs rather than

affiliate with organized criminal groups. This study did not interview youth directly involved in organizations engaging in violence and is not focus on what drives youth to become gang members or violent extremists. Rather it asks the following:

- What are factors that enable youth living in high-risk communities to avoid violent groups?
- How do these resiliency factors compare from one region to another?

2. CONTEXT: NORTH EAST KENYA / HORN OF AFRICA

Somali and North East Kenya Overview

The world population of Somalis is estimated at 17 million, mainly in Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti, with others spread throughout the Middle East, North America, and Europe. The majority of Somalis are peaceful, and they are known to have powerful community ties.

The North East Region of Kenya has approximately 2.3 million inhabitants in an immense geographic area (approximately 127,000 square kilometers [km]). The majority of the inhabitants are ethnic Somalis with a large nomadic pastoralist population. The province comprises three counties: Garissa (previously the Provincial Capital), Mandera, and Wajir. It has historically been the most marginalized of the Kenyan regions, with limited government investment in infrastructure or development. Health care, education, and other social services in North East Kenya are considered the poorest in the country. North East Kenya also hosts one of the world's largest refugee camps, Dadaab, with an estimated 500,000 inhabitants, almost all of whom are Somali.

Rise of Al-Shabaab

Given the decades of crisis in Somalia, during which time the country has been largely ungoverned, diverse forms of violence and extremism have emerged. As early as 2006, a hard-line militant youth movement within the Islamic Courts Union, which ruled most of Southern Somalia through a form of moderate Sharia law, broke away to form the *Xarakada Mujaahidiinta Alshabaab*, known as al-Shabaab or the "Youth" movement. Al-Shabaab later evolved into a jihadist group based in Somalia, and in 2012, it joined the militant Islamist organization al-Qaeda as a cell. Al-Shabaab typically targets outsiders that it views as enemies (e.g., non-Somalis in Kenya and Uganda, international tourists) as well as moderate Somali religious and political leaders who are believed to be against an Islamic state. It has claimed responsibility for lethal attacks throughout Somalia, as well as in Yemen, Ethiopia, and Kenya, including the deadly 2013 Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi. Al-Shabaab is estimated to have approximately 6,000 members, most of which are Somali youth

from the Horn of Africa, with its ranks supplemented by a modest number of foreign fighters.

The largely porous 700 km border between Kenya and Somalia facilitates easy movements between the two countries, including the flow of Somali militia groups into Kenya. In 2011, after a spate of high-profile attacks against foreigners, Kenya sent troops into Somalia, with its Internal Security Minister, George Saitoti, noting, "Kenya has been and remains an island of peace, and we shall not allow criminals from Somalia, which has been fighting for over two decades, to destabilize our peace."¹ According to Elwak Abdi, an expert on peace and security from Liboi, a border town in Kenya's North East Region some 18 km from the Somali border, the incursion into Somalia led to fierce reactions from some Kenyan Somalis in the region: "There is a growing number of Kenyan Somalis who are sympathizers of al-Shabaab, and they are setting up their own small militia groups to send a message to the [Kenyan] national government."^{2 3}

Regardless of the rationale behind and reaction to the 2011 military excursion, there is a long history of neglect and discrimination against ethnic Somalis in Kenya, be they citizens or residents, which has led to extremely high levels of frustration and marginalization of Somalis in Kenya, the majority of whom live in North East Kenya. Young Somalis in North East Kenya, most of whom are Kenyan citizens, are regularly denied basic rights, such as the issuance of Kenyan ID cards, and they are keenly aware of perceived discrimination.

In addition to the violence stemming from extremist groups in this region, inter-clan tension between minority and majority Somali clans in North East Kenya is an ongoing issue that triggers violence and fighting between communities. Recently, this has been the most acute in Mandera province. Moreover, some clans are seen as benefitting more from the devolution process in Kenya (in which political power is decentralized and more resources are being allocated to the provincial level), which could be exacerbating clan tensions. Al-Shabaab is reportedly capitalizing on the

¹ Branch, D. (2011, November). Why Kenya invaded Somalia: The opening of an aggressive new chapter. Retrieved from Foreign Affairs website:

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136670/daniel-branch/why-kenya-invaded-somalia>

² Gathigah, M. (2013, October). Somalis caught between terrorism and a border dispute. *Interpress Service News Agency*. Retrieved from <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/10/somalis-caught-between-terrorism-and-a-border-dispute/>

³ The term *Kenyan Somalis* refers to Kenyan nationals of Somali descent as opposed to the term *Somali Somalis*, referring to individuals who are not nationals of Kenya and come from the war-torn Somali regions as refugees. Regardless, some of both groups are critical of Kenya's direct military role in Somalia.

disenfranchisement of the minority clans in this region who feel marginalized by targeting them for recruitment.⁴

EDC's Yes Youth Can! Northeast Region Project (YYC-NER)

Since the mid-2000s, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has recognized the potential role of development projects that aim to improve social and economic conditions in confronting violent extremism and has supported these projects working in high-risk zones. One such project is the EDC-implemented Yes Youth Can! Northeastern Region Project (YYC-NER), which has worked since 2008 with youth ages 15–25 in North East Kenya, initially in Garissa municipality and later expanding in 2013–2014 to Mandera and Wajir. The initial project, Garissa Youth (G-Youth), trained young people in work readiness, life skills, entrepreneurship, leadership and civic engagement. In 2012, G-Youth merged with Kenya's nationwide *Yes Youth Can!* program and put a stronger emphasis on youth mobilization, empowerment, and advocacy. By 2014, EDC's project had reached more than 10,000 vulnerable Somali youth in North East Kenya, and it has become one of the few established programs in the region serving the huge youth population.

Risk and Resilience Factors: Youth in North East Kenya

Many research activities, papers, and discussions aim to answer the question: What drives youth to engage in violent extremism? USAID, in addition to a plethora of other research and development organizations, has an established a framework that lays out drivers at the individual, communal, and societal level.⁵ The framework posits the basic drivers that “push” and “pull” youth to affiliate with violent groups.

Applying the USAID framework to North Eastern Kenya, the EDC research team hypothesizes that there are a variety of push and pull factors that to some degree affect almost all youth in the region, including the following:⁶

- Political push factors (e.g., discrimination against Somali youths in the provision of national ID card, perceived victimization)
- Socioeconomic push factors (e.g., joblessness, boredom, social exclusion)
- Cultural push factors (e.g., sense of threat to Islam and Somalis)

⁴ Hanns Seidel Foundation. (2014, July). Explaining the upsurge in violence in Kenya and possible solutions. Retrieved from <http://www.hss.de/kenya/en/news-events/2014/explaining-the-upsurge-of-violence-in-kenya-and-possible-solutions.html>

⁵ For more details on the USAID framework, see these USAID publications: *Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism*, February 2009; *Development Assistance and Counter-Extremism: A Guide to Programming*, October 2009; and *the Development Response to Violent Extremism and Insurgency*, September 2011.

⁶ These factors have been developed by EDC teams and are not meant to be an exhaustive list.

- Personal pull factors (e.g., groups like al-Shabaab with charismatic leaders, strong recruitment tactics)
- Reward pull factors (e.g., access to money, sense of belonging)

Surveys conducted by EDC and others have shown that many youth in the region do indeed suffer from perceived social exclusion and marginalization, poor job prospects, and a lack of influence over local and regional decision making. For example, data from 2013 show that 50.4% of youth describe themselves as “not doing anything” (not working, volunteering, studying, etc.).⁷ Yet, notwithstanding the lack of educational and employment opportunities, the large majority of youth surveyed in Garissa in 2012⁸ and over 90% of participants in EDC’s G-Youth project, indicate that they are very optimistic about a better future.

These findings prompt questions about the youth who have enrolled in EDC’s youth development programs, such as these:

- What makes them resilient?
- What keeps them optimistic in the face of exclusion and poor prospects?
- What individual and contextual characteristics help them resist the push and pull of al-Shabaab and other violent organizations?

The study results reported in following sections will further delve into these questions.

3. CONTEXT: HONDURAS/CENTRAL AMERICA

Central America Overview

Data from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2013 Global Study on Homicide reports that Central America has only 0.6% of the world’s population yet accounts for 4% of worldwide murders, making it the subregion with the highest homicide rate in the world. The high levels of crime and violence are particularly alarming in the Northern Triangle countries of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, all of which are in the Top 5 list of the most dangerous countries in the world based on number of homicides per 100,000 residents.⁹ Even though El Salvador’s rates have dropped in the last few years, the region continues to present

⁷ Internal unpublished EDC survey data and available upon request

⁸ Swedberg, J., & Reisman, L. (2013, February). *Mid-term evaluation of three countering violent extremism projects*. Arlington, VA: QED Group, LLC. Retrieved from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACX479.pdf

⁹ UNODC Research and Trend Analysis Branch, Division of Policy Analysis and Public Affairs. (2013). *Global study on homicide 2013: Trends/contexts/data*. Vienna, Switzerland: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Retrieved from http://www.unodc.org/documents/gsh/pdfs/2014_GLOBAL_HOMICIDE_BOOK_web.pdf

persistent levels of violence and crime, which is often attributed to drugs (trafficking and use) and the availability of firearms. Organized crime and gang activity have flourished in the region due to its proximity to the North American drug market and the high levels of impunity and corruption that result from weak law enforcement institutions and judicial systems. Extreme poverty, inequality, lack of jobs, low quality of education, rapid urbanization, and other socioeconomic conditions are also contributing factors.

It is also important to mention the history of political and armed conflict in the region, which has led to a culture of violence. In the 1950s and 1960s, Honduras engaged in armed conflict with its neighbors El Salvador and Nicaragua. The United Nations reports that in El Salvador, the civil war (1979–1992) resulted in thousands of people unaccounted for and over 75,000 killed. The 36-year civil war in Guatemala ended in 1996, leaving over 200,000 people dead and 45,000 people as “disappeared.”

Honduras

Honduras is a low-income country with more than two thirds of the 8.1 million inhabitants living in poverty and 50% suffering from extreme poverty. The weakness in rural productivity, along with other factors, is causing rapid and disorganized urbanization with many informal urban settlements popping up, especially in the three main cities of the country:

- Tegucigalpa – The country’s capital and administrative center with high concentrations of poverty and poor urban planning
- San Pedro Sula – The country’s industrial and commercial hub with many assembly factories (*maquilas*) and the highest murder rate in the world
- La Ceiba – Located on the northern coast and the home to large concentrations of ethnic minorities, it is suffering from staggering crime and homicide rates

In 2013, Honduras topped the list of the nations with the highest homicide rate in the world at 79 homicides per 100,000 residents. Between 2005 and 2011, Honduras’ annual homicide rate more than doubled. As is the case with other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, violence in Honduras predominantly affects male youth from poor urban areas. The overwhelming majority of the homicides are carried out with firearms (83% in 2013) and the victims are males (90.6% in 2013). Broken down by sex and age range, the most vulnerable subgroup is males ages 20–24, with an alarming homicide rate of 318 per 100,000 residents.

Homicides are concentrated geographically, with 59% of the homicides occurring in 3 of the 18 administrative departments.¹⁰

Violence and Crime

The most common types of violence experienced by youth in Honduras have been identified as criminal violence, arbitrary executions (including by the police), intra-family violence, and sexual violence. Other recent and worrisome youth violence trends include the rise of hired assassins, suicides, and violence against women.¹¹ Drug trafficking and youth street gangs are largely blamed for the high levels of crime and violence. Less than 30% of the homicides have a known motive, and close to half of them are recorded as “*ajuste de cuentas/sicariato*,” which mostly includes hired assassins and arbitrary executions.¹²

Weak government institutions and poor security makes Honduras fertile ground for drug trafficking from South America into North America. Security experts attribute the expansion of drug-related crimes to the development of the war against drugs in Mexico, which has pushed cartels to seek alternative trafficking routes and moved them into Central America. However, recent discoveries of marijuana and opium poppy (used to produce heroine) plantations in Honduras indicate that the country is no longer only a transit destination but is also becoming an important producer.

It is estimated that approximately 112 youth gangs or *maras*, with around 36,000 members, are now operating in Honduras. For the most part, street gangs do not appear to be involved in the large-scale movement of drugs but focus more on local sales and extortion. Nonetheless, some researchers suggest that the leaders of local drug organizations are often ex-gang members who have “graduated.”¹³ There is general agreement that involvement in the growing drug trade has made street gangs more violent in the last decade.

EDC’s METAS (Improving Education for Work, Learning, and Success) Project in Honduras

The METAS project started in 2010 with funding from USAID and the Central America Regional Security Initiative (CARSI)—the U.S. government’s special

10 UNAH-IUDPAS. (2014, February). Mortalidad y otros. *Observatorio de la Violencia*, 32. Retrieved from <http://www.iudpas.org/pdf/Boletines/Nacional/NEd32EneDic2013.pdf>

11 Andino, T., & Martinez, D. (2011, August). *Entornos violentos: Contexto en el que crece la juventud en Honduras*. Interpeace. Retrieved from <http://www.interpeace.org/index.php/documents/publications/central-american-youth-programme/174-a-violent-world-growing-up-in-honduras-spanish/file>

12 UNAH-IUDPAS. (2014, February). Mortalidad y otros. *Observatorio de la Violencia*, 32. Retrieved from <http://www.iudpas.org/pdf/Boletines/Nacional/NEd32EneDic2013.pdf>

¹³ Rodgers, D., Muggah R., & Stevenson C. (2009, May). *Gangs of Central America: Causes, costs and interventions*. Geneva, CH: Smalls Army Survey.

initiative aimed at improving citizen security in the region. METAS has targeted both in-school and out-of-school youth (ages 12–30) who live in some of the most marginalized and violent communities in Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, and La Ceiba, as well as other smaller municipalities. The project has provided more than 50,000 at-risk youth with education and training and linkages to the labor market to offer healthier life alternatives. It has worked to improve the capacity of local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to deliver effective programs; worked with communities to improve access and quality of alternative secondary education; and established a training and certification program on basic labor competencies with linkages to employers and businesses.

Risk and Resilience Factors: Youth in Honduras

While a considerable amount of research and literature exists on the drivers of youth and gang violence in Central America, the social dynamics in the country continue to evolve, with new challenges and threats emerging. The latest trends include new drug trafficking patterns, increasing numbers of deportees, and different security approaches by the government.

Push and pull factors driving youth to engage in criminal activities and gangs are many and varied; in the USAID framework, they include the following:¹⁴

- Socioeconomic push factors (e.g., poverty, inequality, idle youth, high rates of unemployment, social exclusion)
- Political/institutional push factors (e.g., lawlessness, distrust of government institutions, corruption)
- Cultural push factors (e.g., culture of violence, discrimination, stigmatization of youth)
- Personal pull factors (e.g., lure of street and/or drug gangs that offer security/accessibility of criminal associations and impunity)
- Reward pull factors (e.g., sense of community and care, access to resources and money)

EDC's Youth Violence Prevention Assessment (2014) reported several challenges identified by at-risk youth who were interviewed for the assessment.¹⁵ Across the board, poverty and the lack of jobs and income are singled out as the most pressing challenges. Ranking of other challenges vary by the age and sex of the youth or by the risk level of the community, but they include lack of family support and/or

¹⁴ As can be noted, many of the more general push factors closely mirror pull factors seen in North East Kenya.

¹⁵ Mayberry B., Payan, G., Cohan L., & Rosiak J. (2013).. Honduras cross-sectoral youth violence prevention assessment. Waltham, MA: Education Development Center, Inc. (EDC).

family disintegration, lack of safety, poor social cohesion, and lack of education and training opportunities. Further, the assessment identified youths' assets and aspirations—which can be considered resiliency factors. These include youth aspiring to obtain decent jobs and forming a family, commitment to education, caring for others and presence of faith-based organizations with strong community influence.

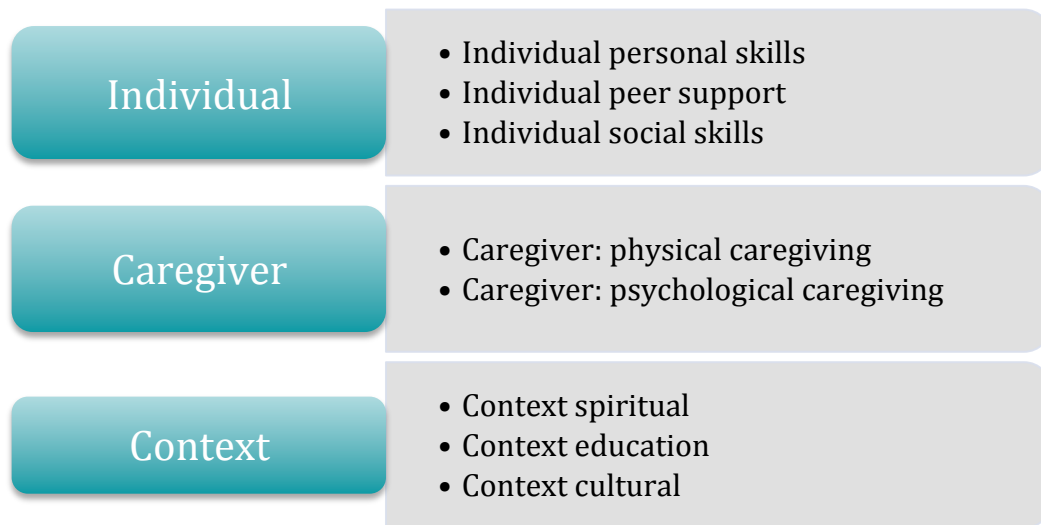
4. DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND METHODOLOGY

EDC collected data from three primary sources for this research study. First, EDC staff reviewed EDC program reports and internal project documentation. These included important survey work done in both Honduras and North East Kenya that touched on issues related to resiliency. Second, EDC staff administered the Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM-28) with a small sample of youth enrolled in EDC training programs in both regions. Finally, EDC staff conducted 10 focus groups: 6 focus groups in Honduras (San Pedro Sula, Tegucigalpa, and La Ceiba) and 4 focus groups in Garissa. Focus groups consisted of male only, female only, and mixed respondents in order to be able to identify key gender distinctions in terms of responses from all-female versus all-male groups. Finally, the EDC research team interviewed key project staff to enhance data interpretation.

To provide some quantitative data, EDC evaluated a variety of survey tools and chose the CYRM-28 as the most relevant to its emphasis on resiliency factors.¹⁶ The CYRM-28 is a measure of the resources (individual, relational, communal, and cultural) available to individuals that may bolster their resilience. The CYRM-28 is divided into three scales, namely individual, caregiver, and context. These are considered the three key areas that are critical for establishing resilience in youth. The three scales are further subdivided into eight subscales, each mapping to a set of questions on the final survey tool, as shown in Figure 1.

¹⁶ The measure was developed as part of the International Resilience Project (IRP) at the Resilience Research Centre (RRC). The IRP originated in 2002 under Dr. Michael Ungar at the School of Social Work, Dalhousie University. EDC followed the strict framework and methodology described in the *Child and Youth Resilience Measure – Youth Version, User's Manual*, August 2013.

Figure 1. CYRM-28 Scales and Subscales



EDC administered the CYRM-28 survey (Annex 1) to a total of 201 youth: 101 youth were in Honduras (36 male and 65 female) and 100 youth in Garissa (73 male and 27 female). The survey was self-administered using a survey questionnaire, in Spanish for the Honduran participants and in English for the North East Kenyan participants. EDC program staff members were on hand to clarify language issues. The survey consisted of 28 standardized questions (Section A) as well as 10 supplemental questions (Section B) selected by EDC in consultation with project beneficiaries. Youth were asked to respond to statements drawn from the CYRM-28 framework about their self-perceptions using a 5-point Likert scale (scored 1–5).¹⁷ EDC’s research team analyzed and produced the data report in accordance with the *CYRM User Guide* specifications.¹⁸

The EDC research team additionally designed a focus group protocol (Annex 2), which was administered by EDC project staff in North East Kenya and Honduras. These staff members had been previously trained to facilitate focus groups, and they were known and trusted by program participants, from whom focus group participants were selected. The EDC research team analyzed the reports from the focus groups, prepared country-level analysis briefers, and compared the findings across the two countries.

¹⁷ The five-point range of the Likert scale captures the intensity of youth feelings for a given item ranging from “not at all” to “a lot.” Thus for a 28-question survey, the total score can be reflected as a total number (ranging from 28 to 140) or as a percentage (ranging from 0% to 100%). The scaling assumes that the values for each item are equal.

¹⁸ While EDC did follow the technical specifications of the CYRM-28 study, the relatively small sample size is meant to be indicative, rather than conclusive, regarding the youth surveyed.

5. MAIN FINDINGS

Summary Data Findings

The following table and figures provide data gathered by the EDC research team, which were compared with data published by the Resilience Research Centre (RRC) on an administration of the CYRM-28 to close to 1,000 Canadian youth and 1,137 youth in two communities in South Africa.¹⁹ In the Canadian research, youth were identified as concurrent users of multiple services (child welfare, mental health, juvenile justice, special educational supports, and community programs) in rural and urban communities of Atlantic Canada participating in the RRC Pathways to Resilience study.²⁰ In the case of South Africa, the unpublished data were collected from Sotho youth in two rural communities of the Orange Free State. In the case of Honduras and North East Kenya, EDC surveyed youth who were enrolled in its programs. It is important to note the inherent selection bias in the sense that youth were surveyed who already were receiving support, training, and services in their communities.

As can be seen in Table 1, there is relatively little difference between the total RRC Canada global results and the EDC results in North East Kenya and Honduras. The data from the South African example does indicate slightly higher scores. It is also relevant to note that females scored higher in all regions with the exception of North East Kenya, where males scored slightly higher.

Table 1. CYRM-28 Total Resilience Resource Scores²¹

	Honduras	North East Kenya	South Africa	Canada
	EDC	EDC	RRC	RRC
Overall CYRM-28	109.20 (78%)	112.00 (80%)	116.17 (83%)	108.60 (78%)
CYRM-28 Female	110.60 (79%)	111.25 (79%)	117.95 (84%)	111.96 (80%)
CYRM-28 Male	106.19 (76%)	112.94 (81%)	114.17 (82%)	105.45 (75%)

¹⁹ Ungar, M., & Liebenberg, L. (2011, March). Assessing resilience across cultures using mixed methods: Construction of the child and youth resilience measure. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*. doi: 10.1177/1558689811400607

²⁰ Liebenberg, L., Ungar, M., & Van de Vijver, F. (2012). Validation of the child and youth resilience measure-28 (CYRM-28) among Canadian youth, *Research on Social Work Practice*. doi: 10.1177/1049731511428619

²¹ For the full 28-question data set, the total points value is 140 (28 questions x 5 highest score), and both the data and percentage are provided.

The overall scores show relatively little variation (78%/80%/83%/78%). However, more differences emerge once an in-depth analysis is conducted focusing on the scale and subscale levels. Figure 2 compares the scores of youth in North East Kenya and Honduras on the total scale of resilience factors and on the three scales: individual, caregiver, and context. It also shows the B section scores for items devised by the EDC research team for this study. These items concern youths' feelings about their security and their exposure to violence and threats.

As evidenced in Figure 2, there are variances between the North East Kenya data and the Honduras data, with North East Kenya youth scoring higher than Honduras youth overall as well as on each of the three scales.

Figure 2. CYRM-28 Scale Data by EDC Intervention Country

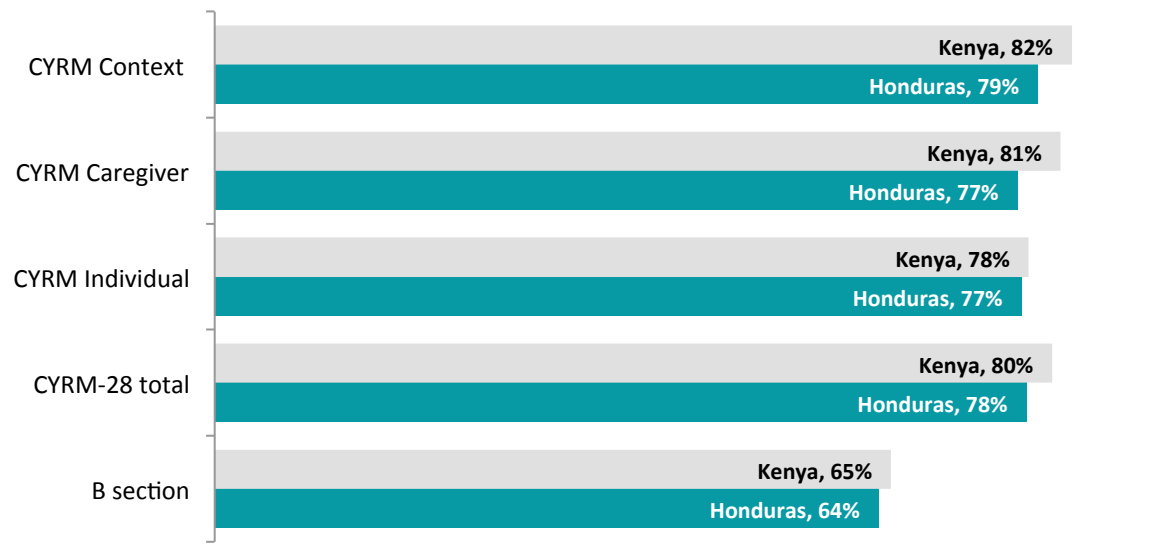
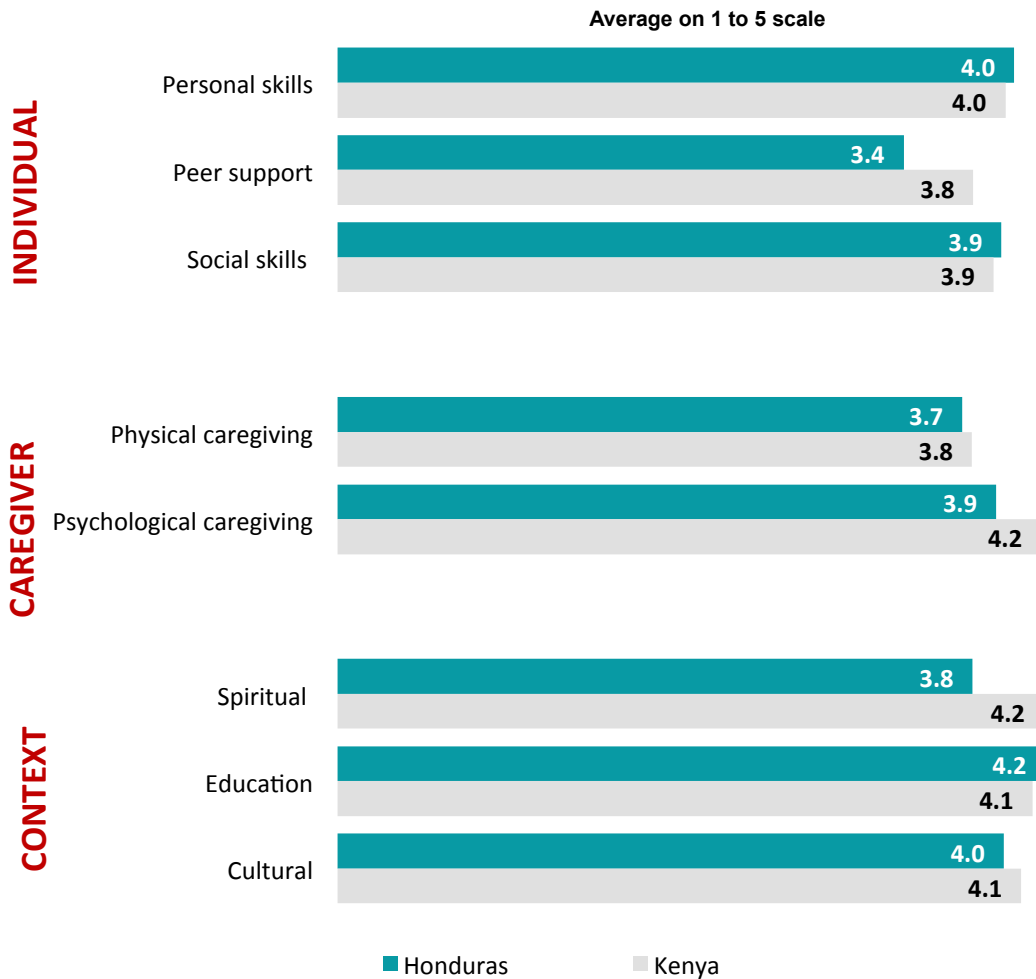


Figure 3 shows data at the subscale level, which provides a more nuanced analysis of the differences. The higher scores for North East Kenya relate largely to responses on the individual peer support, caregiver psychological, and spiritual context.

Figure 3. Subscale Data by EDC Intervention Country (5-point scale, average responses rounded to nearest 10th)²²



²² Participants from North East Kenya had statistically significantly higher scores on peer support and spiritual subscales.

Detailed Honduras Data

CYRM-28 Survey Data – Survey data from the CYRM-28 indicate that the respondents (youth participating in EDC’s programs in Honduras) are very resilient, with standardized scores of 78% for the total survey, 77% on the individual scale, 77% on the caregiver scale, and 79% on the context scale. As noted previously in Figure 3, youth in Honduras scored highest on the education (context), cultural (context) and personal skills (individual) subscales. They scored lowest in peer support (individual) and physical caregiving (caregiver) subscales. Results of the data analysis by gender, displayed in Figure 4, show a higher total score for females (79%) than males (76%), with females scoring higher than males in all three scales. However, males did display stronger results than females on the subscale of individual social skills.

Figure 4: Scale Scores in Honduras, by Gender



The subscale data in Figure 3 can be easily tracked back to specific questions that significantly impact the data. Overall, youth participants in Honduras scored highest on the Context questions “Getting an education is important to me” and “I am proud to be a citizen of Honduras.” It is noteworthy that youth living in some of the most dangerous and violent communities in the world exhibit such positive views regarding their context and communities and display strong resilience.²³ This

²³ Since the CYRM-28 has only been administered once, no causal relationship between EDC programs and responses can be proven. The research team was not trying to find any relationship between the project and the survey results.

finding is supported by the Qualitative Data Analysis (below). By contrast, youth participants in Honduras scored lowest on the questions “I participate in organized religious activities” and “I talk to my family/caregiver(s) about how I feel” (context and caregiver scales).

Qualitative Data and Analysis – Focus groups in Honduras were conducted in three geographic areas, namely Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, and La Ceiba. Across the focus groups, several common themes were mentioned. The role of the church was highlighted, often regarded as the primary positive organization in the community, with pastors and priests serving as mentors and going to church being a source of fun for many youth. This helps to explain why the context scale scored higher than other scales in Honduras (particularly females who outscored males on this scale 80% to 77%). However it also somewhat contradicts the low scores on the question regarding organized religious activities. This might be explained by the fact that while religious leaders are positive mentors in the community, their impact is felt by youth in broader community activities not only in church-based happenings.

When asked what they liked about their communities, respondents in all six focus groups reflected on community cohesion, noting “the closeness between neighbors, solidarity and community support, peace, and solidarity and union with neighbors.” This was a striking finding given that many of the neighborhoods from which the youth come from are considered highly fractured and dangerous, with some being controlled by gangs and other organized criminal groups. This finding indicates that youth enrolled in positive youth development programming sense and value community cohesion, but nonetheless the community has little influence over the dangerous elements that threaten community well-being.

Overall, females expressed a greater sense of optimism and were prouder of their neighborhood than males. Young women, and to a lesser extent men, noted the important role that they themselves could play in terms of helping other youth (e.g., “giving good advice”). Young women also complained about poor treatment in schools and suffered from cases of gender discrimination. This sense of marginalization might be fueled by young women not knowing where to go in the community to get help (females in Honduras scored less than males in this regard). Notwithstanding the challenges they face, females in Honduras scored higher on the context education scale, putting a higher value on educational opportunities.

Both males and females in Honduras were also able to clearly articulate the important roles that parents should play, for example “better supporting kids, getting involved in kids social lives, showing more interest, being sensitive, and

helping kids develop positive thinking.” This shows a strong overall awareness of the importance of caregivers, even if this was the lowest ranked scale on the survey. Both males and females also identified church groups and NGOs as being supportive in the communities, while local and national government actors were viewed with mistrust and apprehension.

In all three sites throughout Honduras, not surprising given the security risks, young men and women alike noted being afraid of gangs, criminals, delinquency, and drugs, and commented that these groups bring a negative influence to the community. More than one group noted being afraid of the police. However, in the smaller city of La Ceiba, females were positive about the role of the community in safety and security in addition to the role of the police, whereas males were more critical of policing on the whole. Both males and females in all areas noted that being outside at night is dangerous (related to gangs and widespread crime and violence) and that the home is not always safe.

Detailed North East Kenya Data

CYRM-28 Survey Data – Survey data from the CYRM-28 indicated that respondents in Garissa are very resilient, with standardized scores of 80% for the total survey, 78% on the individual scale, 81% on the caregiver scale, and 82% of the context scale. It is noteworthy that youth participating in the EDC programs demonstrate such high levels of resiliency overall, notwithstanding the challenges of living in their communities that are largely marginalized by national actors. As detailed previously in Figure 3, youth in North East Kenya scored highest on the spiritual (context), education (context), cultural (context), and personal skills subscales. Lowest scores were in the peer support (individual) and physical caregiving (caregiver) subscales. Results of the data analysis by gender, Figure 5, showed a slightly higher score for males (81%) than females (79%) for the total CYRM-28, although it should be noted that females scored higher than males in the context scale (84% female vs. 82% males), with statistically significant higher results on the spiritual and cultural subscales (both context).

This can be tracked back to the fact that females scored significantly higher than males for the questions, “I am proud of my ethnic background,” “I participate in organized religious activities,” “I enjoy my communities traditions,” and “I am proud to be a citizen of Kenya.”

The strength of female resilience in the context scale was offset by the strength of male respondents on the individual and caregiver scale. This is particularly true on the caregiver scale, in which males expressed much stronger support from caregivers than their female counterparts. Males scored significantly higher than females for the questions, “I know how to behave in different social situations,” “My

parent(s)/caregiver(s) watch me closely,” My parent(s)/caregiver(s) know a lot about me,” and “Spiritual beliefs are a source of strength for me.”

Figure 5. Scale Scores in North East Kenya, by Gender



Overall in North East Kenya, respondents scored highest on the questions “Getting an education is important to me” and “I am proud to be a citizen of Kenya” (both context scale) and lowest on the questions “People think that I am fun to be with” and “I know where to go in my community get help” (both individual scale).

Qualitative Data and Analysis – The focus group discussions underscored the important role of the community for youth in North East Kenya, with youth participants mentioning the importance of the “culture of the community, shared religion perspectives, and values and norms,” of which they were proud. Males and females also noted pride in both Somali heritage, favorably mentioning traditional dances, religious beliefs and practices, and the literature and songs they were raised with. They said that the community is supportive of youth, and they are aware, among them, of at least eight organizations serving orphans and other needy groups. This qualitative data further elaborates on the relatively high context scale results.

On the other hand, youth in North East Kenya recognized the challenge of tribalism that gets in the way of equitable treatment and often leads to conflicts, sometimes turning violent. Some youth opposed the media’s promoting goods and practices that go against their religious and cultural practices, as well as certain songs and poems “that amount to hate speech,” and clubs and bars that mislead youth. Topics of religion and of conflict sometimes spread to include youth opposition to Islamic extremism and fear of terrorism and recruitment by extremists. Thus while the

Somali culture and faith is indeed a strong factor of resiliency, cultural and religious clashes (e.g., between moderate and more extreme Islamists) also are alleged to lead to conflict and at times violence.

Youth spoke favorably of groups that promote peace within the community and beyond. They often mentioned the insecurity, dangers, and harassment that lead them to take caution in public places and on roads. Most feel safe at school and at home. Some feel safe at the mosque, while others fear attacks.²⁴ Leadership was a frequent topic of discussion, covering mixed experiences with government and community leaders—religious leaders, heads of NGOs, elders and chiefs. While some such leaders were praised, much of the talk was about corrupt leaders, particularly government leaders and agents, who discriminate based on clan and whose corrupt practices raise barriers for youth trying to get scholarships, identity cards, certificates, and other services.

The youth openly discussed initiatives that help empower youth and barriers to their empowerment. Unemployment is a problem for many, and they appreciate programs that provide jobs and those that train them and help them find jobs. It was mentioned that women hold positions throughout government, which is encouraging, and they named several organizations that help girls and women. The youth in the focus groups strongly oppose the practice of early marriage.

Education is strongly valued (this is supported by the quantitative data Education Context subscales) and talked about NGOs that support education, particularly in the form of scholarships for deserving and needy students and girls' education. While they appreciate the chance to go to school, participants expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of education provided in public schools. Teachers are often on strike or absent because they teach in private schools. Health matters came up occasionally, including the problems of drug (*miraa*) abuse, female genital mutilation, and distribution of condoms (largely opposed), although the youth spoke favorably of NGO initiatives to improve women's health and of some government health services, including the growing number of clinics and maternity services, though the poor quality of services was noted.

Interesting to note is also the topics that were not raised during the focus group discussions, particularly the role of parents and caregivers in youth lives, which echoes the mixed CYRM-28 survey data in the caregiver scale.

²⁴ There are several highly publicized accounts of brutal attacks of churches and mosques in the Garissa region.

The below table summarizes some of the key findings for both North East Kenya and Honduras.

Key Findings

- Total CYRM-28 results indicate limited variation between the global results and the EDC results in North East Kenya and Honduras.
- Respondents in North East Kenya scored slightly higher than in Honduras overall and in all three scales (individual, caregiver, and context).
- Participants from North East Kenya had statistically significantly higher scores on the peer support and spiritual subscales.
- Overall, females scored higher than males in Honduras and lower than males in North East Kenya.
- Honduras data show higher total score for females (79%) than males (75%), with females scoring higher than males in all three scales. However, males displayed stronger results than females in certain subscales, particularly the individual social skills subscale.
- Honduran respondents noted the important and positive role of the church and community cohesion, and females in particular were proud of their neighborhoods and keen to help other youth. Honduran respondents were gravely concerned with gangs, organized crime groups, and general insecurity in their communities.
- Respondents from North East Kenya scored highest on context scale and lowest on the individual scale.
- North East Kenyan males scored slightly higher than females for the total CYRM-28, particularly in the caregiver scale. However, females scored higher than males in the context scale with statistically significant higher results on the context spiritual and context cultural subscales.
- Respondents in North East Kenya noted significant pride in the Somali cultural and religious heritage but also note that differences in beliefs and attitudes have led to clashes.

6. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The previous section presented the main findings from the qualitative and quantitative data collection process. This section will test EDC's hypothesis that there are significant similarities regarding the resilience of youth surveyed in these two extremely divergent communities, even though the sources of violence that threatens them (e.g., al-Shabaab and inter-clan fighting in North East Kenya and gangs or drug trafficking organizations in Honduras) have very different characteristics, forms, and motives.

Overall Scores

Perhaps the most striking finding is that youth surveyed in Honduras and North East Kenya had almost identical overall scores on the CYRM-28, with both groups scoring high total on the scale around 80%. EDC has several theories as to why the scores are notably high.

- First, the high scores might be due to the fact that the youth that have self-selected into EDC's programs are already relatively advantaged within their communities and display higher resiliency factors than their peers. The sample of youth surveyed is not random. Furthermore, the youth sampled volunteered (with no incentives) to participate in the study. However, it should be underscored that the EDC programs target youth with significant risk factors (such as poverty, limited education and job opportunities, and living in environments affected by violence), not youth with the highest levels of education or achievement.
- Second, youth in EDC programs likely have developed enhanced additional self-confidence, leadership, and other skills that contribute to resilience. In other words, it is not that they necessarily came to the program with those traits, but those traits were largely developed (or at least enhanced) thanks to the programs.
- Third, while the communities are viewed from the outside as highly vulnerable, they may in fact have a strong common identity that helps promote high levels of resiliency.²⁵
- Fourth, the data from these two countries are consistent at the total level with CYRM-28 results in other countries. It may be that youth are resilient—as

²⁵ The EDC research team also investigated the correlation and validity of the CYRM data, and found that the EDC data was more highly correlated than the original CYRM-28 data scores, thus ruling out concerns about the validity of the test in the target regions.

measured by the CYRM-28—wherever they are. This study does not provide information about youth who have not experienced the alternatives to violence that EDC’s programs offer.

Subscale scores

In this section we look at the subscale scores, which feed into the overall scores discussed above. Table 2 compares the subscale scores of youth in Honduras and Northeast Kenya. It also makes the comparison with youth in Canada and South Africa, who were subjects of other studies.

Table 2. Comparative Subscale Analysis (%)

Subscale (Scale): I =Individual CA= Caregiver CO = Context)	Honduras	North East Kenya	Canada	South Africa
Personal skills (I)	80%	80%	80%	80%
Peer support (I)	68%	76%	83%	73%
Social skills (I)	78%	78%	84%	85%
Physical caregiving (CA)	74%	76%	84%	82%
Psychological caregiving (CA)	78%	84%	78%	82%
Spiritual (CO)	76%	84%	62%	83%
Education (CO)	84%	82%	80%	93%
Cultural (CO)	80%	84%	83%	85%

Comparisons of Kenyan and Honduran youth – While the results at the overall level are similar from one country to another, digging deeper reveals that these similarities weaken. Table 2 provides an analysis of the subscale data, which show that while the overall results are similar, there are significant variances at the subscale level. Youth in North East Kenya score significantly higher than Honduran youth on the peer support subscale, psychological caregiving subscale, spiritual subscale, and cultural subscale. This corresponds mainly to the following questions from the survey:

5. My parent(s)/caregiver(s) watch me closely.
12. I talk to my family/caregiver(s) about how I feel.
13. I am able to solve problems without harming myself or others (for example by using drugs and/or being violent).

15. I feel supported by my friends.
22. I participate in organized religious activities.

The only question for which respondents in Honduras scored statistically significant higher was this one:

11. People think that I am fun to be with.

Comparisons with Canadian and South African Youth – Table 2 also compares findings from this study with CYRM-28 findings from the studies of Canadian youth and South African youth. Respondents from both Honduras and North East Kenya scored lower than counterparts in South Africa and Canada on the individual scale (personal, peer, and social). Canadian youth scored significantly lower on the spiritual subscale than counterparts in any of the other countries. Also interesting to note is that respondents in South Africa scored significantly higher than all of their counterparts on the education subscale.

Comparative Gender Analysis

As noted previously, overall in North East Kenya, males scored marginally higher than females, while in Honduras females scored marginally higher than males. In North East Kenya, the lower scores for females could be related to ongoing and documented gender discrimination for young women within families, communities, and institutions, which contributes to women's less developed personal and social skills as well as lower levels of caregiver commitment.

Violence, Safety, and Security

As guided by the *CYRM-28 User Guide*, EDC added a Section B, which had questions about the particular environment of the study, and tested them in both North East Kenya and Honduras. These questions focused on violence, safety, and security, and some very interesting findings emerged. First, youth in both countries responded similarly to some questions. For example, in both Honduras and North East Kenya, youth feel safe and comfortable in their homes (scoring 88% and 90% respectively) but do not feel safe and comfortable outside of their homes (scoring 50% and 56% respectively). This finding indicates the respondent youth are fearful in public areas, but that the home environment is not perceived as a threat (e.g., due to abuse, neglect, etc.).

Some youth in both regions have known someone who has been a victim of crime (50%/48%) and to a lesser extent been a victim of crime themselves (39%/37%). While youth in Honduras scored marginally higher for these victimization-related questions, the difference was not statistically significant. The similarity in victimization data is striking in the context of wildly divergent crime rates in the

cities of Honduras (highest worldwide) versus the towns of North East Kenya, where crime data are significantly lower. It is possible that youth in Honduras are under-reporting victimization data, or perhaps the youth surveyed have developed better security strategies than their peers.

Given the important correlation between exclusion and vulnerability to recruitment to organized criminal groups,²⁶ EDC also included two related questions:

- My family and friends need to stick together against those who oppose us.
- We are often treated unfairly and excluded.

Given the focus group data as well as the very commonly heard allegations of discrimination against and exclusion of Somalis in North East Kenya, the research team expected responses to be significantly high and certainly higher than in Honduras. However, the actual data did not support this supposition. While respondents in Honduras scored higher on the question regarding sticking together (70%/65%) and North East Kenya respondents scored slightly higher on the question regarding unfairness and exclusion (56%/58%), the differences were not statistically significant. The contradiction between the quantitative data in North East Kenya, which says that youth do not feel excluded, and the points of view expressed during focus group discussions indicate that levels of exclusion and vulnerability felt by youth might be more attributed to a small but vocal group rather than a widespread point of view held by the large majority of youth. More specifically, the voices of discontent among youth might be louder, particularly for youth development program participants.

There were, however, several questions in Section B that showed statistically significant differences. Youth in Honduras believed more strongly than their North East Kenya counterparts that what they have learned in school is useful for the future (94%/82%), although it is interesting to note that both regions scored high, notwithstanding criticisms about access and quality of education in both countries. Also, youth in Honduras were less likely to have the same set of friends and peers as they did several years ago (68%/79%). Youth in Honduras also had fewer instances of friends who push them to do things they don't agree with than their North East Kenyan counterparts (33%/46%). This can possibly be attributed to the fact that there is less mobility in North East Kenya due to tribal, religious, and family restrictions. Thus friendships are more lasting in North East Kenya but also lead to higher levels of peer pressure.

²⁶ Reference is made to multiple papers by the UNODC, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and other research organizations.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS

The data collected for this study show strong similarities in resiliency factors between youth in gang-affected neighborhoods in Honduras and youth in communities in North East Kenya affected by violent extremism. There are also significant commonalities between the push and pull factors that drive youth to orient with violent groups. These findings have several important implications:

- Gang and criminal violence have not been closely compared with violent extremism, yet membership and victimization patterns are similar.
- Lessons learned and documented in more-studied regions, such as the Americas, can be shared, adapted, and applied in less-studied regions such as Africa and the Middle East.
- Since Latin America (and Central America having the highest rates of crime and violence in the region) has a well-established network of practitioners and policymakers focusing on violence prevention, these resources can be harnessed to influence decision making in other regions.

The EDC research team suggests the following conclusions and considerations that would be useful for policymakers, donors, implementing partners, governments, and NGOs worldwide.

Programmatic Considerations

- Make the most of youth optimism: The high scores of youth in both Honduras and North East Kenya, notwithstanding the challenging living conditions (as viewed from the outside), underscore the strong levels of optimism of youth. This optimism should be nurtured and harnessed, focusing on positive visions for the future and influencing others.
- Enhance cooperation with religious leaders and institutions: One of the key findings was the extremely important role of religious institutions and leaders in both regions, particularly as compared to counterparts in North America. While certain donors and partners are reluctant to engage directly with religious institutions, clearly the churches and mosques offer a critical entry point that can be utilized strategically. For example, by offering literacy in koranic schools or in mosques, partners can also layer in important secondary knowledge areas such as tolerance and peace promotion.
- Emphasize the role of parents and caregivers: The quantitative and qualitative data indicate that youth often do not receive the support required or requested of parents and caregivers. While there are many other factors involved, youth development programs must put more emphasis on engaging, motivating, and providing training and support to caregivers, who in turn can better support and guide the young people under their care.

- Build on community cohesion and pride: The research highlighted that youth in some of the most at-risk communities worldwide have positive and optimistic worldviews, expressing strong levels of pride in their culture, language, and traditions, and are able to explicitly appreciate the importance of community cohesion. This important asset of youth can be further developed, for example, helping youth and communities to better understand how to further promote cohesions and address elements (or people) that detract from community well-being.
- Encourage cross-region knowledge sharing: Lessons from one region (e.g., Central America) can have a huge impact in other regions. For example, while concepts and programs targeting violence prevention are well understood in Central America, this is much less the case in Africa. By using technology, information can be shared between the regions, including youth-to-youth dialogues. Annex 3 provides a list of promising practices that can be considered for further pilot programs in the Horn of Africa.
- Consider more gender-nuanced programming: In many youth programs, young women and men are targeted with the same package of interventions. However, as the data shows, there are significant differences between resiliency of youth in different regions, some of which breaks down along gender lines. For example, in North East Kenya where males scored significantly higher than females in the caregiver scale, particular programmatic interventions can be tailored for young woman caregivers.
- Promote peace, reconciliation, interfaith, and interfaith programs: Both North East Kenya and Honduras have suffered from ongoing conflicts based on ethnicity, religion, political orientation, gender, and inclusion/exclusion. Youth development programs must recognize the importance of reconciliation, tolerance, and respect. Particularly in North East Kenya, programs must address both interfaith and intra-faith conflicts, as well as tribalism and gender discrimination.

Data Collection and Dissemination Considerations

- More strategic application of the CYRM-28 and other data collection tools: The CYRM-28 is an important tool that applies across cultures and offers an opportunity for customization to local issues. It is simple to both administer and score and is a powerful tool to gauge youth attitudes. For programs working on youth development, the CYRM-28 tool can be used as both a baseline and end line data point to measure changes over time.
- Administration of surveys to youth directly engaged in violent groups: It would be important to establish control and treatment groups to measure differences in responses. This might also enable further reflection and analysis regarding

youth who become involved in violent activities. For example, the CYRM-28 could be administered to gang members in the process of rehabilitation and/or to youth not enrolled in EDC programs.

- Baseline and endline diagnostics for youth development programs: The CYRM-28 and other tools can also be used as intake diagnostic tools, helping to target youth with low levels of resilience and customizing programs and support to certain need areas. For example, for youth who score particularly low on the caregiver scale, positive parenting classes can be offered to caregivers.
- Further data refinement: Given the similarities in scoring, consideration should be given to help deepen or further refine the qualitative tools (without making them too cumbersome) to gather more refined data and link more directly to the CYRM-28.

Annex 1 – CYRM Survey Tool (adapted for use by EDC)

YOUTH SURVEY

DIRECTIONS

Listed below are a number of questions about you, your family, your community, and your relationship with people. These questions are designed to help us better understand how you cope with daily life and what role the people around you play in how you deal with daily challenges.

There are no right or wrong answers.

SECTION A:

Please complete the questions below.

1. What is your month and year of birth? _____
2. What is your sex (male/female) _____
3. What is the highest level of education you have completed? _____
4. Who do you live with? _____
5. How long have you lived with these people? _____
6. How many times have you moved homes in the past 5 years? _____
7. Please describe who you consider to be your family (for example, 1 or 2 biological parents, siblings, friends on the street, a foster family, an adopted family, etc.)

SECTION B:

To what extent do the statements below describe you? Circle ONE answer for each statement.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Maybe	Agree	Strongly agree
1. I feel safe and comfortable in my home.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel safe and comfortable outside of my home.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I think what I am learning (have learnt) in school is useful for my future.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I have many of the same friends I had a few years ago.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I know someone who has been a victim of a violent act in the past two years.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I have been a victim of a violent act in the past few years.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I have some friends who push me to do things I don't agree with.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My family and friends need to stick together against those who oppose us.	1	2	3	4	5
9. We are often treated unfairly and excluded.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I am proud to be Central American / Somali	1	2	3	4	5

Section C

To what extent do the sentences below describe you? Circle one answer for each statement.

	Not at All	A Little	Somewhat	Quite a Bit	A Lot
1. I have people I look up to	1	2	3	4	5
2. I cooperate with people around me	1	2	3	4	5
3. Getting an education is important to me	1	2	3	4	5
4. I know how to behave in different social situations	1	2	3	4	5
5. My parent(s) / caregiver(s) watch me closely	1	2	3	4	5
6. My parent(s) / caregiver (s) know a lot about me	1	2	3	4	5
7. If I am hungry, there is enough to eat	1	2	3	4	5
8. I try to finish what I start	1	2	3	4	5
9. Spiritual beliefs are a source of strength for me	1	2	3	4	5
10. I am proud of my ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
11. People think that I am fun to be with	1	2	3	4	5
12. I talk to my family/caregiver(s) about how I feel	1	2	3	4	5
13. I am able to solve problems without harming myself or others (for example by using drugs and/or being violent)	1	2	3	4	5
14. I feel supported by my friends	1	2	3	4	5
15. I know where to go in my community to get help	1	2	3	4	5
16. I feel (felt) I belong at my school	1	2	3	4	5
17. My family stands by me during difficult times	1	2	3	4	5
18. My friends stand by me during difficult times	1	2	3	4	5

19. I am treated fairly in my community	1	2	3	4	5
20. I have opportunities to show others that I am becoming an adult and can act responsibly	1	2	3	4	5
21. I am aware of my own strengths	1	2	3	4	5
22. I participate in organized religious activities	1	2	3	4	5
23. I think it is important to serve my community	1	2	3	4	5
24. I feel safe when I am with my family/caregiver(s)	1	2	3	4	5
25. I have opportunities to develop skills that will be useful later in life (like job skills and skills to care for others)	1	2	3	4	5
26. I enjoy my family's/caregiver(s) cultural and family traditions	1	2	3	4	5
27. I enjoy my community's traditions.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I am proud to be a citizen of Honduras/Kenya	1	2	3	4	5

THE END

Annex 2 – Survey Instructions

EDC Comparative Youth Violence Survey: Procedures for Survey Administration

Purpose: The purpose of this document is to explain procedures for conducting The Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM) survey and accompanying focus group with youth for the EDC Comparative Youth Violence Study. These procedures must be adhered to every time the study is conducted.

Preparation. The data collection tools have been translated into Spanish for Honduras. If the Northern Kenyan team deems necessary, it can be translated from English into Somali although this might require a directly administered survey rather than an individual respondent as written Somali is difficult for many youth to understand. A Somali survey would also require testing to ensure the language is clear and concise.

The country study coordinator should attempt to pilot test the survey protocol with a few young people, if feasible. During pilot testing, the country study coordinator should ask young people read statements in the survey out loud. For each statement, the coordinator should ask pilot participants to comment on what the statements mean, whether they find it easy to pick a rating, and whether any statement makes them feel uncomfortable to answer truthfully. The purpose of the pilot is to identify potential issues relating to language/translation, rather than the appropriateness of the statements. The result of the pilot would be two-fold:

1. Recommendations on which survey statements might need to be explained prior to survey administration during the actual data collection,
2. Possible language modification, to ensure that the translated statements have the same meaning as the original survey protocol.

Sampling. It is hoped that each project will recruit no less than 30 young people to participate in the study (15 male and 15 female). It is preferable to survey 100 young people or more in each country. Any additional participants are welcome but not required. The study will use a purposeful sampling approach. Study coordinator should attempt to recruit participants who are unrelated to each other, from different locales and from different peer groups within the same locale, somewhat different ages and ethnic background (if applicable). Participants do not have to be part of EDC programming. In recruiting participants, the country study coordinators must share the following information about the study:

“You are invited to participate in a cross-country study of lives of young people. The study aims to gather opinions of youth about their live experiences about opinions about opportunities they have. The results of the data collection will be analyzed in aggregate by the project M&E team. Your

responses will be completely private and your identity will not be disclosed to anyone. Your name will not appear on data collection forms and will not be associated with any data. Study findings will only be used to inform future programming with youth around the world.”

Participants should be advised that the survey and focus group may take between 1 and 2 hours, in total.

Survey administration. The survey can be administered individually or in groups. It is preferable that the administration occurs in groups of 5 to 8 people of the same gender so that the survey could be followed by a focus group. If only individual administration possible, the participant could join a focus group at a later point, can be interviewed individually following focus group discussion protocol as an interview guide, or can skip the qualitative component altogether.

The country study coordinator needs to ensure there is private space available for conducting the survey and the subsequent focus group. The space needs to be enclosed and separated from other spaces by doors/windows, so that the conversation could not be easily overheard by those outside. The space needs to have a table or multiple tables which participants could use to fill out the survey.

At the day of the administration, the study coordinator must make sure to have the necessary number of paper copies of the survey available, as well as pencils and erasers. It is also a good idea to have a large envelope on hand where participants could place completed surveys.

When participants who have been recruited to participate in the study arrive and are ready to start, the study coordinator should begin by explaining again the purpose of the study and emphasize the anonymity of the participant responses. Then the coordinator should explain the structure of the survey and specify the importance of the five-point scale (ranging from a low score of 1 “not at all” to a high score of 5 “a lot”). Based on the results of the pilot, the study coordinator may choose to review some of the questions in a group format if need be to ensure all participants understand. Prior to beginning of the survey, study coordinator should emphasize the following:

- Participants should NOT write their names on the form since the survey is **anonymous**.
- Participants should attempt to answer ALL questions, to the best of their ability. If a question makes them feel uncomfortable they can skip that question
- There are no right or wrong answers.
- If participant is in doubt of what a statement means because they don't understand a particular word, they can ask the study coordinator.
- It's ok to change one's mind. If participant decides to change his/her answer, they can cross out or erase the old answer and circle a new answer

- Only ONE answer is allowed for each statement

After explaining about the study purpose, survey statements, and the scale, study coordinator should ask participants if they agree to participate in the study. If somebody changed their mind and don't want to participate any longer, they can leave. After obtaining verbal consent, the study coordinator should give each participant a survey form to complete. Study coordinator should ask participants to fill out the forms themselves.²⁷

Study coordinator should remain in the room with the participants while they are filling out the survey, and answer any questions participants might have. Study coordinator should NOT walk around participants while they are filling out the survey or attempt to see which choices they are selecting.

When participants are finished, they should be instructed to place completed forms into the envelope (if available), or face down in a pile on a table. Study coordinator should wait till the last participant finishes the survey and puts her/his survey into the pile and collect the pile, without looking through the forms. The completed surveys should then be placed into a safe place, such as a briefcase, and kept with the study coordinator until the end of the data collection at that location.

Focus group discussion (FGD). Following completion of the survey, willing participants should be asked to remain for a short focus group discussion. Study coordinator should explain that a focus group will provide more in-depth information on challenges that youth face in their lives. It is recommended that the focus groups are gender homogeneous since young women may feel uncomfortable speaking out in front of young men, and vice versa.

FGD facilitator may be the same person who proctored the survey, or a different person. It is important that the person who facilitates the focus group is an individual who is seen as trustworthy by the study participants. It is highly desirable that the person is an adult with a good standing in a community and has high legitimacy in the eyes of the participants. For example, the FGD facilitator can be a project technical or administrative lead or a trainer. It's highly recommended that the FGD facilitator is the same gender as the participants.

Detailed notes must be taken by the note-taker of the same gender as the focus group participants (not by the FGD facilitator). It is preferable that the note taker is bilingual so he/she could translate notes into English after the focus group. The notes should capture opinions expressed, the degree of general consent/dissent regarding each opinion, as well as specific examples that participants share. The notes should NOT capture participant names or ages or names of locations. The focus group can also be audio recorded, with the verbal consent of the participants, to help with the analysis.

²⁷ Assuming they are literate. If they are not, the survey may be administered as a one-on-one interview, in a private setting, with the study coordinator reading out statement by statement to the participant, and participant picking her/his answer.

The FGD facilitator should be well familiar with the focus group questions and rephrase them as necessary, to make sure youth understand them:

1. Why have the project beneficiaries made positive choices (e.g., supportive family, less income needs, etc.)
2. What drives youth in the community to engage in violent acts?
3. What can people from outside the community do to help the community become safer and more stable?

During the focus discussions the FGD facilitator should aim to engage youth participants in conversation with one another about the factors behind youth violence and why they think some young people make positive choices. Participants should be encouraged to reference people they know (without naming them) as well as their own life stories.

Data Processing. Following the data collection, all survey forms and focus group notes should be kept in secure location (i.e., a locked cabinet) until processed. To minimize the impact on project staff, all surveys should be scanned (in bulk) and sent to the home office for processing. All FGD notes should be summarized (in English) with quotations clearly identified (not by name, but by gender and age) and sent to the home office for processing. After the receipt of the forms and notes has been confirmed by the EDC home office, the original forms should be destroyed.

Annex 3 –What Works in Youth Violence Prevention: The International Evidence

This Annex provides a summary of the programs that have proven to work best towards preventing youth violence, based on international evidence. EDC's METAS Project originally compiled this review as part of the Honduras Cross-Sectoral Youth Violence Prevention Assessment (2013).

1. Most Effective Programs to Prevent Youth Violence

This first set of programs have an established track record in preventing youth violence, as well as other risky behaviors among young people, and should therefore form the basis of any youth violence prevention strategy. The programs listed below have a focus on primary prevention; in other words, they are focused on preventing youth from becoming at risk in the first place.

Early Childhood Development (ECD) Programs: ECD programs aim to improve young children's capacity to develop and learn via a combination of programs and activities, such as basic nutrition, health care, parenting training, as well as activities designed to stimulate children's mental, verbal, physical, and psychosocial skills. These programs have a strong focus on protective factors, such as improving child-parent connectedness (World Bank, 2008a). ECD programs help prevent and reduce risky youth behaviors by ensuring healthy brain development and by fostering positive cognitive, social, and emotional skills in children that have long-lasting effects on their ability to learn and their capacity to self-regulate behavior and emotions (World Bank, 2006a). ECD programs can increase primary completion rates, which in turn increases the likelihood of completing secondary school, which has been proven to be one of the strongest protective factors for youth. In addition, ECD programs can also help to reduce the intergenerational transmission of poverty and inequality, which is also a risk factor for youth. Investing in ECD programs (particularly targeted towards poor families) has been found to be one of the most cost-effective ways to reduce a variety of risk behaviors among youth, including criminal and violent behavior, as well as risk of early pregnancy, and substance abuse (World Bank, 2008a).

Empirical evidence from around the world (U.S., Brazil, Colombia, Turkey) shows that investing in ECD programs has long-term impacts on improving human capital outcomes (educational achievement, health, and nutrition), as well as on reducing a variety of risky behaviors, such as crime and violence, domestic abuse, and substance abuse (Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007; Schweinhart et al. 2005; UNESCO, 2007; WHO, 2003). Including effective parenting training in ECD programs, in particular, has been singled out in evaluations as being one of the most important factors in reducing youth violence (Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007; UNESCO, 2007; U.S. Surgeon General, 2001; World Bank, 2005, 2007, 2006b).

Effective Parenting: Effective parenting programs - which typically include the four components of warmth, structure, autonomy support, and development support - promote positive, healthy, and protective parent-child interactions, protective factors which can reduce domestic violence, the extent to which young people associate with delinquent peers, alcohol and substance abuse, arrests, and school dropouts (World Bank, 2008a). Parenting programs have also been proven to reduce the use of tobacco, alcohol, and drugs, anger, alienation, aggression, delinquency, and misconduct (Gomby, Culross, and Behrman, 1999). Parenting training can help prevent risky youth behavior by helping parents play a positive role in their children's development by providing them with knowledge about their children's health, nutritional and developmental needs, as well as how to interpret infant and young child behavior (World Bank, 2006a).

Evidence from studies of at-risk youth in several countries in Latin America and the Caribbean suggest that many of the risk factors connected with low self-esteem and feelings of rage in young people can be traced back to conditions at home such as maternal emotional abandonment, the absence of parental nurturing, unskilled parents, sexual abuse, and being part of an aggressive family (Cunningham and Correia, 2006).

Furthermore, the most consistent findings in the prevention of youth violence and delinquency support the value of family interventions from birth through adolescence. For example, nurse home-visitation programs have been shown to result in improvements in parenting skills and reduction in children's aggression (Olds, 1998). Programs for older children and their families that help parents to decrease negative parenting and reduce coercive interactions have also been found to reduce child aggression and delinquency (Patterson, Reid, and Dishion, 1992). Another approach to family interventions includes teaching parenting skills to young people before they become parents (Wekerle and Wolfe, 1999). Given the unique challenges faced by many families in Central America as a result of economic stress and migration, often resulting in parental absenteeism, variations of these programs might have to take place.

Programs to Increase Secondary School Access and Completion: Policies and programs to encourage secondary school enrollment and completion are critical since secondary school completion is one of the most important preventive investments a country can make in at-risk youth—both in terms of improving their educational outcomes and in reducing nearly all risky kinds of behavior, including crime and violence (U.S. Surgeon General, 2001). Completing secondary school can serve as one of the strongest protective factors for youth in two ways: (i) through the knowledge and skills they acquire (both hard and 'soft' skills, such as life skills; and (ii) through the sense of connectedness that students often feel to adults in the school, which has also been shown to be one of the strongest protective factors for risky behavior, including crime and violence.

The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health in the U.S., for example, found that school connectedness was one of the strongest protective factors for both boys and girls to decrease substance abuse, school absenteeism, early sexual initiation,

violence, and risk of unintentional injury (Resnick, Bearman, and Blum, 1997). Research has also demonstrated a strong relationship between school connectedness and educational outcomes (McNeely, 2003; Klem and Connell, 2004; Rosenfeld, Richman, and Bowen, 1998; Battin-Pearson et.al, 2000; Barber and Olsen, 1997), including school attendance (Rosenfeld, Richman, Bowen, 1998), staying in school longer (Battin-Pearson, et.al, 2000), and higher grades and classroom test scores (Klem and Connell, 2004). In turn, students who do well academically are less likely to engage in risky behaviors, including crime and violence (Hawkins, 2010).

School-Based Violence Prevention Programs: Evidence shows that violence prevention programs are one of the most successful school-level interventions for reducing risky behavior (Gottfredson, Wilson, and Najaka, 1995), since they are ideal places to socialize young people and develop their resistance to crime and violence. Schools are in an excellent position to prevent risky behavior in youth since: (i) they are composed of a group of caring adults whom young people trust and who are typically positive role models; (ii) they have the ability to reach many young people at once, and particularly before they develop negative attitudes, values, and practices; (iii) they have the pre-assigned responsibility for imparting skills and knowledge that will help young people make better and informed decisions; (iv) they are in a structured and safe environment; and (v) they are able to identify students who might be particularly at-risk and offer them referral services (World Bank, 2008). School-based violence prevention programs focus on protective factors such increasing connectedness with a school and/or with an adult in school, as well as imparting important 'life skills.'

Social communication against violence: Research shows that community-wide social marketing and communication campaigns have succeeded not only in altering public perceptions about violence, but also in preventing risky behavior by young people whose actions and attitudes are greatly influenced by the behavior of their parents, families, and community members (U.S. Surgeon General, 2001). Anti-violence messages in the media can help to prevent youth violence by changing attitudes towards the multiple types of violence that affect young people, such as corporal punishment, inter-personal violence, domestic or gender abuse, and aggressive attitudes relating to masculinity, by instead focusing on such protective factors as promoting a culture of peace and non-violence. These media techniques can provide young people with the necessary knowledge and skills to protect themselves, increase their self-esteem and self-confidence, which in turn reduces the chances of becoming engaged in risky behavior (World Bank, 2008b). Media campaigns can also reach out-of- school youth who are beyond the reach of school-based programs but need to be accompanied by personal interventions at the community level.

2. Promising Programs to Address Youth Violence

The following set of programs—although not as widely evaluated as the first set—have shown to be promising in terms of addressing youth violence prevention. It

should be noted that most of these policies focus on young people who have already engaged in some form of risky behavior (secondary prevention):

Remedial and second chance education: Second chance programs can have a positive impact on at-risk youth both directly (by increasing their schooling that was cut short when they dropped out, which increases their chances of acquiring employment and receiving higher wages) and indirectly (by providing them with information and skills to make good decisions, giving them better prospects for a successful life, and consequently reducing their chances of engaging in risky behavior, such as crime and violence). Studies also show that by focusing on key protective factors such as improved social and interaction skills, increased confidence, and self-esteem, second chance programs can have many positive intangible effects on young people (Saunders, Jones, Bowman, Loveder, and Brooks, 2003; Wyn, Stokes, and Tyler, 2004).

Comprehensive Job Training Programs: Research shows that comprehensive job training programs—programs that go beyond technical training and focus on important protective factors such as developing the young person’s skills as a worker by providing him or her with a wide range of support, including general skills, life skills, job search and placement assistance, and self-employment services—have shown promising results in terms of increased youth employment, particularly in developing countries (World Bank, 2008a). A combination of technical, life skills, practical training, job search assistance, and general social support can give at-risk youth the tools they need to move from being socially excluded to participating fully in society; this kind of support not only helps young people to find employment but also increases their self-esteem, confidence, and sense of control over their lives, which reduces the probability of becoming engaged in risky behavior (World Bank, 2008b).

Life Skills Training: Life skills (also known as ‘soft skills’) typically fall into three categories: (i) social or inter-personal skills (communication, negotiation/refusal skills, assertiveness, cooperation, and empathy); (ii) cognitive skills (problem solving, understanding consequences, decision making, critical thinking, self-evaluation); and (iii) emotional coping skills (managing stress, feelings, and moods) (PAHO, 2001). Life skills have an inherent focus on protective factors by seeking to equip young people with the knowledge, wisdom, and tools to increase the confidence in youth and allow them to make good decisions about their lives, thereby reducing the likelihood that they will engage in risky behavior (Hahn, Leavitt, and Lansperry, 2006).

Life skills can prevent risky behavior in youth (including criminal and violent behavior) by: (i) teaching young people about social norms so that they are more attuned to the kind of social behavior that is expected of them when they participate in mainstream society; and (ii) by teaching young people the skills that are needed to be a responsible adult. Knowledge of life skills has been proven to reduce the risk of drug use, risky sexual behavior, improves anger management, improves academic performance, and enhances social judgment (Mangrulkar, L., C. Whitman, and M. Posner, 2001).

Youth-Friendly Spaces: Research shows that the simple construction of community centers does not have an impact on youth behavior; however, by focusing on key risk factors such as increasing the connectedness between a young person and a responsible adult and incorporating constructive youth activities that are supervised by a caring adult can have a positive impact on young people and help them perform better in school and in life (World Bank, 2008b). Youth-friendly spaces can prevent risky behavior in youth by adding productive time to a young person's day, not only by giving him or her chances to learn new skills, but also by reducing the chances that he or she will engage in negative and/or risky behavior, which might have occurred if the young person had been inactive or unsupervised. Structured and supervised activities also increase positive self-image, self-esteem, and improve inter-personal skills among young people, which have also been identified as important protective factors (American Youth Policy Forum, 2006.)

Mentoring programs can prevent risky behavior in youth via the sense of connectedness that is created over time between the adult mentor and the young person, which can make a young person wish to meet the expectations of that adult and not disappoint him or her; this connectedness between the adult mentor and the young person not only reduces the likelihood that the young person will engage in risky behavior, but it also increases educational attainment.

Youth Service: Research has shown that young people who volunteer via youth service are 50 percent less likely to abuse drugs and alcohol, to engage in delinquent behavior, or to drop out of school (Alessi, B., 2004). By focusing on such protective factors as increasing the connectedness between youth and the community, and by promoting life skills such as increased self-esteem, self-confidence, and civic engagement, youth service programs can: (i) provide youth with practical and marketable skills that make them more employable and facilitates their transition into the job market; (ii) offer constructive, structured, and supervised activities that can reintegrate at-risk youth into their communities and diminish their feelings of social exclusion; (iii) allow youth to make positive contributions to their communities; and (iv) teach youth to trust people and develop mutual understanding, which increases social capital and their levels of civic engagement (Alessi, B., 2004).

3. Broad-based Policies that can also help Prevent and Reduce Youth Violence

The following set of policies and programs - although not specifically designed or targeted towards at-risk youth—have shown to have a disproportionately positive effect on youth, and specifically on reducing levels of youth violence.

Developing specialized agencies for dealing with young offenders, with a focus on rehabilitation and providing second chances to young offenders: Higher recidivism rates are associated with harsh prison conditions as well as with incarcerating young people alongside adults (Ryan and Ziedenberg, 2007). For this reason, most countries have specialized courts and probation agencies which

provide second chance opportunities before resorting to incarceration of juvenile delinquents.

These types of programs focus on protective factors such as making young criminals feel they are personally and socially valued, and by helping the offender understand the consequences of his/her negative behavior, as well as learning how to avoid repeating it in the future.

A key element of this approach is the introduction of graduated sanctions for first-time and minor repeat offenders, which typically include two components: (i) community accountability board, made up juvenile court personnel, probation officers, and/or citizen volunteers, who meet with offenders to assign sanctions for their offences and to monitor and enforce a diversion agreement (an agreement that allows an offender to avoid going to court and/or jail in return for certain commitments); and (ii) graduated consequences if a youth fails to comply with the requirements of the community accountability board. The graduated sanctions must be designed to fit a variety of offenses so they should include a range of nonresidential and residential (i.e., institutional) alternatives (Guerra, 2006).

Reduce the Availability and Use of Firearms: Youth crime and violence are correlated with rises in lethal crime and violence committed with firearms (Cook, Philip and Jens Ludwig, 2006). When there are more firearms in circulation it becomes easier to obtain them illegally, by-passing restrictive legislation. Limiting the supply of firearms reduces the number of deaths and injuries caused by guns. This can be done through laws against gun trafficking coupled with targeted enforcement interventions to reduce the quantity of firearms in circulation. Policies and programs that involve aggressive patrols in high crime neighborhoods to arrest youth who carry guns illegally have shown some success in the U.S. (Guerrero, 2000).

Safe Neighborhood and Community Policing Programs: Safe neighborhood and community policing programs address such protective factors as creating bonds of trust between the community and the police, and by offering supervised and structured activities for youth, which include promoting connectedness between youth and the adults in the community, as well as the civic engagement of youth by offering them healthy public spaces. Safe neighborhood programs seek to modify the physical environments in which young people act and interact in ways that are likely to prevent them from engaging in risky behavior, particularly in 'hot-spot' neighborhoods. Programs can include the installation of street lighting, the removal of high fences that provide cover to criminals, and the rehabilitation and re-appropriation of community public spaces, and ideally are combined with targeted social prevention activities as well as community policing programs such as those listed below. Community policing programs makes policing more responsive and accountable to local communities, creating bonds of trust and reliance, increasing crime reporting and reducing police abuses.

Studies have shown that safe neighborhood programs increase the public's perception of safety and the image of the police, both of which are essential to

addressing the underlying causes of youth violence (Buvinic, Morrison, and Orlando, 2003). A study of gangs and social capital carried out in El Salvador, for example, showed that gangs thrive in neighborhoods and communities where poverty is manifested in the absence or inadequacy of social services and in neighborhoods where the streets are in poor condition, and where public and community infrastructure may be run down, dirty, and even abandoned (Cruz, 2007).

Neighborhood Revitalization Initiatives (NRIs): NRIs focus on increasing safety and reducing crime, violence and nuisance. These initiatives have taken place extensively throughout the U.S. as a strategy to both prevent crime and violence and reduce levels of poverty in highly distressed communities. Most recently, the White House's NRI in Los Angeles has demonstrated considerable impact by implementing a complex coordinated effort between a number of partners that include CBOs, private sector, philanthropic sector, federal and local government and the community members.

NRI exemplifies the effectiveness of integral programming with funding from various programs from the US Government, including: (a) Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD); (b) the Department of Education; (c) the Department of Justice; (d) the Department of Health and Human Services, and; (e) the Department of Transportation, in addition to local resources leveraged through philanthropy, corporate social responsibility, local government participation and community engagement. Resources are invested where they are needed the most (neighborhoods with highest risk levels) integrating public safety, housing services and other investments through community-based strategies with the goal to control and prevent violent crime and gang activity. One key element has been the balance-targeted efforts between law enforcement with prevention, intervention and community restoration services.

Some NRIs look at both the supply and demand side of the criminal activity. On the one hand, strategies are developed to strengthen family-oriented services (such as child care, employment, substance abuse services) addressing extreme stressors on the demand side to make them less prone to engaging in criminal activity. On the other hand, promulgating effective crime and violence prevention strategies also requires the development of social capital that reduces the opportunities for these acts to take place, either because they are less financially rewarding, riskier, or more difficult to conduct (Los Angeles Health Collaborative, Los Angeles Neighborhoods Revitalization Group, and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Early Childhood Learning and Knowledge Center.)

Municipal Ordinances to Increase Price and Reduce Availability and Use of Alcohol: Policies that reduce a young person's access to alcohol can have a significant impact on several negative outcomes. For example, alcohol has consistently been identified as a contributing factor to several serious outcomes for young people in the Latin America and Caribbean region, including homicides and suicides (PAHO, 2005). Possible policies include increasing alcohol taxes and sales restrictions, including controls on hours of operation, density, and location of sales outlets, as well as imposing a minimum age for purchasing alcohol. A key factor is

the credible threat of sanctions on merchants in violation of regulations. The most effective sanctions include progressive penalties, which can include warnings, fines, firing of individuals, closing establishments, and imprisonment of violators. Tax increases and sales restrictions should be implemented at the same time to have the maximum possible impact on youth alcohol consumption (WHO, 2003; Guerrero and Concha-Eastman, 2011).

Documentation campaigns in marginal communities: For a variety of economic, legislative, political, and administrative reasons, many births in developing countries go unregistered. Providing birth certificates to undocumented young people can help them avoid feeling socially excluded, since when a citizen can prove their identity, they become entitled to basic services and rights that underpin their ability to keep healthy, receive an education, stay safe, and earn a living (World Bank, 2008a).

In Central America, for example, many gang members belong to an under-class of undocumented individuals, who are effectively excluded from a wide range of social rights.

4. Ineffective Programs for Youth Violence Prevention

The following are examples of programs that have been proven to be ineffective in preventing youth violence, based on international

Get Tough Programs

In the get-tough approach, when young people are accused of committing acts of crime and violence, they are treated as adults in the judicial system and, once convicted, are thus incarcerated in adult, rather than juvenile, prisons. The rationale behind this approach is to get tough on crime and to take juvenile offenders off the streets and put them behind bars for longer periods of time. At face value, this may seem like a good strategy for fighting crime and violence, especially among young people. However, a series of evaluations in the United States has shown that young people placed in adult correctional institutions are eight times more likely to commit suicide, five times more likely to be sexually assaulted, twice as likely to be beaten by staff, and 50 percent more likely to be attacked with a weapon than those in juvenile prison facilities (WHO, 2002). Research also shows that even when young people are put in juvenile prisons, their incarceration is highly correlated with future criminal behavior. Given the way in which most correctional centers are set up, young people in prison often learn more about criminal behavior than about how to reform and change their lives (Tyler, Ziedenberg, and Loetke, 2006; Benda and Tollet, 1999). Furthermore, research has shown that juvenile confinement reduces the chance that troubled young people will successfully make the transition into adulthood. They achieve less academically and are employed more sporadically than their peers who were sentenced to programs focused on drug treatment, individual counseling, or community service. (Homan and Ziedenberg, forthcoming).

Boot Camps

This type of program is a widely used alternative to youth incarceration. Instead of being sent to prison, young people who have committed a crime are sent to these boot camp programs, which aim to teach discipline through rigorous physical activity. So far, no boot camp has been proven to have had a statistically positive impact on either youth behavior or recidivism.

Zero Tolerance/Shock Programs

Zero tolerance/shock programs that introduce delinquent youth to prison inmates who describe to youth the harsh reality of prison life have had either neutral or negative effects in terms of deterring young people from violence (U.S. Surgeon General, 2001). School-based shock programs, such as the popular U.S. program DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education program), in which uniformed police officers go to elementary classrooms to teach students how to resist peer pressure and avoid drugs, gangs, and violence, have also been proven to have no preventive impact (Donnermeyer and Wurschmidt, 1997; Ennett et.al, 1994; Lynam et al., 1999; West and O'Neal, 2004). Boot camps, which are often used as an alternative to incarceration and are essentially based upon military training, have been shown to have no significant negative effects on recidivism and may increase delinquent and criminal behavior (World Bank 2008a); this is most likely due to their focus just on physical discipline instead of on life skills.