Central America Regional Security Initiative (CARSI)

Mid-Term Impact Evaluation Guatemala

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Executive Summary

Overview

The USAID Missions (specifically, the DG offices within the Missions) in three Central American countries (Guatemala, El Salvador, and Panama)[1] have administered and overseen the execution of the Central America Regional Security Initiative (CARSI) interventions—a set of programs with the objective *to reduce crime rates and improve security in Central America by strengthening community capacity to combat crimes and creating education and employment opportunities for at-risk youth.*[2]

USAID Washington, via its Cooperative Agreement with the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) at Vanderbilt University, asked LAPOP to design and carry out an impact evaluation of the CARSI intervention as part of a broader effort to establish the effectiveness of USAID democracy and governance interventions through scientifically rigorous studies such as recommended in the comprehensive study by the National Academy of Sciences (National Research Council 2008). LAPOP has more than 20 years of experience in carrying out policy-relevant surveys in Latin America, having conducted well over 100 country-based surveys, including many specialized studies designed to evaluate programs.

In Guatemala, USAID has been working with one implementing organization: RTI/CECI. RTI/CECI has been working exclusively in partnership with Guatemalan institutions and in collaboration with community leaders on violence prevention projects in a variety of arenas.

To summarize the findings of this mid-term evaluation of the programs in Guatemala, we conclude that the outcomes in the treatment communities improved more (or declined less) than they would have if USAID's programs had not been administered. Among our key quantitative findings, we observe:

1) A reduction in reports of crime victimization:
   - 18% fewer reported occurrences of robberies than would be expected without treatment
   - 50% fewer reported occurrences of illegal drug sales than would be expected without treatment
   - 50% fewer reported cases of extortion and blackmail than would be expected without treatment

2) An increase in citizens' sense of security
   - Residents feel their communities are safer and are more feel secure walking alone at night
   - Residents are less likely to avoid areas of the neighborhood because of fear of crime
   - Youth gang involvement perceived as less problematic

[1] USAID Honduras also began a CARSI program. LAPOP is involved in tracking the impact of that program, but because of the 2009 coup, funding for the project was delayed. The results of the Honduras study are part of a separate evaluation.
[2] See, http://www.whitehouse.gov/ondcp/central-america
http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/148416.pdf

- Gang fights are perceived as less of a problem in the neighborhoods

3) Positive indirect effects related to good governance
   - More satisfaction with the functioning of democracy
   - Improved perceptions of government security efforts and police performance

The context in which the treatment was administered was related to the effectiveness of the treatment in some cases. In particular, the effectiveness of the treatment in lowering reports of illegal drug sales, and increasing satisfaction with democracy was enhanced in the presence of Catholic churches in the community. The treatment was more effective in increasing satisfaction with democracy in communities with churches of any denomination.

In most cases, the quantitative results of the effectiveness of USAID's crime prevention programs in treatment communities were supported by qualitative data. An important finding, however, is that perceptions of homicide rates are probably greatly underreported, since homicides related to domestic violence are said not to be counted (that the police tend not to include homicides perpetrated by intimate partners or other family members as homicides). In addition, it is not clear if lynching victims are included in homicide statistics or in community perceptions as 'homicides,' since these are murders perpetrated by large groups rather than by an individual. Thus police and other stakeholder perceptions of homicide levels may be skewed insofar as they seem not to count domestic violence related murders or lynching outcomes as homicides.

Evaluation Design and Data

This program evaluation study analyzes the effect of these programs, as a whole, on neighborhoods in Guatemala to determine if they are effective at meeting the goals of CARSI goals. In order to determine the effectiveness of these programs, LAPOP has developed a scientifically rigorous evaluation design, known in the literature as a Cluster Randomized Experiment (CRE). It contains, as recommended by the National Academy of Sciences (National Research Council, 2008):

1) Collection of data in the selected units *before* and *during* the implementation of the programs; specifically, a baseline study, and two mid-point measurements.

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

The USAID mission in each site or country selected the municipalities where interventions were to take place. LAPOP then selected eligible neighborhoods for the programs based on conditions that are well-documented in the literature as increasing the likelihood of crime and violence and therefore insecurity. These eligible neighborhoods are "at-risk", or highly vulnerable to becoming crime "hot spots." Neighborhoods that were known to be already fully controlled by gangs or other organized criminal groups are excluded from the study because of danger to contractors and interviewers. Therefore, the findings in this study apply to at-risk neighborhoods, but not to those already completely overrun by gangs. To avoid "contamination" effects (i.e., that control groups receive the

treatment), the selection of geographically contiguous treatment and control groups was carefully avoided. Neighborhoods within municipalities were then assigned randomly to treatment and control groups.

Following the assignment of the intervention to neighborhoods, LAPOP collected both qualitative and quantitative data in a total of 40 neighborhoods (21 treatment and 19 control groups) in the Guatemalan municipalities of Guatemala City, Esquipulas, and Tactic. In addition, data from *non-at-risk* communities were collected from 20 communities in the municipality of Guatemala City. These data were collected with *the purpose of establishing a baseline of characteristics of violence free neighborhoods and evaluate if after program implementation, at-risk neighborhoods start to mirror non-at-risk neighborhoods.*

The quantitative data consists of:

1) **Baseline surveys:** The baseline data characterizes the population of study in both treatment and control groups in order to assess the similarity of these two groups and make adjustment for any imbalances. Importantly, the baseline survey helps one to draw causal inferences about the effect of the interventions because it allows for comparison of groups before and after the intervention begins.

   Phase I: Pre-visit of neighborhoods: As a first step in the survey process, the size and physical location of neighborhoods eligible for study. The data collected in pre-visits helped determine whether neighborhoods fulfilled the pre-establish selection criteria for study. A short questionnaire per neighborhood was developed to take into account the pre-determined selection criteria by USAID missions and contractors and/or other relevant civil society actors

   Phase II: Enumeration of individuals in the selected neighborhoods: The objective of the enumeration was to determine in each neighborhood 1) the current number and characteristics of households and their characteristics in each neighborhood, (2) the current number and characteristics of individuals in each household. This data enabled LAPOP to generate the sampling frame for the individual-level surveys. LAPOP administered a short questionnaire for the enumeration (Appendix C).

   Phase III. Systematic observation of selected neighborhood: The systematic observation of the selected neighborhoods provides an objective measure of the resources and physical and social disorder in the neighborhoods. Data from a systematic observation of public places by trained observers was collected using a specialized neighborhood-level survey developed by LAPOP for each of the selected neighborhoods (Appendix B). Measurements were taken at the level of the *cuadra* (portion of the block) and include the resources (such as schools and churches) and risk factors (such as abandoned homes) observed in each neighborhood.

   Phase IV: Neighborhood level survey to stakeholders in neighborhoods: The purpose of the stakeholder survey is to gather both qualitative and quantitative information about the neighborhoods by interviewing key knowledgeable persons. LAPOP generated a close-ended questionnaire (Appendix D) that was used for interviews with neighborhood stakeholders including local clergy, social workers, police and civil society association leaders.

Phase V: Face-to-face individual-Level survey: The face-to-face individual level questionnaire developed by LAPOP (Appendix A) contains questions designed to measure outcome of the programs in addition to socioeconomic, demographic, and other variables used as controls. One adult per household (defined as voting age adult) was interviewed in person. The survey participants were selected by sample quotas based on the enumeration data from Phase II. Field work for the first round of individual-level surveys in Guatemala took place between 11 July 2011 and 16 February 2012 in at-risk neighborhoods, and 21 March, 2012 and 11 June 2012 in non-at-risk neighborhoods (for more detailed information on field work dates, see Table 1).

2) **Mid-point evaluation:** After implementation of the CARSI programs, the mid-point evaluation was carried out. In Guatemala, the field work for the mid-point evaluation was carried out between 25 January 2013 and 8 March 2013. Phases III, IV, and V were repeated at that time.

3) **Final evaluation:** The data collection at the individual and neighborhood levels (Phases III, IV, and V) is expected to begin in January 2014.

Approximately 1,200 individual interviews were carried out in the first round in non-at-risk neighborhoods, 1,450 per round in treatment neighborhoods, and 1150 per round in control communities, for a total of over 6,400 at the end of the second round.

LAPOP collected about 500 systematic observations—i.e., information related to the characteristics of blocks—in non-at-risk neighborhoods in the first round, about 900 observations per round in treatment communities, and about 600 in control communities, for a grand total of nearly 3,000 at the end of the study.

Finally, 8,087 cases of enumeration data (demographic and census) were collected in round 1—specifically, household census data of dwelling units—in order to draw the sample for the individual.

Qualitative Component of the Study

In addition to the quantitative data, LAPOP also collected qualitative data for two reasons. First, we wanted to triangulate the results, that is, to see if quantitative findings could be validated with qualitative findings. Second, and more importantly, we wanted to help *explain* and *understand* the quantitative findings. In the end, interpretation of the dynamics of the communities and, ultimately, the impact of the project, proved to be significantly enhanced by the qualitative data gathered during the course of study.

More specifically, LAPOP collected *semi-structured interviews* and *focus groups* with community stake holders. The questionnaires used in the qualitative interviews were submitted to the Vanderbilt University IRB and approved by that Board. The actual questionnaires are reproduced in Appendix D. A total of 146 individual interviews were collected over the two rounds in Guatemala, including: (1) 33 community leaders (presidents or other officers of COCODES) and members of Municipal Crime Prevention Committees; (2) 35 school directors and teachers; (3) 30 religious leaders (e.g., Evangelical pastors, Catholic priests, and church youth-group leaders); (4) 39 police officers; (5) 7 RTI coordinators; and (6) 2 youths-at-risk (18 and older). In addition, 12 focus groups (four in each of the

target municipalities) were carried out in the first round with members of each of these categories, with the exception of program implementers (RTI) and youth-at-risk.

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

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

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

As the qualitative interviews proceeded, several Salvadoran college-educated young women simultaneously transcribed the audio files, under Berk-Seligson's supervision. Using Sugarsync as the uploading device, Berk-Seligson would send the files to the transcribers (they numbered up to 4 at any given moment), and the transcribers would send the transcriptions as e-mail attachments to her.

These transcribers were trained by Berk-Seligson to employ standard linguistic conventions, rather than more conventional "court-reporting" style that "cleans up" the errors in human speech, but ends

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

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

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

One of the strengths of the qualitative methodology is that it permitted re-interviewing stakeholders over the course of the impact evaluation. Stakeholders who had been especially forthcoming and informative in round one were re-interviewed in round two, to the extent possible. Not every

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

interviewee will talk openly. Some are quite reticent and clearly are holding back what they are thinking. Police officers often fall into this category. Some teachers, out of fear, fell into this category. But those police officers who had nothing to hide and especially those who worked in the crime prevention units were quite open in their answers. And many school directors and Evangelical pastors were similarly happy to talk about the obstacles and challenges that they faced in their line of work, and their successes as well.

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

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

Methodology of the Quantitative Study

The core of the quantitative study is an analysis of survey data using a clustered randomized experimental (CRE) design to allow for the comparison between the control and treatment groups over time. A difference-in-difference estimator is utilized to estimate both the difference between the treatment and control groups and the difference between each group and itself at a later time point. The treatment is considered effective at the point of evaluation if outcomes in the treatment group improve more (or decline less) than they would have if the treatment had not been administered. We estimate a hypothetical counter-factual case with the model parameters to simulate what the outcome would be if no treatment was administered. The hypothetical case is the change in the control group over time, but at the same levels of the treatment group. Thus, the difference between the estimated hypothetical case and the treatment group is considered the "treatment effect." The "treatment effect" is the outcome that can be said to have been caused by the intervention.

The multilevel nature of the data gathered by LAPOP and the design of the study makes it possible for the outcome to be evaluated at the individual level while taking into account features of the neighborhood to determine the way in which the effectiveness of the programs varies across environments. Thus, it is possible to identify the features of neighborhoods or even countries (in cross-national studies) that contribute to the success of the program. Using multi-level modeling techniques, the study draws statistical inferences about the effectiveness of the programs and the effect of the context in which the programs were implemented.

Results

The quantitative results directly related to the CARSI goals are described below. They are the based on the difference-in-difference estimator in a multi-level model that takes into account clustering at the municipal and neighborhood levels. Control variables in the models are age, sex, years of residence in the neighborhood, household wealth, education, presence of youth in the household. Contextual models also include the number of school age children on the block.

Robberies: Reports of robberies decline over the course of the evaluation in both control and treatment groups. However, without the program, we predict the probability of reporting robberies would have been 22% higher. There is no variation in the effectiveness of the treatment across the measured contextual variables.

Extortion or Blackmail: The probability of reporting extortion or blackmail would have been 97% higher in the treatment population if the treatment was not administered. There is no variation in the effectiveness of the treatment across the measured contextual variables.

Murders: The treatment is not associated with any significant reduction in murders in Guatemala.

Sale of Illegal Drugs: The probability of reporting the sale of illegal drugs in the neighborhood would have been 112% higher in the treatment communities if the treatment had not been administered. The treatment is significantly more effective at reducing the probability of respondents reporting illegal drug sales in communities with Catholic churches. Drug sales were lower in treated communities with high levels of social disorder than in similar untreated communities.

Perception of Insecurity: The treatment programs reduced feelings of general neighborhood insecurity and feelings of insecurity when walking alone at night. Had the program not been implemented, respondents would be expected to feel less safe. There is no variation in the effectiveness of the treatment across the measured contextual variables.

Youth in Gangs and Gang Fighting: In treatment communities, perceptions of youth in gangs and gang fights as problems in the neighborhood would have been significantly higher without the CARSI programs. Both youth and gangs and gang fighting were more problematic in untreated communities with high levels of social disorder than those with low disorder. However, in similar treated communities, the youth in gangs and gang fighting were significantly less problematic.

Avoidance of Dangerous Areas: Without the treatment, respondents would be 30% more likely to respond that they would feel the need to avoid dangerous areas in the neighborhood. There is no variation in the effectiveness of the treatment across the measured contextual variables.

In addition to these direct effects, the full report explores and analyzes the indirect effects the CARSI program on good governance. These include significantly greater satisfaction with the functioning of democracy, improved perceptions of police performance, and greater trust in the police.

The analysis and results of the qualitative study are provided in the full report. In most cases, the quantitative results of the effectiveness of USAID's crime prevention programs in treatment communities were supported by qualitative data.

Overall, the results are strongly supportive of the conclusion that the CARSI intervention has improved outcomes in the Guatemalan treatment communities.

Section 1: Background to the Study

This is a mid-term study of the effectiveness of a USAID violence prevention program in Central America, with a particular focus on Guatemala.[4] The complete study, which will also look at the cases of El Salvador and Panama, is still in process as a result of the uneven dates of the roll-out of the program.

In this study, we focus our attention on USAID's response to insecurity in Guatemala through the implementation of various community-based violence prevention programs.

The ultimate objective of USAID Central America Regional Security Initiative (CARSI) is *to reduce crime rates and improve security in Central America by strengthening community capacity to combat crimes and creating education and employment opportunities for at-risk youth.*[5] By encouraging community involvement in the prevention of crime, CARSI has sought to attenuate risk factors that are widely believed to increase community insecurity and vulnerability to gangs and related violence, and, more deeply, to reduce the probability that at-risk youth will ultimately engage in criminal and violent activities. The USAID Missions (specifically, the DG offices within the Missions) in three Central American countries (Guatemala, El Salvador, and Panama) have administered and overseen the execution of the CARSI interventions. In addition, USAID Honduras, after a delay made necessary by the 2009 coup in that country that resulted in the freezing of development, began a CARSI program. LAPOP is involved in tracking the impact of that program, but because of the delay, will not present those results as part of the three-country study of which this report is a component.

USAID Washington, via its Cooperative Agreement with the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) at Vanderbilt University, asked LAPOP to design and carry out an impact evaluation of the CARSI intervention. The evaluation of the CARSI project is part of broader effort to establish the effectiveness of USAID democracy and governance interventions through scientifically rigorous studies such as recommended in the comprehensive study by the National Academy of Sciences (National Research Council 2008). Other foreign assistance organizations and government policymakers have similarly recognized the importance of program evaluation (Sherman et al 1998; Bamberger et al 2010). While past studies have shown that USAID democracy and governance assistance works by increasing democracy levels in recipient countries, there are few rigorous evaluations of how and under what conditions, assistance works (Finkel, Pérez-Liñán et al. 2007; Azpuru, Finkel et al. 2008; Finkel, Pérez-Liñán et al. 2008; Seligson, Finkel et al. 2009). To be clear, scores of evaluations have been done in the democracy and governance arena, but most of them have been post-hoc, and have not included both baseline and control groups, such that there is no real way of knowing what the end-of-project conditions would have looked like in the absence of the program. The USAID CARSI programs offer a unique opportunity for carrying out such a study, and LAPOP is uniquely suited to perform the evaluation. LAPOP has more than 20 years of experience in carrying

[4] The study was designed by Mitchell A. Seligson and Abby Córdova. Córdova, however, completed her post-doc at Vanderbilt University in the summer of 2012 and joined the faculty at the University of Kentucky. Her role in the project was filled by Dr. Carole Wilson, LAPOP data analyst and archivist.
[5] See, http://www.whitehouse.gov/ondcp/central-america; http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/148416.pdf.

out policy-relevant surveys in Latin America, having conducted well over 100 country-based surveys, including many specialized studies designed to evaluate programs.

The implementation of scientifically rigorous evaluations of crime prevention programs is a particularly pressing issue for the Latin American region. Violent crime has increased sharply during the democratization period, positioning the region as having the highest rates of social violence and crime in the world outside of Sub-Saharan Africa (Casas-Zamora, 2013). Increased insecurity poses high costs for Latin American economies through lost human and physical capital (e.g. PNUD, 2005; CEPAL, 2011; IDB 2012). Furthermore, as the LAPOP surveys often find, fear of crime and crime victimization erode social cohesion and citizens' confidence in core institutions—both core elements for democratic stability. In the face of these problems, there have been numerous efforts to prevent crime among at-risk youth, especially in countries with a significant gang presence, violence, and crime. However, as many studies point out, despite these valuable efforts little is known about their true impact (Moser and Van Bronkhorst 1999; Moser, Winton, Moser 2005), and consequently about how to prevent crime and violence effectively. In this sense, USAID's initiative to support a scientifically rigorous evaluation of CARSI crime prevention interventions is of great importance for broadening academics' and policy makers' understanding of crime prevention, and in turn for promoting effective governance in the region.

The Treatment in Guatemala

In Guatemala, USAID has been working with RTI/CECI,[6] which has worked in close partnership with Guatemalan institutions.

RTI/CECI focuses on three areas: (1) working with youth-at-risk, community members and local leaders, in close collaboration with partner organizations; (2) supporting the National Civilian Police (PNC) and the National Reform Commission; and (3) supporting municipal and national policy measures.

The RTI/CECI implementers have partnered with a number of local organizations such as: AAJ (Asociasión Alianza Jóven), Fundación Kinal, Fundación Junkabal, Fundación Paiz, UVG (Universidad del Valle de Guatemala), PELPB (Proyecto Educativo Laboral Puente Belice), ICOS (Instituto de Cooperación Social), SOG (Sistema de Orquestas de Guatemala), Caja Lúdica, CALMECAC (Fundación para el Desarrollo Integral del Hombre y su Entorno), Grupo Gestores, Comunidad Esperanza, FEDCOR (Asociación en Función para la Educación y el Desarrollo Social y Rural).

In terms of youth-at-risk, RTI/CECI provides them access to academic and vocational training opportunities as well as promotes a constructive use of their leisure time through cultural, art and sports activities. In addition, RTI/CECI provides scholarships to youth-at-risk for educational and vocational training.

RTI/CECI also provides programs for training leaders in violence prevention, improves infrastructure, builds centers for leisure and recreational activities and supports civic participation activities.

RTI/CECI trains police officers in community development, gender and multicultural consciousness, risk identification and citizen security. Also, RTI/CECI supports the training of community law enforcement officials, increasing their participation within the community. Moreover, RTI/CECI has donated technological equipment and remodeled police stations to improve working conditions.

Finally, RTI/CECI also supports the documentation, collection, filtering and analysis of various forms and frequency of violence and crime in Guatemala to provide public access to this data. RTI/CECI has persistently supported the Observatory for School Violence with the purpose of identifying children victims of violence.

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

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

Section 2: Impact Evaluation Project Design and Methods

I. USAID CARSI Interventions and their Anticipated Effects

USAID CARSI interventions include a variety of diverse programs. Many of these programs overlap. This purposeful overlap among components is a feature of the USAID CARSI intervention designed to create programmatic continuity and enhance the probability of success for the overall effort of crime and gang prevention. However, the overlap makes it difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle and evaluate the effect of each individual program, let alone the components of each program. For this reason, rather than assessing the impact of each component, LAPOP has evaluated the *overall performance* of the CARSI community-led crime prevention program.

Given the broad goals of the USAID CARSI programs (i.e., increased community participation in crime prevention, promotion of safer communities, and prevention of crime among at-risk youth), interventions are likely to have *direct* and *indirect* effects, which ultimately can be regarded as indicators of the quality of governance. *Direct* effects include outcome indicators associated with the ultimate goal of the program, namely, to produce safer environments (i.e., fewer reported occurrences of crimes like robberies, extortion, and murders; greater sense of security in neighborhoods; and reduction of youths in gangs and "hanging out" on the streets. *Indirect effects* refer to second-order consequences of the programs, but that can also be instrumental to the creation of safer environments and the promotion of good governance. *Indirect effects* include improved interpersonal trust, democratic satisfaction, and increased confidence in local and national institutions such as favorable evaluations of government handling of citizen safety and greater overall satisfaction with police performance. All of these variables have been closely linked to good governance in the research findings of LAPOP, and, even to democratic stability, and therefore are potentially important broader, longer-term anticipated consequences of CARSI. Many of these indicators of democratic governance, it should be noted, are measured by LAPOP in national and special sample surveys, and thus we have extensive national-level, and urban-level evidence for the nations being studied, in this case El Salvador, Guatemala, and Panama.

In the following pages, we document the key indicators that have been monitored over the course of the study. After taking into account the effects of intervening factors such as age, education, sex, household wealth, years of residence in the neighborhood, and the presence of youth in the house hold, observed improvements in these indicators can be interpreted as successful results of the USAID CARSI programs. The selection of outcome indicators was based on: (1) an exhaustive review of the scholarly literature on the causes and consequences of crime and violence at the neighborhood level, (2) LAPOP on-site observations of at-risk neighborhoods during field visits to Guatemala, El Salvador and Panama and (3) interviews with experts and community leaders. Data collection dates are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Dates of Individual Interviews in El Salvador, Panama and Guatemala

Country	Round	Quantitative Component									Qualitative Component	
		AT-RISK					NON-AT-RISK					
		Dates	Treatment Comm.	Interviews	Control Comm.	Interviews	Dates	Comm.	Interviews	Comm.		Dates	# of Focus Groups
GUATEMALA	1st	7/11/2011 – 2/16/2012		1465		1157	3/21/2012 – 6/11/2012		1233		3855	7/26/2011 – 3/11/2011	
	2nd	1/25/2013 – 3/8/2013		1457		1142					2599	3/24/2013 – 4/24/2013	12 FGs
	3rd	Expected January, 2014		-		-						Expected January, 2014	
	Total		*21*	2922	*19*	2299		*20*	1233	*60*	6454		
EL SALVADOR	1st	4/28/2010 – 6/24/2010		1724		675	7/7/2010 – 2/16/2011		1672		4071	5/2010 – 9/2010	4 FGs
	2nd	9/1/2011 – 10/1/2011		1702		671					2373	9/11/2011– 10/3/2012	
	3rd	9/12/2012 – 10/5/2012		1711		671					2382	10/25/2012– 2/25/2013	
	Total		*28*	5137	*13*	2017		*30*	1672	*71*	8826		
PANAMA	1st	10/18/2010 – 12/5/2010		565		1356	5/15/2011 – 11/24/2011		1327		3248	1/2/2011 - 4/23/2011	4 FGs
	2nd	9/1/2012 – 11/2/2012		571		1378					1949	8/13/2012 - 10/9/2012	
	3rd	6/4/2013 – 8/5/2013		560		1375					1935	5/20/2013 - 8/2/2013	
	Total		*6*	1136	*20*	2734		*20*	1327	*46*	7132		

The data on outcomes are collected using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The mixed methods approach allows for evaluation of the program impact, as well as a greater understanding of the aspects of the programs that are most effective (Bamberger et al. 2010). The quantitative data include household surveys and systematic observations of neighborhoods. Qualitative data include interviews of community stakeholders and focus groups. A thorough treatment of the methodologies is provided below, but first we describe the outcome indicators in this section that are analyzed with the qualitative and quantitative methods.

The indicators in this section represent only a portion of the full list of indicators collected in the study. The questionnaires administered in Guatemala are included with this report and include all variables in the study (Appendices A, B, and C). The individual level questionnaires were developed based on the literature reviewed here and also relied on batteries of items already developed and included in LAPOP's AmericasBarometer surveys. These questions were revised, pre-tested, and adapted to local conditions in each country.

Abbreviated List of Outcome Indicators

Fear of Crime

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

Crime Victimization and Violence

Changes in crime victimization and violence at the individual and neighborhood levels are assessed in the impact study. Measurements of *crime victimization at the individual level* identify the types of crimes and the place of occurrence (at home, in the neighborhood, in the municipality, or somewhere else). Additionally, for a more extensive characterization and accounting of crime incidence, items asking whether non-respondent household members have been victims of crime are included in the LAPOP survey.

In addition to personal/household member crime victimization, the survey asks respondents about their knowledge of the incidence of *crime in the neighborhood*. This indicator is particularly important for the following reasons: (1) given that crime victimization is a relatively rare event (even in the high crime countries in which we are undertaking these studies) and not all residents in a neighborhood will be interviewed or willing to be interviewed, asking respondents about their knowledge of crime victimization in their neighborhood is likely to provide a broader, more comprehensive assessment of

the level of crime in selected neighborhoods (2) in addition, since it is possible that those who refuse to be surveyed are at the same time those who are also more likely to have been victims of a serious crime (or someone in the household), looking only at aggregate estimates of personal/household member crime victimization would likely yield artificially lower crime rates at the neighborhood level (3) moreover, given the widely held concerns over the reliability of official reports of crime victimization at the neighborhood level (such as police records, where underreporting to the police may be widespread), residents' reports of *recent* criminal activity in the area are useful for tracking crime in the selected neighborhoods.

World-wide, household surveys are considered to be the most reliable data on crime victimization, as other sources, such as police reports, are notoriously unreliable because of underreporting by crime victims. The LAPOP survey instruments used in the evaluation have been tested extensively and maximize the validity of reporting, yet, ultimately, what we have are *reported* incidents of crime since there is no practical way for the study team to do direct observations of the event. Survey items used to measure *violent behavior at the neighborhood level* (i.e., a violent argument between neighbors) are also included in survey questionnaires in order to capture the broader context. In order to understand the dynamics of vulnerable neighborhoods, both levels of crime and violence are measured.

Retrospective Perceptions of Neighborhood Safety

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

Social Cohesion

Strong scientific evidence from studies of U.S. neighborhoods demonstrates quite clearly that higher levels of social cohesion are associated with reduced crime and violence (Sampson, Raudenbush et al. 1997; Brown, Perkins et al. 2004).[7] Social cohesion is typically defined as mutual trust and value sharing among neighbors. Given that CARSI crime prevention interventions are expected to encourage community participation, social cohesion is also expected to improve. Evidence suggests that social cohesion increases the likelihood that residents will regularly take actions for the common good, particularly for preventing crime (Sampson, Raudenbush et al. 1997; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999).[8] The LAPOP AmericasBarometer survey shows that social trust is generally quite low in much of Latin America. However, there is considerable variation in social trust within countries, with some communities exhibiting far higher/lower trust than national averages alone would suggest (Córdova Guillén 2008). Therefore, the study measures trust as an outcome of CARSI.

[7] Villareal and Silva (2006) assess the link between social cohesion and crime in the Latin American context, specifically in 197 neighborhoods in Belo Horizonte, Brazil.
[8] The combination of social cohesion and the willingness of local residents to intervene for the common good are known in the sociology literature as "collective efficacy."

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

Social Control

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

Neighborhood Disorder

Neighborhood disorder is linked to both increased fear of crime and crime rates (Skogan 1990; Perkins, Wandersman et al. 1993; Kelling and Coles 1996; Perkins and Taylor 1996; Brown, Perkins et al. 2004). The well-known "broken windows" theory, popularized by Police Commissioner Bratton in New York City, which led to community police actions across the U.S., states that both physical and social disorder lead to increased crime rates as these factors serve as cues to crime perpetrators, indicating that residents in the area do not care or are indifferent about what occurs in the neighborhood and therefore results in provoking further and more serious crime. Thus, neighborhood disorder has been regarded as a risk factor associated with crime and violence. Physical disorder refers to "the deterioration of urban landscapes, for example, graffiti on buildings, abandoned cars, broken windows, and garbage in the streets," and social disorder is understood as "behavior usually involving strangers and considered threatening, such as verbal harassment on the streets, open solicitation for prostitution, public intoxication, and rowdy groups of young males in public" (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999).

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

Following the suggestions of recent literature, in addition to gathering survey data on residents' perception of neighborhood disorder, data from a systematic observation of public places by trained observers is collected using a specialized neighborhood-level survey. Studies show a stronger correlation between observed neighborhood disorder and crime in the U.S. (Perkins, Wandersman et al. 1993; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999). Consequently, in order to most effectively assess the impact of CARSI programs neighborhood disorder, LAPOP has implemented a neighborhood-level

survey using the Systematic Social Observation (SSO) method, as carried out in multiple studies on crime victimization and fear of crime in the U.S. (e.g., Baltimore, Chicago, and Salt Lake city studies) (e.g., Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999).

Perceptions of the Police and Community Policing

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

Other Outcome Indicators

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

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

The attached individual-level questionnaire (Appendix A) also includes a series of "control variables" (variables that are not expected to change overtime due to CARSI interventions, but that are important to account for so that observed changes in outcome indicators can be regarded as products of the USAID crime prevention interventions and not to other intervening factors). Control variables include standard socio-economic and demographic characteristics (i.e., sex, age, employment status, income level) and other variables related to poverty.

II. The Design of the Study: A Multi-Site "Clustered Randomized Experiment" (CRE)

The goal of a scientifically rigorous evaluation design is to be able to determine *"not merely what happened following a given assistance program, but how much what happened differs from what would be observed in the absence of that program"* (National Research Council 2008: 44). As recommended by the National Academy of Sciences, a credible evaluation must contain certain features, all of which are part of the LAPOP evaluation design. The main features of LAPOP's research design are:

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

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

The design used in this study is technically known as a "*Cluster Randomized Experiment"* (CRE), or "Multi-Site Cluster Randomized Experiments" when carried out in blocks composed of clusters that are very similar (Spybrook, Raudenbush, Liu and Congdon 2008).[9] This type of experimental design is the most reliable and accurate method for establishing cause-and-effect (Puddy and Wilkins 2011, Sherman 2012). The research design used by LAPOP for the CARSI evaluation scores a 5 (the highest level) on the Maryland Scale of Accuracy in the Design of Evaluation, indicating that the findings yielded by the study should be considered strong evidence for a cause-and-effect relationship (or non-relationship) (Sherman 2012). As described by Murray (1998), a cluster randomized experiment has four distinguishing characteristics (note that in this study, the block or site corresponds to a country, and the cluster to the community):

1) "The *unit of assignment* is an identifiable group rather than an individual. Such groups are not formed at random, but rather through some connection among their members." This design is appropriate for the CARSI project, since the program is based on the community or neighborhood as the unit of analysis in each site or country.
2) "Different units of assignment are allocated [randomly] to each *study condition* [either to a treatment or control group]."
3) "*Units of observation* are members of the groups that serve as the units of assignment." Thus, this type of experiment has a multilevel structure. In the case of the CARSI study, sites or countries are the highest aggregate level, units of assignment [neighborhoods] form an intermediate level, and individuals are the lowest aggregate level.
4) CREs "typically involve only a limited number of assignment units in each study condition."

The CRE design is the most appropriate research design for the CARSI project. As CARSI is a "community" based program, the group based unit of assignment corresponds to the neighborhood grouping of individuals. Although the interventions may target certain individuals within communities (in the case of CARSI, "at-risk youth," for example), random assignment of individuals to treatment and control groups is often not effective since it is impossible to avoid interaction between individuals across study conditions (i.e., in a single community, at-risk youth in the treatment group will most likely interact with those in the control group). To avoid this problem of contamination, the CRE design uses non-contiguous clusters (e.g., neighborhoods or communities) that are then randomly

[9] This design is also known in the literature as a "Group-Randomized Trial."

assigned to each study condition (i.e., treated/non-treated). The literature regards CRE as the "best comparative design available" when an intervention "operates at a [cluster] level, [and] manipulates the social or physical environment" (Murray 1998).

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

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

Selection of Study Area

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

The USAID mission in each site or country selected the municipalities where interventions took place. This step was important since we did not want to conduct the impact evaluations in areas not already known by USAID to be considered at-risk. LAPOP then selected the units of assignment (neighborhoods) on the basis of a series of pre-intervention conditions that are well-documented in the literature as increasing the likelihood of crime and violence and therefore insecurity. These eligible neighborhoods are "at-risk", or highly vulnerable to becoming crime "hot spots." Neighborhoods that were known to be already fully controlled by gangs or other organized criminal groups are excluded from the study, since carrying out studies in such extremely violent or dangerous neighborhoods may be all but impossible, given the risks to contractors and interviewers that are involved. Our study findings, therefore, apply to at-risk neighborhoods, but not to those already completely overrun by gangs or other type of groups engaged in violent/criminal activities.

Selection of neighborhoods was based on the following factors: socio-economic conditions, the level of poverty and quality of neighborhood infrastructure, standard demographic characteristics, including the type of neighborhood (urban or rural), proportion of youth in the population, and population density.

To avoid "contamination" effects (i.e., that control groups receive the treatment), the selection of geographically contiguous treatment and control groups was carefully avoided.

Assignment to Treatment and Control Groups

In a study that includes a large number of assignment units, randomization ensures that units assigned to treatment and control groups will, on average, be very similar before the intervention. Consequently, changes observed in treatment units can be attributed to the program or intervention. However, in experiments involving a relatively small number of assignment units, as in the case of CARSI and CRE in general, this assumption does not necessarily hold.

Therefore, in small-N studies, in addition to randomization, other strategies are implemented in order to minimize baseline differences between treatment and control and increase the internal validity of the study. When the number of assignment units is small, a *stratified* design can be used as a strategy to account for confounding factors that can hurt the validity of the study, and consequently erroneously attribute changes to the intervention when in fact other factors may be responsible for such changes. In a *stratified* design, units from relatively homogenous sub-groups (i.e., groups that share similar characteristics) are randomly assigned to either treatment or control. LAPOP use a CRE design with a *stratified* selection. Rather than selecting from pooled neighborhoods, the sample will be first stratified by country and then by municipalities. Finally, neighborhoods within municipalities in each country are assigned randomly to treatment and control groups. Baseline differences across neighborhoods within municipalities are accounted or controlled for in the statistical analysis; it is for this reason that the gathering of neighborhood level data from existing sources (e.g., census data, multipurpose household surveys) and an enumeration and specialized neighborhood-level LAPOP surveys (as explained below) are crucial.

Data Collection Sites in Guatemala

Data from *at-risk* treatment and control communities were collected from three municipalities: Guatemala City, Esquipulas, and Tactic. All *non-at-risk* communities were located in Guatemala City. The *non-at-risk* data were collected with *the purpose of establishing baseline characteristics of violence-free neighborhoods and determining whether, after program implementation, at-risk neighborhoods begin to look like non-at-risk neighborhoods.*

Number of Clusters and Sample size

A total of 40 neighborhoods (21 treatment and 19 control groups) were selected for study in Guatemala. Individuals in each neighborhood were randomly sampled (with an attempt to have equal numbers of individuals in each cluster). Equal size clusters are preferred so that "weights" do not have to be applied when analyzing the data. The number of clusters or neighborhoods was determined by a preliminary statistical power analysis carried out by the authors of this study.

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

In the case of CARSI, it was determined if using at least three countries, 100 clusters or neighborhoods across the countries in the study would be necessary to yield sufficient power to determine the overall effect of the intervention for the region, as well as the conditions under which the intervention proved more effective. A total of 107 at-risk neighborhoods were studied in the project.

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

Power analysis

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

n $= Cluster\ or\ neighborhood\ size\ (number\ of\ interviewed\ individuals)$
J $= Number\ of\ clusters\ or\ neighborhoods$
k $= Number\ of\ sites\ or\ countries$
α $= Statistical\ significance\ level$
δ $= Effect\ size\ (expected\ observed\ difference\ \ between\ treatment\ and\ control\ group)$
$\sigma_\delta^2 = Effect\ size\ variability\ (variability\ of\ the\ treatment\ effect\ across\ sites\ )$
ρ $= Intraclass\ correlation$ (ratio of the variability between clusters to the total variability)

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

With 26 clusters in each site or country,[10] and an intra-class correlation equal or lower than 0.08, statistical power is greater than 0.8 or 80%. Power greater than or equal to 0.80 is often recognized as sufficient in the literature (Spybrook et al. 2008). These results suggest that in these hypothetical cases, we would be able to correctly identify a difference between treatment and control groups for a given outcome indicator with a probability of 80%. Given that these are conservative estimates, we are confident that the study is able to statistically detect differences between the control and treatment groups.

[10] The number of clusters was computed using the harmonic mean of the anticipated number of treatment and control groups in each country. A minimum of 13 treatment groups were assumed in El Salvador and Guatemala and 6 in Panama. The actual number of groups was larger in each case, except in Panama. The harmonic mean (rather than the arithmetic mean) was preferred so that small numbers were weighted more heavily, allowing us to estimate the statistical power assuming conservative estimates of the number of clusters.

Stages of the study and types of data collected by LAPOP

Following the assignment of intervention and selection of study neighborhoods, LAPOP collected the following data for the study:

Quantitative data:

1) Baseline surveys

The baseline data characterizes the population of study in both treatment and control groups in order to assess the similarity of these two groups. If there are imbalances, adjustments are able to be made for these differences in the data analysis. Moreover, the baseline survey helps to draw causal inferences about the effect of the interventions because it makes it possible to compare groups before and after the intervention.

Phase I: Pre-visit of neighborhoods

As a first step in the survey process, the size and physical location of neighborhoods pre-selected by LAPOP is determined. This is a particularly important step in countries where the availability of recent census or other type of hard data is limited and in areas that have experienced great social mobility. In addition, the data collected in pre-visits helps determine whether neighborhoods fulfilled the pre-establish selection criteria. In other words, based on an extended list of pre-selected neighborhoods, the pre-visits helped to identify the 60 neighborhoods where the study was carried out. For this component of the study, a short questionnaire per neighborhood was developed to take into account the pre-determined selection criteria by USAID missions and contractors and/or other relevant civil society actors.

Phase II: Enumeration of individuals in the selected neighborhoods

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

1) A count of the total number of households in each neighborhood and a record of their characteristics
2) Location of the households on the block
3) Interviews of one voting age individual in each household to determine the demographic characteristics of the household (number of persons, gender, ages and residence in the

household, as opposed to living somewhere else, like in the U.S.)

Phase III. Systematic observation of selected neighborhood

The systematic observation of the selected neighborhoods provides an objective measure of the resources and physical and social disorder in the 60 selected neighborhoods. Data from a systematic observation of public places by trained observers was collected using a specialized neighborhood-level survey developed by LAPOP for each of the selected neighborhoods (Appendix B). Measurements were taken at the level of the *cuadra* (portion of the block).

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

Phase IV: Neighborhood level survey to stakeholders in neighborhoods

The purpose of the stakeholder survey is to gather both qualitative and quantitative information about the neighborhood by interviewing key persons knowledgeable of the neighborhood situation. LAPOP generated a close-ended questionnaire that was used for interviews with neighborhood stakeholders (Appendix D). Stakeholders included local clergy, social workers, police and civil society association leaders.

Phase V: Face-to-face individual-Level survey

The face-to-face individual level questionnaire was developed by LAPOP (Appendix A). The survey contains questions designed to measure the previously discussed outcome indicators in addition to socioeconomic, demographic, and other variables used as controls. One adult per household (defined as voting age adult) was interviewed in person. The survey participants were selected by sample quotas based on the enumeration data from Phase II. Field work for the first round of individual-level surveys in Guatemala took place between 11 July 2011 and 16 February 2012 in at-risk neighborhoods, and 21 March, 2012 and 11 June 2012 in non-at-risk neighborhoods (for more detailed information on field work dates, see Table 1).

2) Mid-point evaluation

After implementation of the CARSI programs, the mid-point evaluation was carried out. In Guatemala, the field work for the mid-point evaluation was carried out between 25 January 2013 and 8 March 2013. Phases III, IV, and V were repeated at that time.

3) Final evaluation

The data collection at the individual and neighborhood levels (Phases III, IV, and V) is expected to begin in January 2014.

Table 2 shows the average number of interviews per round in at-risk (40 communities) and non-at-risk communities (21 treatment and 19 control). Approximately 1,200 individual interviews were carried out for the first round in non-at-risk neighborhoods, 1,450 per round in treatment neighborhoods, and 1150 per round in control communities, for a total of over 6,400 at the end of the second round.

For neighborhood contextual data, LAPOP collected about 500 systematic observations—i.e., information related to the characteristics of blocks—in non-at-risk neighborhoods in the first round, about 900 observations per round in treatment communities, and about 600 in control communities, for a grand total of nearly 3,000 at the end of the study.

Finally, we collected enumeration data (demographic and census) data in round 1—specifically, household census data of dwelling units—in order to draw the sample for the individual level data, which totaled 8,087

Table 2. Quantitative Data Collected in Guatemala

	NON-AT-RISK COMMUNITIES*	**AT-RISK COMMUNITIES**		**TOTAL**
	Observations only Round 1	**TREATMENT** ***Observations per Round***	**CONTROL** ***Observations per Round***	**Observations at conclusion of Round 2**
Number of Communities	20	21	19	100
Individual Level Data				
Face-to-Face Surveys *(approx. numbers)*	1,233	1,450	1,150	6,450
Neighborhood Contextual Data				
Systematic Observation of Neighborhood Blocks	500	900	600	3,000
Enumeration Data (Demographic and Census Data)*	2,695	3022	2370	8,087
** Data collected in Round 1 only*				

Qualitative data

Interpretation of the dynamics of the communities and, ultimately, the impact of the project, was greatly assisted by the qualitative data gathered during the study. The qualitative data were used

interactively, in a multi-method strategy. The qualitative component of the study enabled us to enhance the quantitative, and the quantitative help inform the qualitative.

For the qualitative portion of the study, LAPOP collected *semi-structured interviews* and conducted *focus groups* with community stakeholders. The questionnaires used in the qualitative interviews are provided in Appendix D. Table 3 shows the number of individual interviews in each round. In addition, 12 focus groups (4 in each of the three target municipalities) were carried out in the first round with members of these categories, with the exception of program implementers (RTI) and youth-at-risk.

Table 3. Qualitative Data Collected in Guatemala

	Round 1	*Round 2*	TOTAL
Interviews with Stakeholders	79	67	146
Focus Groups	12		12

Stakeholders participants include:

1) Community leaders (presidents or other officers of COCODES) and members of Municipal Crime Prevention Committees **–33 Participants**;
2) School directors and teachers **–35 Participants**;
3) Religious leaders (e.g., Evangelical pastors, Catholic priests, and church youth-group leaders)-- **30 Participants**;
4) police officers **–39 Participants**;
5) RTI coordinators **–7 Participants**; and
6) Youth-at-risk (18 and older) **–2 Participants**.

The qualitative interviews were carried out by Jonathan Canjura, a Salvadoran investigator in his mid-twenties, who had a college degree and prior experience doing interviewing on scientific research projects. He was trained extensively in qualitative interviewing by Berk-Seligson, who headed the qualitative component of the Vanderbilt CARSI impact evaluation. The interviewer was equipped with two very small (three inches in length) battery-operated digital recorders (Olympus WS-500M), so small as to be largely inconspicuous during the interviews, and easily hidden away safely during his daily travels via public transportation to the interview sites. Two recorders were used in order to provide backup for the failure of the primary unit. This model recorder accommodated a remote,

directional microphone, allowing it to zoom in on the speaker, thus minimizing the often loud background noise. The recorder was able to store more than 12 hours of conversation on its internal memory, and run for the same period of time on a single battery charge. The recorders also came with built-in USB connectors that served the dual purpose of both charging the rechargeable batteries and enabling downloading the files to a computer.

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

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

As the qualitative interviews proceeded, several Salvadoran college-educated young women simultaneously transcribed the audio files, under Berk-Seligson's supervision. Using Sugarsync as the uploading device, Berk-Seligson would send the files to the transcribers (they numbered up to 4 at any given moment), and the transcribers would send the transcriptions as e-mail attachments to her.

These transcribers were trained by Berk-Seligson to employ standard linguistic conventions, rather than more conventional "court-reporting" style that "cleans up" the errors in human speech, but ends up distorting in important ways what was said.[11] Specifically, they were told to include all hesitation markers, partial words, repetitions, signs of change in emotion (e.g., laughter, sudden whispering, emphatic tone). This methodology produces a transcription that is as faithful to the original speech of the person being interviewed as possible, short of transcribing the utterances phonetically, which was not necessary. All non-standard forms of speech (e.g., ungrammatical phrases, verb forms) were to be transcribed exactly as they had been uttered. They were a reflection of the socioeconomic status of the interviewee. It is important to note that the textual sections of this report that include statements made

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

by the respondents have not been sanitized, but do in fact include all of these features, including ungrammatical phrases and many other errors of speaking.

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

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

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

In sum, qualitative interviewing, as opposed to the quantitative interviewing approach (which requires reading questions in an identical fashion), entails interacting with interviewees in a much more

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

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

Section 3: Impact Evaluation, Guatemala

One of the main goals of USAID's programs in treatment communities is the reduction of crime rates and the improvement of security in Central America by strengthening community capacity and encouraging citizen participation, in addition to the improvement of municipal capacity for crime prevention. Crime prevention activities include municipal crime prevention committees, community-oriented policing, outreach centers for at-risk youth, vocational training, and security infrastructure.

Some hypothesized direct effects of neighborhood safety include:

- *Reduced perception of insecurity*
- *Reduced crime victimization*
- *Declining youth vulnerability to crime and gang activity*
- *Greater crime prevention measures*
- *More willingness to participate in neighborhood collective action*

Hypothesized indirect effects of the programs relate to the promotion of good governance:

- *Greater support for the police*
- *Greater levels of interpersonal trust*
- *More satisfaction with the functioning of democracy*
- *Improved perceptions of government security efforts*

I. Evaluating Program Effectiveness

The following sections provide the results of analyses of individual-level survey data, qualitative data, and community-level quantitative data. In this report, we do not provide the results of every variable analyzed. Instead, we focus on those variables that provide guidance to policy-makers and those implementing policies in the field. Because variables may evince statistically significant results by chance alone, we report those findings that are robust and consistent across multiple indicators. Despite the fact that our models are quite complex, they are unable to fully capture the complexity of the many social and individual factors inherent in society. Some statistical findings that appear inexplicable may be the result of these complex inter-related systems. While unraveling these causal puzzles is an important endeavor, at this point they provide little guidance to those implementing policies in the field. Therefore, we give greater weight in our evaluation to those findings that are consistent with established theory than those that are counter-intuitive and therefore unhelpful to policy-makers.

II. Analysis of the survey data

The clustered randomized experimental (CRE) design allows for the comparison between the control and treatment groups over time. We use what is known as a difference-in-difference estimator that can estimate both the difference between the treatment and control groups and the difference between each group and itself at a later time point. The treatment is considered effective at the point of evaluation if

outcomes in the treatment group improve more (or decline less) than they would have if the treatment had not been administered. A direct comparison between the treatment and control may not be straightforward because of differences in the group due to random sampling. Instead, we estimate a hypothetical counter-factual case with the model parameters to simulate what the outcome would be if no treatment was administered. The hypothetical case is the change in the control group over time, but at the same levels of the treatment group. Thus, the difference between the estimated hypothetical case and the treatment group is considered the "treatment effect." The "treatment effect" is the outcome that can be said to have been caused by the intervention. Figure 1 is an illustration of the difference-in-difference estimator.

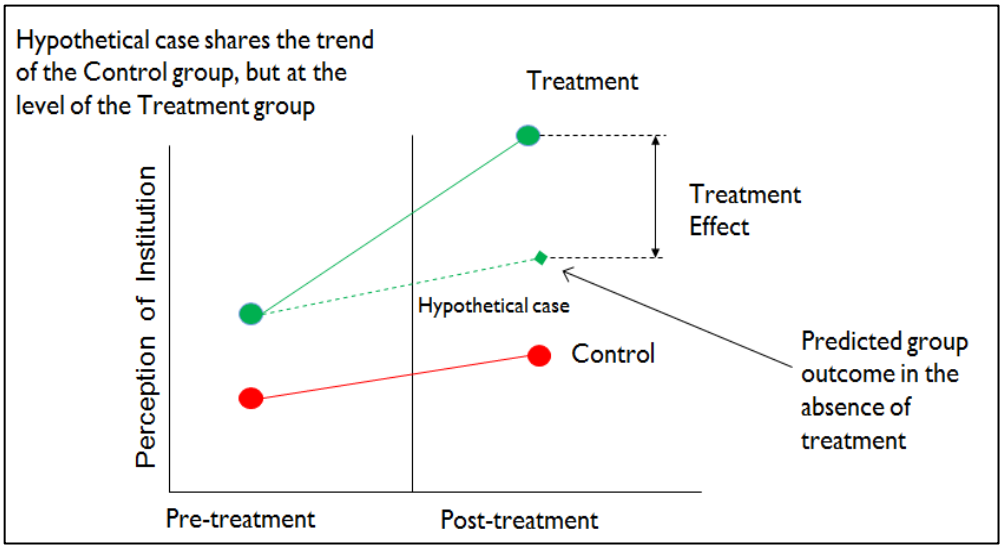

Figure 1. Illustration of Difference-in-Difference Estimation

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

Perception and Crime Victimization

In this section, we present results for a wide range of measures that evaluate the effectiveness of USAID's crime prevention programs in terms of (1) the reduction of crime victimization and (2) the

increase in the sense of security, during the two time periods evaluated thus far in the Guatemala Study.

Robberies

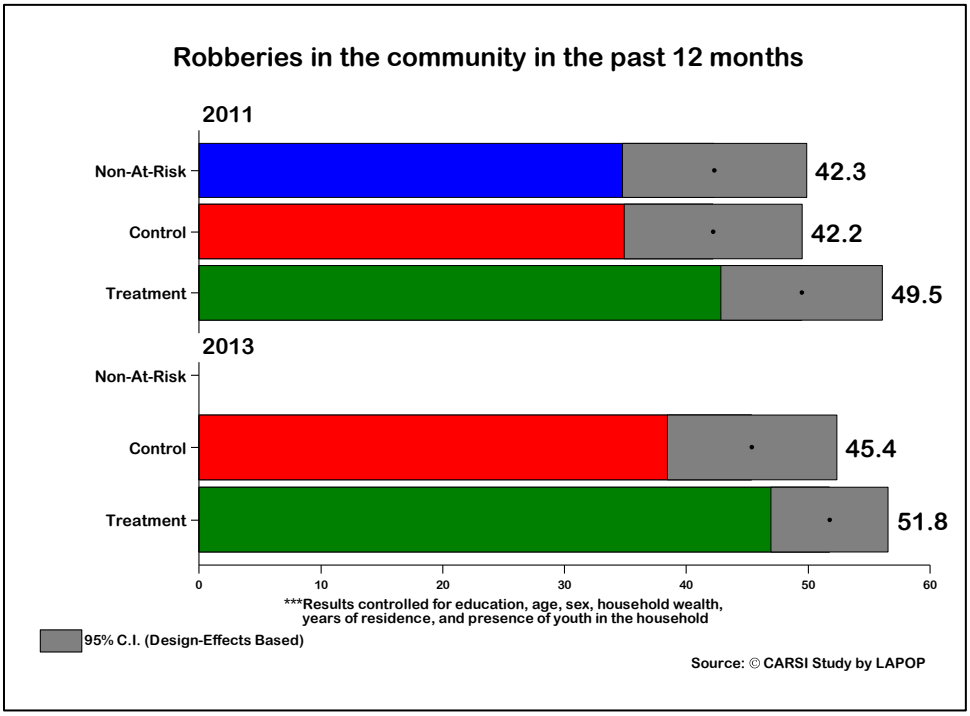

Figure 2. Respondent-Reported Robberies in the Neighborhoods

Figure 2 displays the reported robberies in the neighborhoods when residents were asked: "Have robberies occurred over the last twelve months in [name of neighborhood]?" Approximately 42% of residents in non-at-risk neighborhoods reported occurrences of robberies in their community in 2011. There is little difference between the non-at-risk group and the control group. In treatment communities report nearly 50% of residents report robberies. In 2013, the percentages increased slightly in both treatment and control neighborhoods.

In Figure 3, we predict the probability that respondents answer "yes" to whether a robbery has occurred in the community. This probability decreased slightly (2%) in treatment neighborhoods between 2011 and 2013, while increasing (8%) in the control neighborhoods over the same time period. In the absence of the program, the probability of respondents reporting occurrences of robberies would have been about 22% higher. This difference between the treatment group and hypothetical is statistically significant, indicating that the treatment has reduced reports of robberies in the communities.

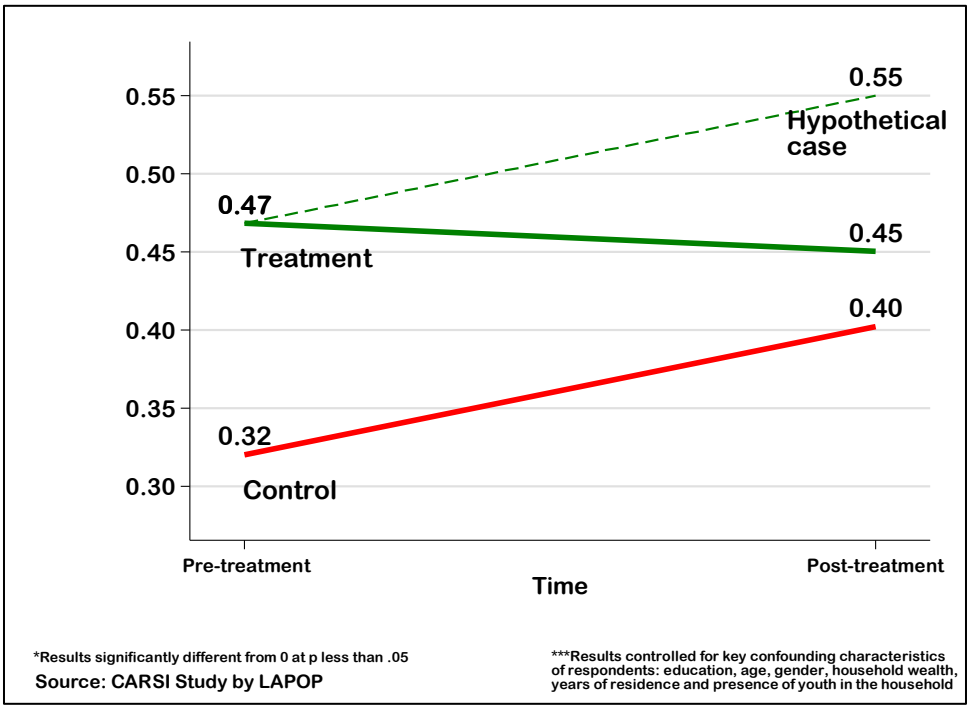

Figure 3. Respondent-Reported Robberies in the Neighborhoods (Predicted Values)

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

Extortion or Blackmail

Reported cases of extortion or blackmail in the neighborhoods are shown in Figure 4. Results are based on answers to the question: "Have extortion or blackmail occurred over the last twelve months in [Name of Neighborhood]?"

Nearly 14% of residents in non-at-risk neighborhoods reported occurrences of extortion in 2011 compared to 23.7% in control communities and 25.1% in treatment communities. In 2013, this percentage declined to about 19% in treatment and control communities.

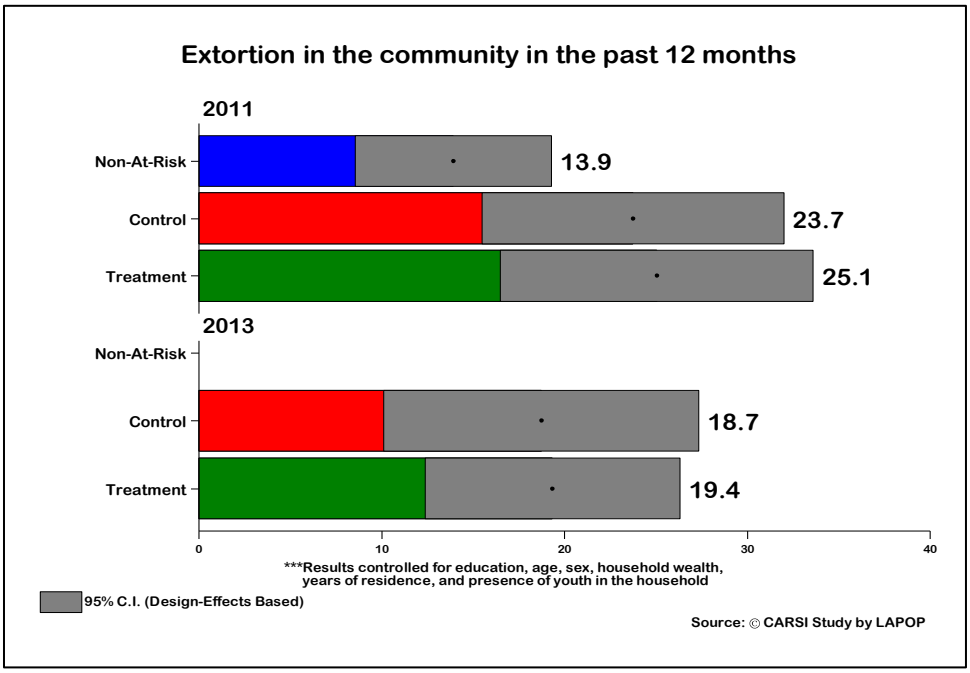

Figure 4. Respondent-Reported Extortion or Blackmail in the Neighborhoods

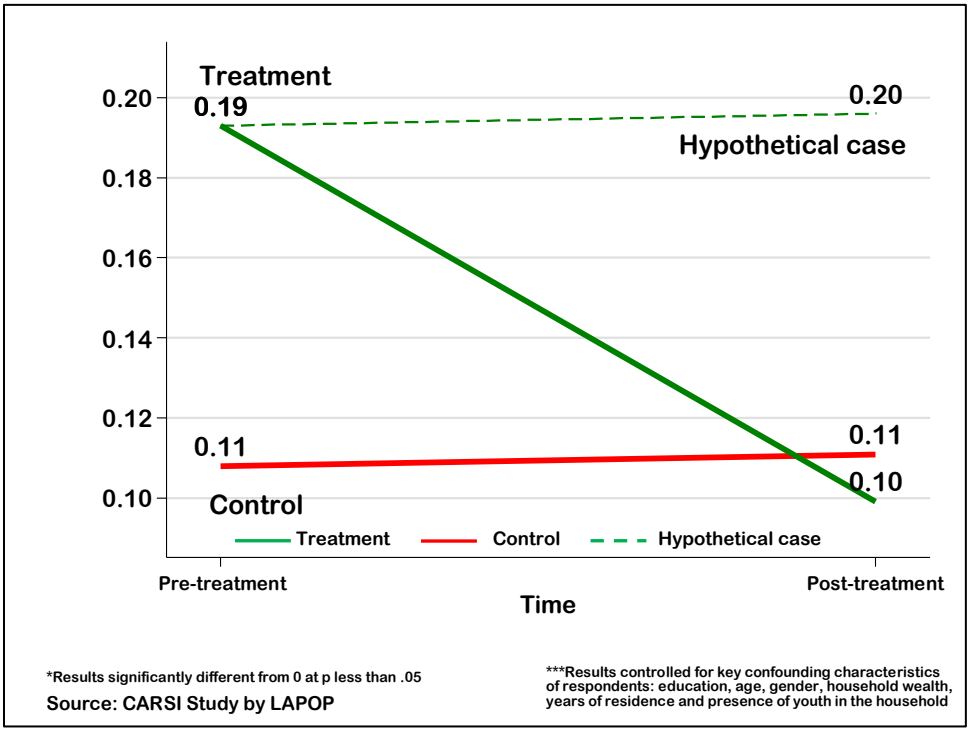

Figure 5. Extortions in the Neighborhood in the Past 12 months (Predicted Values)

Figure 5 shows that in treatment neighborhoods, the probability of respondents recalling instances of extortion and blackmail declined significantly between 2011 and 2013, but showed no change in the control communities. The probability of respondents reporting extortion or blackmail would have been 97% higher in the absence of the program.

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

Murders

Figure 6 displays reported murders across the neighborhoods under consideration. Residents responded to the question: "Have murders occurred over the last twelve months in [Name of Neighborhood]?" In 2011, treatment communities had a significantly higher percentage of respondents reporting murders in their neighborhoods (33.4%) than non-at-risk (17.4%) communities. In 2013, the percentage of respondents who that reported murders had occurred declined in both treatment and control communities.

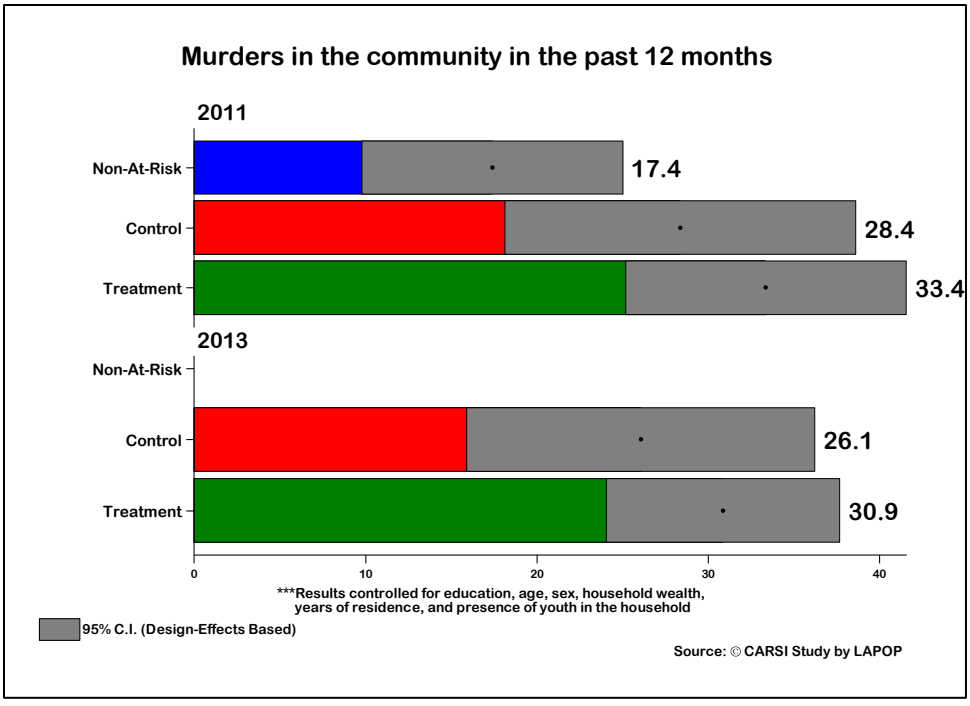

Figure 6. Respondent-Reported Murders in the Neighborhoods

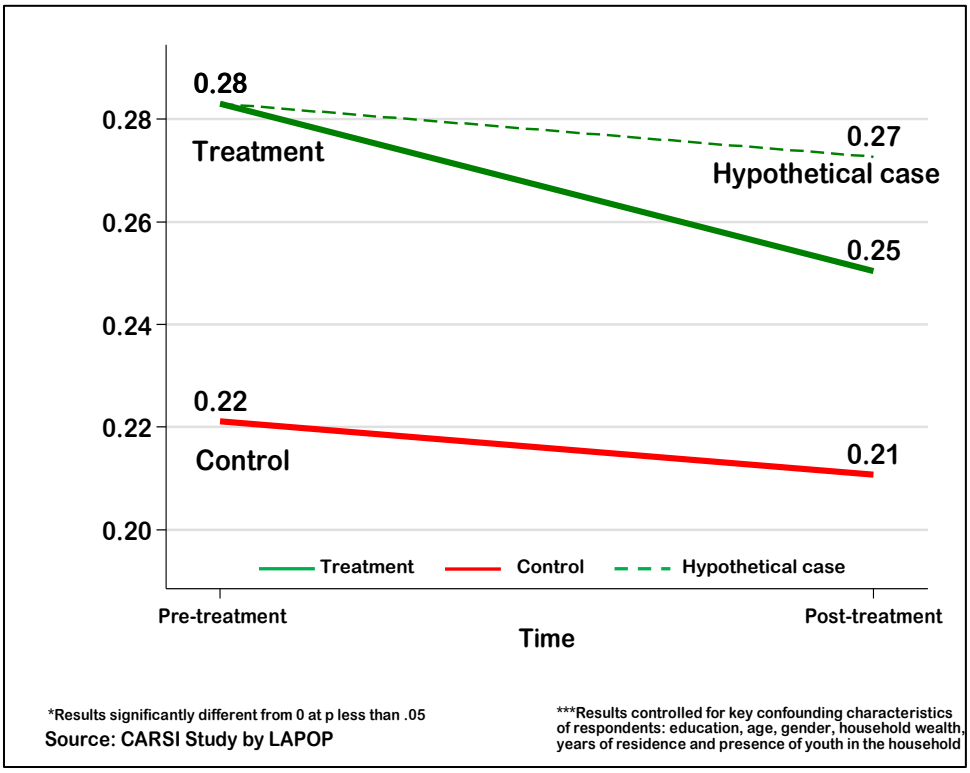

Figure 7. Respondent-Reported Murders in the Neighborhoods (Predicted Values)

We predict the linear probability of respondents recalling occurrences of murders in their community in Figure 7. The probability of respondents reporting murders was higher in the treatment communities in both years, but showed a slightly greater decline between 2011 and 2013 than in the control group (3% versus 1%). While the hypothetical case indicates that the probability of reported murders would have been higher, the difference between the treatment and hypothetical is not statistically significant. Therefore, the treatment is not associated with any significant reduction in murders in Guatemala.

Sale of Illegal Drugs

Figure 8 displays respondent reported sales of illegal drugs in the community. Respondents were asked: "Have the sale of illegal drugs occurred over the last twelve months in [Name of Neighborhood?". Non-at-risk communities show significantly fewer reports of drug sales than in treatment or control communities. In 2011, there is little difference between the treatment and control neighborhoods. But in 2013, there is a significant decline in the percentage of respondents reporting illegal drug sales in treatment communities (from 19.8% to 15.7%).

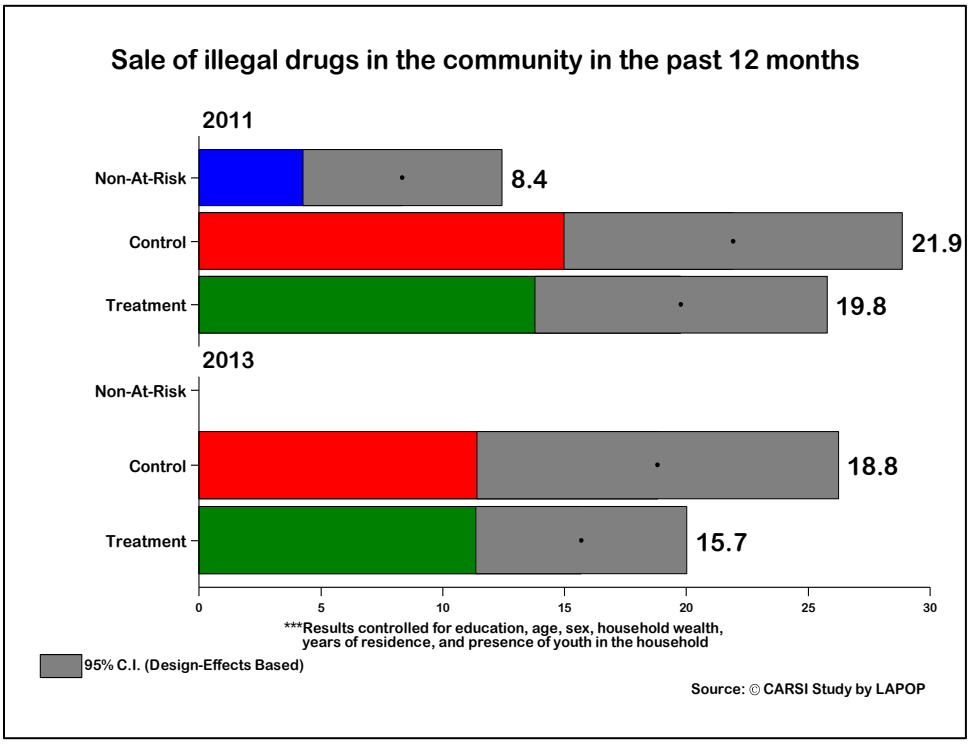

Figure 8. Respondent-Reported Sales of Illegal Drugs in the Neighborhoods

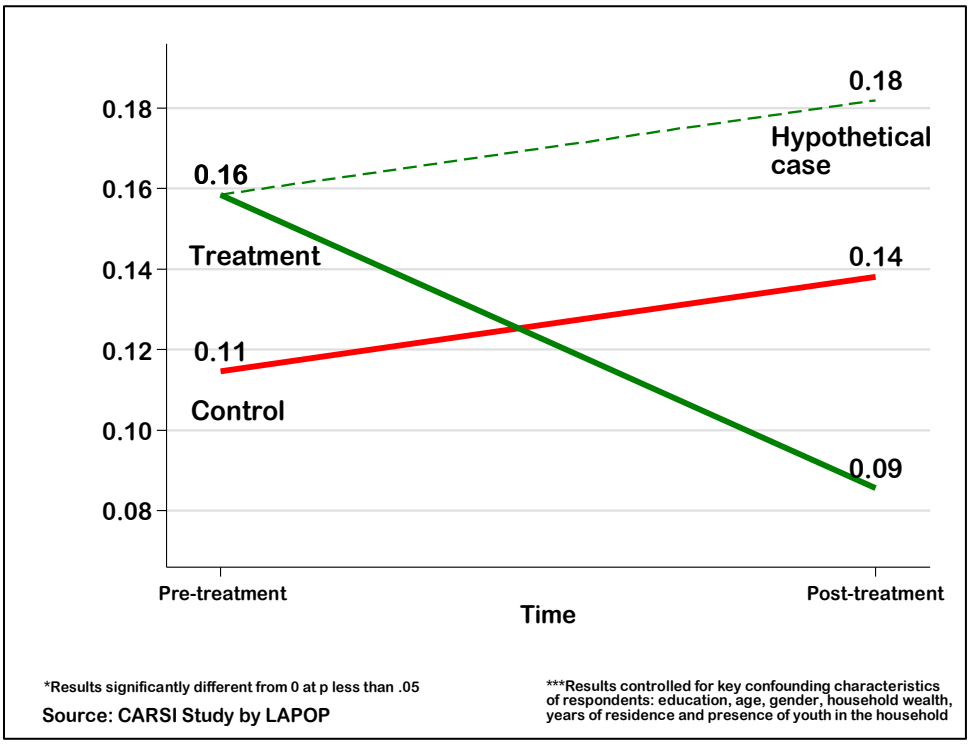

Figure 9. Respondent-Reported Sales of Illegal Drugs in the Neighborhoods (Predicted Values)

In Figure 9, we predict the probability of respondents recalling instances of illegal drug sales in their neighborhood. In 2011, respondents in treatment communities were more likely to report occurrences of drug sales. By 2013, this probability declined significantly in the treatment group while increasing slightly in the control group. Compared to the hypothetical case, the probability of respondents reporting sales of illegal drugs would have been 112% higher in the treatment communities without the treatment program.

Analysis of the context in which the treatment was administered shows that in untreated communities, respondents were more likely to report the occurrence of illegal drug sales in communities with Catholic churches. However, in treated communities with a Catholic church, there is no such increase, indicating that the treatment is more effective in reducing the incidence of illegal drug sales in communities with Catholic churches. The predicted likelihood of reporting illegal drugs sales in treated and untreated communities in the presence and absence of a Catholic church is displayed in Figure 10.

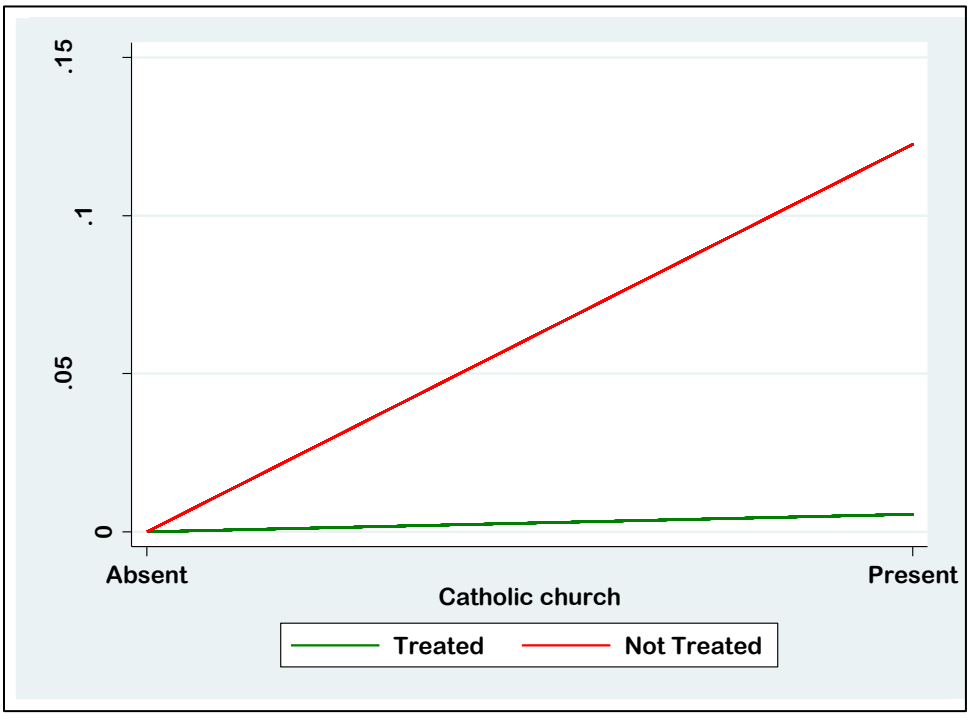

Figure 10. Marginal Change in the Reports of Illegal Drug Sales in the Presence of a Catholic Church

The analysis of the context also reveals that the effectiveness of the treatment varies the level of neighborhood social disorder (a composite index that measures, at the block level, the presence of people arguing in an aggressive or violent manner, children playing on the sidewalk or street without

supervision, presence of gang members, beggars, prostitutes, and drunks). Reported incidence of illegal drug sales increases slightly in untreated communities with high levels of social disorder. However, with the treatment communities with the same level of social disorder, there are significantly fewer reports of illegal drug sales. Figure 11 shows the predicted change in reporting illegal drug sales as social disorder increases in the presence and absence of the treatment.

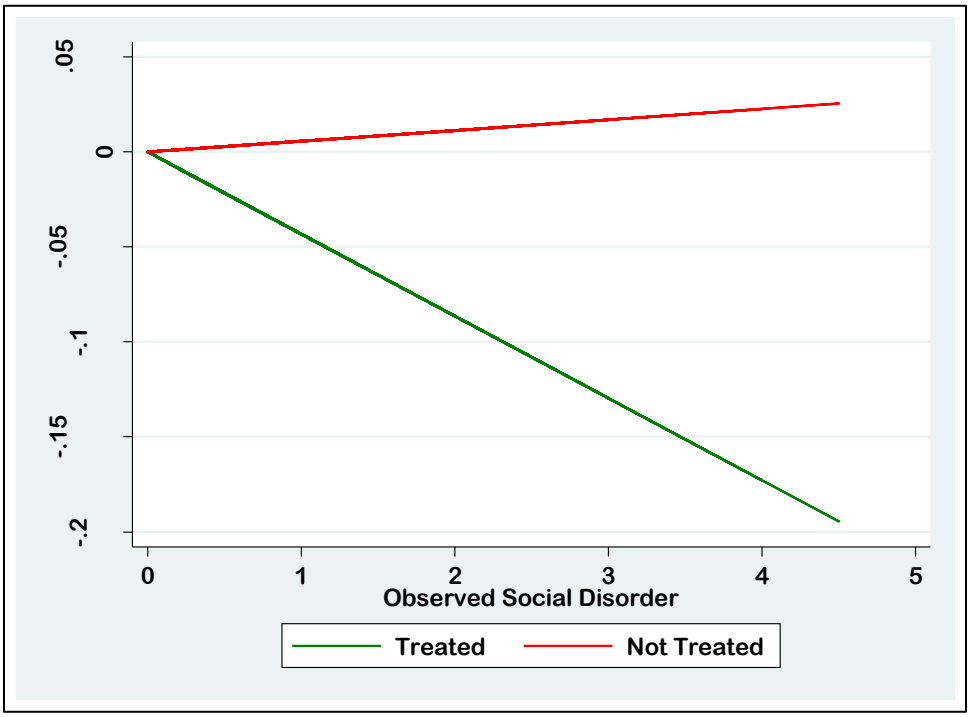

Figure 11. Marginal Change in the Reports of the Sales of Illegal Drugs in the Presence of Neighborhood Social Disorder

Qualitative interviews with stakeholders provide some insights into reasons why and mechanisms for the decreases in crime and violence. The police mentioned several factors related to their own work that would have contributed to these decreases: (1) police coordination with the business community, to protect commerce, including the POLIMERC (Policía de Mercado) (Marketplace Police) program; (2) the fact that the Ley de Armas y Municiones (Weapons and Ammunition Law) has been in effect since 2009, which has enabled the police to apprehend people who carry illegal weapons; (3) the "despistolización" (removal of handguns) program, a crime prevention program aimed specifically at youth, which entails conducting searches of youths who are on the street, looking for firearms; (4) the "Escuelas Seguras" (Safe Schools) program, which stations patrol officers at the entrances of schools in the morning, as students enter the school, and in the afternoon, as students leave for home (this program protects students from gang members who lurk outside the school, preying on students either to extort money from them, or in the case of girls, to seduce them and sometimes to sexually accost them); the Escuelas Seguras program incorporates a Bolsón Seguro (Secure Bookbag) component, which entails police searches of bookbags, to see if the students are carrying firearms, knives, or narcotic drugs to school; (5) summer programs for youths (e.g., Escuela Vacacional (Summer School);

(6) sports programs (e.g., Liga Atlética) (Athletic League); (7) cooperation with the Comités Unicos de Barrio (Special Neighborhood Committees) (formerly called Juntas Locales de Seguridad) [Local Security Councils], which work with the municipalities in youth violence prevention programs; (8) prevention of lynchings, through police collaboration with the Departamento de Multiculturalidad and its indigenous leadership; (9) "Cuénteselo a Valdemar," ("Tell Valdemar About It") a special, dedicated police phone line where citizens can report crimes in a completely confidential manner; (10) PANDA, a police anti-extortion program.

Why are crimes and violence decreasing in the treatment communities and not in the control communities? A plausible explanation is that there may be a synergy between the USAID funded prevention programs and those being carried out independently by the police, the schools, the clergy, and community level civil society under the auspices of national programs. The programs emanating from, or supported by, these stakeholder groups that are not specifically USAID sponsored may have a greater impact on reducing youth crime partly because of the concurrent presence of the USAID programs. This interactive effect has not been measured, but its joint impact is quite plausible.

An interview with the Chief of police of the crime prevention section of the National Police, was illuminating in this regard:

> ***Entrevistador:*** *¿Qué tan violentas son estas comunidades yo le mencioné a comparación de otras de la capital?*
>
> Translation *[**Interviewer:** How violent are these communities that I mentioned to you compared to others in the capital city?]*
>
> ***Policía:*** *Bueno, yo creo que, eh, tienen sus diferentes niveles de, de, de complejidad y de violencia que se puede sufrir, verdad. Pero, eh, el trabajo en conjunto policía, autoridades locales y la misma comunidad, en muchos de los casos, pues ha logrado reducir, eh, bastante la incidencia criminal que le podía estar afectando, especialmente sobre hechos en contra de la vida, quiere decir muertes violentas de las personas, verdad. Aunque el fenómeno de la extorsión se sigue manejando de alguna manera. Pero de esa cuenta, investigación criminal at, en coordinación con el Ministerio Público ha logrado capturas importantes de personas que se dedican a cometer hechos dentro de las comunidades.*
>
> Translation *[**Police Officer:** Well, I think that, um, they have different levels of, of, complexity and violence that, that, they experience, you see. But, um, the coordinated efforts of the police, local authorities, and the community itself, in a lot of cases, has achieved a, um, significant reduction in the crime rate that they may have been experiencing, especially acts against human life, meaning violent deaths, you know. Although the incidence of extortion continues to some degree. But criminal investigations in coordination with the State Prosecutor's Office has led to important captures of persons who commit this kind of crime in the communities.]*

A police officer who works in preventive patrols, and who teaches in the GREAT program, when asked how violent the treatment communities are in Guatemala City, answered that the most frequent type of crime is extortion:

> ***Policía:*** *Eh, violentas, como le digo, nada más, ahí se oye más que todo lo que son las extorsiones, las muertes siempre ha sido por un piloto, moto taxi que siempre, si es más que todo la extorsión. Eh, piden dinero, impuesto a los, a las tiendas, verdad. E, incluso y ahí es cuando más utilizan al niño, verdad, de que "andá, andá dejá un teléfono y dejalo allí en la tienda" y, después llaman, "mirá, queremos tanto y lo das*

para tales horas, verdad". Pero sí, ahí se trabaja mucho lo que es la extorsión.

Translation *[**Police Officer:** Uh, violent, as I was saying, that's all. What you hear about most is extortion. Deaths are mostly caused by drivers or motorbike taxis; most of the crime is extortion. Uh, they demand money, a quota from the shops, you know. They use little kids a lot for this, you know. They tell the kids, "get in there, get in there, leave a phone number, leave it there in the store," and later on they call and tell the shopkeepers, "look, we want X amount of money, and at this particular time," right? So, yes, extortion goes on a lot there.]*

The POLIMERC (Policía del Mercado) program is considered to be successful at reducing crime in the marketplace. However, it is in place only in the capital of each province. None of the officers interviewed had personally worked as Policías del Mercado, but all of them had heard about it. One high-ranking officer who works in the prevention unit of the Guatemala City PNC, has knowledge of the success of the program in reducing crime in the marketplace areas: *"Pues, yo no he trabajado directamente ahí, pero la satisfacción de los inquilinos de los mercados se ha visto de que, de que sí ellos han trabajado y han tenido bajas en la delincuencia. Más que todo en el cobro de, del impuesto [i.e. extortion] que le llaman." ["Well, I have not worked there directly, but the satisfaction of the tenants in the marketplace areas with the program can be seen because they have worked hard and the delinquency rates have gone down, especially in the collection of 'taxes' as the extortionists call it."]*

***Entrevistador:** "¿Qué tan exitoso ha sido hasta el momento en bajar el nivel de delincuencia, violencia o extorsión en los mercados esta POLIMERC?"*

Translation *[**Interviewer**: How successful has the POLIMERC program been in lowering the incidence of delinquency, violence, or extortion in marketplace areas?]*

***Entrevistado:** "No he…estado yo en una sede POLIMERC pero cuando yo estuve en lo que es la zona (name of area) eh...sí ha ayudado mucho porque los vendedores yo me manifestaban a mi va y me daban opiniones que la gente se siente más segura estando patrullando a pie en el interior de los mercados, uno porque, porque así no llegan personas a pedirles extorsión, mareros como nosotros decimos, a quererlos por no pagar lo que es la cuota. Al ver la presencia policial ellos se detienen o se retiran."*

Translation *[**Interviewee**: "I myself, uh, haven't been assigned to a POLIMERC venue, but when I was in X zone, uh, it was very helpful because the merchants would approach me and give me their opinions about how people feel safer with the foot patrols inside the marketplace. For one thing, because, because people (delinquents) cannot get near the shopkeepers to demand money, gang members, as we call them, or punish them for not paying the quota. When they see the police, they hang back or they leave."]*

A police chief of an Esquipulas police station agrees. He says that the POLIMERC program has been functioning very well to reduce crime in the market areas:

***Jefe:** Pues ha funcionado bastante, porque ellos, eh, tienen comunicación directa con el presidente de, de X mercado. Entonces toda la mañana, todos, todos los horarios, en horario de, de que haya bastante comercio allí está la presencia policía. Estacionan la patrulla, caminan todos en el interior del mercado, usan unos chalecos reflectivos. Y, y, ya la verdad, ha minimizado bastante la incidencia delincuencial.*

Translation *[**Chief:** Well, it's worked pretty well because they, uh, have direct communication with the president of, of X market. So all morning, every, every work shift, on a schedule of when there are plenty of people shopping, the police presence is there. They park their patrol cars, they all walk around inside the marketplace wearing reflective vests. And, and the truth is that this has minimized the incidence of delinquency a lot."]*

He says that before the POLIMERC program was put in place, the crimes that were most common in the marketplaces were homicides, assaults, and pickpocketing.

A high-ranking official of the PNC who works specifically in the prevention department says that POLIMERC has in fact reduced the number of crimes in the marketplaces, but that aside from the work of the POLIMERC police officers, the people who work in the marketplaces also help reduce crime by organizing themselves and reporting extortion and other crimes against them to the Office of Criminal Investigations. A patrolman in Tactic confirms that the people who work in the markets organize themselves to combat crime there. He says that they blow whistles to communicate with one another when a crime has been committed. Another officer, one who works in crime prevention, says that the POLIMERC police have been successful in reducing violence and extortion in the marketplaces, because two or three of them show up in the markets at 6:00 in the morning, and are there until 6:00 in the evening. They watch over the markets. And so, he says, people are very grateful to these officers, for providing them with security.

Yet another patrolman from Tactic says that the POLIMERC program in Guatemala City has been quite successful in lowering crime and violence. He says, *"Ah, bastante, ha bajado bastante demasiado, bastante. Estuve ahí casi dos años, un año y ocho meses, pero bajó, bajó bastante la delincuencia, incluso la gente muy agradecida." [" Well, quite a bit. It's gone down a lot, really a lot. I was there for almost two years, a year and eight months, but delinquency went down a lot, and people are very grateful too."]* According to some of the police interviewed, the program functions only in Guatemala City. Some officers interviewed in the municipalities of Tactic and Esquipulas stated that only Guatemala City has POLIMERC in operation. Yet others (e.g., an Esquipulas second-in command police officer) insisted that the Market Police did in fact operate in the zones outside of Guatemala City, mainly in places where tourism flourishes, and a patrolman from Esquipulas believes that the program is found in the larger municipalities in general.

The Escuelas Seguras (Safe Schools) program has been highly successful in lowering violence levels, according to a high official in the country's Office of Community Relations and Community Policing Program. As he puts it:

> *"Ya, sí, eh, precisamente hay experiencias que, que ya se ha vivido, se ha desarrollado en el tema de Escuelas Seguras. En donde yo considero que un alto índice, un alto porcentaje, ha re, ha reducido el tema de la violencia. Porque…, eh, prácticamente los, los compañeros de Escuelas Seguras se dedican específicamente a esa comunidad estudiantil, o sea tratan de no, de no ir a otro lugar con tal de cubrir esa, esa necesidad de poder brindarles seguridad de que a diferente establecimiento. Pues eso ha permitido a que, a que estos policías, pues, eh, ayuden o ya sean parte del establecimiento, o sea ya los conocen, ya saben que, hasta qué unidad va llegar, ya no dicen al compañero, 'mire, oficial' o 'mire, agente,' no, sino que ya los llaman hasta por su nombre y dicen, 'mire, ya vino (first name),' ya vino, o por el apellido '(surname), ya está por acá.' Hasta, o sea la, la convivencia ha sido tan buena que ha permitido a que esta, a los alumnos ya le tenga confianza al policía y le diga, 'mire está pasando esto o mire nos dimos cuenta que esa moto ya pasó tres veces.' Entonces ahí, ya alertan al policía para poder, eh, eh, desarrollar ya el trabajo policial."*
>
> Translation *["Well, yes, uh, we have had that, we've lived through those experiences regarding the issue of safe schools in which I consider that a high rate, a high percentage of violence has been re-, reduced. Because…uh, in practice, the, the fellow workers at the Safe Schools are dedicated specifically to the student community. I mean, they try not to, not to go elsewhere in the interest of covering that need of being able to offer them security rather than going to some other establishment. So that has allowed for, for these police officers, well, uh, to help as part of the schools. I mean, the students already know them. They already know*

even which unit is coming, they don't talk to these fellow officers like, 'Hey, Officer, or, 'Look, Agent,' but rather, they call them by name, and the say,'Look, here comes (first name), or 'Here's (last name), he's here.' I mean, this fellowship has been so good that it has allowed the student to trust the officers and to tell them 'Look, such-and-such is happening' or 'Look, we've seen that motorcycle pass by three times.' So they alert the officer so that, uh, uh, he can do his police work."]

Another police interviewee, a patrolman in Tactic, says that the Escuelas Seguras is excellent and reports that violence has gone down quite a bit: "Ah, es bastante excelente, porque incluso yo tengo algunos compañeros ahí trabajando también, y me dicho que ahí se ha reducido bastante la violencia, bastante el robo de teléfonos, de toda clase, porque en la capital es donde hay más violencia." ["Well, it's pretty excellent because indeed I have some fellow officers working there too and they've told me that the violence there has gone down a lot, and so have robberies of phones, all kinds, because it's in the capital city that most of the violence happens."] Another patrolman, from Esquipulas, says that the mere occasional presence of a police unit in the schools causes the students to be afraid of not doing what they are supposed to do *"Quizá, sólo con la presencia de, de una unidad que, que se da a veces en las escuelas, ya los alumnos pues, temen a no hacer lo que tenían que hacer, verdad". ["Maybe with just police presence, of , of a unit that is sent from time to time to a school, well, the students will be afraid not to do what they're supposed to be doing, you know."]*

A different view, however, is expressed by the president of a Comité de Barrio y Comité de Prevención de Violencia. Her perception is that the level of violence in her treatment community compared to twelve months ago *"Es igual." ["It's the same."]* And most of the community leaders, in comparing violence levels in their communities with those of neighboring ones felt that the violence level in theirs was *"igual" ["the same"].* In this instance, then, leaders have a perception at variance with the population as a whole.

A pastor, in comparing violence levels in the municipality of Esquipulas at the moment with those twelve months earlier, said that the current violence levels were higher ("mayor"). His comment thus refers not specifically to the treatment community in which he works, but to the municipality as a whole. That explains the discrepancy between the quantitative findings and the perceptions of this community stakeholder.

Taking the law into your own hands (i.e., 'lynching', 'vigilante justice'): a two-sided prevention coin

Taking the law into one's own hands, sometimes referred to in Guatemala and other Latin American countries where this has been a practice (e.g., Mexico, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru) as 'linchamientos' [lynchings], and by scholars as 'vigilante justice,' is attested to by a number of stakeholder interviewees. It is mentioned at this point because from the communities' perspective, taking the law into one's own hands can serve as a deterrent to potential perpetrators of crimes and might be considered a prevention measure. At the same time, such actions, when carried out by officially constituted community organizations such as the Juntas de Seguridad [Security Councils] (see below), fall outside the limits of the law. At the same time, formally constituted community development associations (COCODES, see below) serve as intermediaries between the police and the Juntas de Seguridad, often acting to restrain the latter when they take the law into their own hands, and simultaneously protecting the police from community violence. Thus, the existence of vigilante justice as a mechanism for dealing with crime in regions that are lacking local police presence is the larger context in which USAID and national crime prevention efforts are taking place. To ignore its

existence is to fail to take into account an important reason for the eruption of community violence, and it is a type of violence that the USAID programs are not designed to prevent or deal with. In short, while youth gang crime and violence prevention are at the heart of CARSI, the existence of such criminal behavior can become the source of community vigilante justice when the State's authorities (i.e., the PNC) are not present or cannot be relied on to respond to calls for help.

The practice of taking the law into one's own hands in Guatemala was referred to by focus group community leaders (presidents of Guatemalan community development councils, COCODES (Consejo Comunitario de Desarrollo) [Community Development Council], in the municipality of Cobán, which borders on Tactic, in the Provence of Alta Verapaz, described this phenomenon during focus groups held in Cobán in 2011). The LAPOP report on those focus group discussions (Berk-Seligson 2012)[12] explains that local Juntas de Seguridad are legally empowered with the task of patrolling their communities, given the absence of PNC patrol officers assigned to them. The Junta de Seguridad (sometimes called 'Comité Local de Seguridad') operates under the jurisdiction of each COCODES. Unfortunately, say some COCODES leaders, some of the Juntas de Seguridad begin to engage in vigilante justice, not merely apprehending crime suspects, as is permissible under the Guatemalan legislation, but interrogating and physically abusing them, sometimes to the point of murder (torching them or beating them to death). These juntas were said to be armed and operating in a secret fashion (wearing ski masks to hide their identity). While this was discussed at length in the Cobán focus groups consisting entirely of COCODES leaders, the phenomenon was mentioned in the Vanderbilt Guatemala CARSI qualitative interviews as well. Below is the statement of one COCODES president:

> *"**Entrevistador:** Sin embargo, esta gente que está en la Junta Local de Seguridad ¿tiene coordinación con la policía?*
>
> Translation *[**Interviewer:** However, these people on the Local Security Council, do they collaborate with the police?]*
>
> ***Presidente:** Eh, sí coordinan ellos, eh, igual, pues, eh, pasa algo, él es el que va rapidito, pues, verdad, pero hace poco pues, me, me dio un poco de, de, de, de pena allá lejos, pues, también, eh, digo, no es posible que el, el, la junta de seguridad pues esté linchando, esté golpeando, pues, verdad, la junta para mí, la junta de seguridad, pues, debería de, de, de, de, de pues, eh, el, el trabajo de ellos pues como que ver, pues, donde están, verdad, luego llamar la policía y que la policía, pues, actúen, verdad. Pero no actuar la junta de seguridad como lincharlos o como para amarrarlos con lazo o algo así."*[13]
>
> Translation *[**President:** Uh, yes, they coordinate with each other, you see, equally, you know. Uh, if something happens, he is the person who goes quickly, you see. But not long ago, well, I felt a little, uh, uh, uh sorry being so far away, so also, you see, I mean, it's not possible that the, the, the security council could be well, lynching or beating people. You see, for me the council, well, should, uh, uh, uh, ih, well, uh, their,*

[12] Berk-Seligson, Susan. ***Cobán, Guatemala: Violence Mitigation Impact Evaluation.*** **Preliminary Focus Group Report** [covering (1) crime victims, (2) justice operators, (3) police (the Policía Nacional Civil), (4) youth at risk, (5) members of COCODES (Consejos Comunitarios de Desarrollo), (6) local community leaders, (7) big business owners/managers, and (8) small business owners/managers].

[13] Throughout this report, quotes taken from persons interviewed have been transcribed using standard linguistic transcription norms, which are meant to replicate with high fidelity not only what the speakers said, but also how they said it. Therefore, hesitation forms such as 'este' and agreement responses such as 'ajá' and 'mjm' have been included. Partial words, back-tracking, repetitions of words, all have been included, as have non-standard syntactic forms used by persons of low educational attainment. This type of transcribing differs from the "cleaned up" recording approach used by court interpreters in the U.S., and many social scientists who have had no linguistic training. The purpose of using this transcribing approach is to give greater authenticity to the quoted extracts.

their job, like seeing, uhm, seeing where they are, you see, and then calling the police and letting the police act, you know? But the security council can't lynch them or tie them up with rope or anything like that."]

Nevertheless, there is evidence that police collaboration with community leaders is serving to prevent community members from taking the law into their own hands, and this evidence comes from the official in the Office of Community Relations and Community Policing Program. He comments on the noticeable reduction in such cases of vigilante justice:

"Eh, le hacía referencia al occidente, porque es donde más se ha generado, según estadísticas, según la, la misma, eh, ex, experiencia laboral del policía. Porque en el occidente en muchas ocasiones se ha tomado la, eh, la misma comunidad, eh, para poder castigar al delincuente, se ha tomado esa atribución. Pero, eh, como le digo, se ha logrado… disminuir o se ha logrado detener este tipo de, de situaciones por compañeros de, de Prevención del Delito de Policía Comunitaria por todo este fortalecimiento de capacidades que se ha tenido de parte de instituciones, va, cooperantes, ya sea internacionales o nacionales, que nos ayudan a poder, eh, mediar o a poder dirigir o que no se consuma este hecho. Pero sí se han dado varios casos, como le decía anteriormente en donde… ahí se han apagado, no tienen un número en, eh, la estadística, porque no se consumió, pero sí, el tema de linchamiento, por lo regular, bueno, es algo de que cultura, de cultura que se trae. Pero hemos, hemos tratado ya de empezar a educar a nuestros, a nuestras comunidades, va, enseñarles de que no es la manera de poder castigar a un delincuente, sino que ya hay instancias de justicia que tienen que actuar. Lo que podemos hacer es darle un seguimiento, verdad."

Translation *["Well, I was referring to the western zone because this is where most of it is generated, according to the statistics, according to the actual, uh, work experiences of the police. Because a lot of times in the western zone the community has, uh, taken it upon itself, you see, to punish delinquents. They assume that they have to right to do so. But, uh, as I said, the Community Crime Prevention Police have been able to …reduce or we've been able to slow down that type of, of situation because of all the strengthening of the training we have received from cooperating institutions, you know, whether international or national. This helps us, uh, with interventions, or to be able to control or prevent this kind of behavior. But it's true that we've had some cases, as I was telling you before, which…have gone cold. They don't appear in, you know, the statistics because they were not entered, but, yes, the issue of lynchings is, well mostly a cultural thing. It arises from the culture. But we have, we have tried to start educating our communities, you know, teach them that it's not the way to punish delinquents, but rather that there are authorities of justice that have to be acted upon. What we can do is to follow up on them, you see."]*

Another police interviewee, a patrolman in Tactic, confirms the reduction in cases of lynchings. He says that it's been a while since a lynching has occurred in his zone. When asked if lynchings are very frequent in Tactic, he answers, *"Eh…vieras de que últimamente no porque ya había…ya habían pasado ratos de que sucedió ese hecho." ["Well, you see, it hasn't lately because it's been, it's been a while since it's happened."]*

Nevertheless, an interview with a USAID contractor who heads one of the departments of the contracting agency, brings to light certain aspects of lynching not mentioned by the police. This contractor says that lynchings are "normal." In the context of answering the question as to what she would see changed in the programing of her agency, she replied:

"Ehm, yo creo que, ehm, comenzar con, con un enfoque…y estrategia de prevención (Ríe). Bueno, primero cambiar toda la mentalidad, no, de, (ríe) de, de las personas; pero esto obviamente no es posible. Pero comenzar con un enfoque, ehm, integral que incluye, ah, abordamiento de familia, intervención, en, en, en la familia, eh, y en la comunidad con, eh, actividades psicosociales netamente enfocados, en, eh, tratar cómo los niños desde chiquitos se asimilan, eh, actos violentos y actos que, que son como quizás tomados como normal linchamientos. Eh, cómo los, los niños vean esto como, esto, esto se llama justicia, esto es como castigo, esto es cómo lo hacemos. Entonces puede, puede tener así como un grupo de niños observando, no, una, una de

las mujeres de la comunidad con un palo golpeando y así como una persona, en, en el suelo y, y ver a esta persona, bueno, matado por va, va pues ¿Cómo es cuando tiran las piedras?"

Translation *["Uhm, I think that, uhm, we could start with, with a focus…and a prevention strategy (laughs). Well, first, change the whole mentality, don't you think, of (laughs), of the people, but obviously that's not possible. But start with a focus, uh, a holistic focus that includes, uh, dealing with the family, intervention in, in, family intervention, uh, and in the community with, uh, psychosocial activities completely focused on, uhm, children who become inured to, uh, violent actions from an early age and actions that are seen as normal ones, like lynchings. Uh, how children see this as, this is called justice, this is like punishment. This is the way we do it. So then, there could be a group of children watching, you know, a, one of the women in the community hitting someone with a club, and see the person on, on the ground, and see this person, well, killed for, well, uh, whatever. How is it when someone is stoned to death?"]*

In short, she sees a culture of violence that is accepted as normal, where children see their mothers beating someone to death with a club in public, or people being stoned to death. She also refers to domestic violence that often leads to the death of the family member, saying that indigenous women, especially, are victims of domestic violence, to such an extreme that they are dismembered ("víctimas desmembradas"): their bodies are cut up, their heads cut off.

In answering the question, below, as to whether violence has diminished in the past twelve months, this contractor makes an important point, namely, that cases of domestic violence that lead to the death of the victim usually are not counted by the PNC as instances of homicide, but rather are classified as merely instances of domestic violence. Thus, PNC homicide figures, according to this source, understate homicide rates.

***Entrevistador:** Han notado si en los últimos 12 meses, eh, ¿ha bajado el nivel de violencia o de delincuencia en esas comunidades, hay algún indicador que tengan ustedes?*

Translation *[**Interviewer:** Have you noticed if in the past 12 months that, uh, the level of violence or delinquency has gone down in these communities? Do you have any indication of that?]*

"No, no porque el, el nivel de violencia en sí, yo creo que en, en Guatemala y yo no sé, tiene que hablar de específica y no en forma específica de, de cuáles son las comunidades, por ejemplo las comunidades donde estamos en Mixco y Villanueva, ha habido como en, en Villanueva tres, tres casos de homicidios, no, en una semana, en un día. Aquí en, en, en 24 horas usted puede ir en 24 casos. Yo creo que en Tactic y Tamahu, eh, son, son áreas todavía así como medio, medio tranquilos per, pero es difícil. Honestamente es difícil decir porque tendencias de homicidios aquí están relacionados con los puntos en los momentos políticos, pre-políticos donde como digo, en, en las comunidades que están menos organizadas, aún, aún con una comunidad que tiene una comisión que está haciendo actividades también los miembros de las comisiones están muy conscientes de quiénes son las personas en la comunidad que, que están vendiendo drogas, que están haciendo algo pero su capacidad de enfrentarlos si no tiene policías o si no tiene protección es muy limitado. Entonces lo que ellos pueden hacer es proteger, es como crear una capa y otra capa. Pero, eh, disminuir eh, violencia, ehm, como digo, si lo registran en homicidios es, es, es un estudio, si lo registran en violencia dentro de la casa, es otro estudio."

Translation *["No, no, because the, the level of violence itself, I think that in Guatemala, and I don't know, you have to talk about specifics and not in the specific way concerning which communities, for example, the communities where we're working in Mixco and Villanueva, there have been, like in Villanueva, three, three homicides, no, not in a week, but in one day. Here in, in, in 24 hours you can see 24 cases. I think that in Tactic and Tamahu, you see, these are, they are places that are somewhat, somewhat quiet, but, but not always. Honestly, it is hard to say because homicide trends here are related to the times during the election and pre-election seasons when, as I put it, the people in the communities are not as orderly, even, even in a*

community that has a committee that holds activities, and also the committee members are very aware of which people in the community are, are selling drugs. They are trying to do something about it, but their ability to confront them is limited if there are no police around or they have no protection. So then what they can do is protect, like creating layers, one on top of the other. But, uhm, reduce, uh, violence, uhm, like I say, if they register it in homicides, it's, it's, it goes in one file; if it is registered as domestic violence, it goes in another."]

This contractor has provided another source of violence, beyond those typically associated with youth gangs: the violence associated with pre-election periods. Such violence, together with domestic violence that ends in murders, may not be thought of by non-stakeholders (i.e., the people who were interviewed for the quantitative survey) as homicides.

As for the perspective of the police, one has to wonder whether the PNC reports victims of vigilante justice as crime victims, or only as perpetrators of crimes (e.g., robbery, cattle rustling). If people suspected of crimes are beaten or burned to death by vigilante mobs, and the suspects who have died are not counted as homicides, then crime and violence statistics coming from the PNC are downwardly biased. However, even the highest estimates of lynchings that we have seen would not have a major impact on the national homicide rates. Many of the stakeholders, police and community leaders alike, whom we interviewed, mentioned the problem of taking the law into one's own hands. A police official in Tactic explained that lynchings often come about as a reaction to, or consequence of a robbery. In his description of how such instances of vigilante justice take place, he makes an important point, one that contradicts what the police in prevention units have said, namely, that the Juntas de Seguridad Local are the ones that actually carry out the lynchings, after victims of robbery go to these Juntas for help. In his words,

"Póngale que sí, si yo me robo algo, ¿va? Yo me robo algo en, un ejemplo ¿va?: Tengo una, mi tienda, en mi negocio me roban algo y yo me doy cuenta quién se agarró mis cosas y todo, entonces yo pido auxilio ¿ah? Yo pido auxilio a cualquier persona ¿va? Y eso es lo que pasa acá: que cuando la gente está así, comité tal vez está por otro lado pero siempre en el preciso momento que se está dando, la gente empieza a pedir auxilio y cuando la gente va juntándose va juntándose va juntando ¿va? Entonces ahí es cuando la junta de seguridad local interviene ¿va? 'Mire, hagamos esto y esto' ¿va? Todo lo que hacen es agarrarlo, ¿va? Y lo llevan a un lugar que ellos le llaman "Auxiliatura"; es una auxiliatura le llaman ellos ¿va? Donde se se se juntan donde hacen sus reuniones y todo ¿va? Lo agarran y lo llevan ¿va? Cuando, cuando interviene ¿va? Pero como a veces, a veces póngale en horas de la noche, a veces ni ellos no se dan cuenta, entonces ahí es donde, se dan ciertos problemas ¿va? O puede ser que ellos estén, pero como la gente sabe que si éste que agarraron es un gran delincuente, que es un gran ladrón y todo, con más ganas lo agarran y-y, y lo empiezan a golpear y todo ¿va? Entonces ya ahí, ya al, ya el comité de la junta de seguridad local, ya ni porque ellos hablan ni nada porque ya no ya, o sea ya no les ponen atención también ¿va? Por la clase de persona que es el el que lo están agarrando ¿va? Ajá."

Translation *["Imagine that if, if I were to steal something, you know? I steal something, just as an example, OK? I have a, it's my store, in my place of business, somebody steals something and I notice who took my stuff and all, I call for help, right? I ask somebody, anybody, for help, you see? And that's what happens here when people are like that, the committee may be somewhere else, but this always happens precisely when the robbery is taking place. People start calling for help, and when folks start gathering and the crowd gets bigger and bigger, you know? That's when the local security council steps in, right? 'Look, let's do this or that,' you know? All they do is catch him, you see? And they take him to a place they call the "Rescue Station," that what they call it, right? It's where they, they, they get together for their meetings and all, you see? They catch him and they take him there, you know. When, when they intervene, right? But like sometimes, sometimes, imagine that it happens at night. Sometimes they don't even realize what's happening, and then certain problems arise, you see? Or maybe they are there, but the people know that the guy they caught is a*

big time criminal, a big thief and all that, so they are even more eager to capture him, and they start beating him up and all, you see? So then the, the committee of the local security council won't back down, even if they are asked to, they pay no attention, you see? It's because of the kind of person that, that, that they've caught, you see? Uh-huh.

A female patrol officer who works in prevention in Guatemala City says that in the market places (in general, not specifically in the CARSI treatment communities) at the slightest indication of a robbery, people will engage in lynchings: *"Porque ellos son agresivos, ellos tiran piedras, palos, incluso, pues, han quemado a la gente, verdad, como se ha visto, verdad, ellos en su derecho dicen ellos que están, verdad. Pero sí, ellos sí son muy agresivos en eso por cualquier cosita que, que ven que tal vez un, un joven anda robando en el mercado, lo llegan a agarrar y ellos no piensan, ellos lo queman, verdad, mjm." ["Because they're aggressive, They throw stones, sticks, uh, they've even set people on fire, you know? As we have seen, you see, they say that they are within their rights, you see. But, yes, they are indeed very aggressive about that, for any little thing. Maybe they see a, a young man who has been stealing at the market. If they catch up with him, they don't think twice; they'll set him on fire, yes, they will. Uh-huh."]*

According to another police officer, a patrolman working in Tactic, gang members divide up their territories into geographic zones, such that one zone is principally devoted to theft of cars, a second zone might also be the target of car thefts, while two other zones in which the gang operates are the objects of other types of crime, such as robberies. Thus, robberies are not haphazard, but are organized and planned out in terms of geographic targets. A similar statement is made by a patrolman who works in Esquipulas, namely, that recently (at the time of the interview) gang members were engaging primarily in the theft of vehicles, especially motorcycles. However, as another patrolman from Tactic points out, the type of robbery has to do with the economic base of the community in question. In the zone that he is assigned to, most of the population works in cattle raising, and so the most common type of theft in his turf is cattle rustling, a type of crime that has a long history in Guatemala.

One police chief in Tactic, when asked what the most frequent crimes were in three of the treatment communities that fell into his jurisdiction, reported that community leaders call the police for two main reasons: violence against women, that is, domestic violence, and robbery. A police official who specializes in crime prevention in Guatemala City, when asked specifically how violent the CARSI treatment communities in that area are, said that there have been quite a number of killings, robberies, and rapes *("Ehm, ha habido bastante, ha habido, ehm, muertes, ha habido robos, ha habido violaciones, sí ha habido en esos lugares. Como le digo yo, zona (number), zona (number), para hablarle, vea, (community name), zona (number). Son cosas que, que sí, se, se miran. Y yo creo que hasta en las noticias la ha visto también"*). *["Uhh, there have been quite a few, there have been uhm deaths; there have been robberies, there have been rapes. Yes, they have happened in those places. As I say, zone (number), zone (number), to tell you exactly, OK, Community (name), Zone (number). These are things that, yes, are looked at closely. And I think that they have come out in the news too."]*

It is worth noting here that even though the above quotation comes from a police official, he cites media reports as a source of information about crime statistics in the treatment communities. Thus, the independence of the information on crime is far from assured.

Domestic violence is referred to by most stakeholders, not just the police. Several interviewees referred to incest being particularly common, especially fathers raping their daughters, and in one case,

raping a son. A police officer who specializes in crime prevention in Guatemala City explained that people don't report crimes because they are afraid of retribution. He gives the example of children who are afraid to report fathers who have raped them:

> *"Eh, hay quienes porque tienen miedo, tienen miedo de lo que les vaya a pasar o represalias, verdad. Igual* ***el*** *niño, el niño dice 'si yo te lo cuento mi mami me va a pegar después porque yo te lo conté, verdad.' Tenemos aquello de que el niño, el mismo niño ha dicho de que, el, el papá tal vez lo ha violado y le dice 'si decís o hablás te va a ir peor, verdad.' Entonces el niño tiene el temor de que si él habla, pues, va a seguir o va a ser peor la cosa, verdad."*
>
> Translation *["Well, some of them are afraid, they're afraid of what could happen to them or of reprisals, you see. Just like with kids, a kid says 'if I tell you about it, my mommy is going to beat me because I told, you know.' And then there's the same kid who actually said that his dad maybe raped him and then tells him 'if you tell on me, you'll be sorry, you know.' So the kid is afraid that if s/he talks, the assaults will continue or get worse, you see."]*

Physical abuse of children is common, the police report. This preventive patrolman says that many children come to school bruised from having been beaten*: "Llegan a la escuela muy golpeados. No hablan, no quieren decir las cosas; y cuando ven al policía, piensan que el policía va a meter preso al papá." ["They come to school all banged up. They don't tell, they don't want to talk about it; and when they see the police, they think that the dad will be put in jail."]*.

Sexual and other types of violence against children in the home were reported by school administrators. One elementary school director narrated several cases of child abuse, including the raping of sons by their father or stepfather. The following is one of the cases that she relates.

> *El año pasado, por ejemplo, quité a un niño porque estaba siendo violado por el padrastro. El niño tenía 13 años y estaba siendo violado. Y yo, y yo al niño lo observaba pero como no era mi alumno no le puse mucha atención con respecto a su conducta. El niño no era malcriado, ni abusivo, ni nada. Pero era muy introvertido, el niño muy pálido. Y, y, y la maestra que lo tuvo el año pasado, empezó a observar ciertas cosas en el niño que no eran normales. Entonces, empezó a detectarlas, resultó que el niño estaba siendo violado por su padrastro. Hacía tres años que lo estaba violando. Y la mamá lo sabía, y me enojé con la mamá, también. Porque la mamá sabía lo que estaba pasando y su, y su actitud cuando vino y se sentó así cómo están ustedes acá, que paré al niño aquí y la mamá acá, "dígale a su mamá qué le está pasando", la señora, volteó a ver para la pared, como diciendo "no me importa, verdad, no me interesa". Eso me puso a mi más enojada. Entonces, le dije, "Mire, si usted", le dije, "no actúa, yo voy a actuar", le dije, "porque si no actúo, soy cómplice de usted, así que lo hace usted o lo hago yo." Se fue ella, fue a la Procuraduría de la Nación. Llevó una carta a una zona, por (place X), va. Eh, y se lo llevó otra señora que también tenía al niño en la tarde en un proyecto y lo llevaron, denunciaron al señor y todo. Eso fue el día viernes. El viernes, sábado y domingo y lunes en la mañana estuvo refugiada en la casa de las personas que la ayudaron. El lunes en la tarde el hombre llegó a la, llegó a buscar a la mujer. Dice, cuando el niño vio al hombre, el niño se orinó en el pantalón. Y es un niño de 12 años, de 11 años, no es un chiquitito. Entonces, viene el hombre, eh, la, eh, la, el hombre, convenció a la mujer y regresaron a su casa. Me llaman de allá del Ministerio Público y me preguntaron, "Mire, es cierto que el niño regresó y yo estoy como la gran diabla," le dije, "No tenga pena," me dijo, "vamos a actuar." Al siguiente día, a las seis de la mañana lo fueron a sacar. Él está ahorita en un proyecto aquí, en (place Y) se llama la, el centro. Esas son las cosas que al niño no lo dejan. Imagínese a ese niño con qué rencor iba, pero viendo todo el historial, su mamá había sido violada. Porque su mamá se quedó huérfana, su papá se casó otra persona, la trataron mal y el hermano violó a todas sus hermanas. Y el papá no se dio cuenta, hasta ahora ya de grandes lo platican ellas. Entonces, como que son cosas que en el hogar se está fallando porque no ponemos atención."*

Translation *["Last year, for example, I removed a child from his home because he was being raped by his stepfather. The child was 13 years old and was being raped. And I, and I was observing this child, but since he wasn't a student of mine I didn't pay much attention to his behavior. The boy wasn't impolite nor a bully, nothing like that. But he was very introverted and looked very pale. And, and, and the teacher who had him last year started to see things in the boy that were not normal. So then, she started investigating and it turns out that the boy was being raped by his stepfather. This had been going on for three years. And the mother knew it, and I got angry with the mother, too, because the mother knew what was going on, and her attitude when she came to to see me and sat just like you are sitting here with me, and I stood the boy up here, and the mother there, and said,'tell your mother what's happening to you,' the mother turned toward the wall, as if to say, 'I don't care, you know, I don't want to know.' That made me really angry. So then I said to her, 'Look,' I told her, 'if you don't do something, I will, 'I said, 'because if I don't, I am your accomplice, so either you do it, or I'll do it.' She left and went to the Attorney General's Office. She took a letter somewhere, to (place X), I think. Yes, and another lady who had the boy in the afternoons in one of the projects, they filed a complaint against the stepfather and all. That was on a Friday. On Friday, Saturday, and Sunday and Monday in the morning the mother was sheltered at the home of the people who helped her out. On Monday afternoon, the husband arrived, he went there to get his wife. They say that when the boy saw the stepfather, he wet his pants. And he's not a little kid; he's 11 or 12. So the man comes, you know, and the, the man talked the wife into going back home. I get a call from the State Prosecutor's Office and they asked me about it, and I told him, 'Look, it's true that the boy went back and I am as mad as a she-devil. He told me, 'don't feel bad, we're going to do something, The next day, at 6 a.m. they went to get him out. Right now, he's at a project here in (place Y), that's the name of the center. That's something the boy will not forget. Imagine the bitterness he felt, but seeing the family history, his mother had been raped. His mother had been orphaned. His father married another woman, and the mother's brother raped all of the sisters. And their father didn't realize what was happening, and it wasn't until they were adults that they ever talked about it. So these are the things at which families are failing because we don't pay enough attention."]*

This school principal goes on to mention that boys in the fifth and sixth grades are already having sexual intercourse with girls, and that this is fine with boys' parents, but when the girl gets pregnant, she is thrown out of the house. The school director refers to girls being sold by their mothers, and the case of a three-year old child being beaten to death by her mother, in reaction to the mother being regularly beaten by her husband. These are the kinds of domestic violence that she personally has come to learn about in her capacity as director of her elementary school.

"Entonces, es la forma en que uno está educando a los niños. Y mientras nosotros tendríamos que, como, eh, educar, empezando con los niños, porque son los que van a ser papás, vea, porque los que ya están hechos ya no, ya no los cambiamos, es mentira. Pero, hay que tratar de, de enseñarle. Hasta, yo a los varones les abro hablo aquí, por ejemplo, hasta sexto grado y quinto inclusive porque hay patojos grandes, les digo, "Si ustedes tienen una relación sexual," porque hoy hay que hablarles así porque los patojos ya no, ya no, ya no son ignorantes de nada,"tiene una relación sexual y la niña queda embarazada, usted es responsable también de eso, no evada con que a saber quién se lo hizo, usted sabe que lo hizo y usted es responsable de eso", porque eso es lo que hay que enseñarle al varón, la responsabilidad. Si el varón lo hace, la mamá feliz aplaude porque su hijo tuvo una relación sexual. Pero si la niña resulta embarazada, la echan a la calle. Eso es discriminación y eso no es correcto. La niña falló pero la mamá donde, donde, también le enseñó a ella, a que eso no, a que no tenía ella que hacer esas cosas, hasta que tuviera una edad correcta. Mamás que venden a sus hijas. Porque hay mamás que venden a las hijas. Papás que, que abusan de sus hijas. Entonces, después queremos que las niñas, porqués tan chiquitos y embarazados, pero sí los mismos papás las estén abusando. Niñas que desde los seis años las empiezan a abusar los papás y que de eso, hasta usted ha escuchado un montón de casos. Y en todos los países pasa exactamente lo mismo. Es el abuso del adulto contra el niño. Y a mí me da cólera porque es una criatura indefensa de tres años, de cuatro, cómo se va a defender de algo que no sabe ni qué es. Mire la niña que esta mujer mató a golpes, esa mujer nunca debería de haber tenido una niña, jamás, a esa la deberían de, de, discúlpeme la expresión, de captarla, de volarle los ovarios y la matriz y todo y que jamás tenga una hija, porque va a tener otro y va a ser exactamente lo mismo. Ella tenía odio contra el hombre y se desquitó con la niña. Y la niña de tres años, cómo se iba a defender esa criatura, cómo

se iba a defender la niña? A mí, a mí todo eso me, me duele el corazón y me da cólera. Y con nuestros niños estamos iguales, porque están siendo igual atacados, atacados por un abusivo que es el adulto, el papá o la mamá o el padrastro o la madrastra."

Translation *["Well, it's the way we're raising our children. And we need to start educating them early, because they will become parents themselves, you see. For the ones who are already grown it's too late, it's a falsehood that you can change them. But we have to try to teach the kids. Here I talk to the boys, for example, in the sixth grade and even fifth graders, because we've got some big galoots, I tell them, 'If you start having sex' because you have to talk to them like that, because these days kids are not, are not, are not ignorant about anything. 'If you have sex with a girl and she gets pregnant, you are also responsible for that, no trying to weasel out of it with the 'it's not mine' thing, you know who did it, and you're responsible.' That's what you must teach the boys –responsibility. If a a boy does it, his mother applauds the fact that her son has had sex. But if a girl becomes pregnant, she is kicked out of her house. That's discrimination, and it's wrong. The girl made a mistake, but her mother should have told her not to do that kind of thing until she was the right age. There are even mothers who sell their daughters and fathers who molest their own daughters. And then we don't get why such young girls become pregnant and it's because their own fathers are molesting them. Girls as young as six years old are being sexually assaulted by their fathers, and you yourself have heard about a bunch of those cases. And in every country the exact same thing happens. Adults abusing children. I feel rage because we're talking about a defenseless child of three or four. How can a child defend herself if she doesn't even know what's happening? Look at the girl who this woman beat to death. She should never have had a female child, never; that woman should be, if you'll forgive the expression, apprehended and have her ovaries and uterus destroyed and never have another daughter, because she'll have another one, and the same thing will happen all over again. She hated the father and so she took it out on the daughter. And how is a three year old baby going to defend herself, how? All of that breaks my heart and makes me furious. And we're doing the same thing with our children because they are being assaulted, attacked by adult abusers, the father, the mother, the stepfather, or the stepmother."]*

The police, in an effort to encourage people to report crimes, have set up a confidential phone line that connects to the police station. It is called, "Cuénteselo a Valdemar." At this point in the CARSI project, we have no knowledge as to the effectiveness of this mechanism.

Geography has much to do with violence levels and crime types, apparently, judging from the responses of all of the police officers interviewed. A patrolman from Esquipulas noted that violence is greatest in rural areas, in the hamlets (*aldeas*), compared to where he works, which is more urban in nature. Most of the violence in the area where he is based is recidivist (*reincidencia*), he says, in contrast to the violence in the hamlets. Since this observation contradicts the great bulk of crime statistical evidence for the Latin American region, it is important, then, to realize that while crime may be largely urban in most cases, there are localized situations in which the reverse appears to be the case.

Extortion is still rampant in year 2. One police instructor who specializes in teaching the GREAT program to school children (GREAT teaches resistance to joining gangs), when asked about gang activity with respect to extortion in the CARSI treatment communities in Guatemala City, where she was based, said that the gangs engage in extortion in *all* of the communities. She explains that the PNC has three divisions that are dedicated to crime prevention, and that the three cooperate with one another. They are: Niñez y Adolescencia, Policía Comunitaria, and Equidad de Género (Childhood and Adolescence, Community Police, and Gender Equality).

Furthermore, the gangs are involved in the sale of drugs, according to this GREAT instructor. She gave the example of children who tell her (and their teachers) that they no longer want to live at home,

because their parents sell drugs and want to get them involved in selling drugs as well. The officer related the following case of one such student:

> *Bueno, tuve un caso de una niña donde ella me dijo, "Seño yo ya no me quiero ir hoy a mi casa." "¿Y por qué no te quieres ir a tu casa?" "Porque yo ya no quiero estar allí. Mis papás venden droga y yo no quiero seguir en eso, vea, a mí me tratan mal, eh, a veces, yo incluso yo tengo que salir a venderla, o sea, a darla y yo ya no quiero." Fue un momento así que ella me habla como las cinco de la tarde y ellos salen a las seis, yo "qué hago en este momento, ah qué hago?" Bueno, llamé a mi jefe, "Jefe mire, esto y esto está pasando," va. Bueno entonces la directora le correspondía cerrar su establecimiento, porque ella no podemos estar más de las siete de la noche allí, verdad, porque ella, de su establecimiento, ella sale. Entonces, lo que me correspondía a mí era que me apoyaron con una unidad para poder tener a la niña en la, en la unidad, verdad. Y después, pasé a la niña, o sea sin avisarle a los papás ni nada, la pasamos a lo que es la que es la PGN con Derechos Humanos. La PGN fue la que se encargó de llamar a los papás y explicarles, verdad, y delante de la niña decirles, pues, de que la niña no quería vivir ahí, verdad. Y el motivo por el cual y todo, y aunque los padres, pues, la quieran tener y todo, si la niña dice que no ella se queda con la persona que ella quiere quedarse.*
>
> Translation *["Well, I had the case of a little girl who told me, 'Ma'am, I don't want to go back home today.' 'And why don't you want to go home?' 'Because I don't want to be there anymore. My parents are selling drugs and I don't want to stay there. You see, my parents treat me badly, uh, sometimes they even make me go out and sell drugs and deliver them, and I don't want to do that anymore.' This conversation was going on at about five o'clock in the afternoon, and school lets out at six, so I was like, 'What can I do now? What do I do? Well, I called my boss, 'Look, boss, here's what's going on, you see?' Well, the school director needed to close up the school and we weren't supposed to be there any later than 6 p.m., right? Well, what I needed to do was to get support from a police unit so that we could put her into a squad car, you see. Later I took the girl, without notifying her parents, to the Human Rights division of the PGN. The PGN took charge of calling the child's parents and explaining things to them, you see, and telling them in front of the little girl, well, that she didn't want to live there anymore, you see. And the reason for that and all, and even though the parents, well, they wanted her to stay and all, if the child says she doesn't want to, she stays with the person she wants to be with."]*

A p78olice officer/instructor in DARE (a child and adolescent-oriented prevention program that focuses on resisting the consumption and abuse of drugs), based in Guatemala City, when asked what the most important problems were in the CARSI treatment communities, mentioned the consumption and sale of narcotic drugs as one of the four most serious problems the police face. The others he listed were domestic violence (considered by him to be the most common problem), alcoholism, and robbery. When asked specifically about gang activity in the CARSI treatment communities, his answer was: *"Sobre todo los robos, consumo de drogas y venta de, de drogas también, verdad y asesinatos…." "Above all, robberies, the sale and consumption of, of drugs as well, you see, and murders."*

Similar answers were provided by police based in Tactic. One patrolman said that the gangs engage mainly in the illegal possession of firearms, consumption of narcotics, paid assassinations, and theft of vehicles.

A key component of police efforts to curb drug sales is prevention, in the form of educational talks (*charlas*) that the police give to children and adolescents in the schools. This is effectuated by the Departamento de Niñez y Adolescencia of the PNC, as part of its efforts to prevent violence against children in their homes, according to the chief of police of an Esquipulas police station.

Perceptions of Insecurity

When assessing feelings of insecurity, responses to the following question: "In your opinion is this community very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?" indicate that perceived levels of neighborhood insecurity are fairly similar across non-at-risk, treatment, and control neighborhoods. There was virtually no change in the groups between 2011 and 2013.

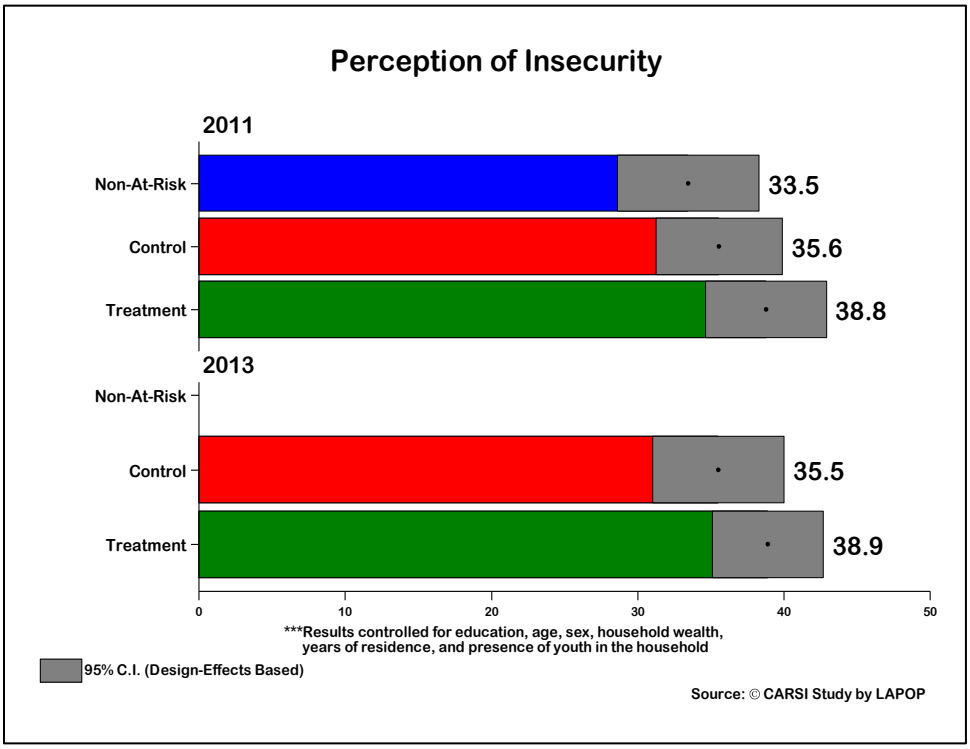

Figure 12. Perceptions of Insecurity

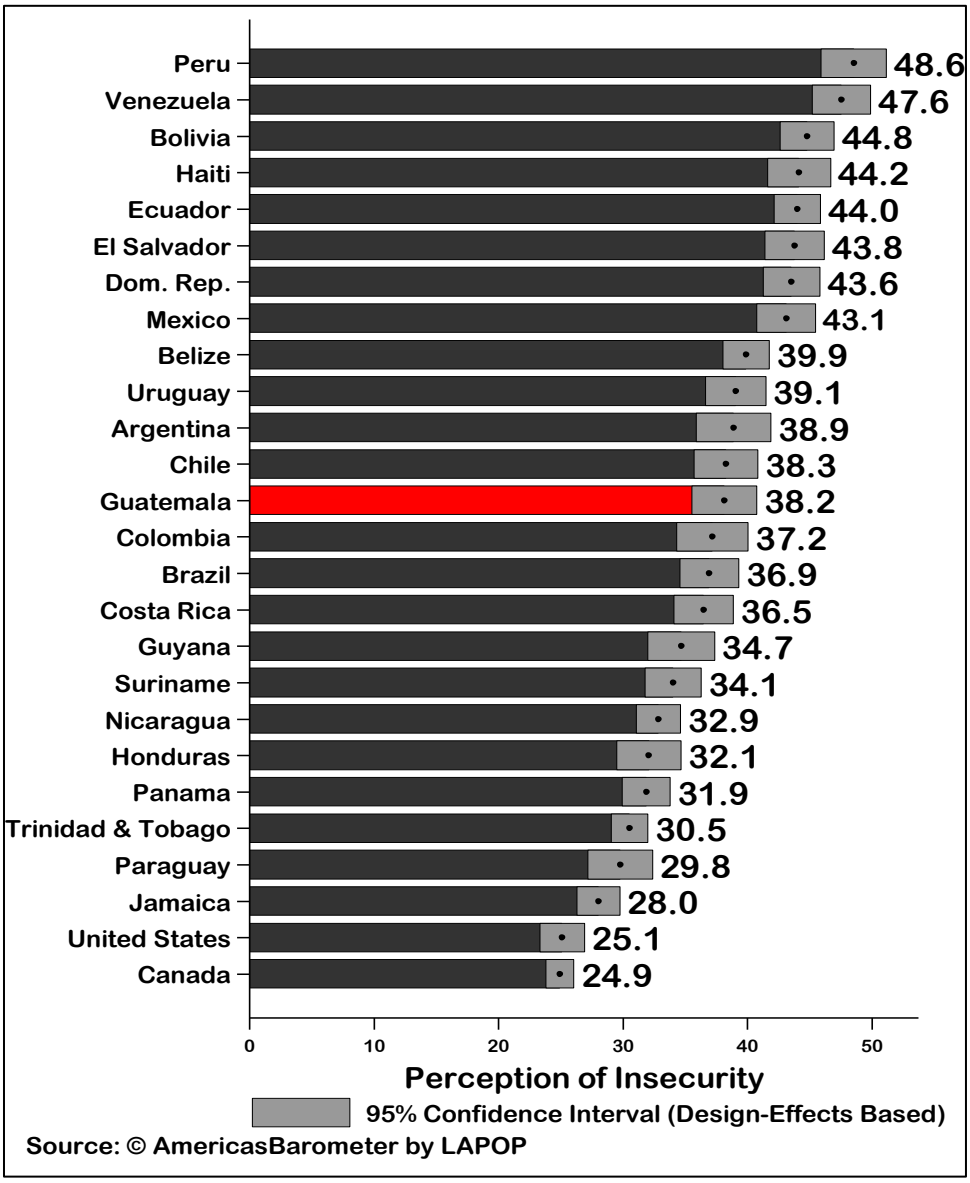

Figure 13. Perceptions of Insecurity in the Americas

The sample of neighborhoods in the CARSI study show similar levels of insecurity as those in the 2012 national AmericasBarometer sample. Overall, Guatemala's national average of 38.2 places the country in the middle among countries in the region on perceptions of insecurity.

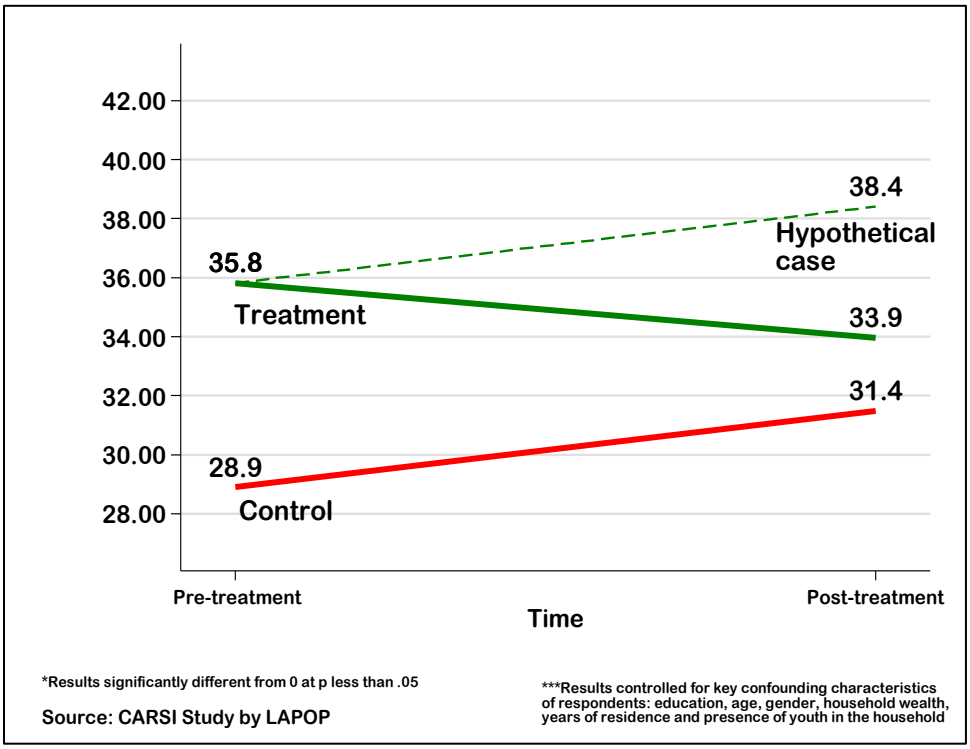

Figure 14. Perceptions of Insecurity (Predicted Value)

Predicted responses to the question of neighborhood insecurity in Figure 14 show that residents of treatment communities felt safer in in 2013 than in 2011, whereas insecurity increased in control communities (the scale ranges from 0-very safe to 100-very unsafe). In the absence of the program, residents in treatment communities would have been expected to report greater insecurity (4.5 points higher)—a statistically significant difference.

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

Figure 15 show the average responses to the question: "Could you tell me how safe or unsafe you would feel walking alone in this neighborhood at night. Would you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, very unsafe?". The perceived levels of neighborhood insecurity when walking alone at night are significantly higher in treatment and control communities in 2011 than in non-at-risk communities (Figure 16). The treatment group shows slightly higher levels of insecurity in both years than the control group, but there is little difference in the groups over time.

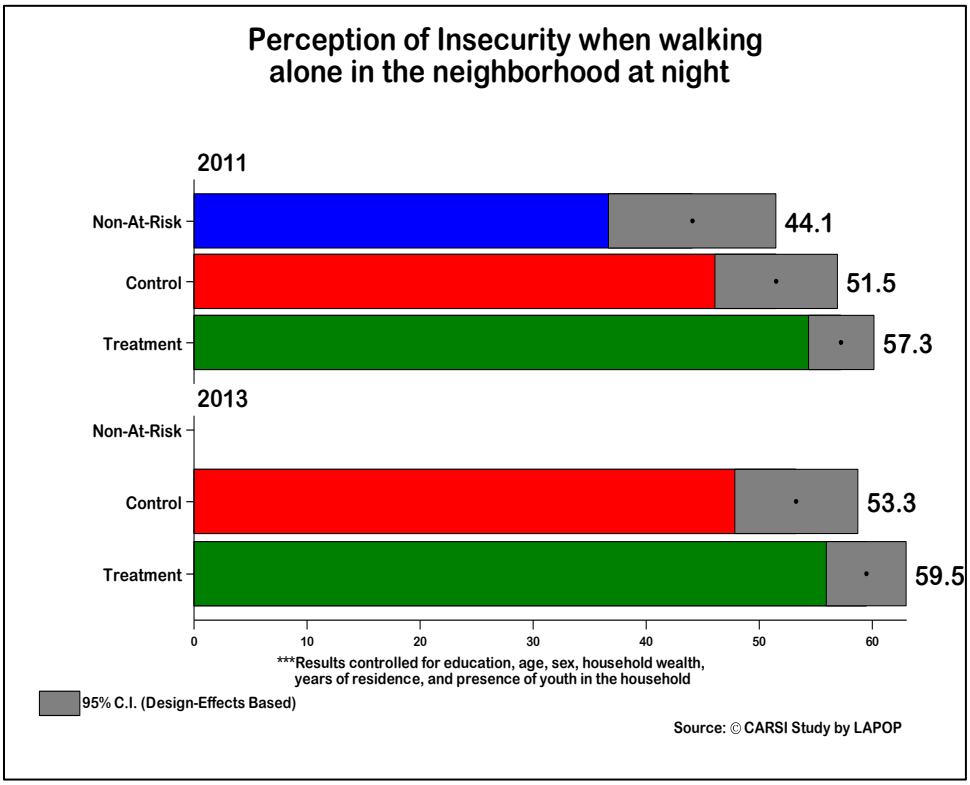

Figure 15. Perceptions of Insecurity when Walking Alone at Night

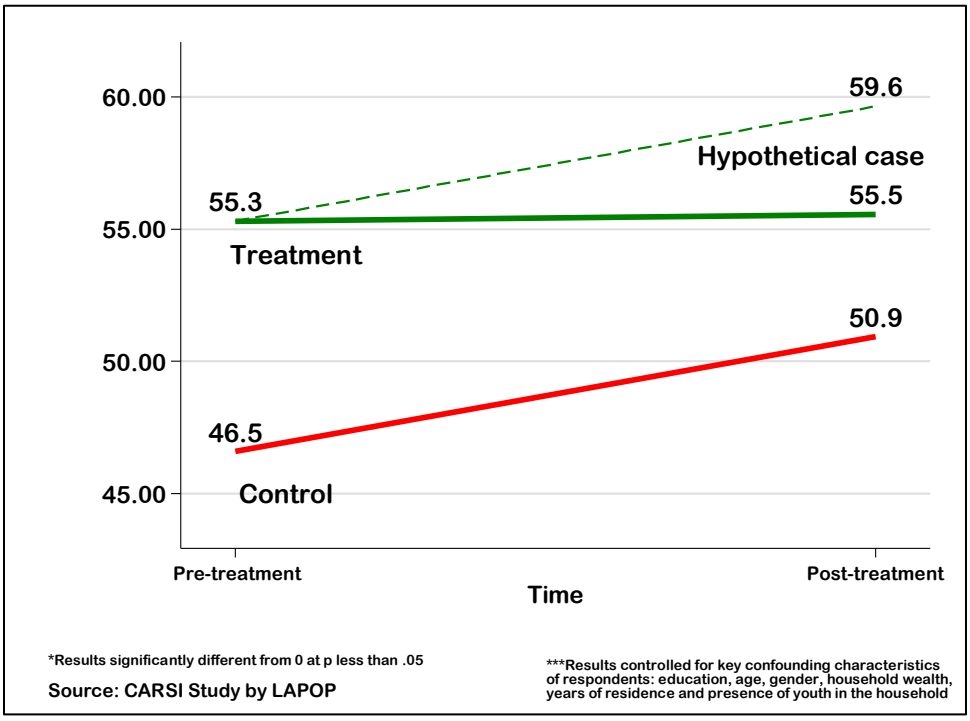

Figure 16. Perception of Insecurity When Walking Alone at Night (Predicted Value)

The predicted responses in Figure 16 show that residents reported feeling less safe when walking alone at night in treatment communities than in control communities. However, respondents predicted levels of insecurity increased in control communities in 2013 while remaining unchanged in the treatment communities. In the absence of the program, residents would have reported greater insecurity in 2013—4.1 points higher on the 0-100 scale ranging from very safe to very unsafe. This difference between the hypothetical case and treatment group is statistically significant, indicating that the treatment is associated with a reduction in perceptions of insecurity when walking alone at night.

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

Qualitative findings regarding sense of citizen safety provide a mixed picture. Community leaders (COCODES officers in Tactic and Esquipulas, and Comité de Barrio (Neighborhood Committee) presidents in Guatemala City, who are the functional equivalents of COCODES leaders, since COCODES do not operate in the capital) are in general agreement that while they find it relatively safe to walk around their community during the daytime, at night it is dangerous to do so, and that there are certain streets that are particularly dangerous and therefore are generally avoided. It is unusual to find a community leader who says s/he owns a firearm (only one did, a woman, who bought it a year prior to the interview), rare for such leaders to report hiring private guards (only one did, not to guard his house, but his livestock), and unusual for them to buy guard dogs (the woman who owns a gun has bought a guard dog, as has a man), although a couple of leaders did buy ordinary dogs.

Several respondents mentioned that there has been somewhat of an improvement lately in the sense of safety they feel in walking in the streets of their community and inside their homes. Community leaders living in Tactic felt a greater sense of threat and insecurity than did respondents living in Esquipulas or the capital. The logic and reasoning behind their answers provides depth to the quantitative data presented above, and so illustrative question/answer exchanges, in which the identical question used in the quantitative interviews was asked of the stakeholders, are provided below.

> ***Entrevistador****: Hablando ahora de sus sentido de seguridad acá en el barrio donde usted vive, ¿hasta qué punto se siente seguro, o inseguro al caminar solo por el barrio cuando es de día?*
> *Presidente: Cuando es de día, eh, cuando es de día, sí, siempre más de alguien está por ahí, de (community X), de (community Y) o unos de Tactic que yo, incluso yo los conozco, pues andan ahí arrebatando cadenas, pero… realmente, ehm, no le puedo dar los datos, ni nombres, porqué, eh, eh, porque, pero si he visto, pues, la, la, la de que en los días de mercados, por lo menos, verdad arrebatan cadenas, celulares, verdad. Pero más allá abajo, acá, eh, no, es mi área, pues, pues, muy poco.*
>
> ***Entrevistador****: Eso durante el día, y durante la noche, ¿qué tan seguro se siente usted?*
>
> ***Presidente****: Durante la noche, pues, pues últimamente, pues, nos hemos, qué, descansado un poquito mejor porque también se redujo un resto, verdad.*
>
> ***Entrevistador****: ¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de que alguien entre a su casa a robar cuando no hay nadie?*
> *Presidente: Eh, sí, hay, hay, eh, ahí, sí, pero como con, como nuestros vecinos a veces, eh, eh, nos reunimos y, y cualquier cosa, que si mi puerta está cerrado, mi vecino es el que a veces se da cuenta. Entonces tenemos los números celulares, nos llaman, "Mire don Juan o tal fulano, mire, esto está pasando" y como que, nadie va, o qué, "no estás en tu casa pero "mira, hay un señor que, como que quiere abrir tu puerta," algo así verdad. Con nuestros vecinos, pues hemos comunicado bien.*

***Entrevistador**: ¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de que alguien lo detenga en la calle, le amenace, le golpee, o le haga daño en el barrio?*

***Presidente**: Eh, sí, en, en, en, en este sector, sí habían unos jóvenes de que a mí me amenazaron, inclusive me pararon ahí en la, a dos cuadras, y, y mire, disculpe la palabra, pero eso fue lo que a mí me dijeron, también, verdad, eh, mira "hijo de la gran tanta," me dijo, "porque vos sos el presidente del Comité, pues, te crees, la…" verdad, entonces les digo yo, "No jóvenes, si yo estoy para apoyarlos, yo los apoyo, pues, si cualquier necesidad que ustedes tengan, yo sé que algún día, les va, van a, van a llegar a tener una necesidad y, y, y no crean ustedes de que yo no les puedo ayudar, verdad."*

Translation *[**Interviewer**: Talking now about your perception of safety here in the neighborhood where you live, how safe or unsafe to you feel walking around in the neighborhood during the day?*

***President**: During the day, uh, during the day, yes, there is always someone around, from (community X), from (community Y) or some from Tactic, people who, who I know because there they go around snatching chain necklaces, but…really, uh, I can't give you figures or names because, uh,uh, because, but I have seen that, uh, the, the, the days that the markets are open, at least, it's true that they snatch chain necklaces, cell phones, you know. But a little farther down here in the neighborhood, well, no, it's my area, and it doesn't happen very much at all.*

***Interviewer**: That's during the daytime, what about night time? How safe do you feel?*

***President**: At night, well, lately, uh, we have, what? been able to rest a bit easier because it's also gone down some, you know.*

***Interviewer**: How worried are you that someone will break into your house to rob you when there's no one at home?*

***President**: Well, yes, there is, there is, uh, that, yes, but with our neighbors sometimes, uh, uh, we get together and, and, whatever happens, whether my door is locked, my neighbor will notice that. We have each others' cell phone numbers. They'll call and say 'Hey, John Doe or so-and-so, look, this is happening.' And since no one is there, 'you're not home,' but 'look, there's a a man who looks like he's trying to open your door,' something like that, you see? We neighbors communicate well among ourselves.*

***Interviewer**: And how concerned are you that someone on the street will stop you, threaten you, hit you, or harm you in your neighborhood?*

***President**: Well, yes, in, in, in this sector, there were some youngsters who threatened me. They even stopped me there at the, two blocks from here and, and, look, forgive my language, but they also said to me, 'Look, you son of a ___, just because you are the president of the Committee, well, you think you're…, you know, so I told them, 'No, kids, my job is to give you support, I support you, so whatever you may need, and I know that some day you're going to, going to need something, and, and don't you believe for a minute that I can't help you out, OK?']*

Another COCODES president, when asked about his sense of safety in the neighborhood where he lives, when he walks by himself during the day, answered in the following way: *"Ah no, de día no hay problema creo yo, porque las casas abiertas, hay mucha gente trabajando a los alrededores verdad." "Oh, no, during the day I don't think there's any problem because the houses are open and there are people working all around, you see."*And when asked how he felt walking around at night, he answered: *"Ah de noche es peligroso, de noche yo siento que, que por eso hemos tenido que implementar más alumbrado público y ha sido a través de nuestros medios, porque sí había un sectorcito por ahí en unos callejones que habían unas casitas abandonadas que los muchachos*

estaban aprovechando para hacer sus, sus cosas verdad, ujum." "Well, at night it's dangerous. At night I feel that this is the reason we had to put up more street lights, and we've done it by ourselves because there is a small area around here with some alleyways with some abandoned houses that the kids were using to do what they do, you know." However, when asked how worried he was that someone in his community would stop him on the street, threaten him, beat him up or do something else harmful to him, he expressed doubts that such things could happen: *"Ah, no, no, no de eso si no, no, no, no, no mundo verdad, yo tampoco sé que alguien lo haría (ríe) verdad." "Oh no, no, no, not that, no, no, no, never. I don't know anyone who would do that either, (laughs) you know."* Nevertheless, this leader said that he avoids walking by certain places in his community because they could be dangerous:

> *"De noche sí, de noche, de día paso por donde sea, pero de noche sí evito algunos lugares, verdad." " At night, yes, at night. In the daytime, I walk anywhere, but at night I do avoid those places, you see."*

When asked what had happened in those places, he responded, *"Ah, pues han asaltado o hay, hay gente tomando como le digo, es ese el lugar donde están las casas abandonadas vea, donde sí hemos oído que, han habido pues patojos verdad, de esos de las maras que han estado bebiendo, ingiriendo drogas y, y pues maltratándose, hablando mal verdad, entonces yo creo que uno pasa y no pasa en un buen momento (ríe) ¿para qué verdad?"*

Translation *["Well, there have been muggings or people drinking, as I say, that's the place where the abandoned houses are, you see, where we've heard that there have been ruffians, you know, gang members that are there drinking, using drugs, beating up on each other, using foul language. So I think that you could walk by, or not, at the right moment (Laughs), why do it at all, right?"]*

Thus, while his first answer to the question regarding walking around at night was rather vague, in this response he was much more specific: youths who are gang members have been drinking alcohol and doing drugs in certain places, and this is what makes these places dangerous for him and others in the community. This leader has a dog that barks loudly and lets him know when someone approaches his house *("Tengo uno de que me hace bulla y suficiente, que me avise (ríe)"). ["I have one that makes a big racket and lets me know (laughs)"]*.

The sense of fear seems to be greater among women. One COCODES officer said that she is afraid when there are robberies during the daytime, but that at the moment this was not happening. She is more afraid at night.

> ***Entrevistador**: ¿Y usted cómo se siente en el día, andando en su comunidad?*
>
> ***Vicepresidenta**: Mm pues, yo me siento bien porque, cuando están robando ese día cuando te dije pues, cuando bajo no me siento bien a veces me agarra escalofrío y, pues por ahora ya no.*
>
> ***Entrevistador**: ¿Y cuando es de noche?*
>
> ***Vicepresidenta**: Eh de noche sí, me da miedo porque de repente hay unos, una persona en la oscuridad y como lejos de la carretera vivimos, ahí ya subimos.*
>
> ***Entrevistador**: ¿Le da miedo a usted de noche?*
>
> ***Vicepresident**a: Mjm.*

Entrevistado*r: ¿Qué tan preocupada está usted de que alguien entre a su casa a robar cuando no hay nadie?*

Vicepresidenta*: Mm en sí siempre sucede, sí.*

Entrevistador: *¿Qué tan preocupada está usted?*

Vicepresidenta: *ah pero hay que dejar la, casa tan segura mjm.*

Entrevistador: *¿Qué tan preocupada está usted de que alguien lo detenga en la calle, la amenace la golpee, o le haga daño en su comunidad?*

Vicepresidenta*: mm no ahí pues no, no hay confianza; hasta con los vecinos hay unos vecinos que no no podés confiar, cuando lo dejas a casa a veces, casi solo ahí viven una persona pero, ahora ya no ha sucedido eso.*

Entrevistador: *¿Tiene usted la costumbre de evitar pasar por algunos lugares en su comunidad porque pueden ser peligrosos?*

Vicepresidenta: *Ah sí a veces sí también.*

Entrevistador: *¿Qué ha ocurrido en esos lugares?*

Vicepresidenta: *Este, siempre roban en la ca-, en las casas, hasta en la iglesia roban este, instrumentos.*
Interviewer: And how do you feel walking around your neighborhood during the day?

Translation *[**Vice-President:** Umm, well, I feel all right because when robberies are happening, like that day I told you about, uh, when I do down there I don't feel safe. Sometimes I get a chill, but at the moment I don't feel that way.*

Interviewer: *And what about at night?*

Vice-President: *At night, yes, I'm afraid because all of a sudden there are some, a person in the dark, kind of far from the road where we live, so then we go back up.*

Interviewer: *Are you afraid at night?*

Vice-President: *Uh-huh.*

Interviewer*: How worried are you that someone will get in and rob your house when no one is at home?*
Vice-President: That could always happen, yes.

Interviewer*: How worried are you?*

Vice-President: *Well, the house has to be locked up tight, uh-huh.*

Interviewer: *How worried are you that someone on the street in your community will stop you, threaten you, beat you, or harm you?*

Vice-President: *Mmm, not in that case because there is no trust, even with the neighbors. There are some neighbors you can't trust sometimes when you leave the house, it's almost always someone who lives alone, but that doesn't happen anymore.*

Interviewer: *Do you usually avoid walking around some places in your community because they can be dangerous?*

Vice-President: *Uh, yes, sometimes I do, yes, I do.*

Interviewer: *What has happened in those places?*

Vice-President: *Uhm, they always rob the, the houses. They even steal, uh, musical instruments from the church.]*

This leader bought a gun about a year prior to the interview, explaining that her reason for buying it was that the police do not offer you safety, and so she keeps a firearm to frighten off burglars. Another COCODES leader, also a woman, said that she is not afraid to walk in the street during the day, but she is at night: *"Cuando es de noche eh, uno se pone a pensar ¿va? que tal vez va a llegar algún, van a llegar maras a donde uno vive y es peligroso dice uno, por eso no se siente seguro en la noche uno." "At night you start thinking, you know, gee, maybe someone will come by, gang people, where you live, and you tell yourself that it's dangerous. That's why you don't feel safe being out at night."* When asked if there had been previous cases that made her think that it's more dangerous to be out at night, she replied, *"Sí porque, allá arriba hace poco mataron a un muchacho como a las 9 de la noche." " Yes, because up there not too long ago, a kid was killed at about 9 at night."* While she expressed fear that someone might enter her house to rob it while she was away, she said that recently there have not been any robberies of her neighbors' homes, but that in previous years there had been: *"Más antes sí robaban en las casas, robaban gallinas y tuncos." "But before, houses there were burglarized. They would steal hens and pigs."* This is evidence of robbery decreasing in this CARSI treatment community.

A community leader who is the liaison between her municipal community development association (COMUDES) and the municipal violence prevention program, also a woman, said that she is "bastante preocupada" (quite worried) about someone entering her house to rob it when no one was home. She worries because she was the victim of this type of crime two years earlier. She also avoids walking along alleys or narrow streets late at night.

One elderly (75-year old) member of a Comité Unico de Barrio and president of the Comité de Prevención de Violencia (Violence Prevention Committee) of his community when asked how safe he felt walking alone in his community during the day responded in the following way:

"Eh… repitiendo la… la… la… las pláticas digo que eh… la delincuencia siempre busca sectores en la que eh…el delincuente sabe que se puede trabajar para ellos porque ellos le llaman trabajo y vuelvo a repetirlo sabiendo que…ni hablar de las personas de la tercera edad no se pueden defender acuden a quitarle eh… su… su sueldo llamémosle que la jubilación es de quinientos quetzales o por… por ahí vamos y no digámos los centavos que traen las personas embarazadas entonces son sectores eh…fáciles porque una personas de la tercera edad no puede correr a un delincuente y una persona embarazada peor….Nosotros nos sentimos seguros porque vuelvo a repetir eh, estando uno como le llamamos en prevención de la violencia eh sabemos qué hacer, cómo hacerlo y, y, y, no confiarle a nadie, a nadie."

Translation *["Uh, repeating the…the… the conversations we had, I can say that, uh, delinquents always look for areas in which, uh, the delinquent knows that he can work for himself, they call it 'work,' and I say it again knowing that…not to mention that they target the elderly who can't defend themselves and they come to take away their salaries, as we could call it, our retirement money, which is 500 quetzals more or less, you know, not to mention the small change pregnant women carry. So these areas are, uh, easy pickings because the elderly can't chase off a delinquent and much less can a pregnant woman…We feel safe because, I repeat,*

uh, when one works in violence prevention, as we call it, uh, we know what to do, how to do it, and, and, and not to trust anyone at all."]

As for walking around at night, referring to the community, he responded, *"Eh, casi no salen porque por precaución." " Well, out of caution, people don't go out much."*

One 50-year old president of a Comité de Prevención de Violencia, when asked how safe he felt walking around the community during the day responded that he felt quite safe:

"Ah, bueno, cuando es de día, hay mucha seguridad, yo siento seguridad. Pero le digo, yo siento seguridad porque a mí me conoce mucha gente. A mí me saluda el carnicero, me saluda el zapatero, el que vende prensas, el ingeniero, el licenciado, el arquitecto el, el, el, el que vende periódico. Y, y entonces, de alguna manera, y yo sí me siento identificado con mucha gente y me respetan. Hasta los mismos delincuentes, 'hey, don (nombre de persona),' ellos son mis amigos de alguna manera. Pero, hay mucha gente que, que, que, que por sus mismos temores hace que, que al salir a dos cuadras le toque, verdad. (Entrevistador: cuando es de noche). Aunque, aunque aquí en la colonia ahorita ha sido la, la, la tasa de asaltos, casi ha sido 5%, 3%, sólo cuando vienen los muchachos de la (name of community), que ya no encuentran otra cosa qué hacer y se tiran para nuestro lado, eh, aquí han disminuido mucho. Pero siento seguridad."

Translation *["Oh, well, during the day, there's plenty of security. I feel safe. And I tell you, I feel safe because a lot of people know me. The butcher says hello to me; so does the shoemaker, the magazine vendor, the engineer, the lawyer, the architect, the, the, the newspaper vendor. And, and so in some way, I feel a bond with a lot of people, and they respect me. Even the delinquents greet me, 'Hey Mr. So-and-So." In some way they are my friends. But there are a lot of people who, who, who, who because of their own fearfulness get held up two blocks from their homes. (Interviewer: At night.) Although here in the neighborhood right now the, the, the rate of muggings is almost 5%, 3% only when the kids from Community X come here. They don't have anything better to do, so they come over here to our neighborhood, you see, but here muggings have gone down a lot. But I feel safe."*

And further on in the interview, when asked if he generally avoids walking through certain parts of the community because they might be dangerous, he answered: *"Mmm, realmente no siento peligrosa mi, mi comunidad en ningún, en ningún lado." ["Mmm, I really don't feel like it's dangerous anywhere in my community, anywhere."]*

In short, this Prevention Committee President considers assaults to have decreased, and that they are carried out only by youths who enter the neighborhood from other communities. Attribution of crime to youths who come from outside the community is a commonly heard statement made by community leaders, a theme also expressed by teachers when they said that gang members are outsiders.

The clergy stakeholder group, on the whole, considered their neighborhoods to be safe to walk through during the day. They say that assaults for the purpose of stealing personal property such as cell phones are unusual. As one Evangelical pastor put it: *"¿De día? Afortunadamente como le decía, eh, tenemos aquí, eh, la bendición en Tactic de que, pues, no es un municipio demasiado violento o que hayan demasiados grupos de estos que se dedican a hacer cosas malas, verdad. Entonces, hasta el momento, (ríe) pues, uno puede caminar tranquilo en la ciudad, verdad. Aunque se han oído casos de que por allí le robaron el teléfono celular a alguien, vea, lo asaltaron, verdad. Pero son casos muy contados, entonces pienso que a… a criterio personal, pues en, en cierto modo, pues podemos caminar todavía tranquilos aquí en la ciudad." ["During the day? Fortunately, as I was saying, um, here in Tactic we are blessed, you know. This is not a very violent municipality, nor are there a lot of groups that are always doing bad things, you see. So for the time being (laughs), well, a person can walk safely in the*

city, you see. Although there have been cases in which someone's cell phone has been stolen, you see, the person was mugged, you know. But there are very few of these cases, so I think that in my personal judgment, well, in, in some way well, we can still walk around safely here in the city."] This pastor feels safe enough to be out at 10:00 or 11:00 in the evening to buy something he needs from a store, although he says that he avoids walking past establishments that sell mainly alcoholic drinks. As he puts it, in answering how safe or unsafe he feels at night in the streets: *"Por el lugar donde vengo, lo he comentado con algunas, eh, personas, con algunos hermanos que, gracias a Dios, 10, 11 de la noche, todavía puedo salir a la tienda, puedo ir al parque, que hasta cierto punto, pues, uno tiene la tranquilidad de que no va a pasar nada. Eh, pero igual, pues, a veces, uno, uno como que tiene sus reservas porque es donde más, eh, operan las ventas de bebidas embriagantes. Y una persona ya bajo los efectos de, del licor, verdad, ya, ya no piensa bien, ya no actúa bien, verdad. Entonces, creo que el temor en muchos es eso encontrarse o pasar en algunos de esos lugares, y que puedan sufrir algún daño por algunas de esas personas." ["Around the place I'm coming from, and I've talked about this with, uh, people, some church members, that, thank God, at 10, 11 at night I can leave the store, I can go to the park, and to a degree, you can feel pretty sure that nothing will happen. Uh, but by the same token, well, sometimes you, you kind of have reservations about it because this is, uh, where there are a lot of places where alcoholic beverages are sold. And a person who is under the influence, you see, is not thinking straight and not acting right, you know? So I think that lot of people are afraid of finding themselves running into them, or walking past these places and that they might be harmed by these people."]* And while he has heard of many cases in which burglars have entered houses or churches to steal, *"han sido casos contados" ["there have been very few cases"]*. In his case, *"nos sentimos tranquilos, verdad, eh, consideramos de que estamos seguros, de hecho donde vivimos, pues, eh, es un sector abierto, verdad. Y a veces, pues nosotros tenemos que estar en nuestras actividades, la casa se queda sola. Gracias a Dios, cuando hemos llegado, ahí están todas las cositas, verdad."*
["We feel safe, you know, we consider ourselves to be safe. In fact, where we live, well, uh, it's an open area, you see. And at times, well, we have to hold our activities and there is no one at home. Thank God, when we get back home all our things are still there, you know?"] Yet he does have a guard dog, although no other form of protection for his house or church.

Another Evangelical pastor in the same municipality similarly says, *"...aquí puede caminar de día a toda hora, de hecho a cierta hora de la noche no, no hay inseguridad." ["...here you can walk around at anytime during the day, even up to a certain hour at night. No, there's no insecurity."]*

In answering the question as to whether he feels safe walking in the streets at night, he replies, *"Tampoco no, no, no muy noche verdad, tipo ya 9:00 o 10:00 de la noche mi imagino que puede haber cierto peligro." ["No, not, not, too late at night. At about 9 or 10 p.m. I imagine that there can be some danger."]* And he is only slightly worried about someone entering his house when no one is home *("...bueno siempre hay preocupación, pero, pero tal vez, muy leve") ["...well, there is always some concern, but, but maybe just a bit."*] He is not worried at all about someone in his community stopping him in the street to threaten him, to beat him or harm him in some other way. Nor does he avoid walking down certain streets because they might be dangerous.

A twenty-two year old Evangelical youth leader from this municipality feels quite safe walking around during the day *("Mmm, pues, yo me siento seguro, cuando cuando es de día sí me siento seguro"). ["Uhmm, well, I feel safe during the day, I do feel safe."]* He explains that the reason why he feels safe

is *"la confianza que tengo con los vecinos y, por el desarrollo que yo he tenido también en mi, en mi barrio." ["the trust I have in the neighbors and because of the development I have had in my, in my neighborhood as well"]* Yet at night he feels afraid to walk around the streets *("Cuando es de noche, eh, es muy difícil, es muy difícil cuando es de noche"). ["At night, uh, it's very difficult, it's very difficult at night."]* He explains why:

> *"Eh, porque a veces, eh, voy pensando 'y voy de la noche', o a veces a media noche y, póngale, porque a veces entro tarde yo en el trabajo. Y digo, 'a ver quién, quién me podría salir por allí', o algo así por el estilo, verdad. Porque, dentro del barrio, ya casi llegando a mi casa hay un caminito así y allí sí, siempre tengo pánico, verdad. Porque a veces se meten personas allí a ese lugar. Y porque en una ocasión, a la una de la mañana iba pasando yo allí y me salió alguien aquí y yo dije "¡Wow! ¿Y quién es éste?" Entonces, sí, hay problema, hay problema porque por la misma inseguridad que tenemos, verdad, de, de no estar confiados con las demás personas."*
>
> *["Well, because sometimes, uh, I think, 'I'm walking around at night' or sometimes at midnight, and imagine, because sometimes my work shift starts late. And I think, "I wonder who is going to jump out in from of me or something like that, you know? Because in the neighborhood, very close to my house, there's a little winding path, and I always feel panicky, you know. Because sometimes there are people there. One time at 1 a.m. I was walking there, and someone appeared, and I said to myself, 'Wow! Who is this guy?' So there's really a problem, there's a problem because of the insecurity we feel, you know, not being able to trust other people."]*

For the same reasons he is not worried about someone stopping him on the street during the day to threaten him, beat him, or harm him in some way, but he is worried about this happening at night: *"¿Qué tan preocupado? Mmm, en mi barrio de día, pues, bien, excelente, no me preocupo. Pero, de noche, sí, porque no sé quién podría estar vagabundeando." ["How worried am I? Mmm, during the day in my neighborhood I feel, well, great. I don't worry. But at night I do because I don't know who could be hanging around."]* He explains that his father warned him about walking at night over a bridge in his community, because it could be dangerous to do so in the dark, since this is located in an unpopulated area (quoting his father, he said*, "'No pases por allí porque es peligroso porque pueda, pueda pasar algo, pues, porque como es, ya es montaña esta área, puede aparecer de cualquier lado"). ["Don't walk around there because it's dangerous. Something could happen, you see, because that area is mountainous and somebody could appear from anywhere."]* Significantly, his father had bought a firearm two years prior to the interview, because there were a lot of problems in the community, *"Pero ahorita ya, ya no, ya la vendió." ["But not right now, not anymore; he sold it."]*

A Catholic priest in this municipality, an elderly man, explains that certain security measures recently initiated by the police, and sponsored by the United States, have helped him feel *"un poco más seguro" ["a bit safer"]* namely, equipment in the form of four police motorcycles, two for the municipal police and two for the national civil police, for patrolling the commercial center, and security cameras. Nevertheless, this priest says that he does not go out late at night, and when he walks in the dark in the earlier hours of the evening, he walks in places that are more or less safe, *"donde haya más luz, y no hay lugares inseguros" ["where there is more light and no unsafe places"]*.

Another Catholic clergyman, a youth group leader in his mid-twenties based in Guatemala City, expressed a great deal of insecurity. When asked how concerned he was that someone would stop him on the street, threaten him, beat him up, or do some other harm to him in his community, he answered: *"Ahí sí estoy, ahí si soy, bastante inseguro verdad, o sea, yo sí, en ese aspecto, eh, de no ser mi*

colonia, yo no iría a otra colonia verdad (ríe), o mucho menos eh, de subirme a un bus de otras, de otras zonas, porque, o sea, yo siempre ando con ese temor vea, con ese temor de que, a qué horas me van a poner (ríe), a qué horas me van a sacar la pistola, o, a qué horas me van asaltar, entonces eh, o sea, la inseguridad que yo cargo dentro de otras colonias, es, bastante, bastante elevado el porcentaje verdad." "I feel very insecure regarding that. I mean, in that regard, uh, I am afraid if the person is not from my neighborhood because I sure wouldn't walk around another neighborhood (laughs) and much less, well, get on a bus in another part of town because, I mean, you see, I'm always worrying about that. I'm afraid of when they'll, when they'll pull a gun on me or when I'll be mugged, so, uh, I mean, the fear I feel inside when I'm in other neighborhoods is pretty bad, you know, a pretty high percentage."

One common response of Evangelical pastors to the question regarding sense of safety in walking in the streets during the day versus at night is expressed in the following way: *"Porque, como, mire, uno confía en Dios, va. La palabra de Dios dice que 10,000 caerán a tu diestra y a ti no te pasará nada, verdad, uno confía en Él." "Because, well, look, you trust in God, you know. God's word says that 10,000 will fall on your right and nothing will happen to you, you see. You trust in Him."* So this 52-year old pastor feels just as safe walking around at night as he does during the daytime.

Youth Vulnerability to Crime and Gang Activity

To assess the extent to which youth in gangs is perceived as a neighborhood problem, respondents were asked "which of the following is a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not so serious, not serious, or not a problem in your neighborhood? Young people or children that live in [Name of Neighborhood], who are in gangs or maras" Figure 17 shows that perceived levels of youth in gangs as a problem were significantly lower in non-at-risk communities than in the treatment or control communities. Perceptions were slightly higher in the treatment communities than control communities in both years (49.9% versus 54%). In 2013, these levels declined significantly by about 10 points.

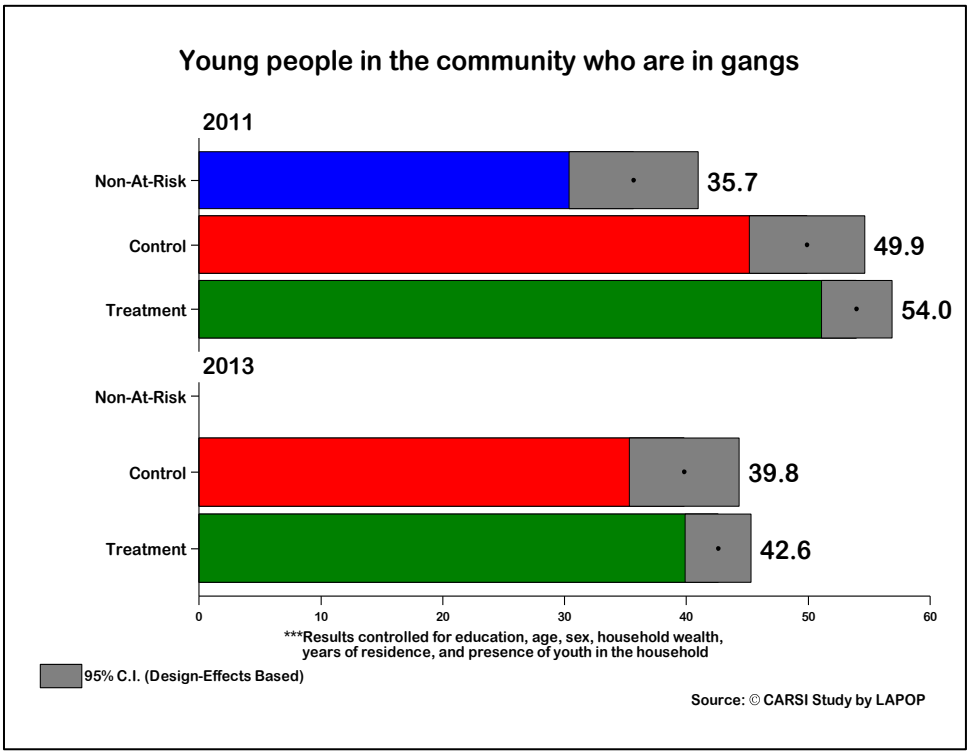

Figure 17. Perception of Youth in Gangs or Maras as a Problem

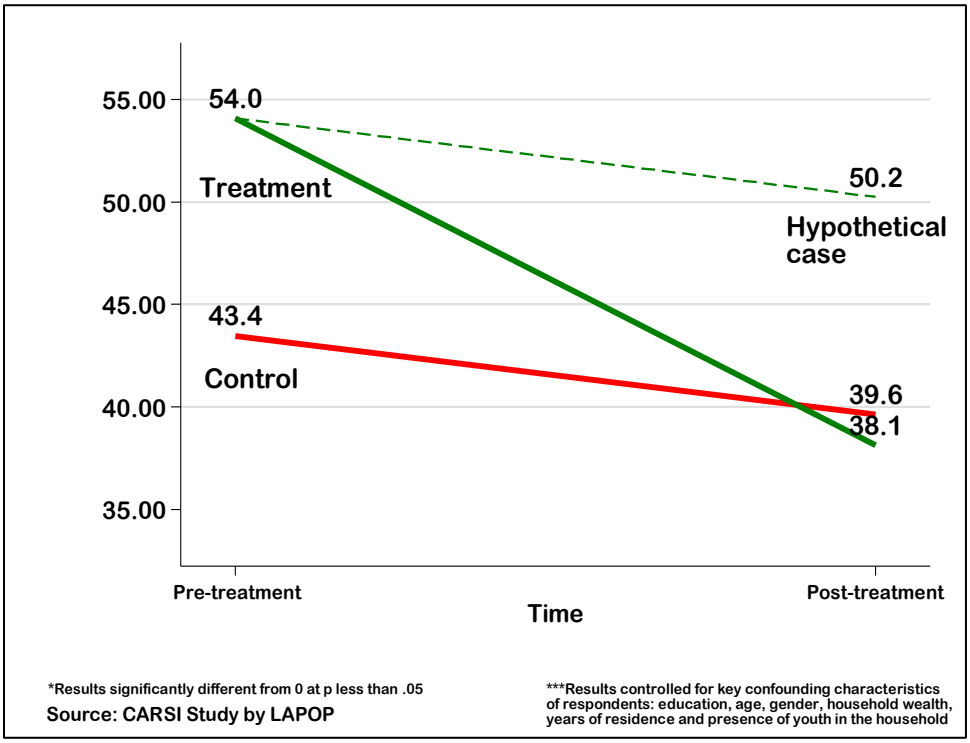

Figure 18. Perception of Youth in Gangs or Maras as a Problem (Predicted Value)

The results of the predicted model (Figure 18) show the extent to which youth in gangs is perceived as a problem. The perception of youth in gangs as a serious problem decreased sharply in treatment communities in 2013, though less so in control communities. In the second year of the evaluation, the average predicted value for the treatment group is about 39.6 points on a 0-100 scale ranging from "not a problem" to "a very serious problem". In the absence of the program, residents would be expected to see youth in gangs as a more serious problem (12.4 points higher on the 0-100 scale). The difference between the hypothetical case and the treatment is statistically significant, indicating that the treatment is associated with a decline in the extent to which youth in gangs were perceived as a serious problem.

The effectiveness of the treatment in reducing the problem of youth in gangs variess with the level of social disorder in the community. In untreated communities, youth in gangs are reported to be more of a problem as social disorder increases. In the treated communities with the same levels of social disorder, youth in gangs is seen as significantly less problematic (Figure 19).

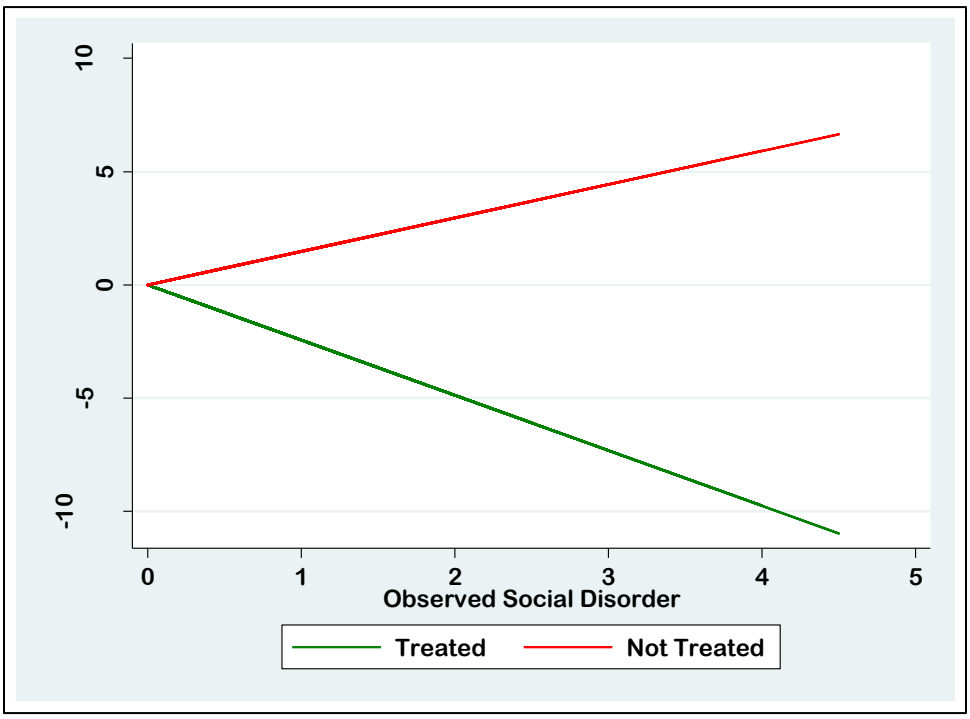

Figure 19. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Youth in Gangs as a Problem in the Presence of Social Disorder

Gang Fights as a Problem

Figure 20 shows the perceptions of the extent to which residents see gang fights as a problem in their neighborhoods. When asked "which of the following is a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not so serious, not serious, or not a problem in your neighborhood? Gang fights", residents in the treatment neighborhoods see gang fights as a more serious problem than those in non-at-risk communities, though there are no significant difference between the control and non-at-risk communities. In 2013, the perceived severity of gang fights in treatment and control communities declined significantly by more than 10 points (0-100 scale ranging from "not a problem" to "a very serious problem).

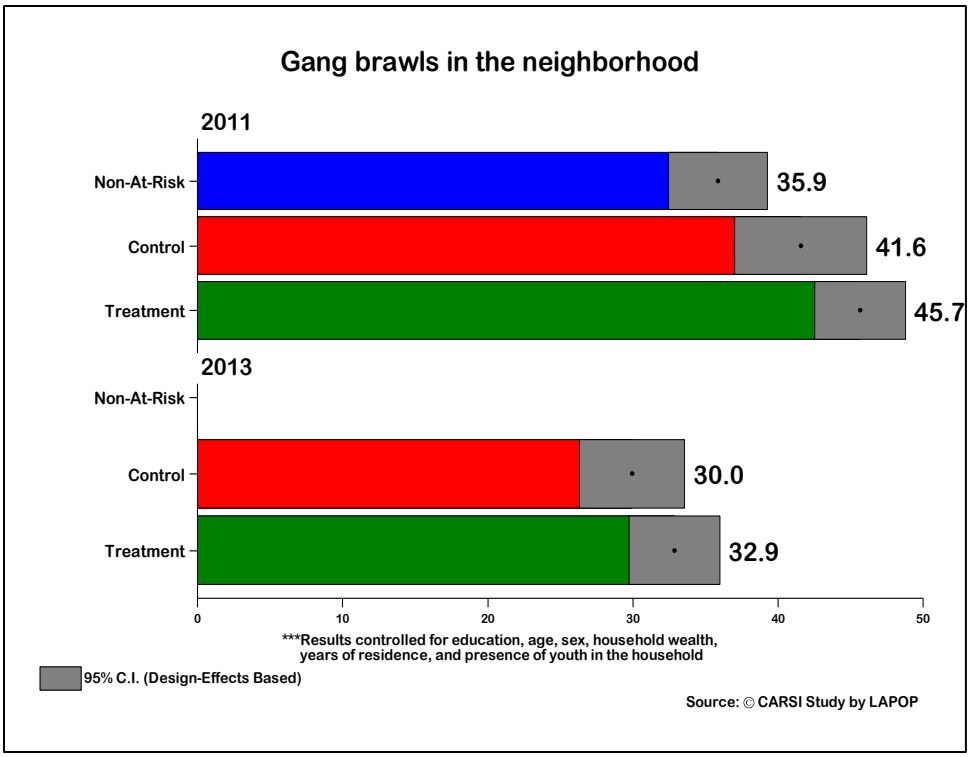

Figure 20. Perceptions of Gang Brawls in the Neighborhoods as a Problem

Figure 21 shows the predicted values of the extent to which gang fights are perceived as a serious problem. The levels decreased significantly in the treatment group. Thus by 2013, the perceived severity of gang fights was essentially the same in both the control and treatment groups. In the absence of the program, residents would be expected to see gang fights as a more serious problem (11 points higher on the 0-100 scale). The difference between the treatment group and hypothetical case in 2013 is statistically significant, indicating that the treatment is associated with a decline in the extent to which gang fights were perceived as a serious problem in the neighborhoods.

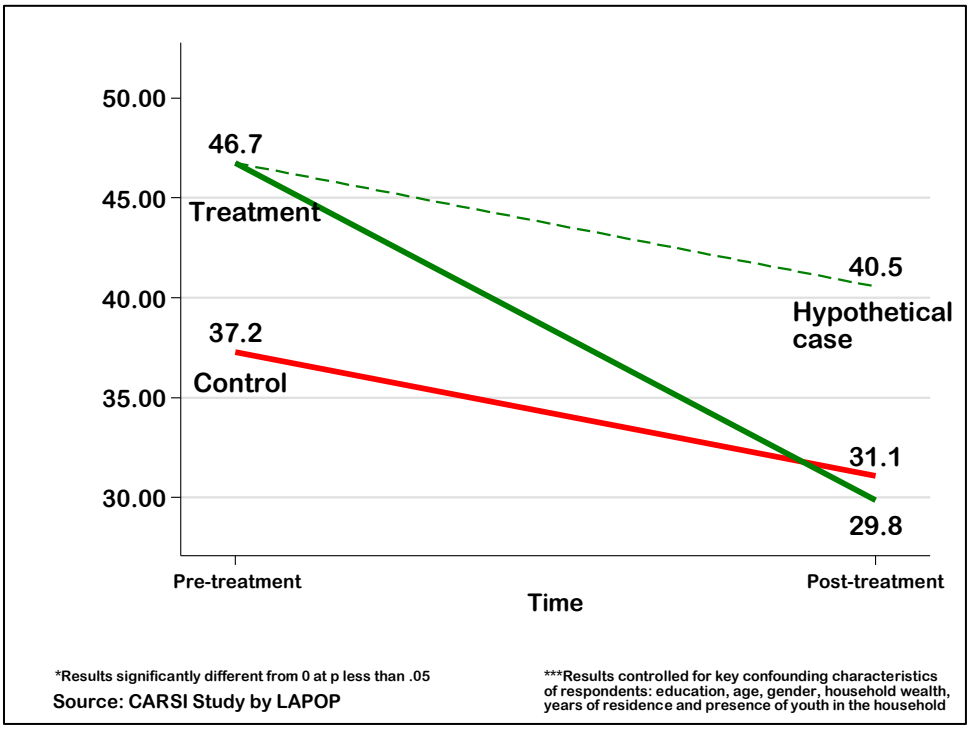

Figure 21. Perceptions of Gangs Brawls as a Problem

The effectiveness of the treatment in reducing the problem of gang fights in the community varys with the level of social disorder in the community. In untreated communities, gang fights are reported to be more of a problem as social disorder increases. In the treated communities with the same levels of social disorder, gang fights are seen as significantly less problematic (Figure 22).

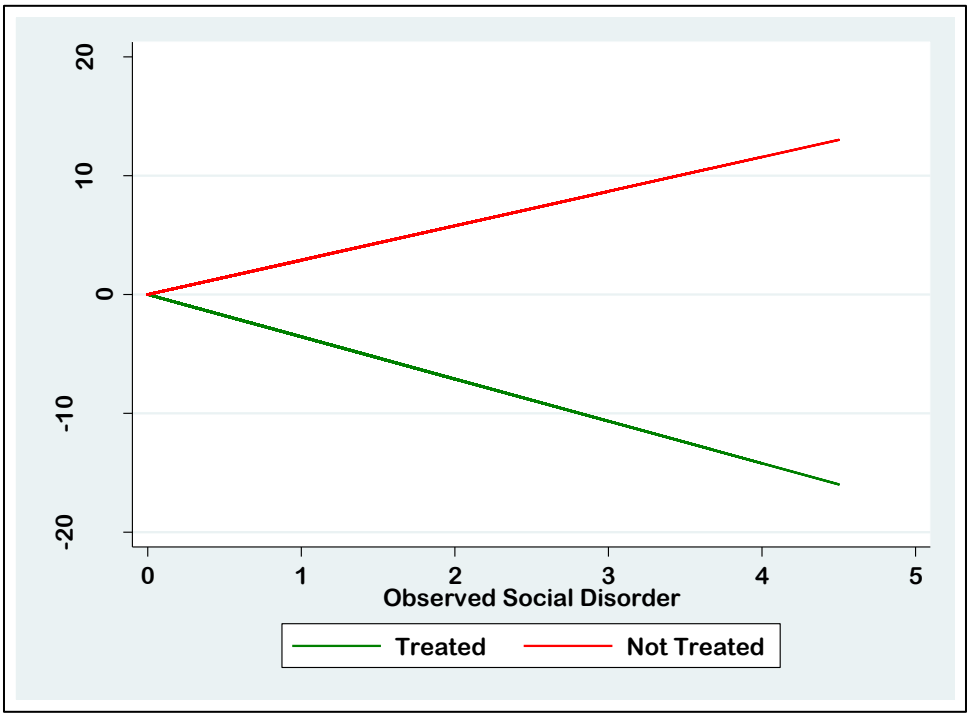

Figure 22. Marginal Change in Perceptions of Gang Brawls as a Problem in the Presence of Social Disorder

Qualitative interviews with stakeholders give a mixed picture, but on the whole, stakeholders said that gang presence and concomitant gang violence were not a critical problem in their communities. The police, as a group, held this opinion. Since recruitment of young people into gangs is very often done on the perimeter of the schoolgrounds, especially by gang members often outside school entrances, waiting for students to enter and exit the school, the national civil police do as much guarding of school entryways as they can, that is, as much as the police workforce allows. Some gang members attend school and do recruiting there; once they have dropped out, they often use their younger siblings to either recruit for them, or to engage in extortion in their name. As one head of a prevention unit said, nowadays, gang members are recruiting younger and younger children, because of the new law that protects minors from imprisonment for crimes that formerly required prison sentences. This officer says that youngsters aged twelve through fifteen are now becoming gang members, and they are responsible for such crimes as extortion, murder, and drug trafficking. Gang fights over girls continue, as one patrolman commented, *"El problema es de que, habían niños con mentalidad, llámese de pandillas vaya, y, que habían veces que pelean eh, por una patoja, por algún, ah, llámase verdad, así un problema siempre vea." ["The problem is that there were smart kids in the gangs, you see, and sometimes they'd get into fights, you know, over a girl, for some, uh, how would you say, well, it's always some problem],"* and graffiti continues to be used by gangs to send messages both to opposing gangs and to the police. An officer who coordinates police prevention approaches in Guatemala City says that the presence of gangs and drug addiction are the major problem affecting the capital's CARSI communities, particularly in the "zonas rojas" (hot spots) of those areas.

Yet, when asked to what extent the communities in which they work are affected by gangs, one police officer answered, "Algo" ["Somewhat"] in response to the choices, "mucho, algo, poco, o nada" ["a lot, somewhat, not much, not at all"], and another, when asked more generally how affected the communities were, said, *"Bueno yo considero de que… de que por el momento no…no se ha visto tanto esa situación es por lo mismo de que… de que la…la comunidad, la población está organizada tratan la manera de evitar esa situaciones." ["Well, I think that…well, not for the moment, no…that situation is not happening much because, well, uh, um, the community, the population is organized and they are dealing with ways to avoid problems with gangs."]* When asked if he had seen young people in gangs in the communities in which he works, one officer from Tactic answered, *"Sí, lo que pasa es que vienen de otros lugares y están corrompiendo a los de acá." ["Yes, what is happening is that they're coming here from other places and corrupting the kids here."]* A police chief in Esquipulas, referring to the communities that he is responsible for, said, "*Uhm, muy poco, muy poco," ["Uhm, very little, very little"]*, although another Esquipulas officer replied, *"Sí, bastante, hay presencia de pandillas, hay presencia de pandilla." ["Yes, quite a bit. There is gang presence here, there is gang presence here."]* A patrolman in Tactic said that there were no gangs at all in Tactic. In answer to the question as to whether there are *maras* or *pandillas* in the communities of Tactic, he said, *"Eh…directamente, directamente maras no hay, pandillas no hay, quieren… mareros quieren intentar con jóvenes pero a la hora que uno habla con ellos entonces ellos analizan va." ["You know, directly, directly, there are no gangs, no gangs. The gangs want to lure the kids in, but when we talk to them, they will think about it, you see."]* And a second-in-chief of police who also works as a patrolman, said that there were no gangs in the communities of Tactic: *"Pues gracias a Dios acá en Tactic no todavía no se da eso ¿va? No se da." ["Well, thank God, there are no gangs in Tactic yet, you know? It's not happening."]* In Esquipulas, too, the police said that there was no presence of gangs, including the Mara 18 and the Mara Salvatrucha: *"Uhm… se miran unos jóvenes tatuados, se observan algunos pero que pertenezcan a una pandilla no pudiera decirle porque específicamente no tenemos señalado que haya por ejemplo esa mara 18 esa mara Salva trucha no…no se observa es decir usted ve como de Estados Unidos vienen algunos todos tatuados y otros que ellos vienen acá y se los hacen a los de acá vea aunque no pertenezcan a una pandilla pero ya andan tatuados siempre como no es delito andar tatuado ¿qué podemos hacer?" ["Uhm, you see young men with tattoos, you do see some, but do they belong to a gang? I can't tell you that because we can't tell whether they're 18th Streeters or Salvatruchas. It's not like it is in the U.S. where you see some guys all tattooed, and they come here and tattoo the guys here, even if they don't belong to a gang. And they walk around showing their tattoos. And since it's not illegal to walk around in public with them, what can we do?"]* Another Esquipulas patrolman agrees, saying, *"Pues, yo no he visto, no, no he visto." "Well, no, I haven't seen any at all." Other Esquipulas patrolmen have only heard of gangs being present ("Sí se han escuchado una que otra"), ["We have heard that here and there"], but haven't personally seen any themselves.*

In sum, judging by the answers of the national civil police who were interviewed in round two of CARSI Guatemala, gang presence seems not to be a serious problem. If the media have been indicating otherwise, it may be their tendency to sensationalize gang activity, as some Central American social scientists have pointed out.

Clergy, especially youth group leaders and Evangelical leaders, work with gang members. They actively make an effort to draw them into their churches and away from the gangs they belong to, and

so they often have more information about youth gang activities than do other stakeholders. When asked the question, *"¿Hasta qué punto diría usted que los barrios de Tactic están afectados por maras o pandillas, diría que mucho, algo, poco o nada?" ["How much have Tactic neighborhoods been affected by gangs or gang members; would you say a lot, somewhat, not much, or not at all?"]* with the exception of an elderly Catholic priest, a man in his seventies, they all answered "very little" or "not at all" (e.g., *"¿Pandillas? Eh, fíjese que, bueno, yo diría que muy poco, muy poco, casi llegando a nada. Por las pandillas, yo creo que no, tal vez son muy, muy, algo tal vez, pero no, creo que ni algo." ["Gangs? Well, imagine that, well, I'd say very little, very little, almost not at all."]* In fact, this same clergyman, an Evangelical pastor, said that in the entire municipality of Tactic, gangs are not present, despite the claims of others to the contrary. His answer to the question, *"¿Acá en el municipio, o en los barrios, o comunidades de Tactic, hay maras o pandillas actualmente?" ["Here in this municipality, or in the neighborhoods or communities in Tactic, is there gang presence at this time?"] was, "Mmm… no que yo sepa no, porque las maras eso es cosa seria. Aquí hay algunos que se han querido, como, como creer que son, pero no son, verdad." ["Uhmm, not they I know of because when it comes to gangs, that's something serious. There are some that have wanted to, like, like believe that there is, but there isn't, you see."]* His answer to the question about the degree to which youths living in his neighborhood being members of *pandillas o maras* was on the negative end of the scale (*"No"*), as was the question about how serious a problem were gang fights (*"Tampoco"). ["Not that either."]* Despite the scaled wording (none, some, a lot) of the question, his answers took the form of dichotomously worded options. Other pastors' answers to the question of how serious a problem was the presence of gang youths living in their community (*barrio*), were, *"Poco serio," "nada serio," "sólo en el municipio, poco, muy poco." ["Not serious," "not serious at all," "only in the municipality, and little, very little."]*

The answer to the question *"Cree usted que los y las jóvenes que están en pandillas, pueden dejar de ser pandilleros o mareros?" ["Do you believe that young gang members of either sex can get out of their gangs?"]* reveals a great deal about the extent to which gangs are still active and still considered to be a serious problem. A great many of them report having been successful in getting youths to leave the gangs that they belonged to. Nevertheless, leaving the gang leaves youths vulnerable to retribution, apparently frequently in the form of being murdered by their own former gang.

One 25-year old Catholic youth group leader, in answering this question, said, *"Sí, media vez, y todos se les dé protección también a ellos, porque muchas veces el miedo de ellos es eso, o sea, la protección de su vida, y de su familia, porque acá se da mucho de que, hay algún pandillero que sale de, de donde está, y a los días pues, aparece muerto." ["Yes, and once that happens, all of them must be given protection because a lot of times their fear is just that, I mean, protecting their own lives, their families' lives, because around here, that happens a lot. A gang member who leaves the gang and a few days later, he's found dead."]* Another pastor explained that the church may be the only way out for gang members, but that even so, they become targets of gang vengeance:

> ***Entrevistador:*** *¿Y hay otra manera que usted sepa de la cual, pueden ellos salirse de, de estos grupos?*
>
> ***Pastor:*** *Difícil, muy difícil porque si sólo lo intentan por sus propios medios no van a poder, otra de las cosas es que cuando ellos intentan salir, los mismos compañeros o como dijera aquí, eh los persiguen.*
> *Nosotros, de hecho nosotros tuvimos que sacar a uno, sacarlo del municipio y mandarlo a otro lugar, porque él buscó la iglesia como refugio y tuvimos dos ocasiones que vinieron a buscarlo, aquí a la iglesia, bien*

armados, queriéndolo sacar y nosotros tuvimos que, como quien dice desaparecerlo de aquí verdad, pero ahí está, bien está.

Translation *[**Interviewer:** Do you know of any other way that they can leave those groups?*

***Pastor:** It's hard, very hard because just trying to get out on their own they won't be able to. Another thing is that when they try to leave, their friends in the gang, as I could say here, go after them. In fact, we had to get one of them out, get him out of the municipality and send him elsewhere because he took refuge in the church, and his gang friends came after him twice, right here to the church. They were heavily armed and wanted to get him out, and we had to, well, you might say, make him disappear, you know, but where he is, he's fine.]*

Thus, even when gang members are given protection (presumably by the church), the gang will murder them if they try to get out of the group. This type of statement was made by countless people, namely, that the only way to leave a gang is in a coffin. It is apparently the modus operandi of both the Mara Salvatrucha and the Calle 18. Until recently, Catholic and Evangelical churches have served as a haven for youths trying to get out the gangs, and to some degree this appears to have worked. As one pastor said, *"en varias, en varias ocasiones se ha dado, de hecho nosotros aquí tenemos a, a una persona que estuvo, como le dijera, fuertemente involucrada en eso y es un buen muchacho ahora." ["on several occasions it has happened. In fact, we have here a, a person, as I was saying, who was deeply involved in gang activities, and today he's a good kid."]* In fact, some of these youths have become Evangelical pastors. Some of these former gang members, now pastors, were found in the CARSI treatment neighborhood sample.

One Evangelical pastor, originally from Cobán, a neighboring municipality of one of the CARSI munipalities, talks about the success that his church had in turning around gang members: *"Eh, sí, sí, por lo que le decía al principio, eh, nosotros hemos tenido jóvenes aquí en la congregación, en Cobán también, que nosotros somos de Cobán, allá nos formaron en la iglesia, nos enviaron para acá. Eh, y ahí fue donde nosotros empezamos a trabajar con jóvenes. Le puedo contar testimonios de jóvenes que han estado en problemas serios, verdad, si gusta, sino se queda sólo como un comentario, verdad, eh, que han sido rescatados. Y hoy los vemos con mucha satisfacción que son gente trabajadora con familia. No hace mucho se acercó uno a mí, verdad, que me dio un gran abrazo y se puso a llorar, verdad. Y yo le decía 'y por qué va'". Eh, fue un muchacho, que con la ayuda de Dios, verdad, logramos rescatar de, de unas pandillas." ["Uh, yes, as I was saying at the beginning, uh, we have had young people here in the congregation, in Coban as well, we're from Coban, and we got our religious training there and we were sent here. And that's when we started working with young people. If you like, I can tell you stories from these youngsters who have had serious problems, you know. If not, I can just say that they have been rescued. And today we view them with great satisfaction because they have families and are hardworking people. Not long ago one of them approached me, you know, and gave me a big hug and started crying, you know? And I said to him, 'no need to cry.' Well, this was a kid, who with God's help, you know, we were able to rescue from the gangs."]*

Most religious leaders when they talk about turning youth gang members around refer to it as 'rescatar', that is, rescuing them. And while many of the religious leaders mentioned cases of youths whom they had succeeded in getting out of gangs, these seemed to be isolated instances, and not successes that added up significant dents in the gang population. From the perspective of church leaders, even saving one soul in the name of Christ was a valuable achievement. These clergy do not measure their successes by numbers. Even so, some of the religious leaders, especially those who

themselves are young (in one case a 22-year old Evangelical pastor and youth group leader) feel that their church has been quite successful in getting gang members out the gangs and into mainstream society: *"Yo creo, creo, porque lo que hacemos nosotros es ayudarlo en base de que cambie sus pensamientos y alineamos también en un área de oración, lo alineamos en una área de oración en donde nos ha funcionado mucho. Y hay muchos líderes que, eh, platicado yo personalmente con ellos. Y nos han comentado también de que han salido de pandillas, han salido de maras ellos se drogaban mucho, ellos tomaban bastante licor, por completo. Pero, sí, ellos han podido salir de esa área. Porque, por medio de la oración y por medio de una ayuda también que les han brindado dentro de las iglesias." ["I believe, I believe so because what we do is help the person based on getting him to change his way of thinking, and we help them straighten out with prayer, which has worked well for us. And there are many leaders, you see, with whom I've chatted personally, and they have also talked about leaving the gangs. They've left gangs where they were using drugs and drinking heavily, completely. But yes, they can get out of the gangs because through prayer and also with the help they've been afforded within the churches."]* Nevertheless, by the time the CARSI project was put into place, churches as havens for gang members were no longer an assured safety net for gang members who wanted to turn their lives around.

Community development leaders, that is, presidents and other officers of COCODES, but also members of the municipal Committee for the Prevention of Violence, have a very keen sense of what is happening in their communities. This is mainly because they develop extensive communication networks within them. One president of a violence prevention committee in Guatemala City says that there are no real gangs (that is, hierarchically organized groups) in his community. In answering a question about the presence and meaning of graffiti, he downplayed the significance of graffiti in his community, explaining, *"Eh, generalmente no van dirigidos a ninguna persona, los que existen acá, que son muy pocos. Son más que todo garabatos de patojos que no tienen otra cosa que poner allí algunas tonteras. Porque, no, no, no se da quizás como en otros lados donde la pandilla está organizada y reconocen a un líder, una jerarquía y a él, le, le rinden cierta, cierta, eh, pleitesía. En este caso, no, alguien se le ocurrió, se encontró un, un spray allí y empezaron a hacer como que hacían, no tiene, no tiene trascendencia." ["Well, in general, they are not meant for anyone in particular, and what we have of that here is very little…They're just scribblings of street kids who have nothing better to do than put some there because, no, no, that doesn't happen here. Maybe the way it does elsewhere where there are organized gangs that bow to a leader, a hierarchy to whom they pay a, a certain, uh, homage. In this case, no. It just occurred to somebody to do it, or the person found a can of spray paint and started marking things up, it doesn't mean anything, it has no significance."]*

A COCODES president in Tactic, in answering the question as to what degree his neighborhood is affected by *maras* or *pandillas* clearly explained that their influence has gone down: *"Mire, hay aquí, aquí en barrio (community X), eh, tal vez un 25% porque, gracias a Dios, pues, sí, pudimos, eh, bajarle, la, la, la, la, el grado que, que, que teníamos porque sí, antes de que yo entrara como presidente del comité, sí, ah, sí habían bastantes por aquí pasaban, venían mareros de (community Y), de (community Z) y ellos gritando en la calle, fumando marihuana. Y, y nosotros planteamos y le llamamos también a la policía, y, gracias a Dios, pues, eso, aunque han habido amenazas, verdad. Pero, igual, pues, yo le dejo mi vida a Dios y, yo sé que si de un disparo me tengo que morir, si eso es mi destino, pues, Dios sabe. Pero por lo menos, hago la lucha a que no, no, no genere más problemas, o, eh, más problemas, eh, qué, delincuenciales, no." ["Look, here in Community X, uh, there is maybe*

25% because, thank God, well, yes, we were able to reduce the, the, the, the degree (of gang influence) that we had before. Because, yes, before I was president of the committee, yes, uhm, there were a lot of gang people that came around here. They were from Community Y, from Community Z, and they would shout in the streets and smoke marijuana. And we thought it over and called the police, and, thank God, well, it was taken care of, although there have been threats, you see. But just the same, well, I put my life in God's hands, and I know that if I am to die from a bullet wound, then that is my fate, God knows, but at least I continue to fight against generating more problems, or, uh, other problems, uh, than those related to delinquency."] On being given a scale of seriousness of the gang problem, he answered *"Es poco serio," ["It's not very serious"]* and significantly, when asked to what degree his community is affected by gang fights or quarrels, he said, *"Eh, ya, últimamente, poco." ["Well, lately not much."]* Yet another COCODES president, from Tactic, said that his community was only "somewhat" affected by gangs and that the municipality of Tactic overall was also "somewhat" affected (*"Algo también, ujum").* According to him, the small percentages of youths who belong to gangs do not live in his community, but in other sectors of Tactic. And so the problem of youth in his community belonging to gangs is one that is "*poco serio*" *[not very serious]*, as are gang fights *("poco serio"*). Another COCODES president of Tactic noted that his community at the moment was less affected by gangs than before: *"Fíjese que, ahorita por el momento estamos un poquito tranquilones. No le voy a decir que estamos tan mal eh hay, hay pero no están actuando aquí en Tactic como-como como lo estaban haciendo anteriormente ahorita estamos calmaditos." ["I tell you that right at this moment we're kind of worry-free. I'm not going to say that we're doing too badly, you know, there is some (gang influence) but they're not active in Tactic the way they were before. We're pretty calm now"] He, too, believes that the gang members are not local to his community, but come from elsewhere ("Fíjese que la mayoría vienen de otros municipios, porque vienen a-a-a, a enlla-, a enllantar jóvenes y a-y a jalar jóvenes que lo-, sí se meten de aquí pero ya son jóvenes que vienen en grupos de otros lados, sí"), ["You know, most of them come from other municipalities because they come to, to, to put tires around kids' necks and set them on fire, and to, and to yank kids in who—yes, they do get in here, but they are youth that come from groups from other places, yes"]* and so the problem of gangs where he lives is a problem that is only "*un poco serio*," *["just a bit serious"]* and there are hardly any gang fights there.

A member of a municipal violence prevention committee of Esquipulas has a similar impression. Referring to the extent to which the municipality is affected by gangs, he answered, *"Esquipulas no, no tiene pandillas, no tiene maras, o sea no tenemos ése. Tenemos otro tipo de violencia pero maras y pandillas no tenemos. Es más que todo, eh, otro tipo de violencia." ["Not in Esquipulas. There are no gangs here. We don't have that. We have another kind of violence, but not gangs. More than anything else, uh, it's another type of violence."]* Evidence of this is the lack of extortion, he says*: "Porque no tenemos el problema de, de extorsión, de mara, ni tenemos el problema de, de cobro de, de, de… no sé cómo le llaman ellos a estos cobros que hacen, son, son extorsiones pero ellos les tienen algún tipo de nombre. No tenemos acá todavía eso, gracias a Dios." ["Because we don't have the problem of extortion or gangs or collection of, of, of…I don't know what they call those collections they make, they're, they're extortion payments. They have some kind of name for that. We don't have that here yet, thank God."]* He said that gangs were not a serious problem, and that there were no gang fights in Esquipulas. Another member of the Esquipulas municipal violence prevention agrees. She said that the municipality was not yet affected by gang presence *("Poco, todavía poco. Creo que estamos a tiempo de, de hacer mucho"). ["Not much, still not much. I think we still have time to, to do*

a lot."] The young people she sees who look like they are gang members she is convinced are not from her municipality, but come from elsewhere. She admits that there are local youths who are engaged in crime, but feels that that these are not yet organized gangs, but merely "*grupos todavía*" *["still just groups"*], which could be broken up if the community worked with them. So for her, the problem of gangs is only "somewhat serious." Yet another Esquipulas COCODES leader found his community to be little affected by gangs (*"Poco, poco"*), *["Very little, very little"]*, and that is because the youths who were gang members no longer live in the community *("Ya no están ya, ya se fueron a dar cuentas con Dios, porque el que siembra mal siembra, mal cosecha") ["They're not here anymore. They've gone to meet their Maker because you reap what you sow"]*, apparently having been killed. And so his community is now normal, he said *("Está, la comunidad está normal, porque no hay, ya disminuyó eso")["It is, the community is normal because there are no more gang fights. That has diminished"]*; gang fights no longer go on in his colonia, according to this leader. Another COCODES leader from Esquipulas said that his community was at the moment not affected at all by gangs *("Yo digo que, ahorita nada"). ["I'd say that at this moment, nothing at all."]* He elaborated on this perception, saying: *"…ahorita no no me doy cuenta yo que esté, como más antes que oía decir uno que llegaba gente maras de otros lados a juntarse con muchachos de ahí, pero ahorita como que está calmada la cosa ya no se oye mencionar nada."["…right now, no, I don't perceive that it is, not like before, that I'd hear rumors that gangs from other places were coming here to recruit new members, but right now things are calm. You don't hear anything about that anymore."]*

However, a vice-president of another COCODES considers youth gangs in her community to be a very serious problem, and reports that there are many gang fights *("Eso sí es mucho,") ["That's right, there are a lot"]* and the problem is *("Muy serio") ["Very serious"]*. And the president of a comparable organization in Guatemala City, a Comité Unico de Barrio, finds gangs to be a serious problem in her community, as are gang fights. These, however, are minority views.

The impressions of school administrators and teachers also are quite varied. One Esquipulas school director who is in charge of discipline in her school when asked to what extent the community was affected by youth gangs, answered, 95 per cent. Santa Ana communities also are said to be greatly affected by gangs. As one school director/coordinator of discipline put it, referring to the community in which her school was located:

> *"Sí, creo que está muy afectado, porque, mmm…, eh, pues por comentarios que se dan eh, ya, ha, sido un lugar donde, ya hay ingreso de, de droga verdad, ya se comercializa la, la droga verdad, eh incluso en la, en una reunión el año pasado a padres de familia yo les hacía ver esa situación, pero el problema no es tanto, solo en jóvenes, si también, sino que incluso dentro de padres de familia que, tienen a, aparte de que son pobres, han caído en, en otra situación más difícil de, de, de ya, eh, entrar a, a consumo de, de drogas verdad. Como es el la marihuana, comercializan mucho en taxi motos, es lo que yo he escuchado, no, yo, a mí no me consta verdad, pero que sí es, de, de venta de drogas así al menudeo. Se rumora de personas, pues también que ya forman parte del grupo más, más grandes, han ha habido muchos asesinatos así a la luz del, a la luz del día, eh, robos, en toda la comunidad."*
>
> Translation *["Yes, I think it has been greatly affected because, uhmm, um, well, because of comments you hear, you know, this is a place that has been infiltrated by drug traffic, you see. Drugs are being sold here, right. Uh, even at the parents' meeting last year I spoke to them about this situation. But the problem isn't just among the kids, but also among the parents who have, aside from the fact that they're poor, they've fallen into a more difficult situation of, of, of, you know, getting into drug use themselves, you see? Like for example, marijuana. They sell it a lot from the motor taxis. That's what I've heard, you know. I can't say for sure, right,*

but its pretty clear that they're selling drugs in small quantities. There are rumors about people who also belong to, to the group, the biggest groups. There have been many murders in broad daylight, in broad daylight, you know, and robberies all over the community."]

Yet another elementary school director from Esquipulas said that gangs such as the Mara Salvatrucha and the Calle 18 had been in the neighborhood, but at the time of the interview were "*desterrada*" *["exiled"]*. And an RTI regional coordinator in charge of Esquipulas said that he had traveled through Esquipulas and found no evidence of gang presence in the communities where RTI has been working, including a total absence of graffiti on walls.

A school director and a teacher from Tactic both said that Tactic as a whole is affected very little by gang presence. The teacher believes that the municipality has been able to keep gangs out. The school director said there is in fact gang presence, but that it is kept hidden. The presence of gangs in Tactic is confirmed by an at-risk youth.

The responses of the Guatemala City school teachers/directors with respect to gang presence and activity in the community surrounding their schools are generally to report non-presence. One school director said, *"No, gracias a Dios," "No, thank God," followed by, "Lo que es a nuestro alrededor, no, no vivimos en ese todavía en esa zozobra de decir: '¡Ay tenemos la mara tal, en tal!, no." ["In our surroundings, no, we don't have to live with that problem yet, in that state of anxiety of having to say, 'Oh, no, Gang X is here in this place. No."]*

Nevertheless, an RTI coordinator who works with Guatemala City's Municipal Violence Prevention projects, listed several treatment communities and their bordering communities where there is "*bastante presencia de, de, de pandillas*" *["quite a big gang presence"]* and some *"donde pareciera que hay bastante, eh, actividad, eh, de maras, ajá" ["where there seems to be a lot, uh, of, uh, gang activity, uh-huh"]*. According to another RTI coordinator, the adolescents of Guatemala begin joining gangs at the age of 13, and stay active in them until they are 25.

Crime Prevention Measures

When asked what measures they employed in order to protect themselves from crime ("In order to protect yourself from crime, in the last twelve months, have you taken any measures such as avoiding walking through some areas in [Name of Neighborhood] because they can be dangerous?"), 37.6% of residents in control communities and 43.3% in treatment communities reported avoiding walking through dangerous areas in 2011. A similar number, 41.5%, in non-at-risk neighborhoods said the same (Figure 23). These proportions are not significantly different, and show virtually no change in 2013.

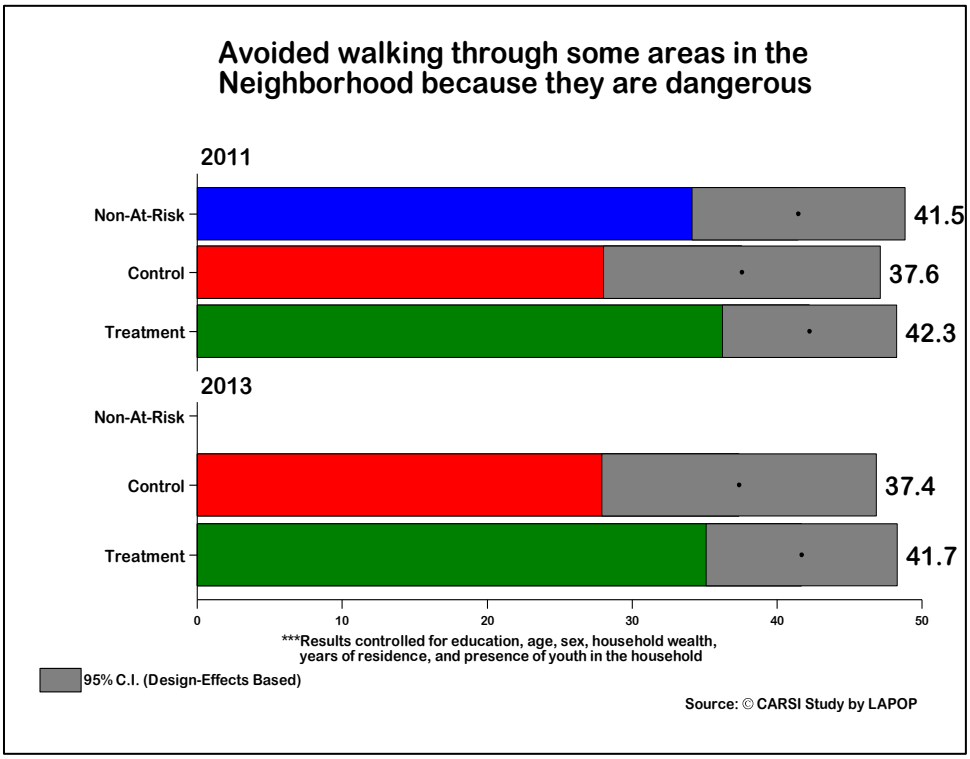

Figure 23. Avoidance of Dangerous Areas

Figure 24 shows the probability of residents avoiding walking through dangerous areas in treatment and control communities. Residents in treatment neighborhoods are more likely to report avoiding walking through dangerous area than those in control communities. The probability of avoiding dangerous areas declined in the treatment group between 2011 and 2013, while increasing in control communities. The hypothetical case is significantly higher than the treatment group. The probability a respondent would feel the need to avoid areas in the absences of the program would have been about 30% higher in the treatment group.

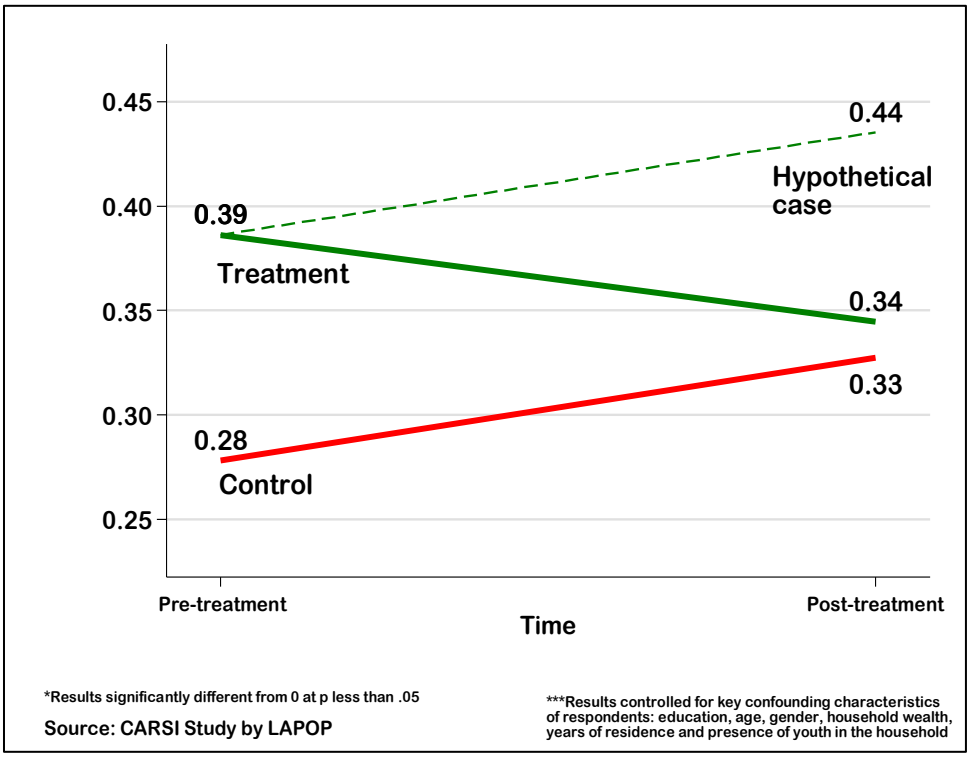

Figure 24. Avoidance of Dangerous Areas (Predicted Value)

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

Role of Institutions: National Police

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

Figure 25 shows that average levels of trust in the National Civil Police in Guatemala. 2012 AmericasBarometer respondents were asked "To what extent do you trust the National Civil Police?". Responses ranged from 0 "Not at all" to 100 "A lot". The average response in Guatemala was 34.9. This score is among the lowest in the region, with only Trinidad and Tobago, and Honduras lower (with 32.8 and 28.7 points, respectively, on the same scale).

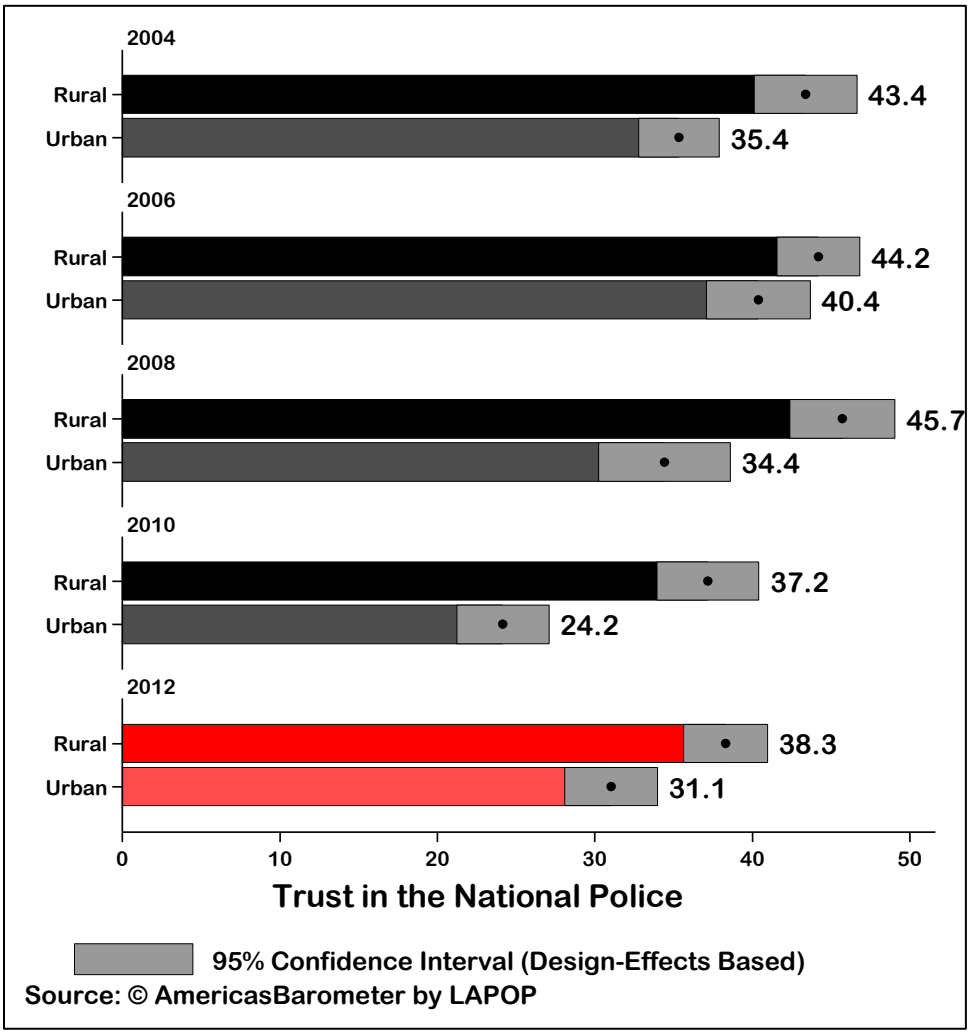

Figure 25. Trust in the National Police in Urban and Rural Areas

Figure 26 shows national level data from the 2004-2012 AmericasBarometer Guatemala study. Guatemalans show significantly higher levels of trust of the police in rural areas compared to urban ones. Though these trust levels declined during the 2004-2010 period in both areas, there is an increase in trust of about 6 points in urban areas between 2010 and 2012.

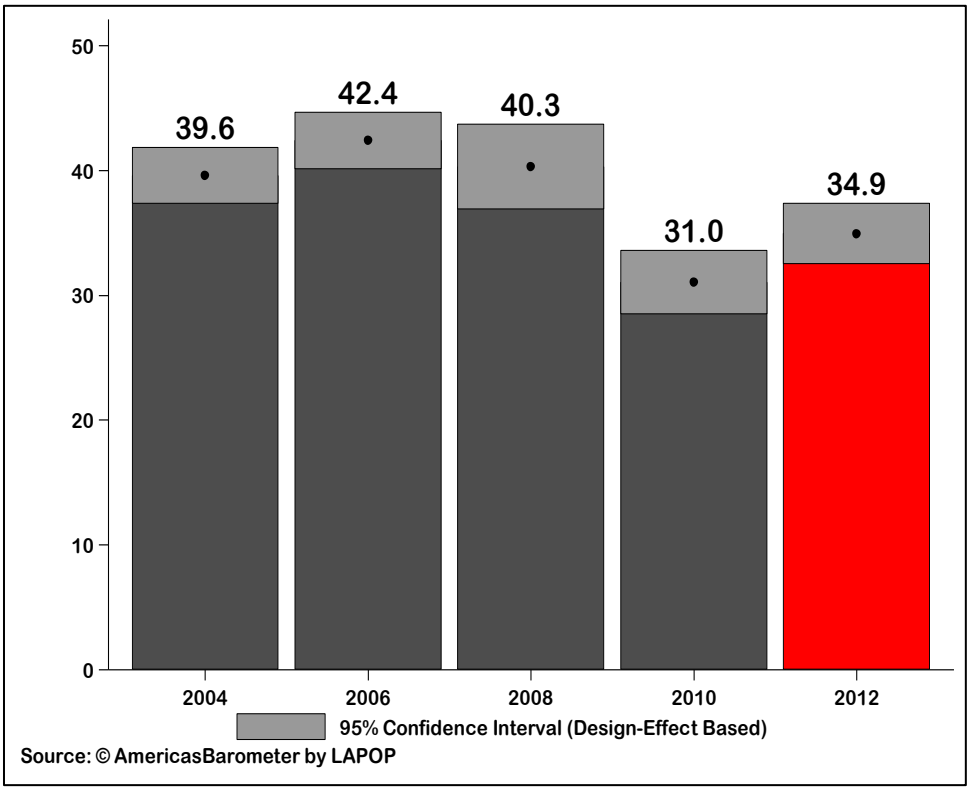

Figure 26. Trust in the National Police (2004-2012)

The same data in Figure 27 show that average trust increased between 2010 and 2012, but remained lower than levels before 2010.

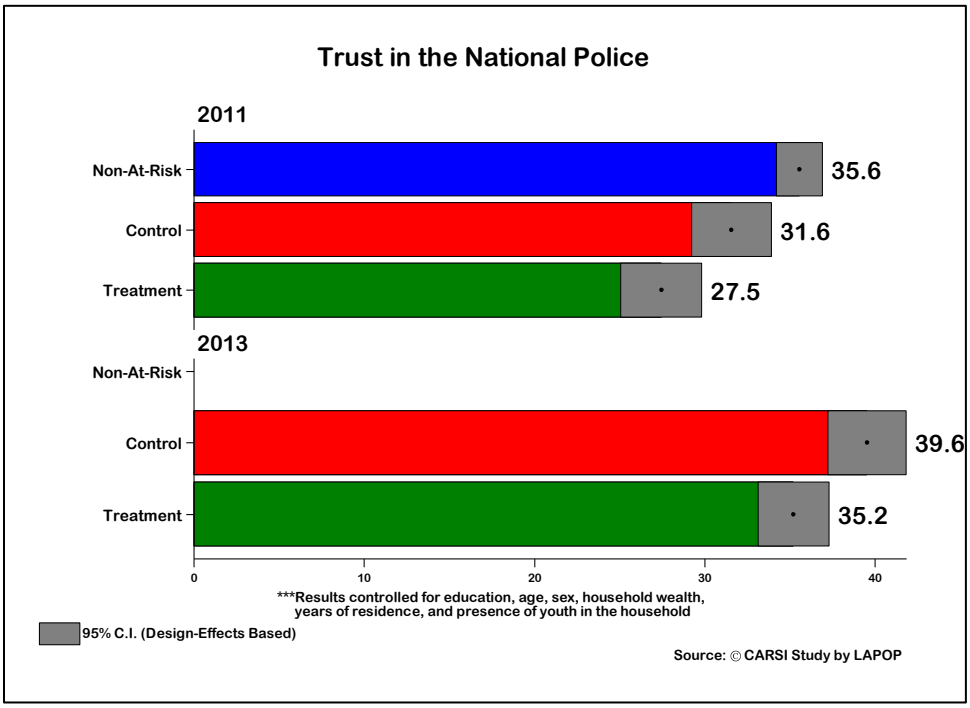

Figure 27. Trust in the National Police in Neighborhoods

Based on CARSI community level data, Figure 27 displays average levels of trust in the National Civil Police in at-risk and non-at-risk communities. In 2011, non-at-risk communities show significantly higher levels of trust than control and treatment communities. The treatment communities show the lowest levels of trust. Levels of trust in the police increased significantly in both treatment and control communities in 2013.

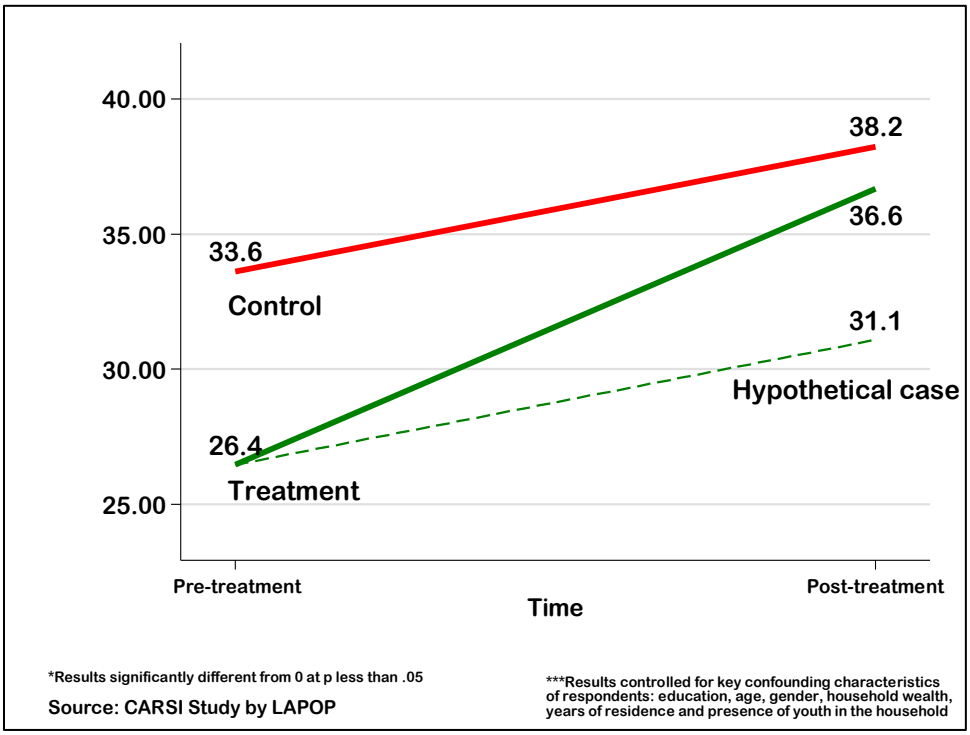

Figure 28. Trust in the National Police in Neighborhoods (Predicted Value)

Figure 28 shows the predicted levels of trust in the treatment and control communities in 2011 and 2013. Trust in the National Civil Police is lower in the treatment group than the control group in both years. There is a sharp increase in trust over the time period, but it is increase is larger in the treatment communities. The difference between the treatment group and hypothetical case is statistically significant, indicating that the treatment program had a significant effect on in increasing trust. In the absence of the program, we would expect levels of trust to be about 5.5 points lower in the treatment communities.

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

Satisfaction with Police Performance

Figure 29 displays satisfaction with the National Civil Police performance. Respondents were asked: "In general, would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with the performance of the National Civil Police (PNC) in [Name of Neighborhood]?" Satisfaction with police performance is significantly greater in non-at-risk communities than in either the control or treatment neighborhoods. There is no significant difference between the treatment and control groups in either year. In 2013 trust increases significantly in both groups.

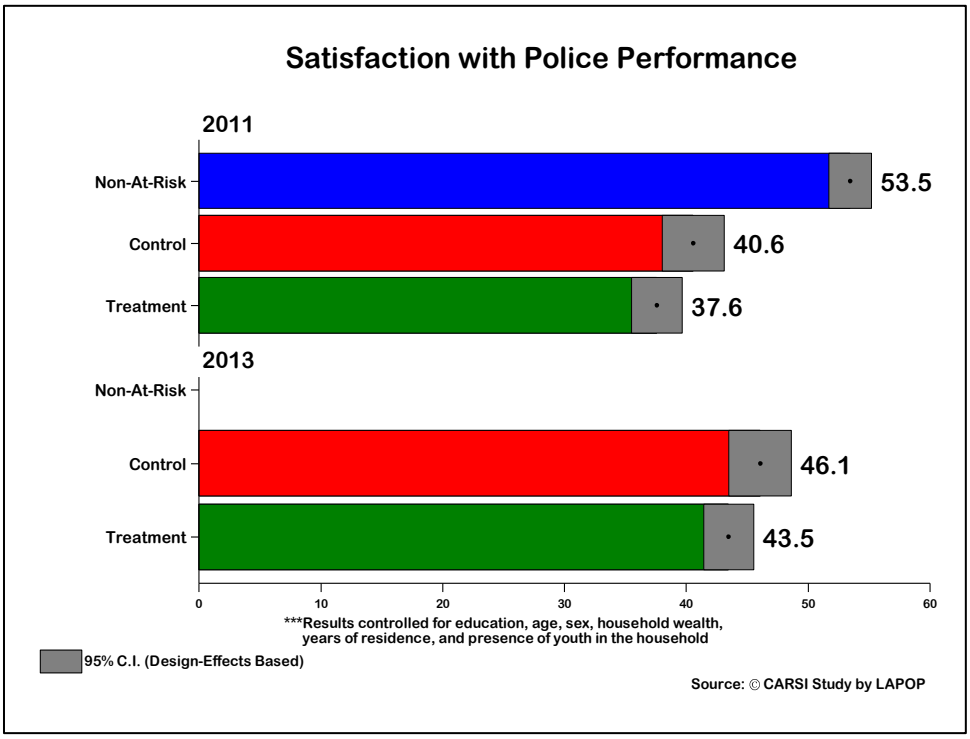

Figure 29. Satisfaction with Police Performance in Neighborhoods

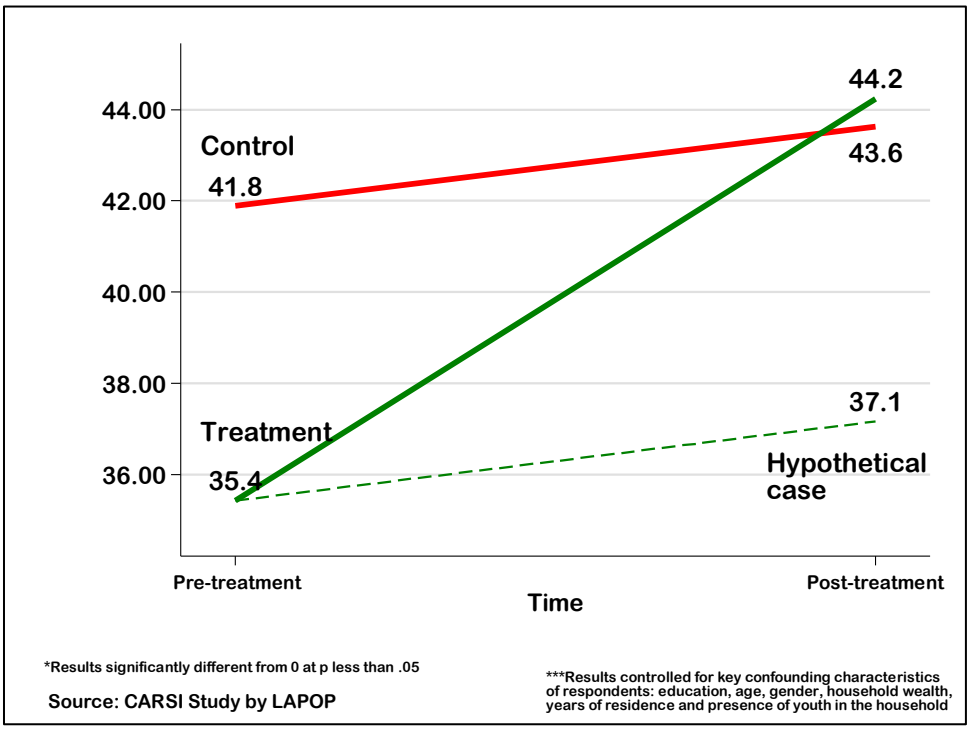

Figure 30. Satisfaction with Police Performance in Neighborhoods (Predicted Value)

Figure 30 shows the predicted levels of satisfaction in the National Civil Police in the treatment and control communities. In both groups, satisfaction increased from 2011 to 2013. The average predicted value for the treatment group in about 44 points on a 0-100 scale ranging from "very unsatisfied" to "very satisfied". In the absence of the treatment, the expected satisfaction levels would be about 7 points lower in treatment communities. This difference is significant, indicating a that the treatment is associated with higher satisfaction with the police.

Analysis of the context in which the treatment was administered shows that in untreated communities, respondents were less satisfied with police performance in communities with churches (of any denomination). However, in treated communities with a church, there is significantly more satisfaction with police performance, indicating that the treatment is more effective in communities with a church. These results are shown in Figure 31.

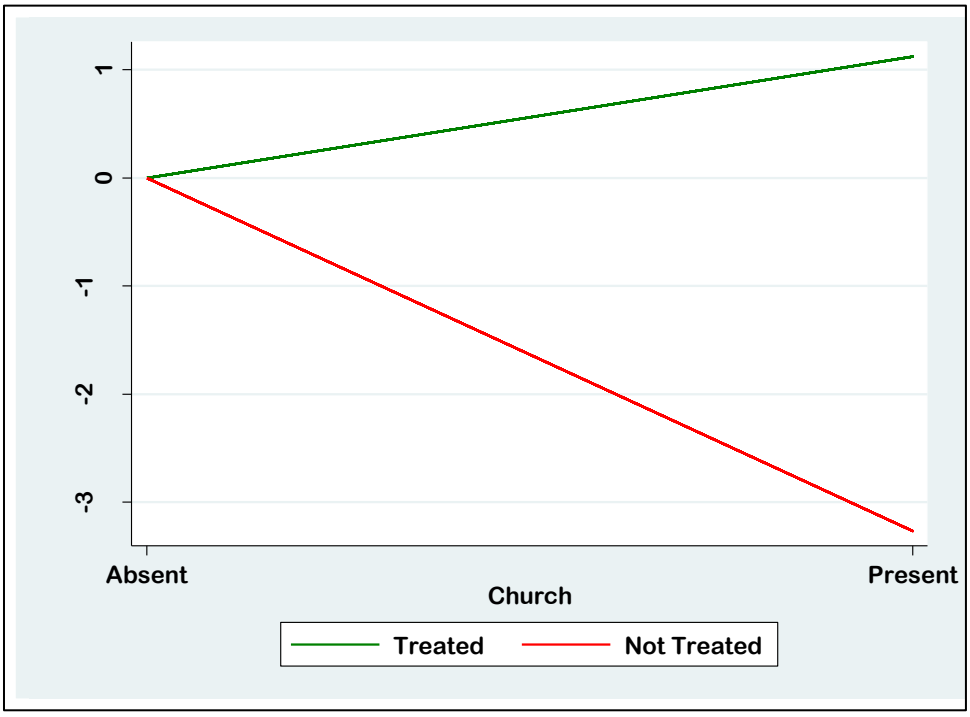

Figure 31. Marginal Change in Satisfaction with Police Performance in the Presence of Churches

The qualitative interviews with stakeholders reveal that on the whole, stakeholders are not very satisfied with the police. One COMUDES member who serves on the municipal violence prevention committee credits the administration in power in curbing the involvement of the police with the narcotrafficking industry. In accounting for the reduction in homicides in the past year, he said that the government has made it impossible for the police to work with the narcotraffickers: *"Yo pienso que lo más bueno que, o sea, lo, lo positivo que ha hecho este gobierno es, hoy, es frenar el narcotráfico. Porque ahorita, eh, trabajar con narcotráfico está casi imposible. Ellos lo hacen pero tienen que inventarse un montón de, de maniobras, ya no, parece que las, las autoridades ya no colaboran, ya no*

están colaborando con ellos. Y eso hace que, que esté bajando el nivel de, de violencia." ["I feel that the best thing that, I mean, the most positive thing this government has done up to now is to slow down drug trafficking because right now, you see, working in narcotrafficking is almost impossible. People still do it, but they have to devise a lot of, of maneuvers. So, no, it seems like the, the authorities are not collaborating with them anymore. And that is what's, what's making the level of, of violence go down."] Thus, by crediting the government in power with the lowering of the murder rate, he was indirectly attributing corruption and criminality to the national police. His suggestion for further improving police performance is to strengthen the justice system so as to increase conviction rates. In his words, *"Yo pienso que lo que tendríamos que hacer es asignarle más recursos al, al, al organismo judicial y capacitarlos para que ellos, eh, puedan, puedan armar más bien los casos para hacer efectivo el castigo." ["I think that what we would have to do is allocate more resources to the, the judicial system and train them so that they can, you know, can build stronger cases to make punishment more effective."]*

Lacking trust and confidence in the police, some community leaders go instead to other venues to report crimes. One president of a Guatemala City Comité Unico de Barrio and a Committee for the Prevention of Violence said that she has heard that the Ministerio Público works more quickly and efficiently than do the police in dealing with reported crimes. She gave the example of her adult daughter who was being subjected to extortion, who did not go to the police, but instead went to a special place that has been set up to receive reports of extortion. Despite this, her daughter left the colonia for a month, out of fear of the extortionists, hoping that this would put an end to it. But it did not, according to the mother, this interviewee. Her daughter had to move again, to stop receiving the threatening phone calls.

Satisfaction with police performance

Community leaders complained about the difficulties involved in reporting crimes. As one elderly member of a Comité Unico de Barrio and president of a Committee for the Prevention of Violence explained, when you go to your nearest police station, you are sometimes told that that is not the station where you should be going, and when you go to that police station, they tell you to go to a different one: "*Eh…la comisaria y la…la…la…hay un pequeño problema que yo pienso que el gobernación tiene que arreglar en el sentido de que a veces uno hace una denuncia en la… en la estación más cercana que este y… ellos dicen que no les corresponde sí no que vaya a… a la comisaria tal y cuando uno llega a cierta comisaria le dicen que no le corresponde y al final uno el tiempo es oro y… prefiere a veces no hacer pero verdad deberían de aceptar cualquier denuncia en todas las comisarias." ["Well… the police station and the, the, the,…there's a little problem, I think, that the government has to fix in the sense that sometimes you report a crime at the nearest police station and..they tell you that you can't make the report there, that you have to go to Police Station X, so you go to that one and they tell you that they can't take the report there either. In the end, since time is money, you sometimes give up. But you know they should accept a crime report in any precinct."]* His proposal for improving police performance is that any police station should be capable of receiving reports of crime. Clearly he was disgusted with being sent from one police station to another, and was expressing his high degree of dissatisfaction with the way in which the National Civil Police operate.

Another president of a Committee for the Prevention of Violence, a man about 50 years of age, said that the police do help somewhat *("Ellos generalmente sí, si, sí colaboran porque tampoco podríamos decir que están al cero") ["Yes, they generally do, yes, yes, they do collaborate because we can't say that they don't do anything."],* but they limit themselves to domestic violence cases, fights between neighbors, fights on the street, *"escándalos en la vía pública" ["uproars on public thoroughfares"],* that is, they help in *"esas cosas cosméticas" ["just cosmetic issues"].* However, they do *not* deal with dirty crimes, like the ones that organized crime carries out: *"Pero, pero a la hora de, de, de cómo se llama, de casos un poco más, más depurados, verdad, un poco de más organización del crimen organizado ahí no mete las manos." ["But, but when, uh, uh, how do you call them, cases that are a little more complicated, you know, like organized crime cases, they won't touch them."]*

Police performance in the realm of domestic violence crimes received poor grades from some community leaders. A woman who serves as the link between COMUDES and the municipal violence prevention program complained about an incident in which she called the police about a domestic violence case, the police came, took notes, "y nuncio se solucionó nada" (nothing was ever solved).
In the context of "linchamientos" ('lynchings', or taking the law into one's own hands), however, some community leaders, specifically, COCODES officers, say that the PNC (National Civil Police) has helped them in such cases, or in any type of robbery. As one COCODES president from Tactic said, *"… la PNC, pues, ha, me ha apoyado en cualquier ,este, cualquier, este, eh, linchamientos o cualquier robo, cualquier este, pues, por ejemplo, entran a robar a las casas pues, igual, pues en las cantinas, eh, hemos hablado mucho de las cantinas, y, pues, me ha, me han apoyado." ["The National Civil Police, well, have, have supported me when there any, uh, any,uh, uhm, lynchings or robberies, any, uh, well, for example, there are burglaries in homes or bars, and, well, we've talked a lot about the bars, and, well, they have, they have supported me."]*

Police involvement with the schools does not get high marks from community leaders either. As one COCODES leader says, while the police give motivational talks to students about the dangers of drugs, drug addiction and rape, they give them very infrequently, certainly not enough to satisfy this leader (as he put it, *"Muy poco, muy poco, yo pienso que, que, han, han hecho unas charlas pero… pero hace falta mucho más"). ["Very few, very few. I think that, that they have given several talks, but…but many more are needed."]* Another COCODES president says that such talks are not given at all by the police in his community's school *("No, no se dan"). ["No, they aren't given."]* While these two leaders live in Tactic, a president of a Guatemala City Committee for Violence Prevention has the same impression. Rather than coming to the school once a month or every two months, as he feels they should, he recalls hearing about the police having given school *charlas* only once or twice in a period of several years.

School directors and teaching staff, on the whole, expressed dissatisfaction with the work of the police in connection to protecting their students and educating them in the risks in crime and violence involvement. Over and over again, their response to questions such as *"¿Las autoridades policiales hacen algo para prevenir que estos jóvenes que rondan la escuela puedan, eh, tener contacto con los jóvenes de, que están recibiendo sus clases?" ["Do the police do anything to prevent the youth that hang around the schools from having, uh, contact with students who are attending their talks?"]* is the following one from one school director: *"No pues, no, no hemos recibido ningún apoyo de parte de ellos, ujum." ["No, no we haven't received any support from them, uh-huh."]* Similarly, when asked,

"¿Qué rol ha desempeñado lo que es la Policía Nacional Civil, acá en la escuela, en este último año?" ["What has the role of the National Civil Police been, here in this school, during the past year?"] another school director answered, *"Ninguno." ["None."]* Another school director, on being asked if the police have ever come to the school in the past few years to carry out some type of activity that would prevent gang members from approaching the students, answered: "No." Yet another school director refers obliquely to the corruption of the police, and their lack of involvement with the schools. This director was asked, *"Esta gente de la policía, ¿tiene alguna participación en clases de deporte, actividades recreacionales con los jóvenes?" ["These people, the police, do they participate in gym clases or recreational activities with the youngsters?"]* and his reply was*: "Nada, nada. Aquí es delicado hablar de, de eso, porque cada, cada oficial a cargo de la subestación es mandado aquí porque es una buena plaza. Viene becado, verdad, viene becado. Impuestos o pagos por contrabando de café ya tiene su casa allí, va. Camión tanto, pick up tanto, por eso mueren a cada rato, verdad. No, aquí es serio, aquí la seguridad no se confía en esa institución. Aquí es mejor si uno se cuida uno solo. Hay problemas en las comunidades, se llama y no acuden, ni contestan." ["Not at all, nothing. This is a touchy subject because, because every officer in charge of a substation has been sent here because it's a good position. He comes under a grant, you know, subsidized. Taxes or payments for contraband coffee and he gets a house, you see. So much per truckload, so much per pick-up. That's why there are deaths all the time, you see. No, here it's serious, here people don't trust that institution. Here it's best to take care of your own safety. There are problems in the community. You call them and they don't come, they don't even answer the phone."]*

One school director expressed a great deal of bitterness and sarcasm in answering a question regarding the Safe Schools program, which is an initiative of the National Police. He said,

> *"Sí estuvo muy en moda el gobierno pasado, bonito el nombre pero de escuela segura no tiene absolutamente nada, porque usted de aquí si se para a ver todo el día a ver si pasa una patrulla, no la ve, llamamos a la policía cuando hay alguna cosa; van aparecer 4 ó 5 horas después, entonces ¿Dónde está la escuela segura? Luego ¿Qué seguridad presta el estado? Ninguna, la seguridad del Estado son para los funcionarios que andan ahí de guardaespaldas y todo lo demás, para usted y para mí de ciudadano no lo cuidan, aunque estoy pagando con mis impuestos todo eso pero no tengo derecho. Entonces las escuelas quieren que uno le toque que uno lo haga todo, y no es posible hacerlo todo, hace humanamente uno con su gran voluntad lo que le he platicado. Entonces escuela segura no hay, porque tengo que pagar una arma Arévalo porque no quiero un guardián, porque es el enemigo porque él le va dar la indicación y me saquean el establecimiento, en cambio una alarma por lo menos se oye y ya los asusta, o por lo menos tengo tiempo de exponerme para venir a ver que está pasando; eso fue una figura de escuela segura para mí, una figura inoperante que hasta la fecha no lo veo que haya escuela segura, y yo mismo digo que tengo mi Instituto Escuela Segura."*
>
> Translation *["Yes, it was very popular during the previous administration, but safe schools? No way, because you can stand here all day long watching to see if a police patrol car goes by. You never see one. We call the police when something happens; they show up five or six hours later. So where is the safe school? And then, what kind of security does the state provide? None. Security from the state is for public officials that go around with bodyguards, and all the rest of us, you and me, the citizens, are not protected, even though I'm paying for security with my taxes, I have no right to this. The schools think that it's our job to do all this, and it is not possible to do everything. We do everything humanly posible regarding what we've been chatting about. So there is no safe school because I have to pay for an alarm system because I don't want a watchman. He's the enemy because he signals, and people come in to ransack the place. On the other hand, at least you can hear an alarm, and it scares them, and it gives me time to get out to see what's going on. That was for me a representation of a safe school, an inoperative one that until now tells me that there's no such thing as a safe school, and I say that I have my own Safe School Institute."]*

Clergy gave a mixed view of the National Police. Some expressed a lack of confidence in the police and a general dissatisfaction with them. For example, one Evangelical pastor who is also a youth group leader was asked, *"Si usted fuese víctima de robo o asalto, ¿cuánto confiaría que la policía capturaría al culpable?" ["If you were a victim of a robbery or a mugging, how much confidence do you have that the police would catch the guilty party?"]* His answer was, *"¿Cuánto? ... (Ríe), Dios mío…de un 10%, tal vez un cinco le doy. Si es que encuentra al culpable y si investigan bien, bien, verdad." ["How much?...(laughs) My God…maybe 10%, maybe I'd give it a 5% chance. If the guilty party is found and if they investigate, good, good, you know?"]* Another pastor, in answering the question, *"To what degree do you think the police in this neighborhood protect people from criminals?"* answered in a similarly negative way: *"¿Frente a los delincuentes?... Bueno, la Policía Nacional Civil, no sabe quiénes son los delincuentes, empezando por eso, verdad. Pero, de que nos protege, nos protege, de un 10%, eh, a veces, cuando nosotros les decimos de que vengan a rondear el barrio, vienen. Pero, tenemos que decirles nosotros, verdad, nunca ponen ellos de su iniciativa de venir. Pues, sólo con anuncios y un 5%, también, 5% de ellos." ["Against delinquents? Well, the National Civil Police don't know who the delinquents are, start with that, you know? But do they protect us, protect us? 10%, maybe. Uh, sometimes when we tell them to come and patrol the neighborhood, they come. But we have to tell them to do it, you see, they never come on their own. So only when they're called, and 5% too, 5% of them."]* Another Evangelical pastor, a young man in his early twenties, on being asked to what extent he was satisfied or dissatisfied with the PNC, answered in a similar vein: *"¿Eh, satisfecho? Bueno, mmm, de un 10% siempre, verdad, eh, un 5%, también, satisfecho, 5%." ["Uh, satisfied? Well, mmm, 10% of the time, always, you know, uh 5% too, 5% satisfied."]*

Yet another Evangelical pastor gave a good explanation as to why he felt that the police that he knew were not trustworthy. Essentially it came down to the policy of the PNC of frequently rotating officers from one site to another. This pastor explains the problematic aspect of this policy in the following way:

> *"Hay, hay una situación que se da y yo pienso que, que debería tal vez tomar en cuenta la institución o gobernación o, o la instancia que corresponda. Pero en cuanto a los policías, eh, porque los cambian, los cambian, entonces eh, ellos no les importa crear una buena imagen, porque saben que si tienen un problema a ellos los mandan a otro lugar, entonces, ese, ese sería una, una opción de que ellos tardaran en, en un lugar o en un solo lugar, y los presentaran a, a que, al, a la gente, al público, en una, tal vez en una actividad convocada por ellos y cuando ellos se fueran, también fuera así, porque entonces ellos van a tener un buen comportamiento pero si no. Ellos saben que si tienen un problema los cambian y se acabó el problema."*
>
> Translation *["There's, there's a situation going on and I think that, that the police or the government or the agency that this belongs to, should take into account. As far as the police are concerned, well, because they are always moving them around; they rotate them. So they're not concerned with creating a good image because they know that if they get into difficulties, they'll be sent elsewhere. So that, that would be an, an option for them to stay someplace, in just one place and then to, so that, to the, and introduce them to the people, the public, maybe at an, an activity that they themselves set up, and when they left, do the same thing because they they'd have to do their best. If they don't, they know that if they have a problem, they'll be transferred. End of problem."]*

One Evangelical pastor, the young man in his early twenties, was consistently negative in his appraisal of the PNC. In answering a question as to what the police do to reduce crime levels in the community where his church is located, he said that the police do absolutely nothing:

> *"Para reducir, reducir, reducir, no. No hacen absolutamente nada, si ellos redujeran, por ejemplo, la violencia, se coordinarían con los jefes, verdad, y dijeran "miren, muchachos, vamos a coordinar ahorita con todos los jóvenes o con todas las familias, vamos a explicarles qué es, qué es el servicio de la Policía Nacional Civil, o cómo nos pueden ayudar ustedes". Entonces, coordinar, o hacer planificaciones, verdad, en cada barrio. Y darnos también una experiencia de cómo nosotros podemos ayudarles, verdad. Como le decía, ellos no lo pueden hacer todo, pues. Darnos su número de teléfono, o algo, pues, para poder ayudarlos a ellos en el momento que tengan alguna dificultad o algunas charlas, verdad de parte de ellos, para decirles 'miren, muchá pueden decir esto, nosotros estamos, no solo para hacer mal a todos, pues, sino que estamos para, para coordinarlos a ustedes y ayudarlos para poder disminuir todo eso.'"*
>
> Translation *["To lower, lower, lower, (crime levels)? No. They do absolutely nothing. If they reduced violence, for example, they would be coordinating with the chiefs, you see, and they'd say, 'Look, guys, let's coordinate right now with all the young people or with all the families. Let's explain to them what, what the National Civil Police service is or how you can help us.' Then, coordinate or make plans in each neighborhood, you see. And give us an idea about how we can help you, you see. As I was telling you, they can't do it all, you know. Give us your phone numbers, or something, well, so that we can help them when they have difficulties or when they offer some talks, so that we can tell them, 'listen, a lot of people can say this, we're here not to do bad things to everyone, you know, but rather we're here to, to work with, with you and help you reduce all this.'"]*

In replying to a question that tapped into the phenomenon of community policing *("Cuando patrullan ellos en las comunidades, ¿hablan con los residentes de las comunidades?"), ["When they patrol the communities, do they engage the residents in conversation?])*, this pastor answered, briefly and bluntly, *"No, jamás, sólo pasa y ni adiós dicen (ríe)." ["No, never. They just go by and don't even say hello. (Laughs).]*

However, another Evangelical pastor, when asked how he felt when he had to deal with the PNC, responded in the following way:

> *"Fíjese que me siento muy bien, eh, honestamente me siento bien porque, eh, una de las funciones de la iglesia es apoyar, verdad. Lamentablemente aquí en Guatemala se oye mucho, verdad, de que es difícil confiar especialmente en la Policía Nacional Civil, habrán dos, tres agentes que lamentablemente, no tienen buenas intenciones pero conozco a muchos, verdad. No hace mucho, nosotros como iglesia estuvimos acá en, en la subestación, eh, cuando están por ahí por (comunidad X), verdad, estuvimos compartiendo con ellos, oramos un rato, como 45 minutos, verdad. El, el oficial allí, muy agradecido, verdad, juntó a todos los policías, eh, oramos con ellos, increíblemente algunos de ellos lloraron, verdad. Cuando terminamos, eh, eh, nos, se acercaron a nosotros, nos agradecieron, verdad. Entonces, nosotros podemos ver también de que igual que nosotros, ellos son humanos, verdad, con necesidades, con problemas con, con muchas deficiencias, igual que nosotros, verdad. Entonces, pero, eh, ya en cuanto a un acercamiento con ellos nosotros nos sentimos muy bien, porque independientemente de los problemas internos, verdad, en esta institución, eh, nosotros hemos aprendido a través de la Biblia que nuestra función no es criticar, no es tildar, sino que apoyar en lo que podamos; pero sobre todo pedir a Dios por, por todos, verdad. Entonces cuando tenemos un acercamiento con ellos, aparte, pues que nos sentimos muy bien en poder colaborar, verdad, en poder ayudar."*
>
> Translation *["Just imagine, I feel very good, you know, honestly. I feel good because, uh, one of the functions of the church is to give support, you see. Unfortunately here in Guatemala, people often say, you*

know, that it's especially hard to trust the National Police. There are probably two or three agents who unfortunately don't have good intentions, but I know a lot of them, you see? Not long ago we, representing the church, were over there at, at the substation, you know, when they're around there in Community X, you know, we were spending some time with them. We prayed for a while, about 45 minutes, you see. He, the official there, was very grateful, you know, that we prayed together with all the police offcers. Hard to believe, but some of them wept, you know. When we finished, uh, uh, they approached us and thanked us. So we can see that they're human beings, just like us, you know, with needs and problems and lots of shortcomings, just like us, you see. But, uh, with regard to forging a relationship with them, we feel very good because aside from the intenal problems, you know, in that institution, we have learnied from the Bible that our job is not to criticize, nor to label, but to give whatever support we can. But above all, to pray to God for, for everyone, you see. So when we establish a relationship with them, well, we feel very happy to work with them, you know, to be able to help."]

Yet another Evangelical pastor provided a neutral appraisal of police involvement with the local school, expressing his belief in good will on their part, yet at the same time he reported believing media coverage of corruption practices among the PNC. As he put it,

"Fíjese que para serle honesto, no he visto si han llegado a alguna, alguna escuela, verdad. Ehm, pero tengo entendido de que sí lo hacen, tengo entendido, cabalmente aquí en nuestro municipio todavía no sé si, si han llegado, verdad. Pero eh, eh, otra vez mencionando el acercamiento que hemos tenido con ellos. En alguna oportunidad nos dijeron de que ellos están muy dispuestos, incluso nos dijeron "si quieren que lleguemos a la iglesia a dar una charla, verdad, eh, podemos llegar con mucho gusto, verdad". Entonces creo que ahí nuestro pecado ha sido no decirles "ok, vengan pues, verdad". Pero, pero incluso algunos de ellos nos han comentado que han llegado a alguna congregación a escuchar, verdad. Y luego, pues, salen muy contentos y motivados. Pero en fin, pues, creo que, eh, sí tienen esa intención. Por lo menos en lo personal, nos lo dijeron y pues, podemos dar fe de que por lo menos ha estado ahí el deseo de ellos, verdad."

Translation *["You know, to be honest with you, I haven't seen them going to any, any school, you see. Uhm, but I understand that they actually do go, I hear, although here in our municipality I still don't know if, if they've visited or not, you see. But uh, uh, again, mentioning the forging of a relationship with them, one time they told us that they were very willing to come. They even told us 'if you want us to go the the church to give a talk, well, uh, we'll be happy to do it,' you know. So I think that in that respect, our sin was not telling them, 'Ok, come,' right? But, but some of them even commented to us that they've gone to a congregation to listen, you know. And afterwards, they felt content and motivated. But anyway, then, I think that, uh, they do have that intention, at least personally. They said they did, we we can attest to their desire (to help), you see."]*

At the same time, when asked if he thought that the police might be involved in crime sometimes, he answered, *"De hecho, se han unido muchos casos. Hemos oído en las noticias, en los diarios hemos leído, verdad, eh, de policías que han sido capturados porque ellos han sido parte de, de grupos que se organizan para hacer, eh, violencia, verdad. Entonces, para delinquir en este caso, pues, como no es solo una opinión, sino que hemos visto, verdad, en las noticias y por las investigaciones que se han dado, verdad. También en los noticieros han confirmado de que sí efectivamente han habido muchos policías que, que han estado en estos grupos." ["Well, a lot of cases have piled up. We've heard on the news and read in the papers, you know, well, about police officers that have been arrested because they have been involved in, in organized groups that commit violent acts, you see. So then, breaking the law, in this case, well, it's not just an opinion. We've seen it, you see, in the news and in the investigations that have been done, you know. Also on the news programs, they've confirmed that there really have been many police officers that have been in these groups."]*

Nevertheless, another Evangelical pastor was much more positive about the police. On being asked how he felt when he had to deal with the local PNC, he answered, *"Bueno, depende el caso verdad, porque ahora, eh, al menos la policía, pienso que está mejor preparada o instruida para, para, o sea es un poco más, más social, la policía no es como antes verdad, eh, yo pienso que sí, si, si son bastante accesibles ahora." ["Well, it depends on the case, you know, because now, uh, at least the police, I think they are better prepared and trained to, to, I mean they're a little more, more sociable. The police are not like they were before, you know. I think that, yes, yes, yes, they're more approachable now."]*

Youth at-risk expressed a lack of trust in the police and general dissatisfaction with them. On being asked if he had trust or distrust of the police in Tactic, one eighteen-year old young man put it this way:

> *"Yo diría que fue, es de… desconfianza, porque no, no desarrollan un trabajo así que sea verdad el trabajo de ellos, sino que, eh, por ejemplo, en las comunidades vemos de que si se les llama, no llegan, porque a veces dicen, porque no tienen combustible, porque, eh no tenemos tiempo, tenemos otro caso que atender, y yo creo que es desconfianza, porque no vela por la seguridad del municipio, aja."*
>
> Translation *["I'd say that it was distrust because they don't, don't do their jobs the way they should, you see. For example, in the communities we see that when you call them, they don't come because sometimes they tell you that there's no gasoline, because, well, we don't have time, we have another case to attend to. I think it's mistrust because they don't look out for the safety of the community, uh-huh."]*

Another at-risk youth, a twenty-seven year old man from Tactic, also said that he mistrusts the police. His reason for feeling this way is his perception that what the entire police mainly do is deal with drunkards: *"Porque normalmente más, más atienden a los borrachos y los saquean, sólo a eso se dedican." ["Because usually, usually they pay more attention to the drunks and they rob them. That's all they do."]* He related how he had gone to the police station to report a crime, was told by the police that they would go check into what had happened, but that they never left the police station to investigate the incident. When asked how the police treat young people in his neighborhood, he replied, *"Nada bien" ["Not good at all"],* because, *"A veces, hasta a uno lo insultan." ["Sometimes they even insult you."] When asked if he had ever been insulted by the police he relates an incident: "Eh, yo iba pasando por, por este ¡ay! ¿Cómo es que se le llama a esto? eh, por, por la comisaria y ellos empezaron a molestar. Y yo digo, ay, yo, yo, yo también ya mero le iba con la agresividad, pero, me controlé y mejor, me hice como que si no hubiera escuchado nada." ["Well, I was walking around, around this, Oh! What do you call it? Well, I was around the police station, and they started heckling me. And I said, gee! I, I, I was just about to get aggressive with them, but I controlled myself, and better yet, I pretended I hadn't heard them at all."]*

Nevertheless, one regional coordinator of a national youth group program, Red Nacional de Grupos Gestores, speaking of the national police of Esquipulas, gives them high marks. He feels quite satisfied with the police, insofar as they have been responsive to the needs of this program that targets youngsters. In his words,

> *"Fíjese que, ehm, en los procesos que hemos llevado de presentación de trabajo, eh, siempre ha estado la, la Policía Nacional. Y aquí el problema que, que hemos tenido que cada vez que invitamos a la Policía Nacional a elementos del destacamento militar, eh, cada vez son diferentes personas, vea. Eh, desde el momento que trabajamos este proyecto yo, he conocido como unos seis jefes de policías, vea, que cada vez que me toca que volver a platicar con ellos, sabedor que dentro de ocho, diez días ya no están ellos en la comisaría. Entonces ahí una, hay, hay, bueno, yo no sé si se puede decir que sea problema, pero sí el acercamiento con la policía,*

la identificación con nosotros. Yo lo que hago, como están frente a la municipalidad, la estación de policía, ya, siempre paso a, a, tal vez como no como, como, como a reportarme, va, sino como saludarlo, va, y decirle 'mire,' ahorita está don (nombre, nombre apellido), está de policía ahorita. Y lo saludo, va, 'cómo estás, en esto y esto.' En el problema de la niña de (comunidad X), ellos nos dieron esa asistencia policiaca. Pero ellos están sabedores a dónde pueden meter sus, sus manos, vea, fueron bien, bien cautelosos y dijeron, no, queremos que, que las cosas se aclaren un poquito. Eh, y así fue como se, nos estamos llevando muy bien con, con la institución de policía."

Translation *["You see, uhm, in the processes that we have undertaken in carrying out our work, you know, the National Police have always been involved. And here the problem that, that we've had is that every time we invite the National Police to activities on a military post, well, there are always different people, you see, Well, from the moment we began working on the project, I've met about six chiefs of police, you know, and every time it's my turn to go back and chat with them, wouldn't you know that eight or ten days later they're not at the police station anymore. Then there's, there's, well, I don't know if you could call it a problem, but it's the forging of a relationship with the police, their identification with us. What I do is since the police station faces the town hall, I always go there, not maybe not to, to, to report to them, you see, but to say hello to them and say, 'Hey, right now is Mr. (first name, last name), is he on duty right now?' And I greet him, 'How are you doing with this and that?' With the problem with the little girl in Community X, we had assistance from the police. But they are aware of where they can intervene, you know. They were very, very cautious and they said, 'No, we want to clear things up a little.' Well, that's how we began to get along with the police."*

Democratic Values

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

Interpersonal Trust

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

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

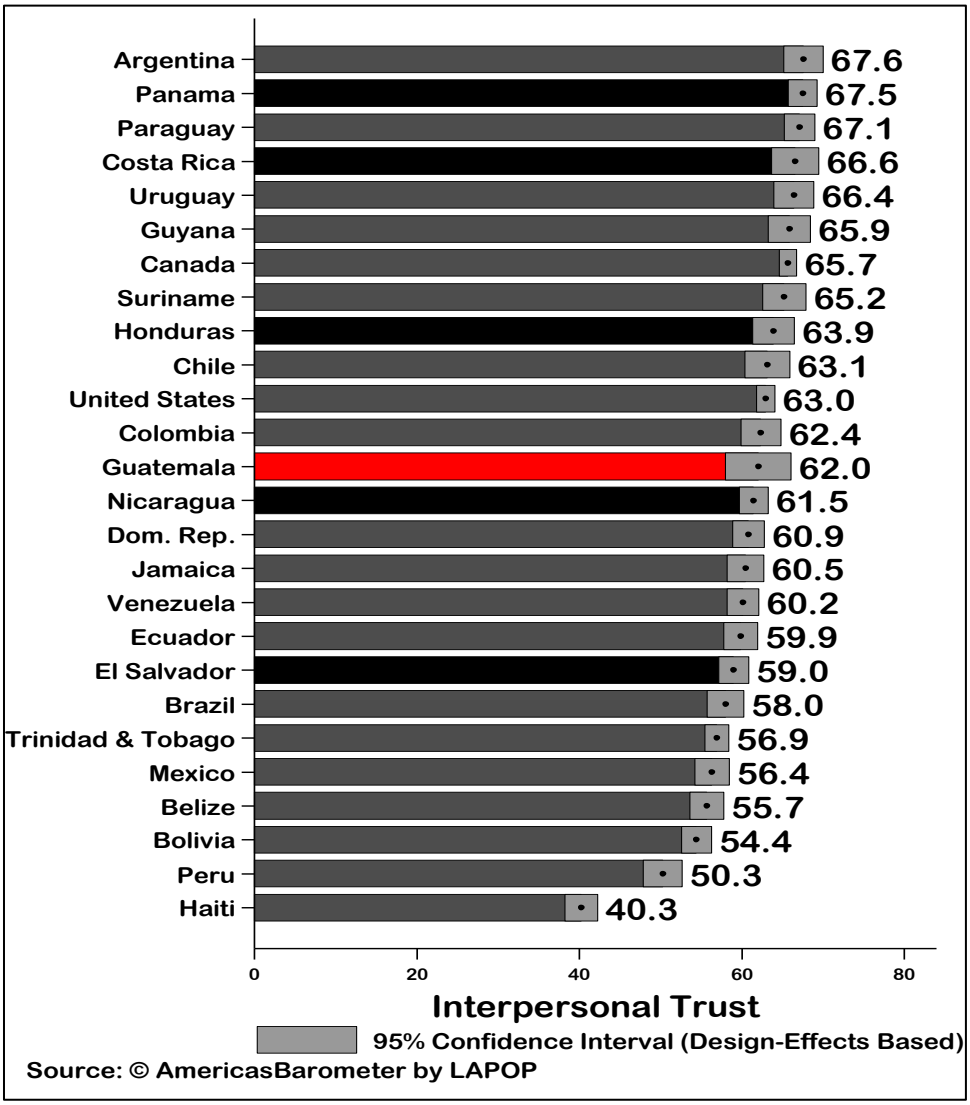

Figure 32. Interpersonal Trust across the Americas

Citizens in Guatemala express average levels of interpersonal trust compared to other countries in the Americas in 2012 (Figure 32). The average level of interpersonal trust in Guatemala is 62.0.

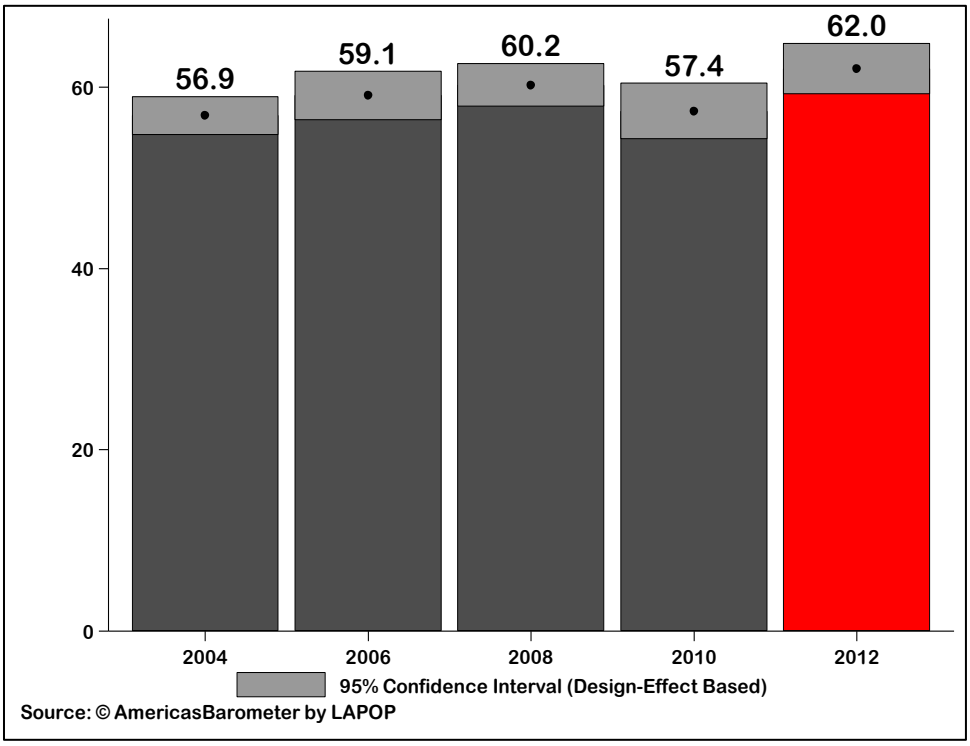

Figure 33. Interpersonal Trust (2004-2012)

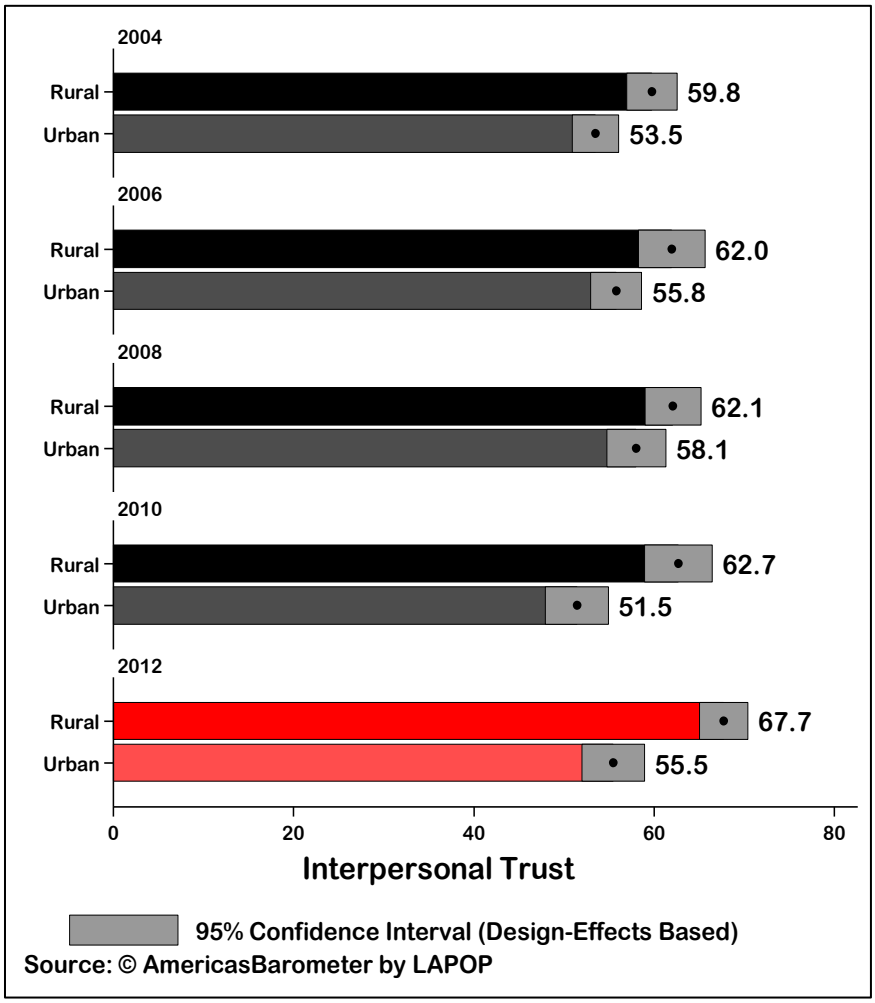

Figure 34. Interpersonal Trust in Urban and Rural Areas

Figure 33 displays average levels of interpersonal trust in Guatemala from 2004 to 2012. Interpersonal trust in Guatemala remains the relatively constant, with a slight decline in 2010 that increases in 2012. In the same 8-year period, figure 34 shows that urban residents, on average, have significantly lower levels of interpersonal trust. Interpersonal trust increases slightly in 2012 in rural areas.

CARSI community level data, in Figure 35, shows that in 2011, average levels of interpersonal trust were significantly higher in non-at-risk communities (65.5 points) compared to the treatment and control groups (57.2 and 59 points, respectively). In 2012, these levels marginally decline in both treatment and control communities.

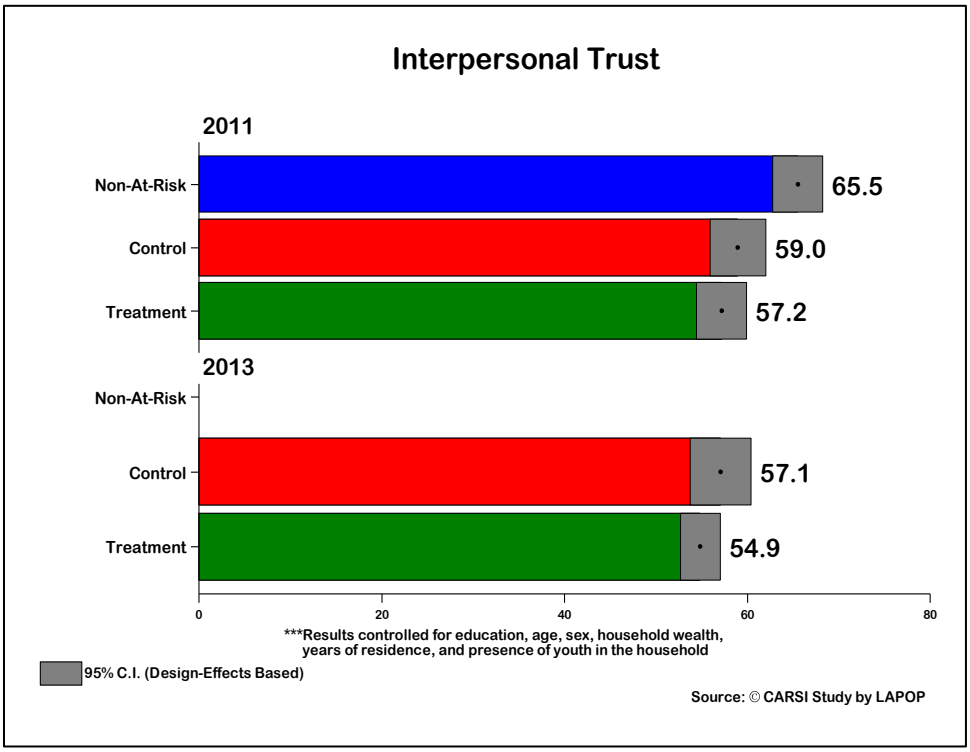

Figure 35. Interpersonal Trust

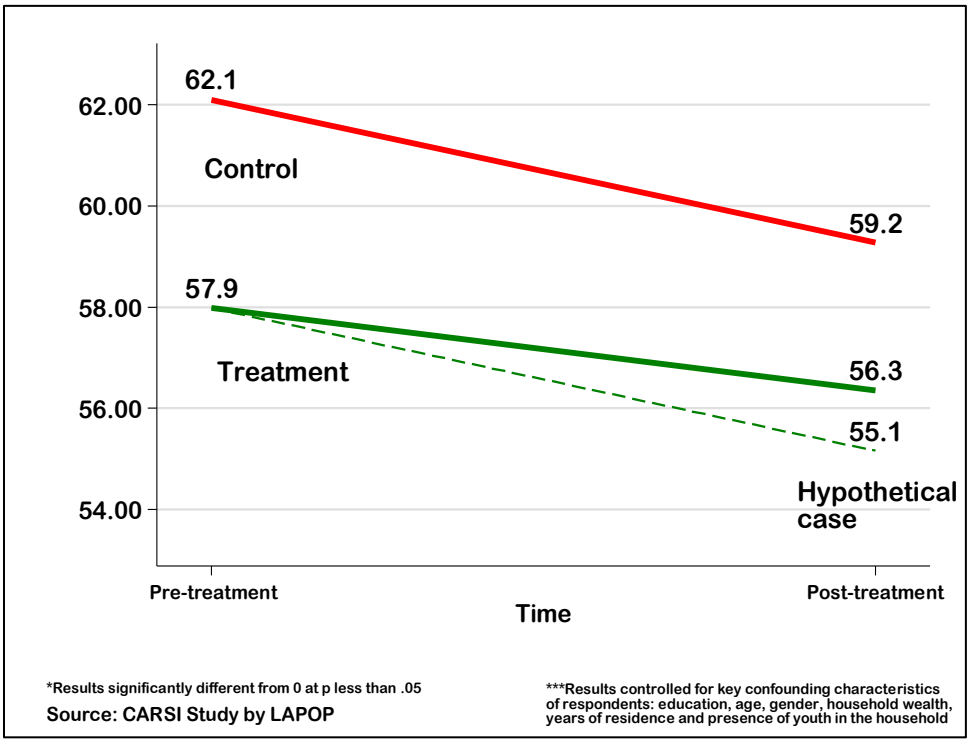

Figure 36. Interpersonal Trust (Predicted Values)

Figure 36 shows the average predicted levels for the treatment and control groups in 2011 and 2013. Interpersonal trust declines slightly in both groups over the two years. However, these changes are not statistically significant. The difference between the hypothetical case and the treatment group is not significantly significant, indicating that the treatment is not associated with increased levels of interpersonal trust.

The qualitative interviews shed some light on levels of interpersonal trust, insofar as stakeholders were asked, *"Cuando hay un problema acá en colonia X, los vecinos hacen algo para resolver ese problema?" ["When a problem arises here in Neighborhood X, do the neighbors do something to resolve the problem?"]* Most stakeholders gave neutral to negative responses to this question.

Clergy, on the whole, said that the neighbors unite to solve a community problem only in moments of crisis, for example, mudslides caused by hurricanes or other torrential rains, but that in general, they do not work with one another. An Evangelical pastor who works in Guatemala City, for example, anwered, *"Que yo sepa no, más que, hace años había, había un perfil así de delincuencia y, lo único que pusieron fueron alarmas, pero eso fue en el pasado." ["That I know of, no, but years ago there were incidents of delinquency, and all they did was to install alarms, but that was in the past."]* He reported that setting up alarms to prevent crimes occurred two years prior to the interview, and that whereas at first these alarms worked, afterwards they no longer served as a deterrent. The pastor could not explain why, but conjectured that, *"Tal vez se desorganizaron, no sé." ["Perhaps they became disorganized, I don't know."]* A Catholic leader said that he feels that there would be complete willingness on the part of the community to help one another out, and that what is lacking is leadership. He said that a leader was sorely needed to motivate the people to act.

Community leaders, specifically, COCODES officers, generally expressed similar opinions of community collaboration/cooperation. When asked, *"¿Hasta qué punto diría usted que la gente de su comunidad o de su barrio está dispuesta a ayudar a sus propios vecinos?" ["To what extent would you say that the people in your community or neighborhood are willing to help their neighbors?"],* one COCODES president in Tactic answered in this way:

> *"Eh, yo, yo, yo quisiera, yo quisiera ayudarlos, yo quisiera, eh, quisiera ver, participar con ellos, eh, que, que, que sepamos de que veras hay unión, verdad, que, que de veras haya, haya, haya buenos vecinos, verdad, que pasa allá si robaron allá, verdad, que estemos ahí, eh, unidos, verdad, 'mire pasó tal cosa,' 'mire, véngase para acá,' pues, ahí vamos y el otro vecino 'Don Juan, mire acá se, se rompió una tubería,' va, pues sí. Gracias a Dios yo soy, de aquellas personas de aquel hombre, de, de que me gusta trabajar voluntariamente, me gusta, eh, que, que la comunidad sea que, que, que los vecinos, que la comunidad sean muy activos. Y, gracias a Dios, pues por, por mi forma de, de, de ser, de hablar, pues también hay vecinos, pues también creen en, en mi persona y, y gracias a Dios, pues, eh, pues no estoy tan solo que se diga. Pero, pero igual, pues, no, de todos los, las calles pues no, no, no, no vienen, no. Están muy, muy, muy qué, eh, están muy, están muy retirados a la, la, a, a, a las reuniones, verdad, porque igual, pues, eh, el presidente del comité estuvo antes muy poco los, los, los invitó, verdad y al menos yo, pues, ya tengo dos asambleas ya tuve dos asambleas entonces, eh y él, pues, los dejó mucho, me imagino que también por eso es que la gente no."*
>
> Translation *["Uh, I, I, I would like to help them, I would like, uh, I'd like to see, participate with them, you know, understand that we are truly united, you see, that, that there really are good neighbors, that they'd go to you if you were robbed, you know, that we're there together, you see, 'Look, this this happened,' Please come over here,' then there we go. And another neighbor, John Doe, look here, a pipe has burst, see, well,*

yes, I'd like that. Thank God I am the kind of person, the kind of man that likes to work voluntarily, I like, uh, the community to be, to be, that the neighbors, that the community be very active. And, thank God, well, for, for the way I am, the way I talk, because there are neighbors that also believe in my person and, and thank God, then, you know, that you could say that I'm not so alone. But just the same, they don't come around from all the neighborhood streets, no, no, no, they don't. They are very, very reluctant to, to, to go to, to, to community meetings, and well, by the same token, the president of the committee appeared infrequently. He invited everyone but he didn't stay long, and at least I have attended two assembly meetings, I went to two of them, and he was missing a lot, and I think that's why a lot of people didn't attend."]

He in effect is blaming the previous COCODES president for not reaching out enough to the community to work on projects that would benefit everyone.

The most common answer given by COCODES leaders as to the extent to which neighbors help one another to solve community problems is that it depends: it depends on how much they trust their neighbors. Some are to be trusted and others are not. On the whole, COCODES leaders felt that their communities were apathetic about engaging in community projects, and stayed away from community meetings when the leadership invited them. As one COCODES president from Esquipulas said, in answer to the question:

"Qué tan unida es la comunidad X?" ["How united is community X?"]:
"Es un poco difícil, eso es difícil porque fíjese que el problema que hay ahí, primero que muchas personas no quieren no asisten a las reuniones, porque no quieren tomar cargos ¿verdad? Ese es el problema duro creo que ni tampoco solo solo ahorita no creo que, en varios lugares siempre se se da esos problemas. Cuesta reunir a gente ¿verdad? Porque ahí hay mínimo hay como unas 400 no más casas, pero cuando uno hace las indicaciones van llegando unas 50, 60, 75 personas si mucho, entonces este cuesta reunirla ¿verdad?"

Translation: *"It's a little difficult, it's difficult because the problem is, primarily, that many people do not want to attend the meetings, because they don't want be put in charge of anything, you see? That's the tough problem and I think it's not just now, I don't think so. In various places that's always a problem."*

And in answering the question as to how willing the people in the community were to help their neighbors, he answered, *"¿Hasta qué punto están dispuestos a ayudar a sus vecinos? Mm no sabría decirle, hasta qué punto estarían, porque con el hecho de no asistir a las reuniones, para escuchar o saber de qué se trata, entonces el que no asiste está, pues no sabe nada; si hubiera necesidad de ayudar de ayudar a alguien o ayudar en algo, para beneficio mismo de la colonia no lo hacen porque no están presentes nunca se reúnen ¿verdad? Entonces son pocos los que toman, la decisión de, de hacer algo ¿vea?"*

Translation *["How willing are people willing to help their neighbors? Mmm, I don't know what to tell you how willing they are because the fact that they don't attend the meeting, to listen or learn about what's going on, the, whoever is not in attendance doesn't know anything; if it were necessary to help, to help someone or help do something for the benefit of the neighborhood, they won't do it because they never go to the meetings, you see? So there are not many who will decided to do something. Do you see what I mean?"*

Another COCODES leader, one from Tactic, tried to quantify the degree to which his community was unified. He said, *"Pues no-no le voy a decir que en un 100% pero ya, han habido serios problemas aquí siempre hemos tenido eh, aquello de unirnos estamos estamos más que todo en un 50% unidos, sí," ["Well, no, I'm not going to tell you that it's 100%, you know, but there have been serious problems here. We've always had, uh, that issue of getting ourselves organized. We're, we're about 50% together, we are" which by social science standards for industrialized countries would be quite high.]* However, another COCODES leader, from Esquipulas, when asked if the neighbors in her community do something to solve a community problem when there is one, answered succinctly, *"No hacen nada." ["They do nothing."]*

A striking finding is that many COCODES leaders interpret the question regarding unity within the community to mean whether they act together to take justice into their own hands. For instance, one Tactic COCODES leader said that his community was quite united in this regard: *"Bastante, bastante, bastante unida, bastante unida la gente y usted sabe que dónde va (name of person) está toda la gente y donde hay un linchamiento, hay bulla de que le van a pegar a alguien ahí está toda la gente del pueblo (ríe) viera visto esta gente que estaba ahí el día que bajaron a estos pobres amigos de ahí de, arriba de (community X), era un gentío, verdad." ["A lot, a lot, we're pretty organized, pretty organized. People and you yourself know that where (name of person) goes, there you'll find everyone in town (laughs). And where there's a lynching, there's a commotion, because they're going to beat someone up. All the people in the town are there. You should have see the people that were there the day that they brought those poor friends down from up there in Community X, it was a big crowd, you know."]*

Satisfaction with Democracy

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

2012 AmericasBarometer data from 26 countries in the Americas show that Guatemalans are situated below average among countries in the study when asked "In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in Guatemala?" The average responses level is nearly 48 on the 0-100 scale where 0 means "very dissatisfied" and 100 "very satisfied". These average levels of democratic satisfaction are the lowest among the other countries in Central America. (Figure 37).

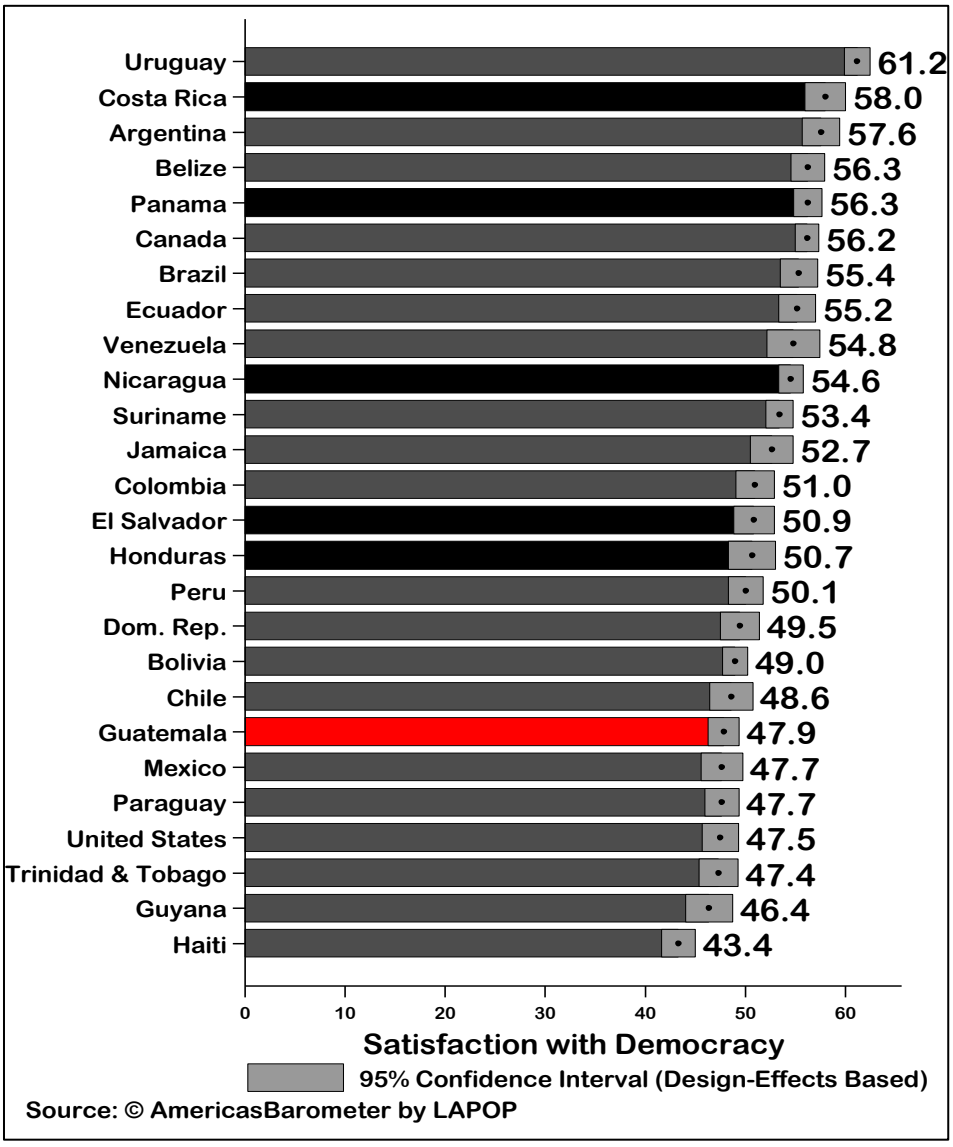

Figure 37. Satisfaction with Democracy across the Americas

National level data from the 2004-2012 AmericasBarometers indicate that there is no difference in democratic satisfaction in Guatemala between rural and urban areas (Figure 38). Figure 39 shows overall satisfaction over the 2004-2008 time period was highest in 2004 and 2006, but showed no significant change bet change since 2010.

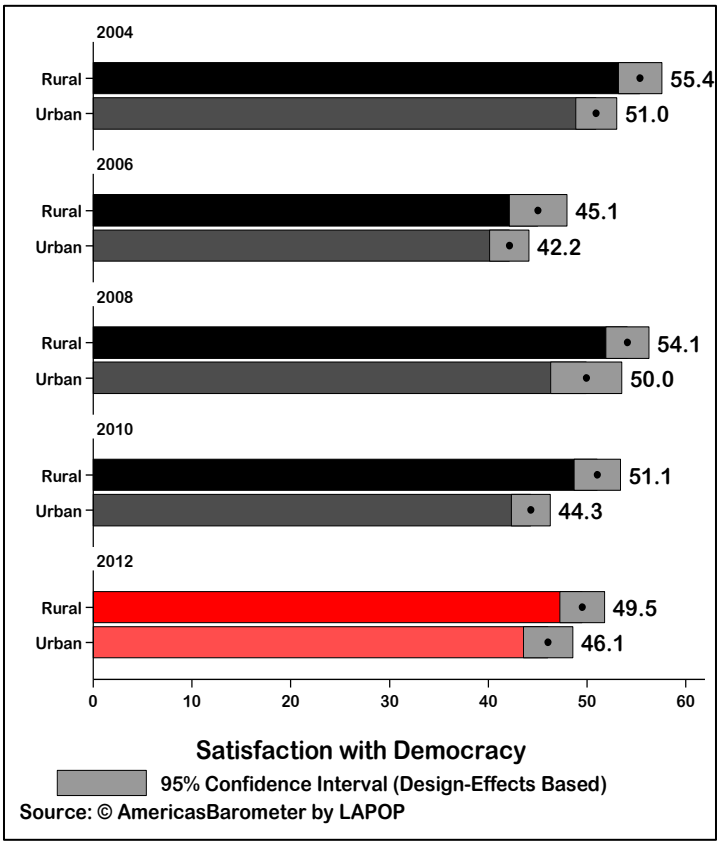

Figure 38. Satisfaction with Democracy in Urban and Rural Areas

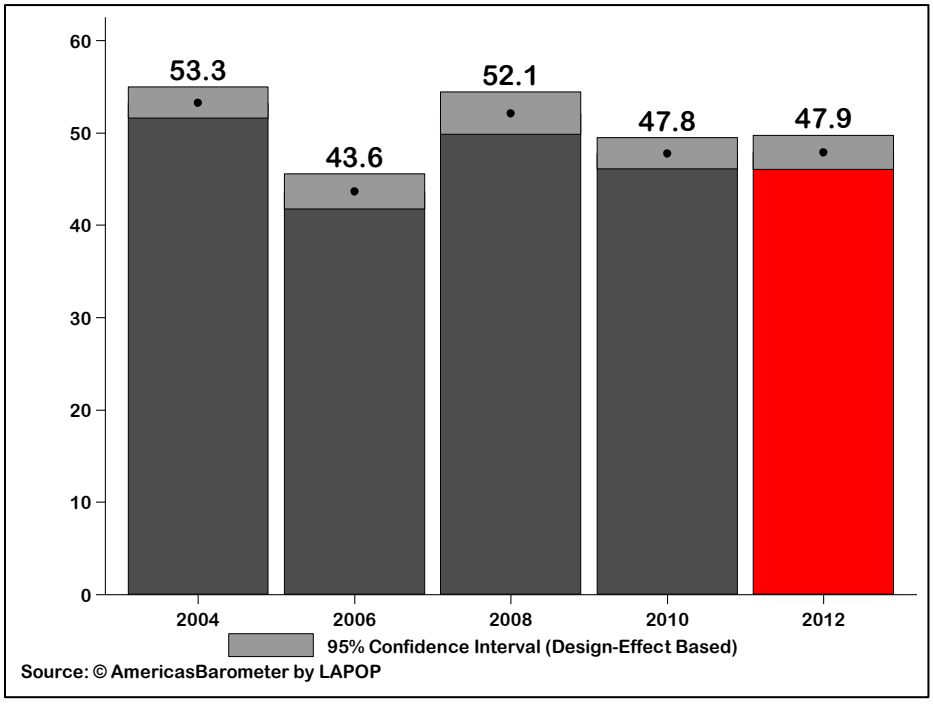

Figure 39. Satisfaction with Democracy (2004-2012)

CARSI community level data show that average levels of democratic satisfaction were significantly higher in non-at-risk communities compared to control and treatment communities in 2011. In 2013, average levels of satisfaction with the functioning of democracy increased in both control and treatment communities (Figure 40).

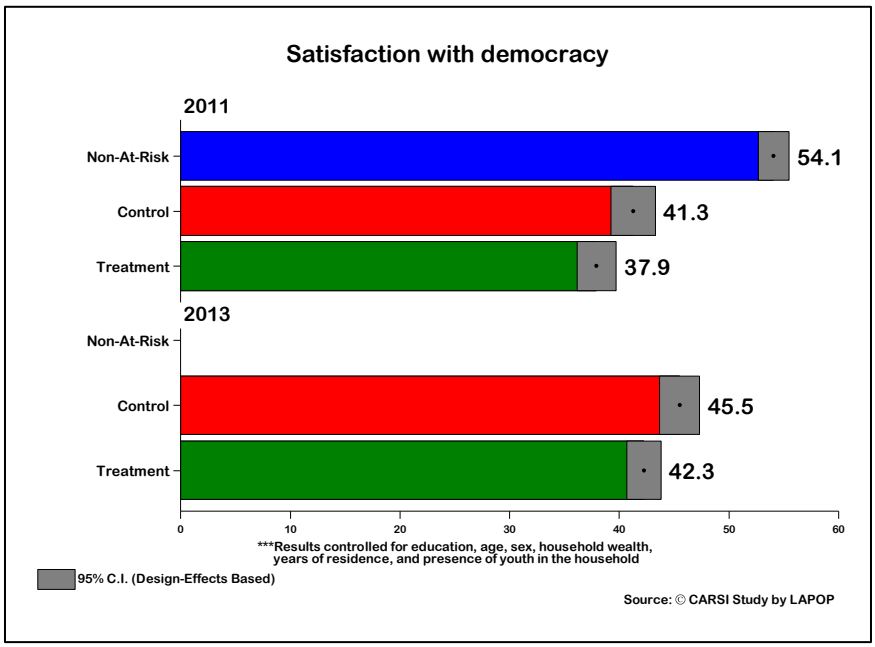

Figure 40. Satisfaction with Democracy in Neighborhoods

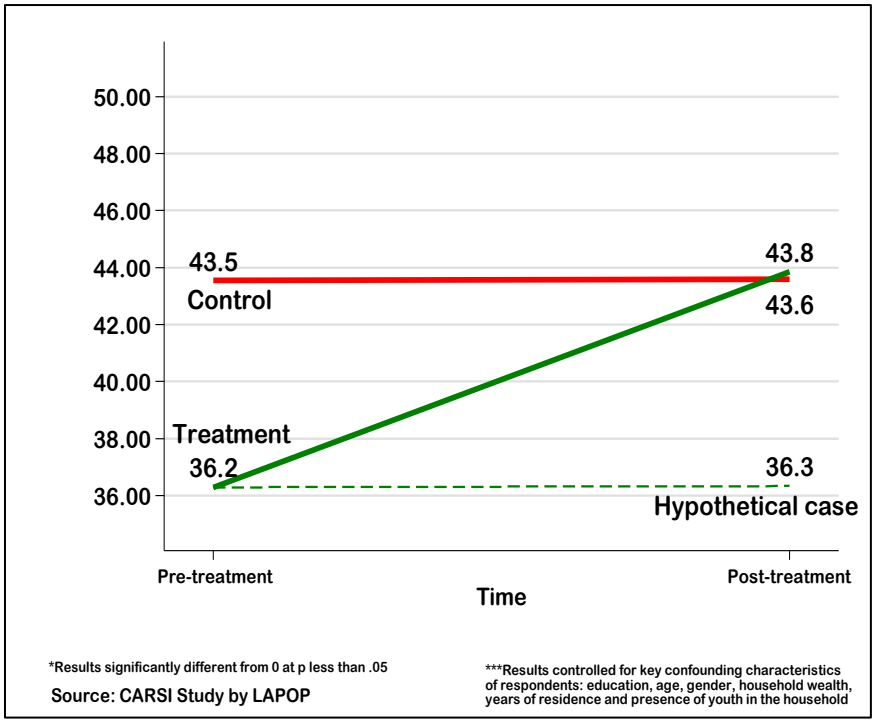

Figure 41. Satisfaction with Democracy in Neighborhoods (Predicted Values)

Figure 41 shows that the average predicted level of satisfaction with democracy increased significantly in treatment communities from 2011 to 2013, while in the control group these levels remain the same. By 2013, the predicted levels of both groups converge. Compared to the hypothetical case, the treatment communities show significantly higher levels of satisfaction, indicating that the treatment is associated with greater levels of satisfaction with the functioning of democracy.

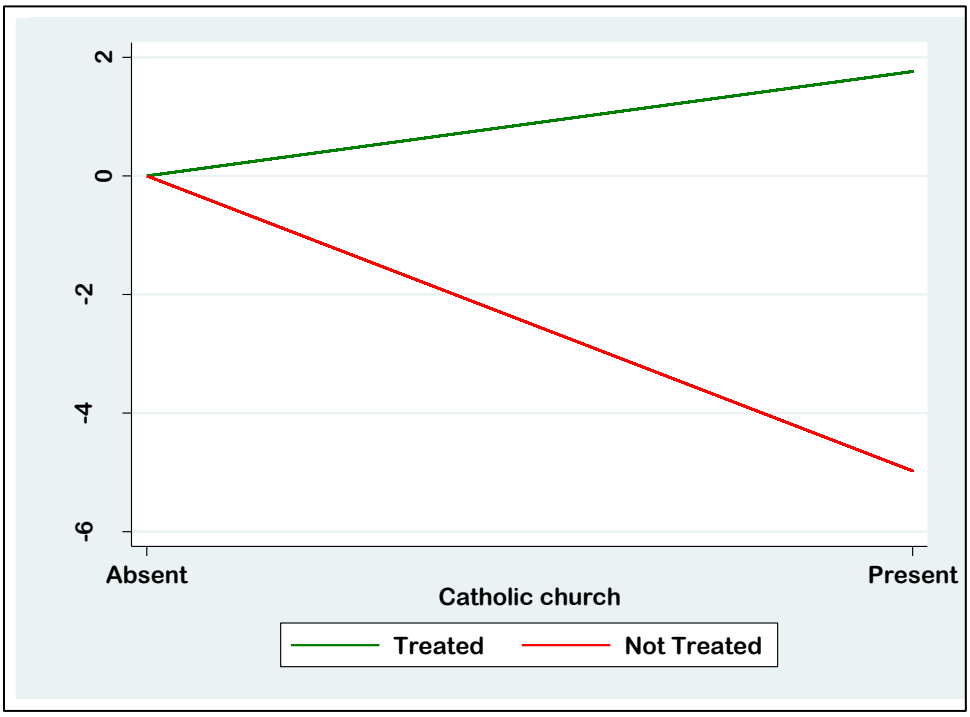

Figure 42. Marginal Change in Satisfaction with Democracy in the Presence of Catholic Churches

Analysis of the context in shows that in untreated communities, respondents were less satisfied with democracy in communities with a Catholic church. However, in treated communities with a Catholic church, there is significantly more satisfaction with democracy. The results displayed in figure 42 indicate that the treatment is more effective in increasing satisfaction with democracy in communities with a Catholic church.

Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety

2012 AmericasBarometer data from 25 countries in the Americas show that average Guatemalan evaluation of government improving citizen safety is in the upper half of countries in the Americas. Responses to the question, "To what extent would you say the current administration improves citizen safety?" show that Guatemalans have an average of 46.6 points on a 0-100 scale where 0 represents "not at all" and 100 "a lot" (Figure 43). Compared to Central American countries, Nicaragua and El Salvador have significantly more positive evaluations (63.4 and 55.2, respectively). We observe more

negative average perceptions of government efficacy in handling citizen safety in Honduras (31.3 points), followed by Costa Rica (40.2 points), and Panama (45.2 points).

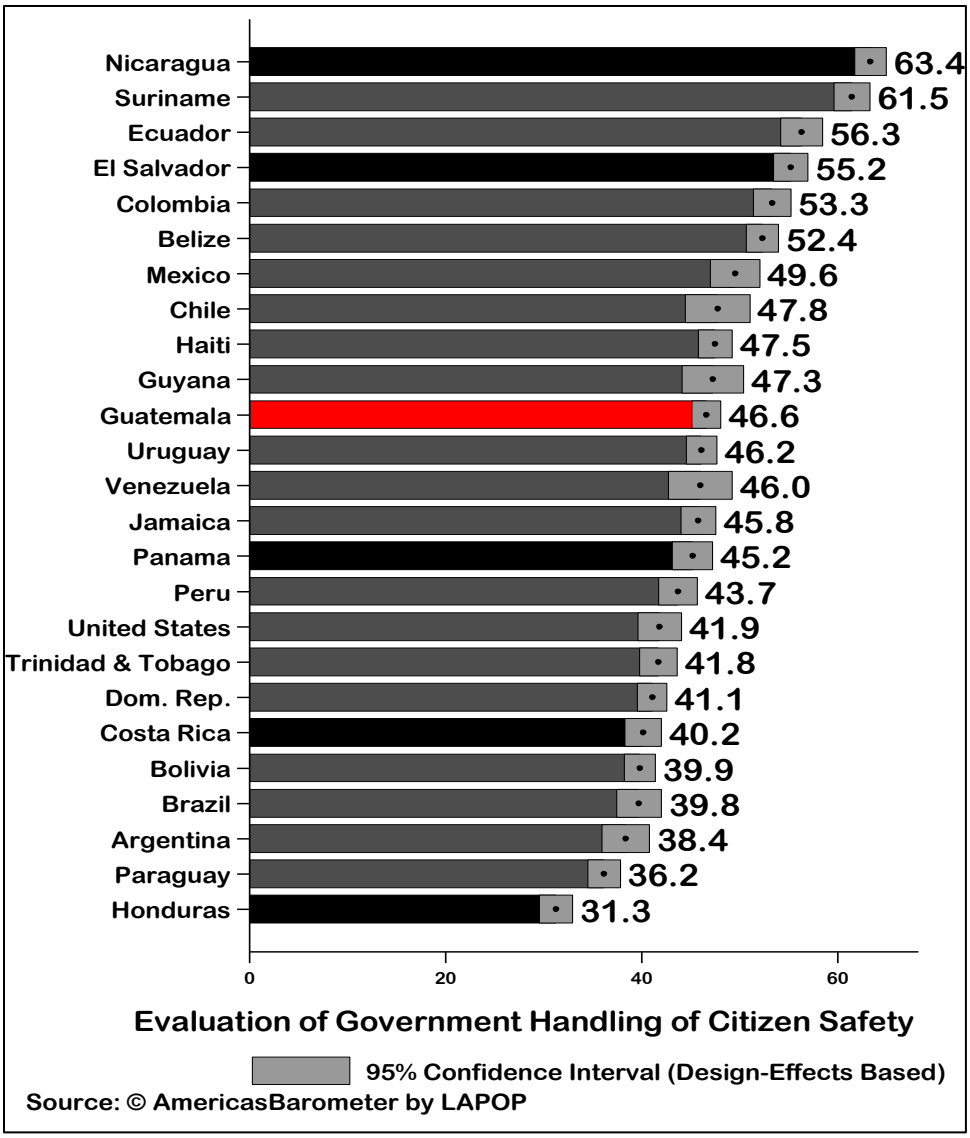

Figure 43. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety across the Americas

National level data indicate that evaluations of government handling of citizen safety has fluctuated from 2006-2012. Differences between urban and rural areas are not significant in 2012, although in 2010, urban areas show significantly lower levels of satisfaction.

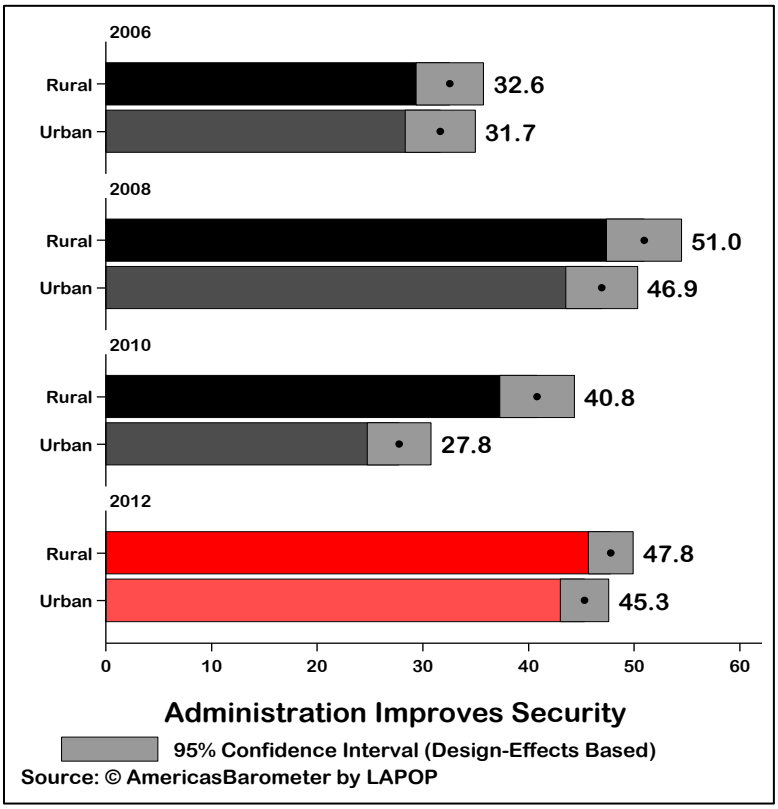

Figure 44. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety in Urban and Rural Areas

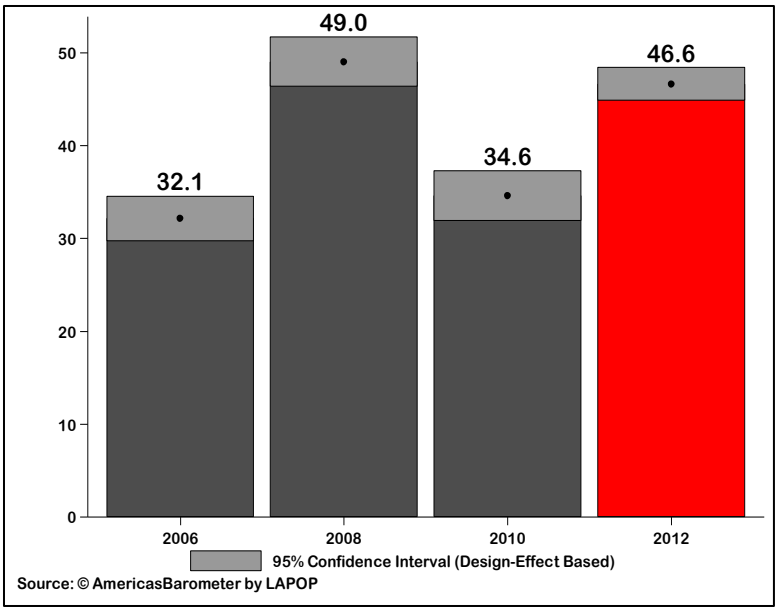

Figure 45. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety (2006-2012)

CARSI community level data in Figure 46 show little difference in 2011 among non-at-risk, control, and treatment groups in their evaluations of the government's security provision. In 2013, there is a significant increase in satisfaction—levels more than double in both treatment and control groups.

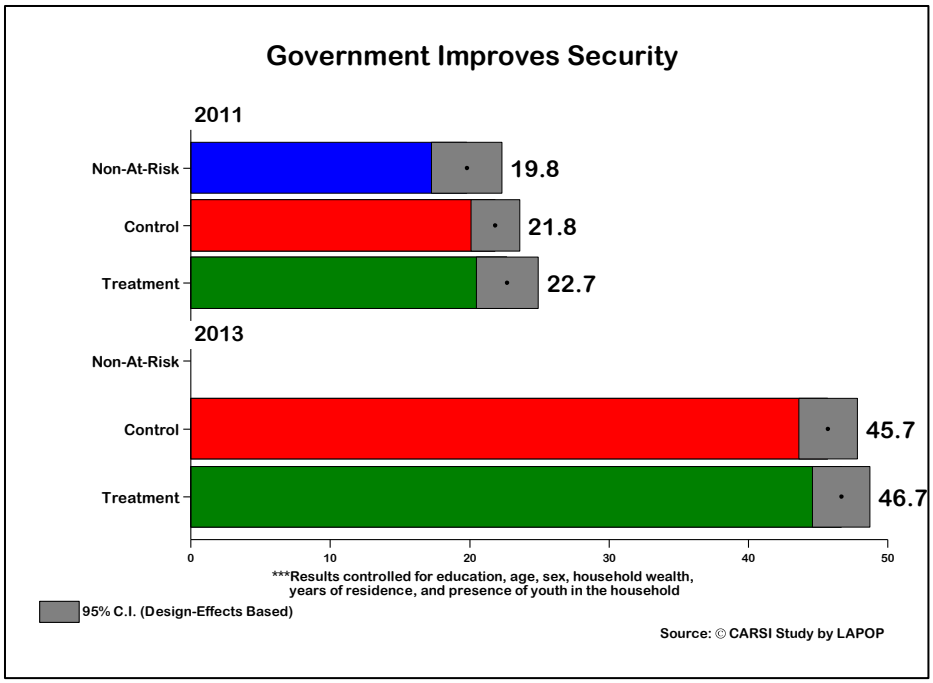

Figure 46. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety in Neighborhoods

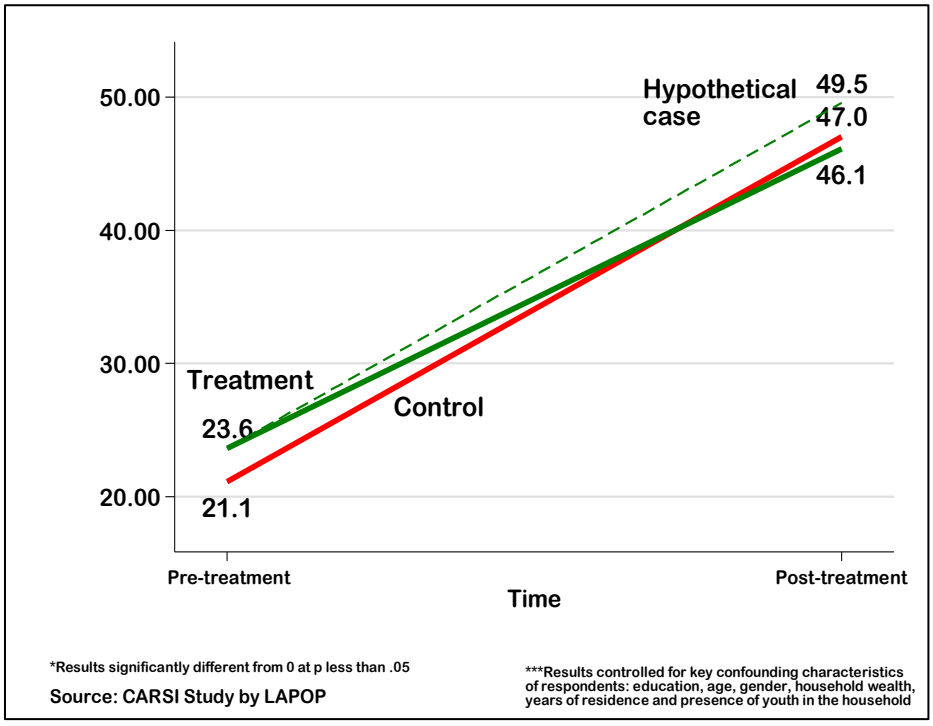

Figure 47. Evaluation of Government Handling of Citizen Safety (Predicted Values)

Figure 47 shows that the predicted levels of satisfaction increase between 2011 and 2013 in both the treatment and control groups. However, counter to expectations, the treatment neighborhoods show marginally lower levels of satisfaction than control communities. Therefore, the treatment does not have the expected effect of improving perceptions of government's handling of citizen safety.

The qualitative interviews with stakeholders present a mixed picture of their evaluations of how the government handles citizen safety (*seguridad ciudadana*).

With respect to the clergy, Catholic priests in general are most positive about the government's handling of citizen safety. One elderly priest feels somewhat safer (*un poco más seguro"*) since the donation (of the United States, he believes) of four motorcycles, two each for the municipal police and for the PNC, to patrol the center of the municipal seat. In addition, surveillance cameras were installed in the commercial center. All of this had occurred three weeks prior to the interview with the priest, he reported. He considered these initiatives to be *"magníficas" ["wonderful"]* and attributed his greater sense of safety to them.

What is noticeable about the responses of clergy regarding their sense of safety—during the day or night—is that they do not attribute it to government actions or policies. They simply do not mention the government in this respect, neither their local municipal government nor the national government.
Community attitudes toward government handling of citizen safety is revealed in the existence of vigilante justice, or taking the law into your own hands (also called '*linchamientos*'). The very fact that communities organize themselves (through Juntas Locales de Seguridad), in areas that are distant from urban centers, and where there is no police station located within the community, is evidence of community dissatisfaction with the government's handling of citizen safety. A number of COCODES leaders cited cases of *linchamientos* in their communities. Some of the situations that provoked them and the outcomes of them are described below.

One president of a COCODES in Tactic, on answering questions related to social disorder in his community, and being asked if there were Juntas Locales de Seguridad, answered in this way:

> *"¿Juntas Locales de Seguridad? Sí, eh, hay un señor por allá, eh, que se, no sé tal vez, mmm, el nombre no, pero, pero hay un señor allá. Pero igual, pues, a, eh, para mí, pues, también ha actuado un poquito mal porque, eh, desnuda a la gente, lo pasa en las calles, eh, lo pasa en frente los niños, eh, amarrados con lazos. Hace poco, pues, también paso, verdad. Entonces, eh, eh, lo, pues, eran unos cuatreros supuestamente o son, que sé yo, verdad. Pero, la verdad de que los fueron a, a, agarrar, los fueron a amarrarlos y, a golpearlos, eh, y lo pasaron, en, aquí por, por el parque, verdad, entonces, o lo llevaron ahí a la Policía Nacional, verdad, pero después de haberlo golpeado. Y eso, pues, para mí como, como que, eh, como presidente del COCODES yo no quisiera ver, eh, yo no quisiera, eh, eh demostrar o que, o, o, o, o sacarlo en las calles o que ya… Entonces ahí es donde se dan cuenta los niños, que para dónde vamos o los niños qué, qué, qué, qué van, qué van a pensar, mire, si lo están haciendo ellos, pues los niños ven lo que el adulto hace también lo hacen ellos, verdad. Entonces, eso pues también, eh, me deja un poquito qué pensar por qué es cierto, es junta de seguridad pero no es, lo, ellos no hacen la función como deben de, de hacerlo, verdad. Para mí, pues, pues, que Dios me perdone, verdad porque los delincuentes pues ahí andan, pues, también, verdad, asaltando, eh, ya, robando ganados. Pero, está bien capturarlos, llevarlos a las, a las autoridades, verdad, pero, no amarrarlos con lazo, ni, ni, ni, ni, ni enseñarle, eh, a los niños, verdad, cómo es, eh, ahí es, donde yo pienso que genera más violencia."*

Translation *["Local Security Councils? Yes, well there's a man there, uh, who, I know know, may, uhmm, I don't know his name, but there's a man there. But just the same, well,uh uhm, in my view, he's acted a bit badly because, well, he takes people's clothes off and parades them through the streets in front of children, you know, tied up. Not long ago, well, it also happened, you see. So, uh, they, well, they were suspected cattle rustlers, or they are, I really don't know. But the truth is that they went to, to capture them, they went to tie them up and beat them, you know, and they paraded them in, around here, in the park, you know. Or they took them over to the National Police, you see, but that was after they beat them. And for me, that was, well, as COCODES president, well, something I wish I didn't have to see, you know. I wouldn't want to, to show or that, or, or, or take them into the streets, or…This is when the children realize what direction we're going in. and what are they supposed to think? Look, if they see the adults do it, they'll do it too, you know. So this also makes me think, well, it's true, this is a Security Council, but it's really not because they don't do the job they're supposed to, you know. I think, well, uh, God forgive me because the delinquents are out there, you know, mugging people and stealing cattle. But it's a good thing to capture them, take them to the, to the authorities, you see, but not tie them up with rope and not, not, not not, not show, uh, the children, you see, how is it? Well, that's how I think more violence is generated."]*

Even if there is no Junta Local de Seguridad in a COCODES leader's community, such leaders know about these Juntas and approve of them. In a Tactic community that does not have one, the president explains their function and modus operandi:

"Pues yo creo que velar por la, velar por la seguridad de, de, de las casas más que todo verdad, por los habitantes porque como le digo se ha estado ahorita este tiempo con el vandalismo, verdad mucho, mucho hemos escuchado mucho, entonces este, de hecho hemos sabido del barrio ¿qué barrio es éste? barrio (X) que yo creo que ellos sí se habían, hubo un tiempo que anduvieron muchos por acá arriba robando aquí por el centro y ellos andaban de noche, creo que ellos sí habían hecho sus grupos y de hecho yo salí a dar una vuelta a medianoche y los miraba con palos, con machetes ahí en las, en las calles caminando verdad eran, eran sus, sus juntas de seguridad que ellos habían hecho."

Translation *["Well, I believe that it is to watch over, watch over the security of the homes, more than anything else, I feel, very much so. We've heard so much, so many things recently you know about vandalism, about the neighborhood, which neighborhood is this? The (X) neighborhood. I think that they did know about it, there was a time that there were a lot of people up here committing robberies here in the middle of town and (the Junta) did this at night. I think they had organized their groups. Indeed, I went out for a walk at midnight I saw them walking around with clubs and machetes there walking on the streets, and you know, it was the neighborhood security council people that they had organized."]*

When asked what he thought about these Juntas, his answer was: *"No yo creo que está bien, yo creo que está bien, creo que no hay cómo cuidarse los unos a los otros verdad, porque si esperamos, si dependemos de, de la seguridad nacional como es la policía, yo creo que ahí estamos perdiendo un poquito el tiempo verdad, me gusta a mí sí, en lo particular me gustaría que en (name of community) se pudiera armar un grupo así verdad con gente que, que tuviera la capacidad y los, los recursos pues verdad." ["I think it's all right, I think it's the right thing to do, I think that there's nothing like taking care of each other, you know, because if we wait, if we depend on national security like the police, I think that we're kind of wasting our time, you see. I like what they're doing. In particular, I'd like it if in Community X we could form a group like that, you know, of people who, who were trained and had the, the resources, you see."]* In short, he was very much in favor of these local juntas, given that the PNC take so long in responding to a call from his community.

Another COCODES leader, one from Esquipulas, also says that his community does not have a Junta Local de Seguridad. He says that in the region of Oriente there are such Juntas, and that those Juntas

do engage in taking the law into your their hands, which apparently he approves of, because he sees people from his community being detained by the police, and then being let out shortly afterwards because they were able to bribe their way out of jail:

> ***Líder:*** *No hay, no hay, bien porque no sé si en las otras colonias habrá, porque aquí aquí siempre platicamos varias personas que no es como el occidente ¿va? O que hace están bien organizados y son tremendos, que ahí si-si alguien, lo hallan haciendo el (inteligible) lo hallan en el hecho de cualquier problema lo agarran y, y hasta lo queman ¿verdad? Pero lo que es todas las partes del oriente, lo que son más miedosos yo no sé cuál es el motivo, o reflexionamos más porque no sé; me reunió una vez el juez de paz de aquí de Esquipulas, "Hagamos unas charlas aquí en la MUNI" y él dijo que todas esas personas que hacen esos linchamientos, dice que personas no preparadas que no tuvieron estudio dice y, y ellos son muy cerrados de mente y si por eso llegan a, hasta el motivo de hacer eso. No sé ¿verdad? Lo que se agarran ellos por allá es de que como, para eso no se hace justicia directamente ¿verdad? No se-no se aplica directamente o, o si alguien lo agarra tiene dinerito paga y ya le arreglaron el problema y ya está libre, por eso es de que, por allá los de occidente, ellos tratan de hacer su justicia con las, con sus propias manos ¿verdad? Aunque-aunque, dice que se dice que se (uninteligible) ¿verdad? Pero están organizados. En cambio nosotros aquí, aquí no, como aquí tal vez tenemos miedo porque como, muchos andan con sus grandes pistolones ahí ¿verdad? Y uno-uno piensa mucho y eso-eso no-no se lleva a cabo aquí, no se ha da-no se ha dado nada de eso, ni creo que también haya alguna colonia que se organicen, y hacer lo que es necesario con los delincuentes.*
>
> Translation *[**Leader:** We don't have one, we don't have one because I really don't know if the other neighborhoods have them, because here, here some of us are always talking about how here it's not like it is in the west, you know? Or how do they organize themselves so well and work so well; that over there if, if they catch anyone doing (unintelligible), they catch someone red-handed and they capture him, they'll even set him on fire, you know? But everywhere in the eastern area, people are more fearful, and I don't know why. We need to ponder on it a little more, I don't know. One time I met with the justice of the peace here in Esquipulas. I told him, "Let's give some talks here at the MUNI,' and he said that all those people involved in lynchings, he said they are not trained and have no schooling, he says, and that they are very closed minded and that is why they want to do those things.' I don't know, you see? The ones they're capturing over here, it's like why bother trying to do justice, you know? It isn't, it isn't served directly. If they catch someone who has a little money, he pays a bribe and the problem goes away and he's set free, that's why over there in the western area they try to take the law into their own hands, you see? Although, although you hear rumors that (unintelligible) you know? But they're organized, and over here we're not, like maybe we're afraid because since, many people walk around over there carrying their big sidearms, you know? And you, you think about that a lot, and that, that, doesn't, doesn't get done here, you don't see it, you never see anything like that, and I also don't think there's any neighborhood where they're organizing themselves and doing what is necessary with delinquents."]*

Again, a COCODES leader bemoans the fact that his community lacks a Junta Local de Seguridad, and wishes that they would organize one.

Yet another COCODES leader from Esquipulas says that his community has not organized a Junta Local de Seguridad yet, but that they are considering it, and have talked about it at a committee meeting. He reported being told that*, "…se podía hacer pero lleva mucho trabajo, me dijeron. Por eso es que no se ha hecho." ["… It could be done, but it involves a lot of work, I was told. That's why it hasn't been done."]* For this leader, who is over sixty years of age, such a Junta would bring benefits to the community, in that if everyone is on the lookout for some suspicious-looking person, a rapist for example, they would grab a telephone and call (presumably the other members of the Junta), and in this way come to an agreement on how to proceed.

Another Esquipulas COCODES leader has heard about these Juntas through the media, and seeing these Juntas on the television news his perception of them is that, *"Defienden sus, sus colonias, defienden sus departamentos." ["They are defending their, their neighborhoods, they are defending their municipalities."]*

It is clear that taking the law into your own hands is going on regularly in many of the communities. One COCODES president of Tactic reported that in that municipality there was a lynching about once a month *("Eh, mire, acá, eh, tal vez, ehm, le podría decir de, tal vez un, en el mes tal vez sucede una vez, verdad, aunque, aunque pasó, pa… pasaron, qué, eh, meses en que también la, la, la, la delincuencia en Tactic, pues, ya se había, eh, eh, ya se había, ya se había, qué, se había muy, ya, ya, ya muy seguidos pues estaban, eh, eh asaltando, eh, eh, estaban, eh, estaban este, sacando, saqueando comercios, robando ganados. Entonces, eh, sí, últimamente pues ha estado crítico la, la situación ésa.") ["Well, look, over here, you see, uh, maybe, uhm, I could tell you that, maybe one, in a month's time it might happen once, you know, although, although it happened, they, they happened what?, uh, also during months in which the crime rate in Tactic, well, it had, uh, uh, it had, it had, what? It had happened very, uh, uh, very close together, you see, robberies were happening, uh, uh, they were, uh, they were, uhhm, sack, ransacking businesses, rustling cattle. So, uh, yes, lately, well, it's been critical, that situation."]*

Another Tactic COCODES president, one who had been interviewed both in the first and second round, was asked how many times had people in his community taken the law into their own hands during the interval between round 1 and round 2, and his answer was, *"Aproximadamente 10, 10, 10 un linchamiento, un linchamiento y los demás han sido que los agarran y les dan una paliza y ya bien (ríe) pues bien golpeados los entregan verdad." ["About 10, 10, 10, one lynching, one lynching and the other times have been that (the delinquents) were captured and they beat them up and well (laughs) they've been turned in all beaten up, you see."] This leader was asked to clarify what he meant by "linchamiento," and his reply was "Es muerto." ("It means 'dead'.")* He explained,

> *"Es muerto, es muerto es, esta vez que yo le dijo que ese linchamiento ese sí fue una noticia a nivel internacional verdad, esa que yo le contaba de los dos niños, esa fue noticia internacional verdad, entonces este, este pobre joven, pues sí lo mataron y, y para el siguiente día que yo le comentaba habló el alcalde y decía 'no si ya con esa noticia le dimos vuelta al mundo verdad, con ese linchamiento' (ríe) y la gente gritaba atrás, demole dos (ríe) verdad con tal de matar a esos mismos vea, porque por lo mismo usted, yo creo que la seguridad y hablando así de lo que es esta la, las autoridades yo creo que estamos mal verdad, porque esta gente una semana tuvo en la cárcel y ya después andaba afuera haciendo lo mismo y en Cobán verdad, porque de hecho sí supimos que después de ellos uno de ellos andaba haciendo lo mismo en Cobán verdad, entonces este yo creo que ¿por qué? por el mismo miedo de la gente verdad, en su momento cuando están calientes, les acaban de hacer algo, están que lo maten o que los apedreen, o que les dan y ya cuando tienen que ir allá al Tribunal Supremo de Justicia a declarar y verle la cara, ya no quieren ¿por qué? Porque los vienen a amenazar, verdad. De hecho nosotros supimos ésta, esta última gente que le cuento de los tres ladrones que se capturaron, un mismo licenciado le venía a decir a la señora que cuánto quería por no ir a declarar en contra ellos y si no mejor que se atuviera porque si iba a declarar había más gente afuera, entonces póngase hasta que, hasta que y el licenciado muy conocido verdad, entonces hasta qué grado hemos llegado, entre nosotros mismos verdad, porque es un licenciado acá en Tactic, verdad…."*
>
> Translation *["It means 'dead,' it means 'dead' the event I'm telling you about, that lynching, that really was an international news story, you know. The one I was telling you about, about the two children, it was an international news story, you see. Well, this poor youngster, well, they did kill him and, and on the next day I was telling you about, the mayor spoke out and said, 'with that news story, we have gone around the world,*

you know, with that lynching' (laughs) and the people shouted back that they should do it again (laughs), you know, in the interest of killing those same people, you see, because by the same token, you, I think that security, and talking about this, about how the authorities operate, I think that we're in a bad way, you know, because these people were in jail for a week and then they were out and do the same thing, and in Coban, right, because, really, we had found out that afterward one of them was doing the same thing in Coban, you know, uh, I think, uh, why? Because of the very fear of the people, you see, when people are fired up, something has just happened to them, they're ready to kill them, or stone them, or beat them, and when they have to go to the Supreme Court of Justice and make declarations and look at him in the face, they don't want to do it, and why? Because someone will make threats, you see. As a matter of fact, we found out that this latest bunch I've been telling you about, the three robbers that were captured, one of the attorneys went to the lady to ask her how much she wanted to not testify against them, and if she wouldn't take the bribe, she should expect consequences because if she testified, there were plenty of people on the outside, can you believe that this very well-known attorney would do this? What have we come to, even among ourselves, you know, because he's an attorney from Tactic, you see…."]

And when the interviewer asked, "*Es abogado?*" *["Is he a lawyer?"]* the answer was, *"Ajá, exactamente, así muy abierto yo se lo digo verdad, entonces él venía y decía ¿cuándo quieren? Verdad, ellos están dispuestos a pagar con tal que usted no vaya a declarar, entonces como que ya le vienen infundiendo miedo a usted verdad, 'mira yo no quiero nada que salga así, porque usted no quiere que estos salgan y, y a, agarren represalias con usted y su familia' entonces a este grado de, de, de venganza es que ha llegado la gente, porque ellos han dado lugar a esto." ["Aha, exactly, very open about it, I tell you, you know, so he came and said, 'How much do you want?' Imagine, they're willing to pay just so that you won't testify, it's like they're ready to intimidate you, you know, 'look, I don't like to do this, but you don't want them to get out and, and, take reprisals on you and your family,' so we have reached this level of, of of revenge, because they have made this happen."]*

Apparently lynchings had increased between round 1 and round 2 of the CARSI interviews, at least in one area of Tactic. A COCODES president who was re-interviewed in round 2, who had said in round 1 that lynchings were not much of a problem in his area, in his re-interview said that, *"Pues no se había dado, pero ahora sí ya." ["Well, this wasn't happening before, but now it is."]* On clarifying his answer, however, he distinguished between true *linchamientos*, in which the victim dies, and instances of mere *"golpear y regolpear a personas que, que se han logrado capturar" ["beating people that, that they have captured, over and over"]*. The type of lynching in which the person is killed is not frequent in Tactic, he added, but the other type is. Nevertheless, he recounted a case of a young man who had been victimizing children, and who was torched by the community. He explained that the reason why the community burned him alive is that, "they were afraid that if he ended up in the hands of the authorities, in three or four days' time he would have been out of jail, perpetrating the same crimes, and so that's why they killed him."

Again and again COCODES leaders explained that the corruption of the justice system (specifically the courts, "*los juzgados*") makes communities take the law into their own hands. Thus, another COCODES leader, from Esquipulas, gave his opinion of this practice: *" Ahí lo, lo opino que es un poco malo contra la ley. Pero también les doy la razón. Porque si la policía agarra a uno de esos delincuentes van, y no les encuentran pruebas, afuera otra vez a seguir. Entonces, por un lado tienen razón, porque a cualquier ser humano no le gustaría que, que le vayan a violar una niña, que le vayan a matar un niño, y viene la policía lo agarra y los juzgados vienen, y no, 'ya saliste vacante, poné un abogado que estemos de acuerdo con él, y echa la tapa' y ahí está." ["In that case, I think it's bad, against the law. But I don't blame them, either. Because if the police capture one of those delinquents,*

you know, and they can't gather proof, out he goes to continue doing the same thing. So on one hand, the citizens are right, because no human being wants a little girl to be raped, or a child to be killed, and the police come and arrest him, and the trial comes, and no, they came up empty, 'so get a lawyer we can make a deal with, and put the lid on it, and that's it.'"] Communities engage in vigilante justice because they observe that the courts let people go free, people who are believed to be guilty of serious crimes, such as raping a young girl or killing a child.

Interviews with police officers also confirmed the existence of vigilante justice in the areas where the CARSI treatment communities are located. It should be noted that the police are assigned to a large number of communities, across several jurisdictional districts, with police stations of different sizes and levels of authority. Thus, the statements of the police interviewed pertain to all the communities they cover.

One police chief of a Tactic substation ('*subestación*'), the smallest, most local level type of precinct in the hierarchy of jurisdictions, in answering the question as to whether cases of lynchings, that is, taking the law into your own hands, have occurred in Tactic, answered simply: "*Sí.*" *["Yes."]* On being probed by the interviewer as to what the police do when they find out about a case of lynching in which the community captures the delinquent, the police chief answered: *"Tratamos de… como ya tenemos comunicación con los COCODES, pues con ellos nos comunicamos y tratamos de, de entrar en diálogo, verdad, que la gente pues pueda aceptar el criterio de ello o que nosotros les digamos a ellos para hacer un tipo negociación para que nos extrañe, lo del linchamiento." ["We try to…well, since we communicate with the COCODES people, uh, we talk to them and we try to, to start a dialogue, you know, so that the people, well, the people might accept our viewpoint, or that we talk to them in order to start some kind of negotiation to head off the lynching."]* In short, the police use the COCODES leadership as mediators, as intermediaries between themselves and the people engaged in vigilante justice.

A substation police chief in Esquipulas, in contrast, said that he had not seen cases of lynching where he is based, in the Zona de Oriente, because in that zone, *"no cometen esos hechos acá" ["those acts are not committed around here"]*. According to him, lynchings occur most frequently in *"el occidente del país, en el occidente del país" ["in the western part, in the western part of the country"]* and by repeating this phrase, expressing great certainty. When asked further what he thought about this type of behavior, of communities capturing a delinquent and then beating or lynching him, he responded,

> *"Pues, la verdad es algo ilegal. Pero lo hacen por ignorancia, por ignorancia, porque ignorancias a la ley, porque en veces se, se procede a detener personas y si no es, y si la detención no se da porque ha cometido un delito, pues obviamente ha cometido una falta. Entonces el juez procede a juzgarlos y como por falta, los delitos por falta, todas las faltas son multables y cuando la población, la ciudadanía ve que, que el juez pone en libertad a ese individuo que ha sido, ha sido detenido por la policía, entonces a ellos les van a, les causa cierto enojo y piensan que se está dando algún procedimiento anómalo o que el juez es corrupto. Entonces ellos ya vienen diciendo que, que la ley no se está cumpliendo cuando no es así."*
>
> Translation *["Well, the truth is that it is illegal. But they do it out of ignorance, ignorance, because of ignorance of the law, because sometimes we, we go out to detain people and if it can't be done, if the arrest doesn't happen because the person hasn't committed a crime, because obviously he's committed a misdemeanor. Then the judge tries them for the misdemeanor, misdemeanor crimes, all misdemeanors are subject to fines, and when the population, the citizenry sees that the judge releases the person who was arrested by the police, they're going to get upset and they think that this was some anomalous proceeding or*

that the judge is corrupt. So then they go around saying that the law is not being followed when that's not the case."]

His explanation is consistent with the views of several COCODES leaders who say that the judges are corrupt, and because these judges let go people the community believes have committed crimes, some communities adopt the attitude that taking the law into their own hands is the only way to deal with crime, to deter it by making an example of the alleged perpetrator in full view of the community in a public space. Interestingly, and probably not unexpectedly, the police chief did not allude to any negative feelings toward the police that such communities might harbor.

From the perspective of the police, they bear the burden of putting a halt to vigilante justice that is in process. This was pointed out by several police officers. One officer who coordinates violence prevention in Guatemala City, in explaining how the police typically handle such cases, described it as follows:

"Ah, son casos difíciles, porque cuando la comunidad está enardecida, no deja entrar a ninguna autoridad. Hasta que se solucionan ellos sus problemas por sus propias manos, pero sí es difícil. Y, y a veces uno por la escasez de personal, que a veces se llegan poco, poco policía y para… tantos ciudadanos que están enardecidos es difícil el ingreso. Pero, ahí lo que se hace es entrar al diálogo antes de entrar a, a, a los conflictos con la comunidad. Se tiene que tratar, eh, una comunicación, se tiene que dialogar. Y hay en muchas ocasiones de que se ha librado a la persona que quieren, quieren linchar."

Translation *["Oh, these are difficult cases because when the community is stirred up they don't let any of the authorities in. Until they themselves solve their problems, but that's a tall order. And, and sometimes it's because of lack of personnel, sometimes very few, few police officers to the scene, and when...there are so many angry citizens it's difficult to get in. But, in that instance, what we do is try to initiate a dialogue before getting into community conflicts. We have to try, uh, to communicate, to talk to them. And many times this has allowed us to free a person that the community wants to, to lynch."]*

In other words, since there are too few police officers available to deal with such incidents, simply entering such a community during an act of vigilante justice becomes impossible for the police. That is why the crime prevention units of the PNC make efforts to initiate a dialogue with the community, so that taking the law into their own hands does not occur to the residents as a reasonable option.

Another official in Guatemala City's crime prevention unit who was interviewed was asked if he and his colleagues had ever had to deal with a case of taking the law into your own hands, and answered:

"Eh, sí se ha tenido situaciones de atención. Eh, propiamente a través de las mismas jefaturas de estación y subestación, pero también donde los compañeros de Prevención del Delito han participado y apoyado los procesos para prevenir que se dé justamente un linchamiento. De esa cuenta a través del Departamento de Multiculturalidad, el organismo judicial tiene una mesa técnica de atención a la temática sobre linchamientos a nivel nacional, y, pues, conformamos esta, esta mesa técnica a nivel instituciones."

Translation *["Well, yes, we've have had serious situations. Uh, specifically through the leadership at the police stations and substations, but also when fellow officers at Crime Prevention have participated and supported the prevention processes for lynchings. In that respect, though, the Department of Multiculturality, the judicial organ that has a technical*

apparatus to monitor lynchings all over the country, and well, we're configuring this apparatus at the institutional level."]

The Department of Multiculturality represents the interests of the indigenous populations of Guatemala. They have offices throughout the country, in areas heavily populated by native peoples. This crime prevention officer in the capital, when asked how the community reacts when the police arrive at the scene of an act of vigilante justice, said,

"Bueno, la comunidad ya organizada, pues, actúa en contra de la misma institución policial. Eh, por los niveles de insatisfacción y de inseguridad que se muestra en estas comunidades. Eh, lo que se trata a través de, de, de Policía Nacional Civil y del área de Prevención del Delito es ubicar a los líderes comunitarios, pues, porque en muchos de los casos ellos son los, los que tienen como un poco más de preeminencia a hablar con su gente y tratar de, de bajar o, los ánimos que están en ese, en ese momento. En muchos de los casos la gente piensa que la Policía Nacional Civil es el que captura, es el que traslada al Ministerio Público o al juzgado y que la misma Policía Nacional Civil es el que se encarga de juzgar a las personas y de ahí van a los centros penitenciarios. Pero la Policía Nacional Civil es sólo una parte, el eslabón de justicia, y a veces eso es lo que cuesta un poco comprender por parte de las comunidades, verdad."

["Well, an organized community, uh, acts against the institution of the police. Uh, it's because of the level of dissatisfaction and insecurity that can be seen in those communities. Uh, what we try to do through the, the, the National Civil Police and through the area of Crime Prevention, is to place community leaders there, you know, because in many of the cases they are the, the ones who have a little more influence when they talk to their fellow citizens and they try to, to calm them down at times like that. In many of the cases the people think that the National Civil Police is supposed to capture criminals, take them to the State Attorney's Office or the court, and then they should also take charge of trying people, and from there take them to jail. But the PNC is only a part, just one step in the the justice process, and sometimes that's what is somewhat difficult for people in the communities to understand."]

Once again, the police are seen to rely on community leaders to act as mediators between police and those involved in vigilante justice.

One high level police official who specializes in community relations and community policing admitted that the police often were helpless in dealing with an enraged community, when the people have gone too far. As he ends his answer, he bemoans the fact that when the community is completely out of control, the police cannot intervene:

"Pues, en estos temas, eh, yo creo que es algo muy complejo. En estos temas, pues, eh, la policía prácticamente ya no entra dentro de este proceso, porque es cuando la, la comunidad se, se avalancha a este delincuente, estamos hablando de una comunidad, de una infinidad de gente. Entonces el policía, los policías, por lo regular, si hay mucho, de cinco a 10 policías en cada, en cada subestación. Entonces eso nos hace que, a que nosotros, pues, retrocedamos, hacemos hasta lo imposible para poder mediar o rescatar a este, a este delincuente y ponerlo a la, a disposición de los tribunales correspondientes. Pero, eh, cuando ya, se con, co-, se consume el hecho, pues, ya la comunidad se alborota y ya no hay control. Es un desorden y lamentablemente el policía ya no puede intervenir."

Translation *["Well, regarding those issues, uh, I think that they're very complicated. On those occasions, you know, uh, the police almost never get involved in that process. Because that is when the, the community storms the delinquent. We're talking about a community with a huge number of people. So the police, the police officers, usually, the biggest number of them at each substation is five to ten. That forces us to, well, to fall back. We do whatever we can to mediate or rescue this, this delinquent and get him into the proper courts. But, uh, when the deed, when the deed is done, well, the community starts rioting and gets out of control. It's chaotic, and unfortunately, the police can no longer intervene."]*

He noted that most cases of taking the law into your own hands occur in the *"occidente" ["western part"]* of the country, according to police statistics, and that the police, though their Prevención del Delito de Policía Comunitaria division has been successful in reducing or stopping such events, partly as a result of help from national and international institutions.

Interviews with police officers who are out on the beat, whose job specifically is patrolling, indicated that lynchings recently were diminishing in number. One patrolman, answering a question about the frequency of lynchings in Tactic, reported that, *"Eh…vieras de que últimamente no porque ya había…ya habían pasado ratos de que sucedió ese hecho." ["Well, you see, not lately because it's been a long while since that kind of thing has happened."]* And he clarified that the last one that he remembered occurring was in September of 2012. Another patrolman stationed in the same police precinct confirmed that the last two cases of attempted lynchings that had occurred in his jurisdiction were in September of 2012. He added that the event ended happily, since his police colleagues were successful in saving five people who were being pursued by the community *("…el año pasado tengo entendido yo en lo que yo vine aquí fue el diez de septiembre del año pasado hubo inten… dos casos de linchamientos en este año y posiblemente quisieron hacer uno pero por la gran eh… eh… la actitud y el profesionalismo de mis compañeros se logró pues sacar a cinco personas y se evitó un linchamiento"). ["…last year I understand that while I was on my way here on September 10 last year, there was an attempt…two cases of lynching this year and they wanted to carry out another one but because of the great, uh…uh…attitude and professionalism of my fellow officers we were able to stop five people from being lynched"]*. When asked why he thought people would take the law into their own hands, he answered that they, the police, were located at great distances from many of the communities in their precinct, and since it takes so long for them to arrive at the scene of a crime, people get tired of waiting *("La gente ya se cansa porque ellos piensan de que uno no llega puntual; no es eso sino que es la distancia que estamos. Entonces ellos los retienen y quieren hacer lo que ellos quieran con una persona.") ["People are fed up because they think that we're not going to arrive quickly; it's not that, but it's because we're we're pretty far away from them, so they hold onto them (the suspects) and want to do whatever they want to with them]*. This explanation is entirely consistent with the statements made by COCODES leaders.

In another Tactic substation, police report a higher frequency of lynching cases. One patrolman said that lynching *"Es muy frecuente, es frecuente." ["It happens a lot, a lot."]* Another Tactic police officer, an assistant police chief, confirms that lynchings continue to go on. In a recent case, the suspected perpetrator of a crime against a child was both beaten and burned alive *("Se murió, ajá, lo golpearon y le rociaron gasolina lo amarraron y le pegaron fuego, ¿verdad? Entonces eso salió, a nivel internacional en las noticias y todo. Entonces a raíz de todo eso pues se está dando mucha prioridad ahorita en las entradas en-en-en, en las salidas en las escuelas tanto como institutos ¿ah? Y siempre y cuando pues siempre hemos dado números telefónicos, que contamos acá en una en la*

oficina; les damos el número para cualquier emergencia pues, que nos llamen y de inmediatamente acudimos al lugar"). ["He died, uhuh, he was beaten and they poured gasoline on him, tied him down and set him on fire, you know? Later this came out in the news around the world and all. That was the event that started all of this, and they've made a priority of watching at, at, at times when children are going in and out of schools and institutes, huh. And just as long as we have exchanged phone numbers, which we keep here in an, in one of the offices; we give them the number to use in an emergency, then, or they call us and we go to the place right away."] This assistant chief-of-police and patrolman noted that there had been a case of an attempted lynching just the day before interview with the CARSI interviewer.

One important question has to do with the effectiveness of the Junta Local de Seguridad in preventing, or alternatively promoting, lynchings. The police officer quoted above was asked if the lynchings he knew of were related to the Juntas Locales de Seguridad, and his answer was, *"Pues a veces sí, y a veces no, ¿va?" ["Well, sometimes they are, and sometimes they're not."]* He was saying that these local safety juntas can often be quite ineffectual, when the people engaged in vigilanteism feel so strongly about a given suspect.

Attitudes toward the police and stances regarding taking the law into your own hands apparently vary according to the region in Guatemala in which a community is located. Esquipulas police officers reported a much lower incidence of such community responses to crime. One assistant police chief in Esquipulas said that he wasn't aware of incidents of taking the law into your own hands in his precinct, and that the people there respect the police, and prefer that the police take action rather than they themselves acting to detain suspected criminals.

Conclusions

Thus far in the study, in all dimensions analyzed, we find that the outcomes in the treatment communities improved more (or declined less) than they would have if USAID's programs had not been administered. Among our key direct findings, focusing on the quantitative portion of the study, USAID crime prevention programs in treatment communities:

a. Reduced crime victimization
b. 18% fewer reported occurrences of robberies than would be expected without treatment
c. 50% fewer reported occurrences of illegal drug sales than would be expected without treatment
d. 50% fewer reported cases of extortion and blackmail than would be expected without treatment

e. Increased citizens' sense of security
f. Residents feel their communities are safer and are more feel secure walking alone at night
g. Residents are less likely to avoid areas of the neighborhood because of fear of crime
h. Youth gang involvement perceived as less problematic
i. Gang fights are perceived as less of a problem in the neighborhoods

j. Resulted in positive indirect effects related to good governance
k. More satisfaction with the functioning of democracy
l. Improved perceptions of government security efforts and police performance

The context in which the treatment was administered was related to the effectiveness of the treatment in some cases. In particular, the effectiveness of the treatment in lowering reports of illegal drug sales, and increasing satisfaction with democracy was enhanced in the presence of Catholic churches in the community. The treatment was more effective in increasing satisfaction with democracy in communities with churches of any denomination.

The treatment was also able to counteract some of the pernicious effects of poor neighborhood context. Where there was general social disorder on the block, the treatment was able to stem the otherwise strong tendency for disorder to increase illegal drug sales, youth in gangs, and gang fighting in the community.
In most cases, the quantitative results of the effectiveness of USAID's crime prevention programs in treatment communities were supported by qualitative data.

Beyond this general overall mid-term evaluation of the program, we are limited by the data and cannot drill down to provide guidance on exactly which programs were most effective. Given that the number

of interviews conducted in any subset of neighborhood is too small to allow statistical inference with any confidence and that in many cases a variety of programs were used within neighborhoods and many shared key features, it is impossible to leverage the data to provide any more fine grained analyses than those presented here.

The picture presented in this report is a positive one; however, it is essential that the third round of data collection, analysis and evaluation proceed before a definitive conclusion is drawn. The effectiveness of the treatment may change over time (in absolute or relative terms), possibly becoming more or less effective. An additional time-point in the study will provide greater confidence in the results and more information about the possible long-term effects of policy changes that are often implemented for long periods of time.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Individual Level Questionnaire

LAPOP estudio de comunidades en Centroamérica Core Spanish Version # 20 ***IRB Approval****: 091357*

Estudio de comunidades en Centroamérica: Guatemala 2011© Vanderbilt University 2011. Derechos reservados. All rights reserved.

PAIS. **02.Guatemala**	☐☐
IDNUM. Número de cuestionario **[asignado en la oficina]**_____	☐☐☐☐
PROV. Departamento : (1) Alta Verapaz (2) Chiquimula (3) Guatemala	☐☐
MUNICIPIO. Nombre Municipio: (1) Esquipulas (2) Guatemala (3) Tactic	☐☐
NOMBAR. Nombre del Barrio/ Colonia/Comunidad_____	
Manzana. Número de manzana_____	☐☐
CUADRA. Número de cuadra dentro de la manzana o pasaje_____	☐☐☐
NUMVIVI. NÚMERO DE LA VIVIENDA DENTRO DE LA MANZANA:_____	☐☐
NUMHOGAR.NÚMERO DE ORDEN DEL HOGAR DENTRO DE LA VIVIENDA:_____	☐☐

HORA. Hora de inicio: _____:_____AM PM	----------

ATENCIÓN: ES UN REQUISITO LEER SIEMPRE LA HOJA DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO ANTES DE COMENZAR

Q1. Género **[ANOTAR, NO PREGUNTE]**: (1) Hombre (2) Mujer

LS3. Para comenzar, ¿en general, qué tan satisfecho(a) está con su vida? ¿Usted diría que se encuentra: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Muy satisfecho(a) (2) Algo satisfecho(a) (3) Algo insatisfecho(a) (4) Muy insatisfecho(a)
(88) NS (98) NR

Ahora para cada una de las siguientes asociaciones que le voy a mencionar, quiero que por favor me diga si actualmente es usted miembro y si participa en reuniones de estas asociaciones **[Para cada una de las asociaciones primero preguntar si es miembro y, después, preguntar si participa en reuniones de esa asociación aun cuando NO sea miembro]**

	A. ¿Es usted miembro?				**B.** y diría usted que participa en reuniones _____ **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**					
	Sí	**No**	**NS**	**NR**	**Una vez a la semana**	**Una o dos veces al mes**	**Una o dos veces al año**	**Nunca**	**NS**	**NR**
CP6N. De un grupo religioso	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP7N. De una asociación educativa (de la escuela, colegio, instituto, o universidad)	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP8N. De un comité o junta de mejoras para la comunidad	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP9N. De una asociación de profesionales, comerciantes, productores, y/u organizaciones campesinas	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP13N. De un partido político	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98
CP14N. De algún otro grupo o asociación voluntaria o comunitaria?	1	0	88	98	1	2	3	4	88	98

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "A"]
LS6. En esta tarjeta hay una escalera con gradas numeradas del cero al diez. El cero es la grada más baja y representa la peor vida posible para usted. El diez es la grada más alta y representa la mejor vida posible para usted.
¿En qué grada de la escalera se siente usted en estos momentos? **Por favor, escoja la grada que mejor represente su opinión.**
[Señale en la tarjeta el número que representa la "peor vida posible" y el que representa "la mejor vida posible". Indíquele a la persona entrevistada que puede seleccionar un número intermedio en la escala].

RECOGER TARJETA "A"]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "B"] **IT1B1**. Ahora, usando la misma escalera, suponga que el cero, la grada más baja, significa **hay que tener mucho cuidado cuando uno trata con otras personas** y el diez, la grada más alta, significa que **se puede confiar en la mayoría de las personas**. ¿Qué piensa usted? Por favor escoja la grada que mejor represente su opinión. **[Señale el número en la tarjeta que representa "se puede confiar en la mayoría de las personas" y el que significa " hay que tener mucho cuidado cuando uno trata con otras personas ". [Indíquele a la persona entrevistada que puede seleccionar un número intermedio]**	

[RECOGER TARJETA "B"]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "C"] **IT1B2.** Ahora usando la misma escalera, suponga que el cero, la grada más baja, significa que la mayoría de las personas **sólo se preocupan de sí mismas** y el diez, la grada más alta, significa que la **mayoría de las personas tratan de ser serviciales**. ¿Qué piensa usted? Por favor escoja la grada que mejor represente su opinión.	

[RECOGER TARJETA "C"]

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "D"] **IT1B3.** Ahora usando la misma escalera, suponga que el cero, la grada más baja, significa que la **mayoría de las personas tratarían de aprovecharse de usted** y el diez, la grada más alta, significa que **la mayoría de las personas tratarían de ser justas con usted**. ¿Qué piensa usted? Por favor escoja la grada que mejor represente su opinión.	

[RECOGER TARJETA "D"]

A continuación me gustaría hacerle unas preguntas sobre **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**

IT1. Hablando de la gente de por aquí, ¿diría que la gente de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** es: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Muy confiable (2) Algo confiable (3) Poco confiable (4) Nada confiable (88) NS (98) NR

SOCTIE1. ¿Nació usted aquí en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**?
(1) Sí **[Pase a SOCTIE3]** (2) No **[Siga]** (88) NS **[Pase a SOCTIE3]** (98) NR**[Pase a SOCTIE3]**

SOCTIE2. ¿En qué año se vino a vivir aquí? **[Si el entrevistado no recuerda, sondee: me podría decir más o menos en qué año]**
Año **[Cuatro dígitos]** **|__|__|__|__|** (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

SOCTIE3.¿Aparte de las personas que viven en su casa, tiene otros familiares que viven aquí en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**?
(1) Sí (2) No **[Pase a SOCTIE5]** (88) NS **[Pase a SOCTIE5]** (98) NR **[Pase a SOCTIE5]**

SOCTIE4. Sin contar a los que viven en su casa, ¿me podría decir cuántos de sus familiares viven en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] [sondee: "me podría decir más o menos cuántos"]**_____
(888) NS (988) NR (999) INAP

SOCTIE5. Sin incluir a sus familiares, ¿cuántos vecinos adultos conoce usted por su nombre en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? Diría usted que…**[Leer alternativas]**
(1) A ninguno **[Pase a SOCTIE7]**
(2) A pocos **[Siga]**
(3) A muchos **[Siga]**
(4) A casi todos**[Siga]**
(5) A todos **[Siga]**
(88) NS (98) NR

SOCTIE6. Sin tomar en cuenta a sus familiares**,** aproximadamente, ¿cuántos amigos tiene usted que viven en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? **[NO LEER ALTERNATIVAS] [sondee: "me podría decir más o menos cuántos"]**
(1) Ninguno

(2) Entre 1 y 2
(3) Entre 3 y 5
(4) Entre 6 y 10
(5) Entre 11 y 20
(6) Más de 20
(88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

SOCTIE7. Hablando en general de los vecinos adultos que usted conoce, ¿aproximadamente con qué frecuencia habla con ellos? **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Todos los días
(2) Algunas veces a la semana
(3) Algunas veces al mes
(4) Algunas veces al año
(5) Nunca (88) NS (98) NR (99) Inap

SOCTIE8. En general, diría usted que **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** es **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]** :
(1) Un lugar **muy bueno** para vivir
(2) Un lugar **bueno** para vivir
(3) **[No leer; espontánea: ni bueno, ni malo]**
(4) Un lugar **malo** para vivir, o
(5) Un lugar **muy malo** para vivir
(88) NS (98) NR

A4C. En su opinión ¿cuál es el problema **más grave** que enfrenta **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? **[NO LEER ALTERNATIVAS; SÓLO UNA OPCIÓN]** ☐☐

Agua, falta de	19	Medio ambiente/Basura en las calles	10
Areas de recreación, falta de	71	Migración	16
Areas de recreación, mal estado	72	Narcotráfico	12
Balaceras o tiroteos	74	No hay problemas	73
Caminos/vías en mal estado	18	Pandillas/Maras	14
Consumo de drogas	11	Violencia	57
Corrupción	13	Pobreza	04
Delincuencia, crimen	05	Protestas populares (huelgas, cierre de carreteras, paros, etc.)	06
Desempleo/falta de empleo	03	Salud, falta de servicio	22
Desigualdad	58	Secuestro	31
Desnutrición	23	Seguridad (falta de)	27
Desplazamiento forzado	32	Tierra para cultivar, falta de	07
Discriminación	25	Transporte, problemas con el	60
Drenajes, falta de (no hay tuberías)	75	Vivienda, malas condiciones	55
Economía, problemas con, crisis de	01	Otro	70
Educación, falta de, mala calidad	21	NS	88
Electricidad, falta de	24	NR	98
Explosión demográfica/sobre población/hacinamiento	20		

Ahora, le voy a leer algunas frases acerca de cosas que las personas en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** pueden o no hacer. Para cada una de estas frases, por favor dígame si usted está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo. **[Repita después de cada pregunta "muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo" para ayudar al entrevistado]**

	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo	NS	NR
SOCO1. La primera frase dice…cuando hay un problema en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**, los vecinos suelen organizarse para tratar de resolverlo. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO2. [NOMBRE DEL BARRIO] es un barrio unido. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO3. La gente de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** está dispuesta a ayudar a sus vecinos. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO4. Generalmente, los vecinos de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** se llevan unos con otros. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO6. Sus vecinos suelen echarle un ojo a su casa cuando no hay nadie. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO7. Los vecinos de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** comparten los mismos valores. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO8. Usted puede confiar en los vecinos de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO11. Usted siente temor o desconfianza cuando tiene que tratar con un policía. ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98
SOCO12. Cuando usted ve a un policía, piensa que está allí para protegerlo (a). ¿Usted diría que está muy de acuerdo, de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o muy en desacuerdo con esta frase?	1	2	3	4	88	98

	Sí	No	NS	NR	Inap

	Sí	No	NS	NR	Inap
CP21. ¿Hay una asociación o comité de vecinos en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? **[Si la respuesta es NO, pase a CP26]**	1	0	88	98	
CP22. ¿Es usted miembro de esa asociación o comité?	1	0	88	98	99
CP23. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha asistido usted a una reunión convocada por la asociación o comité de vecinos?	1	0	88	98	99
CP24. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha realizado usted trabajo voluntario para esa asociación o comité?	1	0	88	98	99
CP25. En los últimos tres meses, ¿ha promovido la asociación o comité de vecinos de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** actividades para prevenir la delincuencia, tales como tomar medidas de seguridad para el vecindario u otras actividades?	1	0	88	98	99
CP26. ¿Hay alguna otra asociación o institución que esté promoviendo programas para la prevención de la delicuencia en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**?	1	0	88	98	99

Pasando a otro tema, a veces la gente y las comunidades tienen problemas que no pueden resolver por sí mismas, y para tratar de resolverlos piden ayuda a algún funcionario u oficina del gobierno.

¿Para tratar de resolver algún problema alguna vez ha pedido usted ayuda o cooperación ... **[LEA CADA OPCIÓN Y ANOTE LA RESPUESTA]**	Sí	No	NS	NR
CP2. A algún diputado del Congreso?	1	2	88	98
CP4A. A alguna autoridad local como el alcalde o la municipalidad ?	1	2	88	98
CP4. A algún ministerio/secretario, institución pública, u oficina del estado?	1	2	88	98

PN4. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), **in**satisfecho(a) o muy **in**satisfecho(a) con la forma en que la democracia funciona en Guatemala?
(1) Muy satisfecho (2) Satisfecho (3) **In**satisfecho (4) Muy **in**satisfecho (88) NS (98) NR

Ahora, cambiando de tema, me podría decir, ¿qué tan seguro o inseguro se sentiría usted en las siguientes situaciones?

	Muy seguro	Algo seguro	Algo **in**seguro	Muy **in**seguro	NS	NR
FEAR0. Estar en su casa con su familia cuando es de día ¿se sintiría usted…	1	2	3	4	88	98
FEAR1. Estar solo (a) en su casa cuando es de día ¿se sintiría usted…	1	2	3	4	88	98
FEAR2. Estar solo (a) en su casa cuando es de noche ¿se sintiría usted…	1	2	3	4	88	98
FEAR3. Caminar solo (a) por este barrio cuando es de día ¿se sintiría usted…	1	2	3	4	88	98
FEAR4. Caminar solo (a) por este barrio cuando es de noche ¿se sintiría usted…	1	2	3	4	88	98

FEAR6. ¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de que alguien entre a su casa a robar cuando no hay nadie? Está usted …
(1) Muy preocupado (2) Algo preocupado (3) Poco preocupado (4) Nada preocupado (88) NS (98) NR

FEAR7. En general, ¿qué tan preocupado (a) está usted de que alguien lo (la) detenga en la calle, lo (la) amenace, golpee, o le haga daño en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? Está usted…
(1) Muy preocupado (2) Algo preocupado (3) Poco preocupado (4) Nada preocupado (88) NS (98) NR

FEAR8. En general, ¿qué tan preocupado(a) está usted de que a algún miembro de su familia lo detengan en la calle, lo amenacen, golpeen, o le hagan daño en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? Está

usted…
(1) Muy preocupado (2) Algo preocupado (3) Poco preocupado (4) Nada preocupado (88) NS (98) NR

FEAR9. Ahora hablando de otros lugares de **[NOMBRE MUNICIPIO]**, ¿qué tan preocupado (a) está usted de que alguien lo (a) detenga en la calle, lo (a) amenace, golpee, o le haga daño en este municipio? Está usted…
(1) Muy preocupado (2) Algo preocupado (3) Poco preocupado (4) Nada preocupado (88) NS (98) NR

Para protegerse de la delincuencia, en los últimos 12 meses, ¿usted realizó algún tipo de medida como...	**Sí**	**No**	**NS**	**NR**
FEAR10. Evitó pasar por algunos lugares en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** porque pueden ser peligrosos?	1	2	88	98
FEAR11. Tomó medidas conjuntas con sus vecinos para protegerse de la delincuencia?	1	2	88	98
FEAR12. Contrató un servicio de seguridad privada o a un vigilante privado?	1	2	88	98
FEAR13. Pidió ayuda a la policía?	1	2	88	98
FEAR14. Pidió ayuda a la municipalidad?	1	2	88	98
FEAR15. Construyó muros, rejas o paredes exteriores adicionales en su casa?	1	2	88	98
FEAR16. Puso alambre de púas, malla electrificada o vidrio roto alrededor de su casa?	1	2	88	98
FEAR17. Puso más candados o chapas a las puertas de su casa?	1	2	88	98
FEAR21. Adquirió o compró un arma de fuego?	1	2	88	98

FEAR22. ¿Ha sentido usted la necesidad de cambiar de barrio o colonia por temor a la delincuencia?
(1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

PESE0. En su opinión, **[Nombre Barrio]** ¿es una comunidad muy segura, algo segura, algo insegura, o muy insegura?
(1) Muy segura (2) Algo segura (3) Algo insegura (4) Muy insegura (88) NS (98) NR

	Mayor	**Igual**	**Menor**	**NS**	**NR**
PESE1. ¿Considera usted que el nivel de violencia actual en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO**] es **mayor, igual, o menor** que el de otras colonias o comunidades en este municipio?	1	2	3	88	98
PESE2. ¿Considera usted que el nivel de violencia actual en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** es **mayor, igual, o menor** que el de hace 12 meses?	1	2	3	88	98

Ahora voy a leerle una lista de situaciones que pueden o no ser problema en algunos barrios. Por favor dígame si las siguientes situaciones son un problema muy serio, algo serio, poco serio, nada serio o no son un problema en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]. [Repita después cada pregunta "es esto un problema muy serio, algo serio, poco serio, nada serio o no es un problema" para ayudar al entrevistado]**

	Muy serio	**Algo serio**	**Poco serio**	**Nada serio**	**No es un problema**	**NS**	**NR**
DISO1. Manchas o graffiti en las paredes de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO3. Casas abandonadas en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**	1	2	3	4	5	88	98

DISO4. Basura en las banquetas o calles de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO5. Terrenos baldíos con montes altos en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO6. Calles o lugares oscuros o sin iluminación en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO7. Jóvenes o niños en las calles sin hacer nada, que andan vagando en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO8. Jóvenes o niños que viven en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** en pandillas o maras	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO9. Ataques o daños intencionales a la propiedad privada en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO10. Venta o tráfico de drogas ilegales en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO11. Gente peleando y discutiendo en las calles de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO12. Gente que insulta o molesta a la gente cuando caminan por las calles de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO13. Gente borracha en las calles de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO14. Gente drogada en las calles de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO15. Robo a viviendas en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO16. Asaltos a las personas cuando caminan por las calles de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO17. Balaceras en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98
DISO18. Riñas o peleas de pandillas o maras en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**.	1	2	3	4	5	88	98

Ahora para cada una de las siguientes frases, por favor dígame si es **muy probable, algo probable, poco probable o nada probable** que la gente en su barrio pueda actuar del siguiente modo:

	Muy probable	**Algo probable**	**Poco probable**	**Nada probable**	**NS**	**NR**
ICON1. Si un grupo de niños del vecindario estuviera faltando a la escuela y vagando en las calles, ¿qué tan probable es que sus vecinos hagan algo al respecto?	1	2	3	4	88	98
ICON2. Si algunos niños estuvieran manchando las paredes del vecindario, ¿qué tan probable es que sus vecinos hagan algo al respecto?	1	2	3	4	88	98
ICON3. Si hay un pleito enfrente de su casa y alguien está siendo amenazado o golpeado, ¿qué tan probable es que sus	1	2	3	4	88	98

vecinos traten de parar la pelea?						

Pasando a otro tema y hablando de cosas que le pueden suceder a uno en el país…

VIC1EXT.¿Ha sido usted víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿ha sido usted víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o **algún otro tipo** de acto delincuencial en los últimos 12 meses?
(1) Sí **[Siga]** (2) No **[Pasar a VIC1HOGAR]** (88) NS **[Pasar a VIC1HOGAR]** (98) NR**[Pasar a VIC1HOGAR]**

VIC2B. La última vez que fue víctima de la delincuencia, el o los atacantes eran:
(1) Un extraño o un grupo de extraños
(2) Personas de otras comunidades en el municipio
(3) Vecinos
(4) Amigos cercanos a usted o su familia
(5) Miembros de su hogar
(6) Otros parientes
(7) No vio
(88) No sabe (98) No responde (99) INAP

AOJ1. ¿La última vez que fue víctima, denunció el hecho a alguna institución?
(1) Sí (2) No lo denunció (88) NS (98) NR (99) Inap (no víctima)

VIC1HOGAR. ¿Alguna otra persona que vive en su hogar ha sido víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿alguna otra persona que vive en su hogar ha sido víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o **algún otro tipo** de acto delincuencial en los últimos 12 meses?
(1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

Ahora hablando de su comunidad o barrio…

Teniendo en cuenta su experiencia o lo que ha oído mencionar, ¿cuales de los siguientes actos de delincuencia han occurrido en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]**	**Sí [Pasar a VICBARXA]**	**No**	**NS**	**NR**	**VICBARXA.**¿Cúantas veces occurió eso? (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP
VICBAR1. Han ocurrido robos en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)
VICBAR2. Han ocurrido daños a la propiedad privada en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)
VICBAR3. Han ocurrido ventas de drogas ilícitas en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)
VICBAR4. Han ocurrido extorsiones en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)
VICBAR5. Han ocurrido violaciones sexuales en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)
VICBAR8. Han ocurrido balaceras en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)
VICBAR9. Han ocurrido linchamientos en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)
VICBAR6. Han ocurrido secuestros en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)
VICBAR7. Han ocurrido asesinatos en los últimos 12 meses en **[NOMBRE BARRIO]?**	1	2	88	99	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 mas (88) (98) (99)

[Entrevistador: si la respuesta, en el literal A, es NO, NS, o NR, marcar y pasar a la siguiente; si la respuesta es Sí continuar con los literales B hasta F; las celdas en gris o negro indican que las preguntas de ese literal no se hace y se pasa al siguiente literal] En los últimos 12 meses, le ha occurrido a usted o a alguien que vive en su hogar lo siguiente:	**A.** (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98)NR (99) INAP	**B**. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió esto en los últimos 12 meses? **[Leer opciones]** (1) Una vez (2) Dos veces (3) Tres veces (4) Más de tres veces (88) NS (98)NR (99) INAP	**C.** La última vez que esto pasó,¿dónde ocurrió el hecho? **[Leer opciones]** (1) En su hogar (2) En este barrio o comunidad (3) En este municipio (4) En otro municipio (5) Fuera del país (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP	**D.** La última vez que esto pasó,¿le agredieron físicamente a usted o a alguien que vive en su hogar? (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98)NR (99) INAP	**E.** La última vez que esto pasó,¿le amenazaron.. (1) Con urma blanca (2)Con un arma de fuego (3) No le amenazaron con arma, o (4) No tuvo contacto con los delincuentes (88) NS (98)NR (99) INAP	**F.¿** La última vez que esto pasó, le ocurrió a usted o a alguien que vive en su hogar? (1) A usted (2) alguien que vive en el hogar (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP
VIC70. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿alguien entró a robar algo en su casa, que no sea un vehículo?						
VIC72. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o a alguien que vive en su hogar le robaron algún objeto dejado dentro de su vehículo o alguna parte de su vehículo? **[(99) INAP No tienen vehículo]**						
VIC71. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o alguien que vive en su hogar le robaron el vehículo o una moto? **[(99) INAP No tienen vehículo]**						
VIC73. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o alguien que vive en su hogar le robaron algo estando fuera de su casa?						
VIC74. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿alguien deliberadamente destruyó o daño su casa, negocio o cualquier propiedad suya o de alguien que vive en su hogar?						
VIC75. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o alguien que vive en su hogar le atacaron a golpes sin que le robaran algo?						
VIC78. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿a usted o alguien que vive en su hogar lo han tocado o atacado por motivos sexuales de un modo ofensivo?						
VIC79. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha sido usted o alguien que vive en su hogar víctima de alguna estafa?						
VIC80. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha sido usted o alguien que vive en su hogar víctima de un chantaje o extorsión?						
VIC81. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ha sido usted o alguien que vive en su hogar víctima de un secuestro?						

VIC82. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿alguien que vivía en su hogar fue asesinado?						

AOJ8. Para poder capturar delincuentes, ¿cree usted que las autoridades siempre deben respetar las leyes o en ocasiones pueden actuar al margen de la ley?
(1) Deben respetar las leyes siempre (2) En ocasiones pueden actuar al margen de la ley (88)NS (98) NR

AOJ12. Si usted fuera víctima de un robo o asalto, ¿cuánto confiaría en que el sistema judicial castigaría al culpable? Confiaría… **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (8) NS/NR

Ahora vamos a hablar de su municipio...

NP1. ¿Ha asistido a una reunión o sesión municipal durante los últimos 12 meses?
(1) Sí (2) No (88)NS (98) NR

SGL1. ¿Diría usted que los servicios que la municipalidad está dando a la gente son: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Muy buenos (2) Buenos (3) Ni buenos ni malos (regulares) (4) Malos (5) Muy malos (pésimos) (88)NS (98) NR

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "E"]

En esta tarjeta hay una escalera con gradas numeradas del uno al siete, en la cual el 1 es la grada más baja y significa NADA y el 7 es la grada más alta y significa MUCHO. Por ejemplo, si yo le preguntara hasta qué punto le gusta ver televisión, si a usted no le gusta ver nada, elegiría un puntaje de 1. Si por el contrario le gusta ver mucha televisión me diría el número 7. Si su opinión está entre nada y mucho elegiría un puntaje intermedio. ¿Entonces, hasta qué punto le gusta a usted ver televisión? Léame el número. **[ASEGÚRESE QUE EL ENTREVISTADO ENTIENDA CORRECTAMENTE]**.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NS=88 NR=98
Nada						**Mucho**	

	Anotar el número, 1-7, NS=88, NR=98
Voy a hacerle una serie de preguntas, y le voy a pedir que para darme su respuesta utilice los números de esta escalera. Recuerde que puede usar cualquier número. **B1**. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que los tribunales de justicia de Guatemala garantizan un juicio justo?	
B2. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted respeto por las instituciones políticas de Guatemala?	
B3. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que los derechos básicos del ciudadano están bien protegidos por el sistema político guatemalteco?	
B4. ¿Hasta qué punto se siente usted orgulloso de vivir bajo el sistema político guatemalteco?	
B6. ¿Hasta qué punto piensa usted que se debe apoyar al sistema político guatemalteco?	
B10A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza en el sistema de justicia?	
B12. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en El Ejército ?	
B13. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Congreso?	
B14. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Gobierno Nacional?	
B15. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Ministerio Público?	
B18. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Policía Nacional?	
B20. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Iglesia Católica?	
B20A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en las Iglesias Evangélicas?	
B21. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en los partidos políticos?	
B21A. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el presidente?	
B31. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en la Corte Suprema de Justicia?	
B32. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted confianza en su municipalidad?	
B43. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene usted orgullo de ser guatemalteco(a)?	

B17. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en la Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos?	
B104. ¿Hasta qué punto tiene confianza usted en el Ministerio de Gobernación?	

Usando la misma escalera **NADA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MUCHO**	**Anotar 1-7, NS=88 NR=98**
N11. ¿Hasta qué punto diría que el gobierno actual mejora la seguridad ciudadana?	
N15. ¿Hasta qué punto diría que el gobierno actual está manejando bien la economía?	
N16. Y ahora hablando de su municipalidad,¿hasta qué punto diría que el gobierno municipal actual mejora la seguridad ciudadana?	
SOCO9. Y ahora hablando de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO**], ¿hasta qué punto diría que los vecinos de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO**] están organizados para prevenir la delincuencia y la violencia?	

[Recoger tarjeta "E"]

M1. Y hablando en general del actual gobierno, ¿diría usted que el trabajo que está realizando el Presidente Álvaro Colom es...?: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Muy bueno (2) Bueno (3) Ni bueno, ni malo (regular) (4) Malo (5) Muy malo (pésimo) (88)NS (98) NR

POLE2. En general, ¿usted diría que está muy satisfecho(a), satisfecho(a), insatisfecho(a) o muy insatisfecho(a) con el trabajo realizado por la Policía Nacional Civil en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) Muy satisfecho (2) Satisfecho (3) Insatisfecho (4) Muy insatisfecho (7) **[espontánea no leer]**La policia no está haciendo nada (88) NS (98) NR

ICO2. ¿Con qué frecuencia la Policía Nacional Civil patrulla en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**? Usted diría: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Varias veces al día
(2) Al menos una vez al día
(3) Algunas veces por semana
(4) Algunas veces por mes
(5) Rara vez
(6) Nunca
(88) NS (98) NR

En los últimos 12 meses, ¿cuáles de las siguientes actividades ha visto a la Policía Nacional Civil hacer en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**	**Si**	**No**	**NS**	**NR**
CPOL1. Conversar con los residentes de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**	1	2	88	98
CPOL2. Asistir a reuniones de vecinos de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**	1	2	88	98
CPOL3. Ha visto a la Policia Nacional Civil ayudar a realizar actividades de prevención de la delincuencia en **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**	1	2	88	98
CPOL4. Relacionarse con los niños y jóvenes de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**a través de actividades recreativas y escolares	1	2	88	98

DEMP1. ¿Qué preferiría usted? **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Que la Policía Nacional Civil participe más en la resolución de los problemas de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]**, o
(2) Que la Policía Nacional Civil participe menos en la resolución de los problemas de **[NOMBRE DEL BARRIO]** o
(3) Que todo siga igual
(88) NS (98) NR

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "F"]

Ahora, vamos a usar una escalera similar a la anterior, pero el número 1 representa "muy en desacuerdo" y el número 7 representa "muy de acuerdo". Un número entre el 1 y el 7, representa un puntaje intermedio. **Anotar Número 1-7, 88 para los que NS y 98 para los NR**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NS	NS
Muy en desacuerdo					**Muy de acuerdo**		**88**	**98**

Anotar Número 1-7, NS=88, NR=98

ING4. Puede que la democracia tenga problemas, pero es mejor que cualquier otra forma de gobierno. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con esta frase?	

[Recoger tarjeta "F"]

[ENTRÉGUELE AL ENTREVISTADO LA TARJETA "G"]
Ahora vamos a cambiar a otra tarjeta. Esta nueva tarjeta tiene una escalera del 1 a 10, el 1 indica que usted *desaprueba firmemente* y el 10 indica que usted *aprueba firmemente*. Voy a leerle una lista de algunas acciones o cosas que las personas pueden hacer para alcanzar sus metas y objetivos políticos. Quisiera que me dijera con qué firmeza usted aprobaría o desaprobaría que las personas hagan las siguientes acciones.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NS	NR
Desaprueba firmemente								**Aprueba firmemente**		**88**	**98**

	1-10, 88, 98
E5. Que las personas participen en manifestaciones permitidas por la ley. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?	
E8. Que las personas participen en una organización o grupo para tratar de resolver los problemas de las comunidades. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?	
E11. Que las personas trabajen en campañas electorales para un partido político o candidato. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?	
E15. Que las personas participen en un cierre o bloqueo de calles o carreteras como forma de protesta. Usando la misma escala, ¿hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?	
E14. Que las personas invadan propiedades o terrenos privados como forma de protesta. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?	
E2. Que las personas ocupen (invadan) fábricas, oficinas y otros edificios como forma de protesta. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?	
E3. Que las personas participen en un grupo que quiera derrocar (quitar del poder) por medios violentos a un gobierno electo. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?	
E16. Que las personas hagan justicia por su propia mano cuando el Estado no castiga a los criminales. ¿Hasta qué punto aprueba o desaprueba?	

Las preguntas que siguen son para saber su opinión sobre las diferentes ideas que tienen las personas que viven en Guatemala. Por favor continúe usando la escalera de 10 puntos.

	1-10, NS=88, NR=98
D1. Hay personas que siempre hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de Guatemala , no sólo del gobierno de turno, sino del sistema de gobierno, ¿con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted el **derecho de votar** de esas personas? Por favor léame el número de la escala: ***[Sondee: ¿Hasta qué punto?]***	
D2. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que éstas personas puedan llevar a cabo **manifestaciones pacíficas** con el propósito de expresar sus puntos de vista? Por favor léame el número.	
D3. Siempre pensando en los que hablan mal de la forma de gobierno de Guatemala ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas puedan **postularse para cargos públicos**?	
D4. ¿Con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba usted que estas personas salgan en la televisión **para dar un discurso**?	
D5. Y ahora, cambiando el tema, y pensando en los homosexuales. ¿con qué firmeza aprueba o desaprueba que estas personas **puedan postularse para cargos públicos**?	

[Recoger tarjeta "G"]

AUT1. Hay gente que dice que necesitamos un líder fuerte que no tenga que ser electo a través del voto popular. Otros dicen que, aunque las cosas no funcionen, la democracia electoral, o sea el voto popular, es siempre lo mejor. ¿Qué piensa usted? **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Necesitamos un líder fuerte que no tenga que ser elegido, o
(2) La democracia electoral es lo mejor
(88) NS
(98) NR

	INAP No trató o tuvo contacto	**No**	**Sí**	**NS**	**NR**
Ahora queremos hablar de su experiencia personal con cosas que pasan en la vida...					
EXC2. ¿Algún agente de la policía le pidió una mordida (o soborno) en los últimos 12 meses		0	1	88	98
EXC6. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿algún empleado público le ha solicitado una mordida (o soborno)?		0	1	88	98
EXC11. ¿Ha tramitado algo en la municipalidad de la ciudad donde vive en los últimos 12 meses? **No → Marcar 9** **Sí → Preguntar:** Para tramitar algo en el municipio, como un permiso, por ejemplo, durante el último año, ¿ha tenido que pagar alguna suma además de lo exigido por la ley?	9	0	1	88	98

EXC7. Teniendo en cuenta su experiencia o lo que ha oído mencionar, ¿la corrupción de los funcionarios públicos está: **[LEER]**
(1) Muy generalizada (2) Algo generalizada (3) Poco generalizada (4) Nada generalizada (88) NS (98) NR

VB1. ¿Está empadronado para votar?
(1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

VB2. ¿Votó usted en la **segunda ronda** de las últimas elecciones presidenciales de 2007?
(1) Sí votó **[Siga]**
(2) No votó **[Pasar a PROT3]**
(88) NS **[Pasar a PROT3]**
(98) NR **[Pasar a PROT3]**

VB3. ¿Por quién votó para Presidente en **la segunda vuelta** de las elecciones presidenciales de 2007? **[NO LEER LISTA]**
(00) Ninguno (fue a votar pero dejó boleta en blanco, arruinó o anuló su voto)
(201) Álvaro Colom, Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE)
(202) Otto Pérez, Partido Patriota (PP)
(88) NS
(98) NR
(99) Inap (No votó)

VB3B. ¿Por qué partido político o comité cívico votó en las últimas elecciones municipales de 2007? **[NO LEER LISTA]**
(00) Ninguno (fue a votar pero dejó boleta en blanco o anuló su voto)
(1) UNE, Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza,
(2) PP, Partido Patriota
(3) GANA, Gran Alianza Nacional
(4) CASA, Centro de Acción Social
(5) FRG, Frente Republicano Guatemalteco
(6) EG, Encuentro por Guatemala
(7) UCN, Unión del Cambio Nacionalista
(8) PU, Partido Unionista
(9) PAN, Partido de Avanzada Nacional
(10) URNG, Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca,
(11) UD, Unión Democrática
(12) ANN, Alianza Nueva Nación,
(13) DIA, Desarrollo Integral Auténtico
(14) DCG, Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca
(15) **[SOLO EN EL MUNICIPIO DE TACTIC]** Comité Cívico PUNET "El Sombrerón".
(77) Otro
(88) NS
(98) NR
(99) Inap (No votó)

PROT3. En los **últimos 12 meses,** ¿ha participado en una manifestación o protesta pública?
(1) Sí ha participado **[Siga]** (2) No ha participado **[Pase a SOCT1]** (88) NS **[Pase a SOCT1]** (98) NR **[Pase a SOCT1]**

PROT4. ¿Cuántas veces ha participado en una manifestación o protesta pública en los **últimos 12 meses**?
_____ (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

SOCT1. Ahora, hablando de la economía… ¿Cómo calificaría la situación económica **del país**? ¿Diría usted que es muy buena, buena, ni buena ni mala, mala o muy mala?
(1) Muy buena (2) Buena (3) Ni buena, ni mala (regular) (4) Mala (5) Muy mala (pésima) (88) NS (98) NR

SOCT2. ¿Considera usted que la situación económica actual **del país** es mejor, igual o peor que hace doce meses?
(1) Mejor (2) Igual (3) Peor (88) NS (98) NR

IDIO1. ¿Cómo calificaría en general **su** situación económica? ¿Diría usted que es muy buena, buena, ni buena ni mala, mala o muy mala?
(1) Muy buena (2) Buena (3) Ni buena, ni mala (regular) (4) Mala
(5) Muy mala (pésima) (8) NS/NR

IDIO2. ¿Considera usted que **su** situación económica actual es mejor, igual o peor que la de hace doce meses?
(1) Mejor (2) Igual (3) Peor (8) NS/NR

POL1. ¿Qué tanto interés tiene usted en la política: mucho, algo, poco o nada?
(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (88) NS (98) NR

Por propósitos estadísticos, ahora queremos saber cuánta información sobre política y sobre el país tiene la gente…
GI0. ¿Con qué frecuencia sigue las noticias, ya sea en la televisión, la radio, los periódicos, o el internet? **[Leer opciones]**: (1) A diario (2) Algunas veces a la semana (3) Algunas veces al mes
(4) Rara vez (5) Nunca (88) NS (98) NR

¿Alguna vez se ha sentido discriminado o tratado de manera injusta por…, **[Repetir después de cada pregunta: muchas veces, algunas veces, pocas veces, o nunca]**

	Muchas veces	Algunas veces	Pocas veces	Nunca	NS	NR	
DIS11. Su color de piel, usted diría que eso ha sucedido muchas veces, algunas veces, pocas veces, o nunca?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
DIS12. Por su sexo?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
DIS13. Por su condición económica?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
DIS17. Por su manera de hablar o acento?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
DIS18. Por el idioma que habla?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
DIS14. Por su apariencia física?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
DIS15. Por su orientación sexual?	1	2	3	4	88	98	
DIS16. Por alguna otra razón?	1	2	3	4	88	98	

Cambiando de tema...

ED. ¿Cuál fue el último grado de educación que usted aprobó?
_____ Año de _____ (primaria, secundaria, universitaria, superior no universitaria) = _____ años total **[Usar tabla abajo para código]**

	1^0	2^0	3^0	4^0	5^0	6^0	
Ninguno	0						
Primaria	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Secundaria (Básicos: primero básico, segundo básico, tercero básico)	7	8	9				
Diversificado (bachillerato, magisterio o secretariado)	10	11	12				
Universitaria	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Maestría o doctorado	19	20	21	22			
NS	88						
NR	98						

EDU1. ¿Cuántos niños entre 6 y 17 años viven en esta casa? _____ ☐☐
0. Ninguno **[Pase a Q2]** (NS=888, NR=988) **[Pase a Q2]**

EDU2. ¿Cuántos de estos **[Número de niños en EDU1]** niños entre 6 y 17 años estudian o van a la escuela actualmente? _____ 0. Ninguno **[Pase a Q2]** (NS=888, NR=988, INAP=999) **[Pase a Q2]** ☐☐

EDU3. ¿Cuántos de estos **[Número de niños en EDU2]** niños entre 6 y 17 años que estudian participan regularmente en actividades extra escolares, es decir actividades después de clases o de la jornada escolar, como por ejemplo actividades culturales o deportivas?_____ 0. Ninguno (NS=888, NR=988) ☐☐

Ahora, hablando de usted…

Q2. ¿Cuál es su edad en años cumplidos? _____ años (NS=888, NR=988) ☐☐

Q3C. Si usted es de alguna religión, ¿podría decirme cuál es su religión? **[NO LEER OPCIONES]**

(01) Católico

(02) Protestante, Protestante Tradicional o Protestante no Evangélico (Cristiano, Calvinista; Luterano; Metodista; Presbiteriano; Discípulo de Cristo; Anglicano; Episcopaliano; Iglesia Morava).

(03) Religiones Orientales no Cristianas (Islam; Budista; Hinduista; Taoísta; Confucianismo; Baha'i).

(04) Ninguna (Cree en un Ser Superior pero no pertenece a ninguna religión)

(05) Evangélica y Pentecostal (Evangélico, Pentecostal; Iglesia de Dios; Asambleas de Dios; Iglesia Universal del Reino de Dios; Iglesia Cuadrangular; Iglesia de Cristo; Congregación Cristiana; Menonita; Hermanos de Cristo; Iglesia Cristiana Reformada; Carismático no Católico; Luz del Mundo; Bautista; Iglesia del Nazareno; Ejército de Salvación; Adventista; Adventista del Séptimo Día, Sara Nossa Terra).

(06) Iglesia de los Santos de los Últimos Días (Mormones) y Testigos de Jehová.

(07) Religiones Tradicionales (Candomblé, Vodou, Rastafari, Religiones Mayas, Umbanda; María Lonza; Inti, Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica).

(10) Judío (Ortodoxo, Conservador o Reformado)

(11) Agnóstico o ateo (no cree en Dios)
(88) NS
(98) NR

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "H"]
Q10. ¿En cuál de los siguientes rangos se encuentran los ingresos familiares mensuales de este hogar, incluyendo las remesas del extranjero y el ingreso de todos los adultos e hijos que trabajan?
[Si no entiende, pregunte: ¿Cuánto dinero entra en total a su casa por mes?]
(00) Ningún ingreso
(01) Menos de 1000 quetzales
(02) Entre 1001 - 1500 quetzales
(03 Entre 1501 a 2000 quetzales
(04) Entre 2001 a 2500 quetzales
(05) Entre 2501 a 3300 quetzales
(06) Entre 3301 a 4000 quetzales
(07) Entre 4001 a 5000 quetzales
(08) Entre 5001 a 6600 quetzales
(09) Entre 6601 a 9500 quetzales
(10) 9500 quetzales y más
(88) NS (98) NR
[RECOGER TARJETA "H"]

Q10A. ¿Usted o alguien que vive en su casa recibe remesas o ayuda econ*ómica* del extranjero?
(1) Sí **[Siga]** (2) No **[Pase a Q14]** (88) NS**[Pase a Q14]** (98) NR **[Pase a Q14]**

Q10B. [Sólo si recibe remesas] ¿Hasta qué punto dependen los ingresos familiares de esta casa de las remesas del extranjero? **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Mucho (2) Algo (3) Poco (4) Nada (88) NS (98) NR (99) Inap

Q14. ¿Tiene usted intenciones de irse a vivir o a trabajar a otro país en los próximos tres años? (1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

Q10D. El salario o sueldo que usted recibe y el total del ingreso familiar: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Les alcanza bien y pueden ahorrar
(2) Les alcanza justo sin grandes dificultades
(3) No les alcanza y tienen dificultades

(4) No les alcanza y tienen grandes dificultades
(88) **[No leer]** NS
(98) **[No leer]** NR

Q11. ¿Cuál es su estado civil? **[NO LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Soltero (2) Casado (3) Unión libre (acompañado) (4) Divorciado
(5) Separado (6) Viudo (88) NS (98) NR

Q12. ¿Tiene hijos(as)? ¿Cuántos? _____ **(00= ninguno)** NS=88 NR=98

Para finalizar, podría decirme si en su casa tienen: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**

R1. Televisor	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R3. Refrigeradora (nevera)	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R4. Teléfono fijo de casa	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R4A. Teléfono celular	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R5. Vehículo. ¿Cuántos?	(0) No	(1) Uno	(2) Dos	(3) Tres o más
R6. Lavadora de ropa	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R7. Microondas	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R8. Motocicleta	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R12. Agua potable dentro de la casa	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R14. Cuarto de baño dentro de la casa	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R19. Ducha para agua caliente	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R15. Computadora	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R16. Televisor de pantalla plana	(0) No		(1) Sí	
R18. Servicio de internet	(0) No		(1) Sí	

OCUP4A. ¿A qué se dedica usted principalmente? ¿Está usted actualmente: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) ¿Trabajando? **[Siga]**
(2) ¿No está trabajando en este momento pero tiene trabajo? **[Siga]**
(3) ¿Está buscando trabajo activamente? **[PASAR A LANG]**
(4) ¿Es estudiante? **[PASAR A LANG]**
(5) ¿Se dedica a los quehaceres de su hogar? **[PASAR A LANG]**
(6) ¿Está jubilado, pensionado o incapacitado permanentemente para trabajar? **[PASAR A LANG]**
(7) ¿No trabaja y no está buscando trabajo? **[PASAR A LANG]**
(88) NS **[PASAR A LANG]** (98) NR **[PASAR A LANG]**

OCUP1A. En su ocupación principal usted es: **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) ¿Asalariado del gobierno o empresa estatal?
(2) ¿Asalariado en el sector privado?
(3) ¿Patrono o socio de empresa?
(4) ¿Trabajador por cuenta propia?
(5) ¿Trabajador no remunerado o sin pago?
(88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

OCUP1C. ¿Tiene seguro de salud o seguro social a través de su empresa o su empleador?
(1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP

LANG. [Solamente para el entrevistador. Anotar, no pregunte] ¿En qué idioma se realizó la mayor parte de esta encuesta?:
(1) Español (2) Poqomchi (3) Q'eqchi.

Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo. Muchísimas gracias por su colaboración.

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada a cabo con la persona indicada.
Firma del entrevistador_____ Fecha ____ /_____ /_____

Firma del supervisor de campo _____

Comentarios: _____

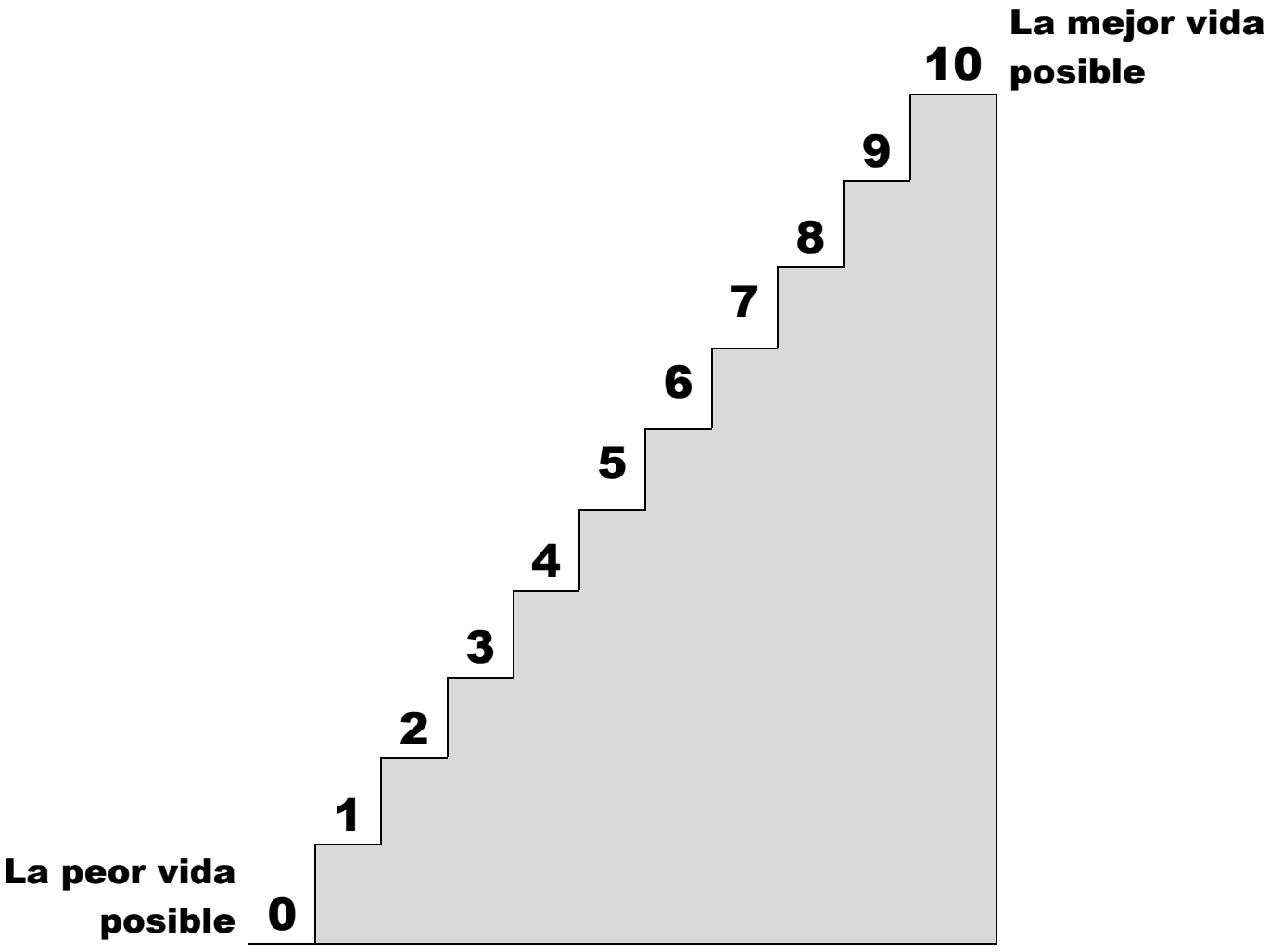
[No usar por PDA] Firma de la persona que digitó los datos _____

[No usar por PDA] Firma de la persona que verificó los datos _____

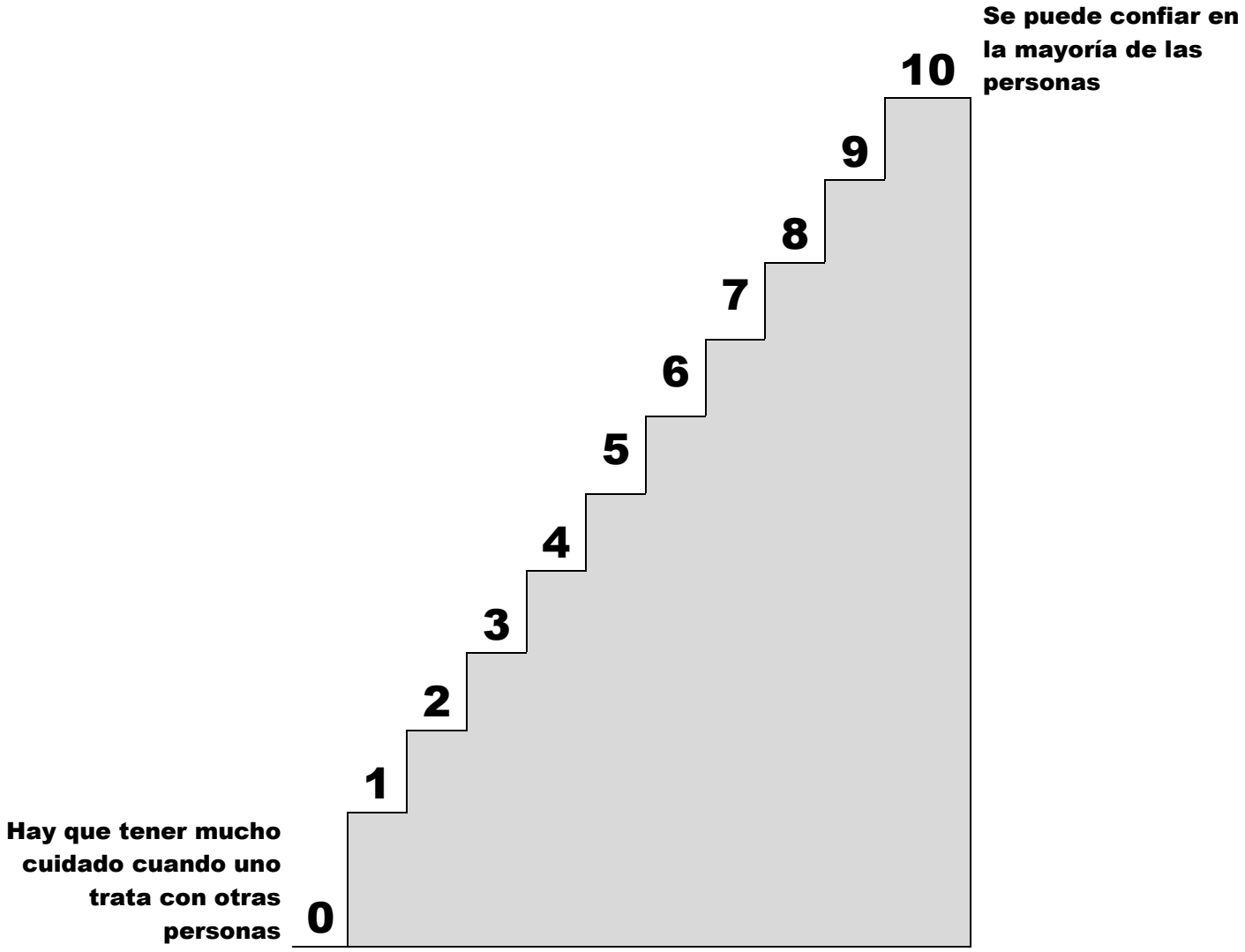
HORA1. Hora de finalización: _____:_____AM PM

Tarjeta "A"

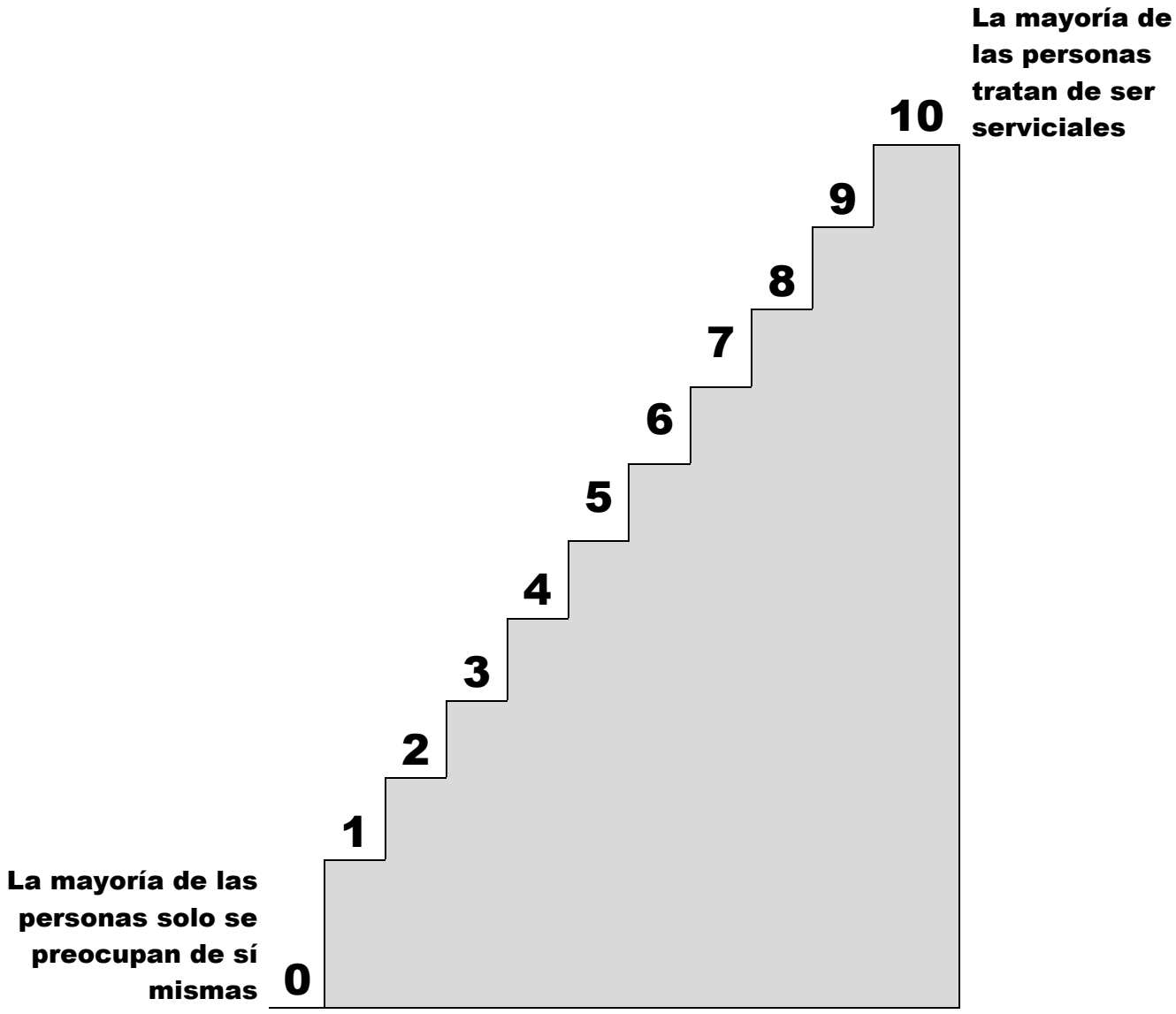
¿En qué grada de la escalera se siente usted en estos momentos?



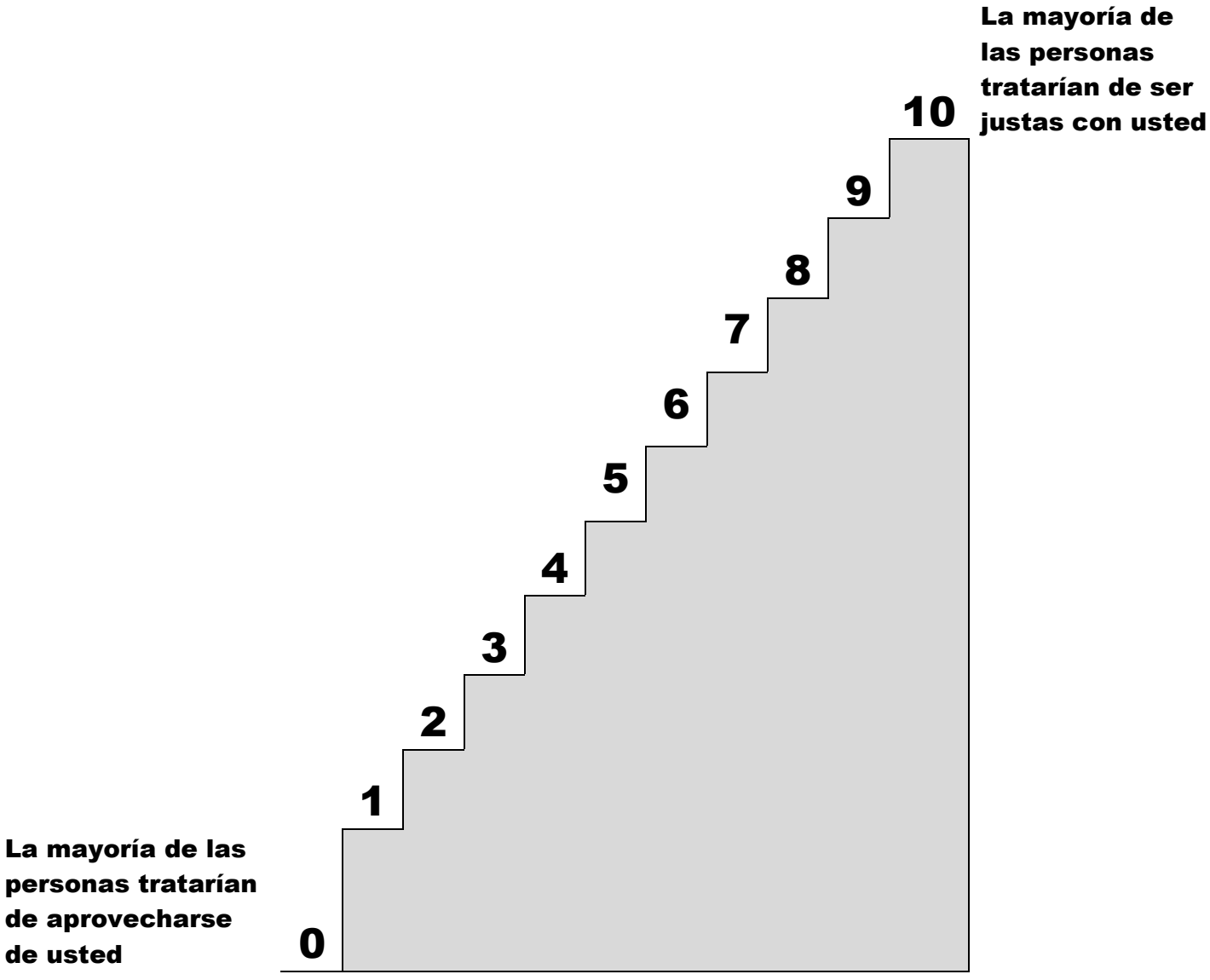
Tarjeta "B"


Se puede confiar en la mayoría de las personas
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Hay que tener mucho cuidado cuando uno trata con otras personas

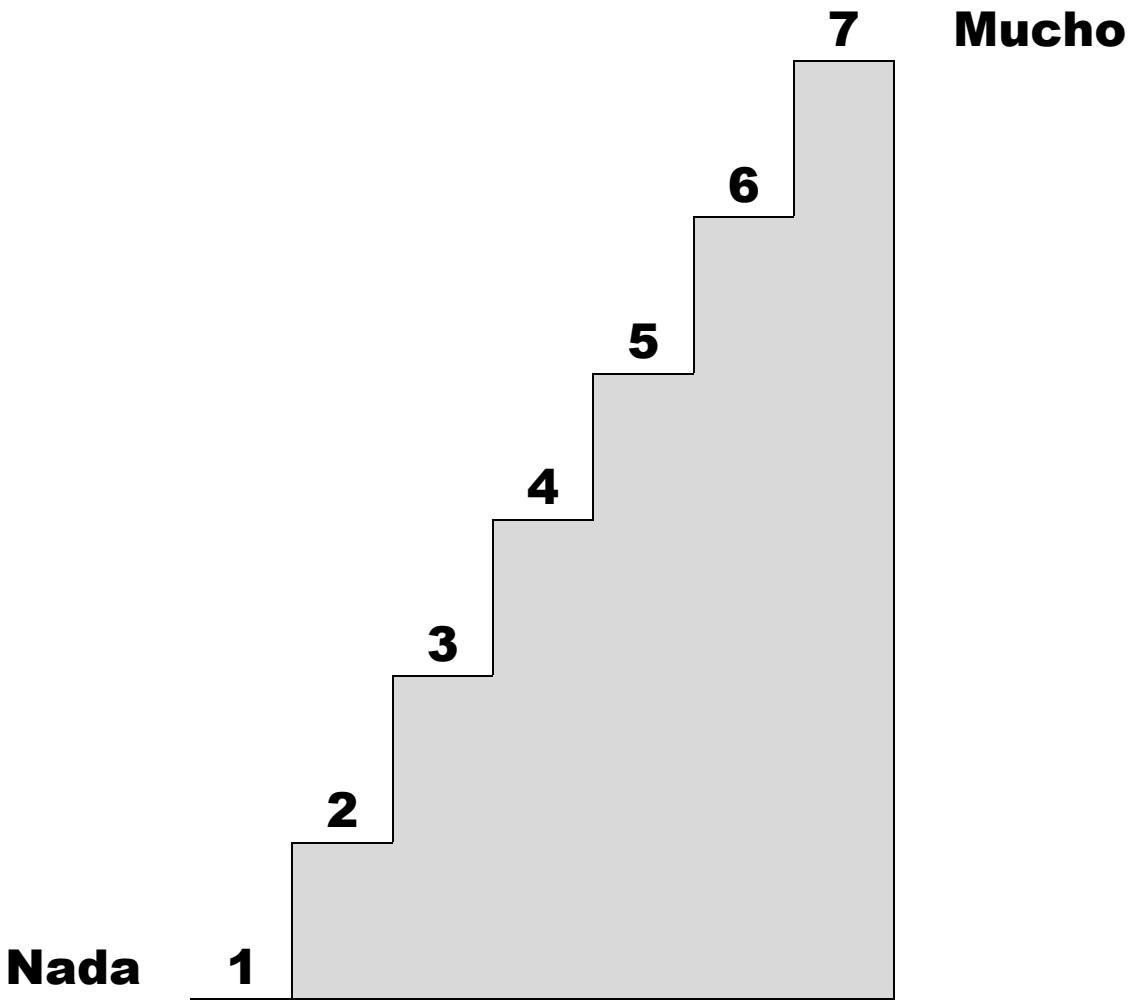
Tarjeta "C"


La mayoría de las personas tratan de ser serviciales
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
La mayoría de las personas solo se preocupan de sí mismas

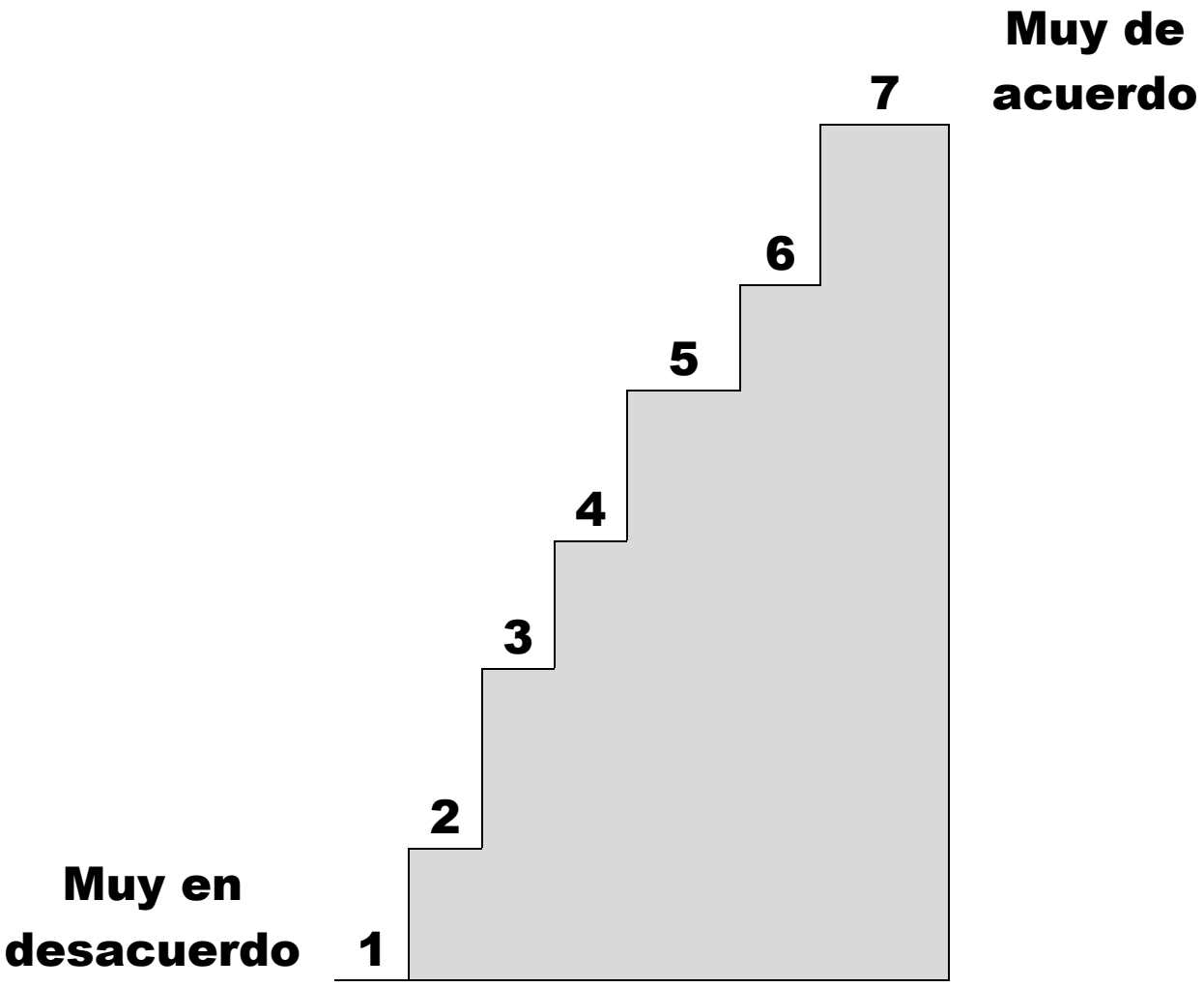
Tarjeta "D"


La mayoría de las personas tratarían de ser justas con usted
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
La mayoría de las personas tratarían de aprovecharse de usted

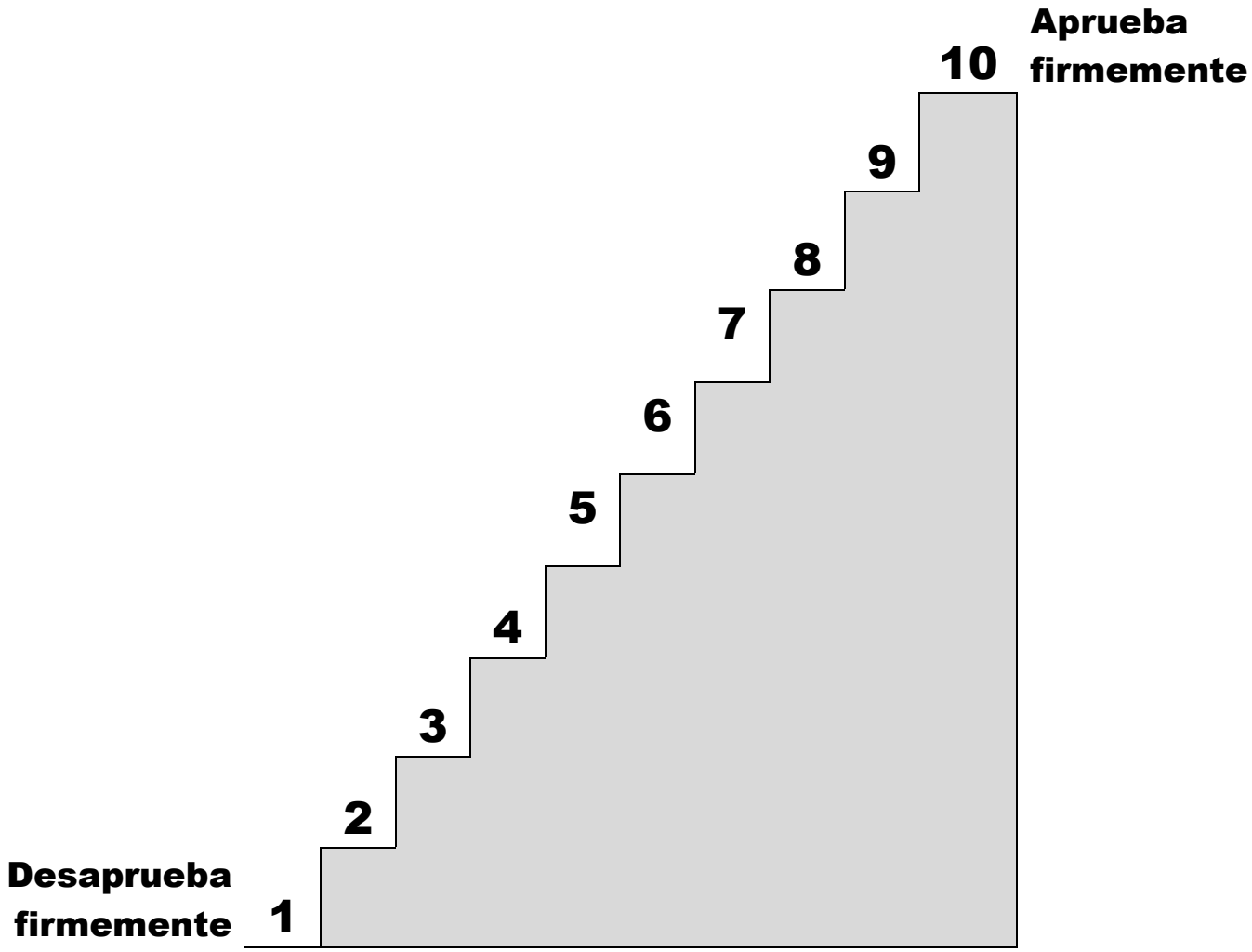
Tarjeta "E"



Tarjeta "F"



Tarjeta "G"



Tarjeta "H"

(00) Ningún ingreso
(01) Menos de 1000 quetzales
(02) Entre 1001 - 1500 quetzales
(03 Entre 1501 a 2000 quetzales
(04) Entre 2001 a 2500 quetzales
(05) Entre 2501 a 3300 quetzales
(06) Entre 3301 a 4000 quetzales
(07) Entre 4001 a 5000 quetzales
(08) Entre 5001 a 6600 quetzales
(09) Entre 6601 a 9500 quetzales
(10) 9500 quetzales y más

Appendix B: Systematic Observation Questionnaire

LAPOP estudio de comunidades Observación *Spanish Version* # 9 ***IRB Approval**: 091357*

Guatemala, 2011.- Cuestionario de Observación Sistemática

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PAIS. 02. Guatemala	☐☐
IDNUM. Número de cuestionario [asignado en la oficina]_____	☐☐
PROV. Departamento (1) Alta Verapaz (2) Guatemala (3) Chiquimula	☐☐
MUNICIPIO. Nombre del **Municipio:** **(1)** Esquipulas(2) Guatemala (3) Tactic	☐☐
NOMBAR. Nombre del Barrio/ Colonia/Comunidad_____	
MANZANA. Número de manzana	☐☐
CUADRA. Número de cuadra dentro de la manzana o pasaje	☐☐
FECHA. Fecha de la entrevista día: ____ mes:_____ año: 2011 **HORA. Hora de inicio: _____:_____AM PM**	----------

Apariencia física de la cuadra

Anotar el número de veces que observa lo siguiente en esta cuadra del barrio:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 o más	Total
PHD1. Botaderos o montones de basura al aire libre												
PHD2. Basura o vidrios rotos tirados en la calle o acera												
PHD6. Paradas de buses o microbuses en esta cuadra												
PHD7. Cantinas o tiendas para la venta de alcohol en esta cuadra												
PHD9. Locales de bailes exóticos ("barra shows" o "table dance") en esta cuadra												
PHD5. Número de viviendas en esta cuadra que tienen balcones en las ventanas o rejas en las puertas.												
PHD3. Graffiti o murales alusivos a pandillas												
PHD4. Graffiti o murales no alusivos a pandillas												
FPH1. Número de botellas/latas de licor o cerveza vacías tiradas en la calle o banquetas												

FPH2. Número de cajetillas o colas de cigarro tiradas en la calle o banquetas												
FPH3. Número de carros u otros medios de transporte en mal estado abandonados												
FPH7. Número de terrenos baldíos con montes altos												
FPH4. Número de casas abandonadaso saqueadas												
FPH5. Número de casas con vidrios o ventanas rotas												
FPH6. Número de casas localizadas en sitios de riesgo de desastres naturales (en las cercanías de barrancos, ríos, zonas de deslaves).												

Anotar si observa o no lo siguiente en esta cuadra del barrio:	Sí	No	
FPH7. Presencia de aguas negras o residuales en las calles.	1	2	
FPH8. Lugares que generen malos olores (mataderos, fábricas, letrinas).	1	2	

Material de la calle de la cuadra

PHD3. Material de la calle en la cuadra 1. Pavimento o asfalto 2. Cemento 3. Adoquines 4. Tierra 5. Piedra 6. Piedrín 7. Otro

Observaciones de personas en la cuadra

Anotar si observa o no lo siguiente en esta cuadra del barrio:	**Sí**	**No**	
DISO1. Personas discutiendo de una forma agresiva o violenta (hablando en un tono de voz muy alto, con enojo)	1	2	
DISO2. Niños en las banquetaso calle sin la supervisión de un adulto	1	2	
DISO3. Jóvenes en las calles sin hacer nada, vagando	1	2	
DISO4. Presencia de jóvenes con tatuajes en partes visibles del cuerpo	1	2	
DISO5. Mendigos o personas pidiendo dinero	1	2	
DISO6. Personas prostituyéndose en la calle	1	2	
DISO7. Personas en estado de ebriedad o bajo la influencia de drogas en la vía pública	1	2	

Recursos de la cuadra

Anotar si esta cuadra cuenta con los siguientes recursos:	Sí	No	
RESO1. Alumbrado eléctrico público	1	2	
RESO2. Puesto de policía	1	2	
RESO3. Parques o áreas recreativas	1	2	
RESO4. Iglesia católica	1	2	
RESO5. Iglesia evangélica/protestante	1	2	
RESO6. Centro educativo público	1	2	
RESO7. Centro educativo privado	1	2	
RESO8. Guardería infantil	1	2	
RESO9. Hospital o puesto de salud público	1	2	
RESO10. Clínica privada	1	2	
RESO11. Salón comunal	1	2	
RESO12. Casa de la cultura	1	2	
RESO13. Otra oficina de una institución privada	1	2	
RESO14. Otra oficina de una institución pública	1	2	
RESO15. Café internet u otro establecimiento que provea servicios de Internet a la comunidad.	1	2	

Observación final

TRAT1. ¿Cómo le trataron las personas residentes en esta cuadra del barrio? (1) No había gente alrededor (2) No le pusieron mucha atención (3) Le trataron bien, lo saludaron (4) Le trataron con desconfianza (5) Le interrogaron de forma agresiva sobre lo que andaba haciendo	

Comentarios sobre el aspecto físico/recursos de la cuadra:

Appendix C: Enumeration Survey (Census)

LAPOP estudio de comunidades
Enumeration Spanish Version # 11
***IRB Approval**: 091357*

Guatemala, 2011
Cuestionario de enumeración (censo)
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SECCION I. LOCALIZACIÓN GEOGRÁFICA

PAIS. 02. Guatemala	☐☐
IDNUM. Número de cuestionario **[asignado en la oficina]**_____	☐☐☐☐
PROV. Departamento: (1) Alta Verapaz (2) Chiquimula (3) Guatemala	☐☐
MUNICIPIO. Nombre municipio: (1) Esquipulas (2) Guatemala (3) Tactic	☐☐
NOMBAR. Nombre del Barrio/ Colonia/Comunidad_____	
MANZANA. Número de manzana	☐☐☐
CUADRA. Número de cuadra dentro de la manzana o pasaje. _____	☐☐
NUMVIVI. NÚMERO DE LA VIVIENDA DENTRO DE LA CUADRA:_____	☐☐
NUMHOGAR.NÚMERO DEL HOGAR DENTRO DE LA VIVIENDA_____	☐☐

FECHA. Fecha de la entrevista día: ____ mes:_____ año: 2011 **Hora de inicio**: _____:_____AM PM	**----------**
ATENCIÓN: ES UN REQUISITO LEER SIEMPRE LA HOJA DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO ANTES DE COMENZAR	

SECCION II. CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA VIVIENDA

VIV1. [No preguntar] La vivienda es: (1) Casa independiente (2) Casa en fila (3) En edificio (condominio o apartamento) (4) Pieza en casa (5) Pieza en palomar (6) Rancho o choza (7) Otra (8) Comercial **[TERMINA]**	
VIV2. [No preguntar] La vivienda está: (1) Ocupada **[Siga]** (2) Desocupada, de uso ocasional **[Termina]** (3) Desocupada, en alquiler **[Termina]** (4) Desocupada, en venta **[Termina]** (5) Desocupada, en reparación o construcción **[Termina]** (6) Desocupada, por otra razón **[Termina]**	

[Para uso del entrevistador] Estado de la entrevista	**INT1A.** Primer intento	**INT1B.** Segundo intento	**INT1C.** Tercer intento	**INT1D.** Cuarto intento	**INT1E.** Quinto intento
Informante apto aceptó ser entrevistado	1	1	1	1	1
Nadie en casa	2	2	2	2	2
No hay personas mayores de 18 años presentes	3	3	3	3	3
Sólo empleada (o) doméstica o visitante presente	4	4	4	4	4
Informante no apto (mudo, enfermos mentales, borrachos, personas agresivas, etc.)	5	5	5	5	5
Informante no habla el idioma de la encuesta o es extranjero	6	6	6	6	6
Todos los habitantes son extranjeros **[Terminar cuestionario]**	7	7	7	7	7
Informante presente rehusó pero indicó que otro miembro del hogar puede ser entrevistado en otro momento	8	8	8	8	8

Nadie en el hogar quiso ser entrevistado	9	9	9	9	9

[Comenzar entrevista]

VIV4. Para comenzar, me podría decir, ¿de qué material es la mayor parte de las paredes de la vivienda? **[No leer alternativas]** (1) Concreto, bloque, o ladrillos pegados con cemento (2) Bahareque (3) Adobe (4) Madera (5) Lámina metálica (6) Paja, palma, caña, u otro vegetal (7) Materiales reciclables (cartón, papel, etc.) (8) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	
VIV5. ¿De qué material es la mayor parte del techo de la vivienda? **[No leer alternativas]** (1) Plataforma de concreto o cemento (2) Lámina de asbesto, Duralita (4) Teja (5) Lámina metálica (6) Paja, palma, caña u otro vegetal (7) Materiales reciclables (nylon) (8) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	
VIV6. ¿De qué material es la mayor parte del piso? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Cerámica (2) Ladrillo de cemento (3) Ladrillo de barro (4) Madera (5) Tierra (7) Otro (88)NS (98) NR	

Podría decirme si en esta vivienda tienen: **[Leer todos]**			
R1. Televisor	(0) No	(1) Sí	
R3. Refrigeradora (nevera)	(0) No	(1) Sí	

R4. Teléfono fijo de casa	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R4A. Teléfono celular	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R5. Vehículo. ¿Cuántos?	(0) No	(1) Uno	(2) Dos	(3) Tres o más	
R6. Lavadora de ropa	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R7. Microondas	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R8. Motocicleta	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R14. Cuarto de baño dentro de la casa	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R19. Ducha para agua caliente	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R15. Computadora	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R16. Televisor de pantalla plana	(0) No			(1) Sí	
R18. Servicio de internet	(0) No			(1) Sí	

HOG1. ¿Cuántas personas habitan en esta vivienda contando los niños pequeños, los ancianos, y otras personas que duermen aquí?
HOG4. ¿Cuántas de las personas que habitan esta vivienda tienen 18 años o más? **[Anotar Número]** _____
HOG2. ¿Todas las personas que habitan en esta vivienda comparten un mismo gasto para la comida? (1) Sí (2) No
HOG3. ¿Cuántos hogares o grupos de personas tienen gasto separado para la comida contando el de usted? [Anotar Número] _____

HOGID. Número de orden del hogar dentro de la vivienda **[En PDA crear registros individuales para cada posible hogar (máximo 10 hogares)]:**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

LAS SIGUIENTES PREGUNTAS APLICAN A CADA UNO DE LOS HOGARES DENTRO DE LA VIVIENDA.

SECCION III. HOGARES

VIV7. ¿De cuántos cuartos dispone este hogar sin contar baño, corredor, cocina ni garaje? _____**[Anote uno si no hay divisiones en la vivienda y pase a VIV9]** (88) NS (98) NR	☐☐

VIV8. Del total de cuartos, ¿Cuántos utilizan exclusivamente como dormitorios? _____ (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP	☐☐
VIV9. ¿Cuál es la forma de tenencia de la vivienda/cuarto que ocupa este hogar? Esta vivienda/cuarto es **[Leer alternativas]**: (1) Propia (2) Propia pagándose a plazos (3) Alquilada (4) La ocupa gratuitamente (88) NS (98) NR	

VIV10. ¿Cómo se deshacen de las aguas negras en este hogar? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Por drenaje (2) Por fosa séptica o pozo ciego (3) Por quebrada, río, lago (4) Por calle o al aire libre (5) Otra forma (88) NS (98) NR	
VIV11. ¿Cómo se deshacen de la basura en este hogar? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Hay servicio municipal de recolección de basura (2) Hay servicio privado de recolección de basura (3) La depositan en contenedores (4) La entierran (5) La queman (6) En botadero al aire libre (7) La depositan en cualquier lugar (8) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	
VIV12. ¿De dónde proviene el agua que utilizan en este hogar? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Tubería dentro de la vivienda **[Siga]** (2) Tubería fuera de la vivienda pero dentro de la propiedad **[Siga]** (3) Tubería del vecino**[Siga]** (10)Tanque público **[Pase a VIV14]** (4) Chorro público **[Siga]** (5) Pozo **[Pase a VIV14]** (6) Camión, carreta o pipa **[Pase a VIV14]** (7) Nacimiento de agua, río o quebrada **[Pase VIV14]** (8) Agua llovediza **[Pase a VIV14]** (9) Otro **[Pase a VIV14]** (88) NS **[Pase a VIV14]** (98) NR **[Pase a VIV14]**	
VIV13. ¿Con qué frecuencia le cae el agua? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Todos los días (2) Cada dos días (3) Cada tres días (4) Una vez a la semana	

(5) Una vez cada dos semanas (6) Una vez al mes (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP	
VIV14. ¿Qué tipo de alumbrado utilizan **principalmente** en este hogar? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) Electricidad (2) Kerosene o gas (3) Candela (4) Panel solar (5) Batería de carro (6) Otro (88) NS (98) NR	

SECCION III. MIEMBROS DEL HOGAR Y CARACTERÍSTICAS SOCIODEMOGRÁFICAS [No olvide registrar a los miembros ausentes temporales por un período menor de 4 meses, recién nacidos y domésticas que duermen en el hogar, estudiantes en el extranjero y/o enfermos financiados por el hogar]

ID. NÚMERO DE ORDEN	**HM01.** Por favor, dígame el primer nombre de las personas que forman parte de su hogar, empezando por el jefe o jefa del hogar.	**HM02.** ¿Qué relación de parentesco tiene (NOMBRE)…con el jefe(a) del hogar? (1) Jefe (a) (2) Esposo(a), compañero(a) (3) Hijo(a) (4) Padre/madre (5) Yerno/nuera (6) Nieto(a) /bisnieto(a) (7) Hermano(a) (8) Sobrino(a) (9) Padre/madre (10) Suegro(a) (11) Otros familiares (tío, etc.) (12) Empleada doméstica (13) Otra persona no pariente (88) NS (98) NR	**HM03. [ANOTAR, NO PREGUNTE]**: (1) Hombre (2) Mujer	**HM04.** ¿Qué edad tiene (NOMBRE) en años cumplidos? **[Anote 00 para los menores de un año].** (888) NS (998) NR	**HM08. [Solo para mayores de 5 años]** ¿(Nombre) asiste o asistió a un centro de educación formal? (1) Asiste actualmente (2) No asiste actualmente, pero asistía antes (3) Nunca asistió **[Pasar a HM06]** (88) NS **[Pase a HM06]** (98) NR **[Pase a HM06]**	**[HM05.Solo para mayores de 5 años]** ¿Cuál fue el último grado o nivel de educación que (NOMBRE) aprobó? **[No leer alternativas]** (0) Ninguno (1) Pre-primaria (2) Primaria (de 1° a 6° primaria) (3) Secundaría (de 1° a 3° básico) (4) Diversificado (4° a 6° año) (6) Superior no universitario (técnico) (5) Universitario (7) Educación especial **[para personas con discapacidades]** (8) Otros (88) NS (98) NR (99) INAP	**HM06. [Solo para mayores de 10 años]** ¿Cuál es el estado civil de (NOMBRE)? (1) Soltero (2) Casado (3) Unión de hecho (4) Divorciado (5) Separado (6) Viudo (88) NS (98) NR	**HM07. [Solo para mayores de 10 años]** ¿A qué se dedica (NOMBRE) principalmente? **[Leer alternativas]** (1) ¿Está Trabajando? (2) ¿No está trabajando en este momento pero tiene trabajo? (3) ¿Está buscando trabajo activamente? (4) ¿Es estudiante? (5) ¿Se dedica a los quehaceres de su hogar? (6) ¿Está jubilado, pensionado o incapacitado permanentemente para trabajar? (7) ¿No trabaja y no está buscando trabajo? (88) NS (98)NR
01								
02								
03								

04								
05								
06								
07								
08								
09								
10								
11								
12								

SECCION IV. INGRESOS Y MIGRACION

Q10D. El salario o sueldo que usted recibe y el total del ingreso familiar: **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Les alcanza bien y pueden ahorrar
(2) Les alcanza justo sin grandes dificultades
(3) No les alcanza y tienen dificultades
(4) No les alcanza y tienen grandes dificultades
(88) **[No leer]** NS
(98) **[No leer]** NR

Q10A. ¿Usted o alguien que vive en su casa recibe remesas o ayuda económica del extranjero?
(1) Sí (2) No (88) NS (98) NR

Q10C. ¿Tiene usted familiares cercanos que antes vivieron en esta casa y que hoy estén residiendo en el extranjero? **[Si dijo "Sí", preguntar ¿en dónde?]**
[No leer alternativas]
(1) Sí, en los Estados Unidos solamente
(2) Sí, en los Estados Unidos y en otros países
(3) Sí, en otros países (no en estados Unidos)
(4) No
(88) NS
(98) NR

LANG. [Solamente para el entrevistador. Anotar, no pregunte] ¿En qué idioma se realizó la mayor parte de esta encuesta?:
(1) Español (2) Poqomchi (3) Q'eqchi.

Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo. Muchísimas gracias por su colaboración. Es posible que visitemos su hogar nuevamente en los próximos días para saber su opinión sobre lo que pasa en el país y en su comunidad. Le agradecemos de antemano su colaboración.

Hora terminada la entrevista _____ : _____
TI. Duración de la entrevista *[minutos, ver página # 1]* _____ **TI** ☐☐☐

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada a cabo con la persona indicada y el lugar indicado.
*Firma del entrevistador*_____ *Fecha* ____ /_____ /_____
Firma del supervisor de campo _____
Comentarios:
_____
_____
_____
_____
Firma de la persona que digitó los datos _____
Firma de la persona que verificó los datos _____

Appendix D: Qualitative Interview Questionnaires

The qualitative questionnaires in this section are those used in round two of the qualitative interviews. The core of these questionnaires also served as a basis for the questions asked at the focus groups. The versions of the questionnaires used in round two were based on those constructed for round one, the baseline year. However, the questions asked in round two included items asking the stakeholders if they noticed any changes "in the past 12 months" regarding key outcomes (e.g., frequency of homicides, robberies, extortion). In addition, the questionnaires evolved, and were modified, as new information was discovered in the first and second rounds of interviews. Finally, two additional stakeholder groups were added in round two (1) treatment implementers (RTI staff) and (2) youth-at-risk.

IRB# 060187

Estudio de comunidades en Centroamérica: Guatemala, 2013
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Cuestionario para Líderes Comunales y Sacerdotes/Pastores
(y representantes de la Alcaldía)

[Antes de comenzar la entrevista, léale al/la entrevistado/a el formulario de consentimiento. Se debe grabar la lectura del formulario.]

I. [La siguiente serie a-i es para miembros de COCODES, COMUDES u otros Concejos (o comités) Municipales, ONGs, u otros organismos que trabajan en la Prevención de la Violencia.

Hablando primero de COCODES [o COMUDES, o cualquier otra institución, según el entrevistado] **y la comisión o comité de prevención de violencia, o algo relacionado]:**

a. ¿Cómo nació o cómo se fundó este concejo/comité/comisión?
b. ¿Me puede decir que objetivos, o metas, ha establecido este concejo/comité/comisión?
c. ¿Me puede explicar la forma de trabajar de este concejo/comité/comisión (en qué sectores se especializan los y las miembros, con qué frecuencia se reunen, que problemas específicas están tratando de resolver?
d. ¿Hay subcomisiones dentro del concejo/comité? ¿Cuáles son?
e. ¿Qué logros ha tenido el concejo/comité hasta el momento, en cuanto a prevenir la violencia o bajar el nivel de violencia en el municipio?
f. ¿Cuáles son los obstáculos al éxito que enfrenta el concejo/comité? ¿Siente usted frustrado(a) con su forma de trabajar? ¿Por qué?
g. Si usted pudiera cambiar la forma de trabjar de este comité, ¿Qué cambios llevaría a cabo?
h. ¿Qué sector comunitario representa usted?
i. ¿Qué proyectos para bajar el nivel de violencia tienen ustedes planeados en este momento? [Pedir que los explique con detalles]
j. ¿Ha oido hablar de la Red Nacional de Grupos Gestores, y su proyecto “Jóvenes por el desarrollo local contra la violencia”? ¿Qué sabe de este proyecto?
jj. ¿Ha oído de un proyecto llamado “Jóvenes creando alternativas,” de FEDCOR (la Asociación en Función para la educación y el Desarrollo Social y Rural)? ¿Qué ha oído de este proyecto?

jjj. ¿Cuál es el rol del representante de la policía en el concejo/comité?
k ¿Qué tipos de violencia trata de mitigar el concejo/comité?
l. ¿Qué rol juega el alcalde en el concejo/comité?
m. ¿Qué rol juega la alcaldía en prevenir la violencia en el municipio?
nn. ¿Existe por acá AMUPREV (Programa de Alianzas Municipales para la Prevención de la Violencia en América Central)? ¿Qué hace AMUPREV? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito en lograr sus metas?
n. ¿Hay algún contacto entre la alcaldía y las escuelas y colegios del distrito? ¿Cómo es ese contacto? (que explique el entrevistado)
o. ¿Hay coordinación entre la alcaldía y las iglesias o templos del distrito de [nombrar el distrito]?
p. ¿Qué tipo de coordinación hay entre COCODES y COMUDES en cuanto a disminuir el nivel de violencia en las comunidades de este municipio?
q. ¿Hay coordinación al respecto entre la alcaldía y el hospital u otra unidad de salud?
r. ¿Cuáles son los enfoques distintos de la Policía Nacional Civil y la Seguridad Ciudadana? ¿Cómo trabajan estos organismos con la alcaldía? ¿Qué trata de lograr cada una al nivel del distrito?
s. [Si hay un comité enfocado en la prevención de la violencia, preguntar] ¿El comité de prevención de violencia tiene sus propios recursos económicos? ¿De dónde vienen estos recursos? Si no son suficientes, cúales de los sectores que tienen representación en el comité más necesitan fondos para bajar el nivel de violencia en el municipio?
t. En el COCODES [o COMUDES] que pertenece a esta aldea, hay algún miembro que vele por la comunidad por toda la noche?
Si hay este tipo de velación, la persona informa a la policía si ve algo sospechoso? ¿Le llama a la policía para darle los datos sobre las características del sospechoso?
u. En el COCODES de esta aldea, hay una Junta o Comité de Seguridad? ¿Cuáles son los deberes de esta junta/comité? ¿En qué forma trabaja? ¿Qué tipos de casos trata?
¿A quién le toca dirigir las acciones de esta junta/comité de Seguridad?
¿Qué pasa cuando la comunidad toma la justicia en sus propias manos (cuando tratan de linchar a alguien)? ¿Quiénes tratan de frenar esta acción? ¿Me puede dar un ejemplo reciente de un caso en que la comunidad tomó las justicia en sus manos?

v. En el COMUDES de esta zona, ¿existe una junta que se llama “Todas y Todos para Esquipulas/o Tactic/ o Guatemala”? ¿Qué hace esta junta? ¿Cuáles son sus fines? ¿Cuáles han sido sus logros hasta el momento?
w. ¿Hay en esta comunidad una organización que se llama “CEPREDE”? ¿Qué hace (o, qué hizo)? ¿Qué logros ha tenido?
x. De los sectores que tienen representación en COCODES (o en COMUDES, según el entrevistado), ¿cuál o cuáles más merecen fondos municipales para bajar el nivel de violencia?
x. ¿En esta comunidad hay “escuelas seguras”? ¿En qué sentido proveen seguridad a los y las alumnos y docentes? ¿Qué ha oido usted de los logros de estas escuelas seguras?

II. (Preguntas generales sobre problemas de la comunidad)
1. En su opinión, ¿cuál es el problema más grave que enfrenta la comunidad en la que usted trabaja?
[Sondear: En qué sentido? ¿Me puede explicar esto?]
Y en la comunidad en la que usted vive, ¿cuál es el problema más grave?
2. Cuando hay un problema aquí, los vecinos hacen algo para resolverlo? ¿Qué han hecho los vecinos para resolver los problemas de la comunidad? (Sondeo: ¿me puede dar un ejemplo en que los vecinos han resuelto un problema de la comunidad?)

3. ¿Qué tan unida es la comunidad en que trabaja? [Sondeo: ¿por qué dice esto? Favor de explicar.]

4. ¿Hasta qué punto está la gente de la comunidad en la que trabaja dispuesta a ayudar a sus vecinos? [Explicar]

5. Con respecto al tema de la policía, ¿cómo siente Ud. cuando tiene que tratar con un policía? [Sondear]

6. ¿Siente temor o desconfianza? [Sondeo: ¿Por qué?]

7. ¿Piensa usted que el policía está allí para protegerlo(a)? ¿Me puede explicar por qué piensa así? [Sondeo: ¿Qué experiencias ha tenido Ud. personalmente con un policía?
Y su familia, ¿qué experiencias han tenido los miembros de su familia con la policía?

8. Continuando con el tema de la policía y su rol con respecto a la delincuencia, ¿los policías que vienen a su comunidad hacen algo para reducir el nivel de delincuencia? [Sondeo: favor de explicar]

9. ¿Usted tiene conocimiento de si la policía imparte charlas en las escuelas, colegios o institutos, para prevenir la delincuencia entre los jóvenes?
[Si dice que sí, preguntar: ¿Sobre qué temas imparten charlas?]
[Si dice que no sabe, pregunta: Si se hicieran charlas, ¿estaría Ud. de acuerdo con que la policía haga esto? ¿Por qué (no)?]

10. ¿La policía que viene a la comunidad en la que trabaja, participa en otros esfuerzos de la comunidad para combatir la delincuencia entre los jóvenes? Por ejemplo, participa en comités, juntas, o asociaciones comunitarios para prevenir la delincuencia juvenil?
[Sondeo: ¿con qué comités trabaja, y qué hace la policía en estos comités?]
a. ¿Qué tanto éxito han tenido los esfuerzos de la policía en prevenir la delincuencia juvenil por medio de estos comités? [Explicar]
b. ¿Las personas de su comunidad hacen denuncias en las delegaciones de policia? [Si dice que no, o que algunos no, preguntar que por qué no.]
¿Hay Centros de Denuncia por ahí, adonde uno puede ir para hacer una denuncia?

c. ¿Hay cierto período después de enterarse de un delito dentro del cual hay que hacer la denuncia?

d. ¿Ha hecho usted una denuncia alguna vez? ¿Cómo era esta experiencia? ¿Fue usted a la delegación o subdelegación de policia, o simplemente llamó por teléfono? Supo después qué pasó al final con el delincuente?

e. Pasando a otro tema, ¿ha sido usted víctima de algún acto de delincuencia en los últimos 12 meses? Es decir, ¿ha sido usted víctima de un robo, hurto, agresión, fraude, chantaje, extorsión, amenazas o **algún otro tipo** de acto delincuencial en los últimos 12 meses? La última vez que fue víctima, el atacante era:
(1) Un miembro de su hogar
(2) Otro pariente
(3) Un amigo cercano a usted o su familia
(4) Un vecino
(5) Un conocido o grupo de personas que conoce de vista
(6) Un extraño o un grupo de extraños
(7) No lo vio
(88) No sabe
(98) No responde
(99) INAP

f. ¿La última vez que fue víctima, denunció el hecho a alguna institución?
[Si dice que no, preguntar por qué no denunció el hecho]

g. ¿En qué situaciones denunciaría Ud. un acto de delincuencia a las autoridades?
¿Dónde haría la denuncia?
¿Qué tipos de delincuencia ha denunciado a la policía en el pasado? (¿Hace cuánto tiempo fue eso?)

h. En la comunidad en la que trabaja, ¿qué actos de delincuencia se denuncian, por lo general?
Y en la comunidad en la que vive?

i. ¿Qué actos no se denuncian, generalmente en la comunidad en la que trabaja? ¿Por qué no? Y en la comunidad en la que vive?

j. Hablando ahora de la policía, si usted fuera víctima de un robo o asalto, ¿cuánto confiaría en que la policía capturaría al culpable?

k. ¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que la policía de este barrio protege a la gente frente a los delincuentes?

l. ¿Hasta qué punto cree que la policía está involucrada en la delincuencia?

m. ¿Qué tan confiables son los policías que usted conoce?

n. ¿Hasta qué punto está usted satisfecho o insatisfecho con la calidad de servicios policiales por parte de la policía nacional en este barrio?

o. ¿Con qué frecuencia la policía nacional patrulla su barrio?

p. ¿La policía nacional se involucra con los niños y jóvenes de su barrio a través de actividades recreacionales y escolares en [nombre del barrio]? [que explique]

q. ¿La policía nacional habla con los residentes del barrio? ¿Dónde, en su casa, en las calles?
r. ¿La policía nacional asiste a reuniones de vecinos del barrio?
s. ¿Existe en este municipio un programa que se llama Vecino Vigilante? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?
t. ¿Existe en este municipio un programa de la policía que se llama DIRC (Dirección de Relaciones Comunitarias)? ¿Qué sabe de la DIRC?
¿Qué tan exitoso ha sido el programa en reducir el nivel de violencia en este barrio, según su opinión?
u. ¿Ha oido del programa de la PNC que se llama SENA? ¿Qué sabe al respecto? ¿Qué tan exitoso es el programa?
v. ¿Los jóvenes de este municipio participan en algún programa para combatir la delincuencia?
¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿Cómo se llama? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Qué ha logrado el programa hasta el momento, según su entender?
w. ¿Hay programas de verano (durante las vacaciones escolares) para jóvenes ? ¿Qué sabe de estos programas? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito en bajar el nivel de violencia y delincuencia?
x. ¿Existe por acá un programa que se llama “Dame una Oportunidad”? ¿Qué sabe al respecto?

11. ¿Cuáles son los comités o asociaciones en la comunidad en la que trabaja que tratan de prevenir la delincuencia de los jóvenes (por ejemplo, qué esfuerzos hacen para prevenir que los jóvenes se metan en pandillas)?

12. ¿Qué hacen estos comités o asociaciones para prevenir que se metan los jóvenes en pandillas?

12a. ¿Hasta qué punto diría que su barrio está afectado por las pandillas? ¿Diría que mucho, algo, poco, o nada? [que explique su respuesta]

12b. Los pandilleros viven en su barrio? [Si dice que “no”, preguntar: ¿De dónde vienen?

12c. Los pandilleros que viven en su barrio, ¿hay algunos que han sido deportados de los Estados Uniodos?
¿Qué delitos habían cometido en los Estados Unidos?
¿Qué estatus tienen los deportados entre sus compañeros pandilleros? ¿Tienen un rol especial en las pandillas?
¿Los deportados, habían sido inmigrantes legales o ilegales en los Estados Unidos?
¿A cuál mara pertenecían en los Estados Unidos? ¿En que estado habían vivido?

13. ¿Los comités o asociaciones en el barrio [o municipio, si la entrevista se realiza en la cabecera del municipio [nombrarlo], han hecho algo para animarles a los pandilleros que abandonen las pandillas? Qué han hecho?

14. ¿Hay en esa comunidad programas de rehabilitación para los que han dejado las pandillas? ¿Cómo se llaman estos programas?
[Si dice que no los hay, preguntar: ¿Por qué será que no hay programas de rehabilitación en su comunidad?]

15. ¿Cree usted que los jóvenes pueden dejar de ser pandilleros? [Sondear: ¿Por qué cree que no?]
[Si dice que sí, preguntar: ¿Cuál es la forma de salir de una pandilla?]

16. Los comités/asociaciones que tratan de prevenir que los jóvenes se metan en pandillas, ¿hasta qué punto han tenido éxito en sus esfuerzos? [Explicar. ¿Me puede dar unos ejemplos de los logros que han tenido?]

17. Los líderes de esa comunidad en que trabaja, ¿han hecho algo para prevenir la delincuencia en la niñez o la adolescencia en esta comunidad? ¿Qué han hecho?

18. Los líderes de la comunidad o los comités/asociacones, ¿han pedido la ayuda al alcalde para resolver el problema de la delincuencia en su comunidad? ¿Qué ha hecho el alcalde?

19. Los líderes de estos comités o asociaciones han pedido la ayuda algún negocio aca' en [nombre del pueblo] para reducir el nivel de delincuencia por acá? ¿Qué pasó? ¿Logró el comité/asociación conseguir lo que quería? ¿Quedó satisfecho en cuanto a lograr sus metas?
[Que explique]

20. Los lideres de estos comités o asociaciones, ¿alguna vez han pedido la ayuda a algún ministerio, o institución u oficina del estado para reducir el nivel de delincuencia en el barrio?
¿Cómo resultaron estas peticiones? ¿Se logró lo que se quería?

21. ¿Qué organizaciones que tratan de prevenir la delincuencia entre los niños y adolescentes han trabajado en este barrio? ¿Qué sabe de sus éxitos y logros?

[La pregunta #23 es para las entrevistas que *no son* de miembros del Concejo Municipal para la Prevención de la Violencia]
23. ¿Ha oído de algún programa de la alcaldía que trata de prevenir la violencia? Según lo que Ud. entiende, ¿qué hace, y cómo trabaja este programa?
a. ¿Hasta qué punto han tenido éxito este programa de Prevención de Violencia por acá (o en otros lugares)?

24. En su comunidad, hay una asociación educativa (por ejemplo, Comité Escolar o Comité de Colegio o Instituto)? Este comité, ¿hace algo para prevenir que los jóvenes se metan en pandillas? ¿Qué hace?

25. Entre los comités/asociaciones de su barrio, hay algunos que traten de mediar entre las pandillas? [Si dice que "sí"] ¿En qué forma se lleva a cabo tal mediación? [Favor de explicar, *dar un ejemplo]

25a. ¿Hay Centros de Mediación en este barrio? ¿Quiénes son las personas que llevan a cabo la mediación? ¿Qué tipos de casos se median en esos centros? ¿Tratan casos de violencia?

26. En su opinión,¿qué se debe de hacer en su comunidad para prevenir la delincuencia de los niños y adolescentes? ¿Qué medidas se deben de tomar y quién debe de encargarse de tomar estas medidas?

[Serie de preguntas para clérigos o líderes de grupos juveniles de iglesias/templos]

a. ¿Su iglesia/templo organiza a los jóvenes en algún tipo de grupo?

b. Este grupo, ¿hace algo para dissuadir a los jóvenes que ingresen en pandillas? ¿Qué se hace? [Que el clérigo o líder del grupo dé ejemplos de los esfuerzos que están haciendo] ¿Cuál es la metodología de su iglesia/templo para lograr dissuadirlos?

c. ¿Cree usted que los esfuerzos de este grupo han logrado convencer a los jóvenes que no se ingresen en pandillas? ¿Qué le da esta impresión?

d. Su iglesia/templo realiza grupos de "alcance"? ¿Cómo trabajan estos grupos? ¿Qué tan exitosos han sido?

e. Su iglesia/templo tiene un "Ministerio de Jóvenes"? ¿Cómo se organiza este ministerio? ¿Cuáles son los propósitos del grupo? ¿Cuántos miembros tiene?

f. ¿Qué recursos le hacen falta para lograr la meta de dissuadir a los jóvenes que ingresen en pandillas? ¿Qué es lo que necesita y lo que le ayudaría tener más éxito en sus esfuerzos en este respecto?

g. ¿Hay miembros de este grupo que actualmente son miembros de alguna pandilla?

h. ¿Cree usted que estos pandilleros utilizan la iglesia/el templo como una manera de salir de la pandilla?i. ¿Es posible dejar de ser pandillero por esta ruta? ¿Ha habido casos de este tipo?j. ¿Coordina su iglesia/templo con otras instituciones de la comunidad?

1. ¿Trabajan ustedes con los centros escolares? ¿En qué forma?
2. ¿Trabajan juntos con el municipio? ¿Tienen contacto con el Concejo Municipal para la Prevención de la Violencia? ¿Qué tipo de contacto mantienen?
3. ¿Trabajan ustedes juntos con los COCODES y COMUDES o con otras asociaciones comunitarias? ¿En qué forma? [Que explique]

4. ¿Tienen ustedes contacto con la policía? ¿Con qué propósito se comunican?
5. ¿Qué sabe usted de la "policía cristiana"? Es un programa de las iglesias o de la policía? ¿Quién adiestra a los policías cristianas? ¿Cuántos hay en este municipio?
¿Qué tan exitoso han sido los policías cristianas? ¿El policía cristiano es capellán? ¿Son tanto católicos como evangélicos?
6. ¿Trabajan ustedes con los dueños de negocios grandes o pequeños? ¿En qué forma?

27. Hablando ahora de las maras y pandillas,
a. ¿Hay maras o pandillas en la comunidad en que usted trabaja? ¿Cuáles son? [Si contestó que no, pasar a (c)]
b. ¿Qué tipos de delitos cometen los pandilleros en las comunidades en que usted trabaja?
c. ¿Cómo sabe usted si un joven es pandillero al verlo en la calle, qué características lo identifican como pandillero?
[Dejarle mencionarlas. Después sondear:
Ropa (¿cómo es?)
Tatuajes (¿Cómo son?)
Corte de pelo (¿Cómo es?)
1. ¿Los pandilleros tienen una forma de hablar especial de ellos? ¿Cómo es?
2. ¿Usan una forma de comunicación **no verbal** -con las manos, gestos- especial? ¿Me las puede describir?
d. Y si es niña o mujer, ¿cuáles son las características que señalan que ella es miembra de alguna pandilla?
e. ¿Por qué motivos, cree usted, se ingresan los jóvenes en las pandillas y maras?
¿A qué edad lo hacen?
f. Y las niñas y mujeres, ¿por qué se meten en ellas?
g. ¿Hasta qué edad se quedan en las pandillas o maras?
h. ¿Hay manera de salir de una pandilla o mara? ¿Cuál es la manera?
i. ¿Conoce cuál es la diferencia entre "pandilla" y "clica"?
j. Cuando usted ve grafitis (manchas), ¿los entiende? ¿Sabe qué significado tienen y a quién se dirigen estos mensajes [Sondear: A otra pandilla; a los miembros de la misma pandilla; a la Policía]?
k. **[**Mostrarle fotos de grafitis y murallas, y pedirle que explique lo que significa cada uno**]**.
l. Hablando ahora de las bandas del crimen organizado, ¿Qué hacen?
m. ¿En qué forma son distintas a las pandillas y maras? ¿En qué forma son parecidas? O sea, ¿qué tienen en común las bandas del crimen organizado con las pandillas y las maras?

27. Hablando ahora de su sentido de seguridad en la comunidad en que usted vive, ¿hasta qué punto se siente seguro(a) o inseguro(a) al caminar solo por el barrio cuando es de día? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué le hace sentir seguro(a)/ inseguro(a)? [Explicar]

28. Y cuando es de noche, ¿qué tan seguro(a) se siente al caminar por su comunidad? ¿Por qué?

29. ¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de que alguien entre a su casa a robar cuando no hay nadie? [Explicar por qué?]

30. ¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de que alguien lo detenga en la calle, lo amenace, lo golpee, o le haga daño en su comunidad? [¿Por qué?]

31. Para protegerse de la delincuencia, ¿tiene Ud. la costumbre de evitar pasar por algunos lugares en su barrio porque pueden ser peligrosos? ¿Por qué evita pasar por estos lugares?

32. ¿Ha hecho cambios físicos en su hogar para protegerse de la delincuencia (por ejemplo, ha construido muros, rejas, paredes exteriores adicionales a su casa)? ¿Cuándo hizo estos cambios?

33. ¿Ha puesto alambre de púas, "razor", malla electrificada o vidrio roto alrededor de su casa? ¿Cuándo?

34. ¿Ha puesto más candados o chapas a las puertas de su casa? ¿Cuándo?

35. ¿Se ha comprado un perro guardián? ¿Cuándo?

36. ¿Ha adquirido o comprado un arma de fuego? ¿Cuándo?

37. ¿ Ha contratado un servicio de seguridad privada o a un vigilante privado?

38. ¿Considera Ud. que el nivel de violencia actual en su barrio es **mayor, igual, o menor** que el de otros? ¿Qué le da esta impresión?

39. ¿Considera usted que el nivel de violencia actual en su barrio es **mayor, igual, o menor** que el de hace 12 meses? ¿Qué le da esta impresión? ¿Qué ha notado?

40. Ahora voy a leerle una lista de situaciones que pueden o no ser problema en algunos barrios. Por favor dígame si las siguientes situaciones son un problema muy serio, algo serio, poco serio, nada serio o no son un problema en **su barrio. [Repita después cada pregunta "es esto un problema muy serio, algo serio, poco serio, nada serio o no es un problema" para ayudar al entrevistado]. Si la persona dice "muy serio" o "algo serio," sondear: ¿Me puede explicar por qué lo considera un problema?**

	Muy serio	**Algo serio**	**Poco serio**	**Nada serio**	**No es un problema**	**NS**	**NR**
DISO1. Manchas, graffiti o pintas en los muros.							

DISO3. Casas abandonadas							
DISO4. Basura en los andenes o calles							
DISO5. Predios baldíos con montes altos							
DISO6. Calles o lugares oscuros o sin iluminación							
DISO7. Jóvenes en las calles sin hacer nada, vagando							
DISO8. Jóvenes que viven en **su barrio** en pandillas o maras							
DISO9. Vandalismo o ataques intencionales a la propiedad privada							
DIS10. Venta o tráfico de drogas ilegales en su barrio							
DISO11. Gente peleando y discutiendo en la calle							
DISO12. Gente que insulta o molesta a la gente cuando caminan por las calles del barrio							
DISO13. Gente borracha en las calles							
DISO14. Gente endrogada en las calles							
DISO15. Robo a viviendas							
DISO16. Asaltos a las personas cuando caminan por la calle							
DISO17. Balaceras							
DISO18. Riñas o peleas de pandillas o maras							

Encuestador: Favor de dictar esta información en la grabadora

PAIS. 02. Guatemala 03. El Salvador 07. Panamá
DEPARTAMENTO_____
MUNICIPIO _____
Nombre del Barrio/ Colonia/Comunidad_____

¿Cuál fue el último año de enseñanza que Ud. completó o aprobó?
_____ Año de _____ (primaria, secundaria, universitaria, superior no universitaria) = _____ años total

Q2. ¿Cuál es su edad en años cumplidos? _____ años (NS=888, NR=988)

Q3C. Si usted es de alguna religión, ¿podría decirme de cuál es?

Q5A. ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste usted a servicios religiosos? **[LEER ALTERNATIVAS]**
(1) Más de una vez por semana
(2) Una vez por semana
(3) Una vez al mes
(4) Una o dos veces al año
(5) Nunca o casi nunca
(88) NS
(98) NR

[ENTREGAR TARJETA "I"]

Q10. ¿En cuál de los siguientes rangos se encuentran los ingresos familiares mensuales de este hogar, incluyendo las remesas del exterior y el ingreso de todos los adultos e hijos que trabajan?
[Si no entiende, pregunte: ¿Cuánto dinero entra en total a su casa por mes?]
[10 Deciles basados en la moneda y distribución del país]

Tarjeta "I"

(00) Ningún ingreso
(01) Menos de $25
(02) Entre $26- $50
(03) $51-$100
(04) $101-$150
(05) $151-$200
(06) $201-$300
(07) $301-$400
(08) $401-500
(09) $501-$750
(10) $751-y más

Q12. ¿Tiene Ud. hijos(as)? ¿Cuántos? _____

OCUP1A. En su ocupación principal usted es: **[Leer alternativas]**
(1) ¿Asalariado del gobierno o empresa estatal?
(2) ¿Asalariado en el sector privado?
(3) ¿Patrono o socio de empresa?
(4) ¿Trabajador por cuenta propia?
(5) ¿Trabajador no remunerado o sin pago?
(88) NS
(98) NR
(99) INAP

ETID. ¿Usted se considera una persona ladina, indígena u otra? (2) Ladina (3) Indígena (7) Otra (88) NS (98) NR	
GUAETIDA. ¿Considera que su madre es o era una persona ladina o indígena? (2) Ladina (3) Indígena (7) Otra (88) NS (98) NR	

LENG1. ¿Cuál es su lengua materna o el primer idioma que habló de pequeño en su casa? **[acepte una alternativa, no más] [No leer alternativas]** (201) Español (202) Mam (203) K'iche' (206) Kaqchiquel (207) Q'eqchi' (204) Otro (nativo) (205) Otro extranjero (88) NS (98) NR	
LENG4. Hablando del idioma que sus padres conocían, ¿sus padres hablan o hablaban **[Leer alternativas]**: *(Encuestador: si uno de los padres hablaba sólo un idioma y el otro más de uno, anotar 2.)* (1) Sólo castellano o español (2) Castellano - español e idioma nativo (3) Sólo idioma nativo (4) Castellano - español e idioma extranjero (88) NS (98) NR	

Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo. Muchísimas gracias por su colaboración.

Yo juro que esta entrevista fue llevada a cabo con la persona indicada.

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Estudio de comunidades en Centroamérica: Guatemala, 2013
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Cuestionario para Oficiales de Policía

A. La unidad policial en la que trabaja el entrevistado(a) es:
(1) Delegación policial
(2) Subdelegación policial
(3) Puesto policial
B. ¿Cuál es el rango policial de la persona entrevistada? _____.
C. ¿Cuál es el sexo del entrevistado? _____.
D. ¿Cuál es su edad? _____.
E. Escolaridad:
(1) Secundaria (bachillerato)
(2) Universitaria (número de años aprobados) _____.
F. Número de años que ha trabajado como policía: _____.
G. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de estar trabajando en esta sub-estación policial? Y en el municipio de (Esquipulas, Tactic, Guatemala), ¿cuánto tiempo tiene de estar trabajando en (Esquipulas, Tactic, Guatemala)?

a. ¿Con qué frecuencia lo rotan de una sub-estación a otra?

b. Cuando lo rotan, ¿la rotación es dentro del mismo municipio, o lo rotan de un municipio a otro?

c. ¿Por qué se rotan a los oficiales de policía?

A. **Actividades de prevención social de delincuencia**

1. a. ¿Qué rol desempeña usted en esta sub-estación (o jefatura policial)?

2. ¿Hay un Departamento de Prevención en su unidad policial?

[Si dice que sí, preguntar la siguiente]
¿Realiza usted actividades de prevención de delincuencia? ¿Cuáles son?

3. ¿Usted o sus colegas hacen algo para facilitar que otros servicios sociales o comunitarios, aparte de los servicios policiales, se provean a las comunidades? (Por ejemplo, ¿qué servicios sociales se proveen?).

4. Hablando de su rol dentro de las comunidades, ¿ha tenido usted contacto con las escuelas y los colegios? ¿Cuáles son las actividades que realiza en las escuelas y en los colegios? ¿Con qué frecuencia va usted a cada una/uno?

a. [Si no dice que está presente en la escuela al entrar y salir los alumnos, entonces preguntar: ¿Se estaciona usted o sus agentes en las entradas de los centros escolares cuando entran y salen los alumnos?]

Si dice que sí, entonces preguntar: ¿Cuál es el propósito de estacionarse en las entradas y salidas? ¿Qué hace usted o sus agentes ahí?

Al terminar de contestar, preguntar: ¿Cree usted que estas actividades tienen éxito en prevenir [nombrar la actividad que el/la policía ha nombrado]? (sondear: ¿Por qué dice esto? ¿Qué evidencia hay que esta estrategia logra (o no logra) prevenir [nombrar la actividad]?

b. ¿Tiene usted (o sus agentes) reuniones con maestros? ¿Cuál es su rol en estas reuniones?

c. ¿Asiste usted (o sus agentes) a reuniones de La Escuela de Padres de Familia? ¿Cuál es su participación o su rol en estas reuniones? ¿Me puede dar un ejemplo de un caso que era el enfoque de tal reunión?

d. ¿Asiste usted (o otros policías de esta sub-estación o jefatura) a reuniones del Comité o Asociación de Padres y Madres de la Escuela o del Colegio? ¿Qué rol tiene en estas reuniones?

e. ¿Tiene usted reuniones con los alumnos? ¿De qué se habla en estas reuniones?

f. ¿Ha oído hablar de algún programa del Ministerio de Educación que fomente la convivencia escolar, o sea un programa donde hay mediación de conflictos? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?

¿Ha oído si ha tenido éxito o no en disminuir or prevenir la violencia entre los alumnos?

La policía participa en alguna forma en este programa? ¿En qué forma?

*g. **¿Qué sabe usted de la Escuelas Seguras? ¿Cómo funciona este programa? ¿Quién se encarga del programa? ¿Cuántas Escuelas Seguras hay, y dónde se están ubicadas? ¿Qué tan exitosas han sido hasta el momento, en reducir el nivel de delincuencia y violencia? (¿Cómo se sabe esto—a base de qué datos?)**

h. ¿Hay en las comunidades donde usted hace patrullaje Patrulleros Escolares? ¿En qué consiste este programa? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Qué hacen estos Patrulleros Escolares, exactamente? ¿Cuántos hay en esta región? ¿Han tenido éxito? (que explique su respuesta)

i. ¿Hay por esta región el programa DARE? ¿En qué escuelas se encuentra DARE?

j. Y el programa GREAT, hay por acá, en las comunidades donde usted patrulla?

5. ¿Hace usted visitas casa por casa? ¿Por cuáles motivos visita las casas? ¿Con qué frecuencia hace usted estas visitas a las casas?

6. Los y las policías actúan como mediadores en la comunidad?

¿Usted ha servido de mediador? ¿Qué tipo de asuntos trata usted en su rol de mediador? [Sondear--¿me puede dar un ejemplo de qué ha hecho Ud. durante un caso de mediación?]

6a. ¿Hay Centros de Mediación en los barrios donde usted trabaja? ¿Quiénes son las personas que llevan a cabo la mediación? ¿Qué tipos de casos se median en esos centros? ¿Tratan casos de violencia

7. ¿Hay ocasiones en las que le llaman de algún hogar por motivos de violencia doméstica (o sea, violencia intrafamiliar)? ¿Quién suele llamar? [Sondear: Una mujer a quien se le está maltratando; un hombre del hogar; un vecino?]

¿Qué hace usted en los casos de violencia doméstica? [¿Me puede dar un ejemplo?]

8. ¿Tiene usted algún contacto con la alcaldía o con la COCODES? ¿Qué rol juega usted en las actividades de la alcaldía o de COCODES? [Si no tiene contacto con ninguno de los dos en el distrito donde trabaja actualmente, preguntarle si había tenido contacto con ellas en la intendencia donde trabajó anteriormente.]

Según su opinión, ¿cuáles han sido los logros y los fracasos de la alcaldía hasta el momento en prevenir la violencia en este distrito (este corregimiento)?

8A. Hablando de los COCODES, ¿cuál es la relación entre la policía de esta (sub)delegación (o puesto policial) y los COCODES?

¿En qué circunstancias, o en qué tipos de casos llaman los COCODES a la policía de acá?

8B. ¿Cuál es la relación entre la policía y los Comités Locales de Seguridad? ¿En qué tipos de casos los Comités Locales de Seguridad llaman a la policía?
¿Estos comités incluyen el líder del COCODES?

8C. ¿Ocurren a veces casos de linchamientos, o sea, tomar la ley en sus propias manos? En los casos más recientes, ¿qué ha sido el rol de la policía? ¿Alguien de la comunidad llamó a la policía para frenar el linchamiento? ¿Qué pasó cuando llegó la policía a la comunidad?

8D. ¿Y COMUDES, tiene usted algún contacto con los líderes de los COMUDES? ¿Qué rol juega usted en las actividades de los COMUDES?

9. ¿Ha tenido usted contacto con algunas organizaciones de la sociedad civil (ONG o asociaciones religiosas) que se enfocan en la prevención de la violencia y la delincuencia juvenil?
¿Cuáles ONGs?
¿Cuáles iglesias y templos?
¿Qué rol desempeña usted con respecto a estas organizaciones?

10. ¿Qué relación tiene usted con el programa nacional de Seguridad Ciudadana?
¿Qué tipo de actividades se llevan a cabo de manera conjunta entre su unidad policial y el CNSP [o el equivalente en Guatemala]? (Si él/ella dice que no trabaja con el CNSP, preguntar si otros policías en su unidad policial trabajan con él).

10a. ¿Utiliza usted los llamados "mapas de protección" o mapas de recursos socio-comunitarios?

11. La jefatura policial de [nombre del municipo] tiene un Departamento de Niñez y Adolescencia? ¿Qué hace este departamento para prevenir la violencia contra los niños y adolescentes?

12. ¿Hay una Oficina de Atención al Ciudadano en [nombre del municipio]. Hay tal oficina en las colonias dondes están ubicadas las subestaciones policiales? ¿Qué exactamente hace la Oficina de Atención al Ciudadano?

13. ¿Hay una Departamento de Prevención del Delito en la jefatura policial de este municipio? ¿En que formas hace la prevención?

14. ¿Hay un Departamento de Seguridad Pública en este municipio? ¿En qué forma hace la prevención de la delincuencia?

15. ¿Hay un juzgado de paz en este municipio? ¿Cuál es su rol principal? ¿Cuál es la relación entre el juzgado de paz y la policía?

16. ¿La Dirección (o Sección) de Relaciones Comunitarias (DIRC, o sea, SIRC) funciona en este municipio? ¿Cómo funciona y cuál es su meta? ¿Ha tenido éxito? (que explique)

17. ¿La SENA trabaja en este municipio? ¿Cuál es el rol de la SENA? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito en [nombre del municipio]?

18. ¿La Municipalidad tiene algún programa de seguridad? ¿Cómo trabaja este programa? ¿Tiene vínculo con la Policía Nacional?

18A. ¿Ha oído hablar del AMUPREV (Programa de Alianzas Municipales para la Prevención de la Violencia en América Central)? ¿Qué sabe al respecto? ¿Qué hace este programa? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito en este municipio?

18B. ¿Ha oído de DEIT (Delitos contra la Vida)? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?
¿Cómo funciona? Este programa se lleva a cabo acá en esta (sub)delegación?
¿Cuáles han sido sus éxitos y fracasos?

19. Hablando de la información que usted maneja de las aldeas y colonias, ¿Cuánto cree que es usted capaz de prevenir algunos acontecimientos sobre la base de esta información? [Sondear—pedir ejemplos]

20. ¿Existe en el municipio el programa **POLIMERC**? ¿Cómo funciona este programa? ¿En cuántas comunidades del municipio de Guatemala hay POLIMERC? ¿Qué tan exitoso ha sido por el momento, en bajar el nivel de delincuencia, violencia, o extorsion?

B. **Actividades de prevención y combate a la delincuencia juvenil**

13. ¿Sabe usted en qué formas trabaja toda la institución policial junto con las comunidades para prevenir la delincuencia juvenil? ¿Cuáles son esas formas?

14. ¿Qué acciones **preventivas** cree que serían las más eficaces para resolver los problemas de delincuencia juvenil?

15. ¿Qué acciones **de control** cree que se podrían tomar para tratar los problemas de delincuencia juvenil?

16. ¿Ha elaborado usted (o su unidad policial) mapas de crimen en las comunidades donde le toca trabajar?

18. ¿Existe en Esquipulas un programa de Convivencia Pacífica?
¿Qué sabe de este programa?
¿Participa usted en este programa? ¿En qué forma? [dejarle explicar, con ejemplos, detalles]
¿Hasta qué punto cree usted que ha tenido éxito el Programa de Convivencia Pacífica? ¿Por qué opina que sí [o no] ha tenido éxito? ¿Qué evidencia hay del éxito [o falta de éxito] de él?

19. ¿Existe en [nombre del municipio] un programa que se llama "Vecino Vigilante"? ¿Qué sabe del programa?
¿Participa usted en este programa?
¿Hasta qué punto cree que ha tenido éxito el programa del Vecino Vigilante? ¿Por qué cree esto?

19a. ¿Hay en este municipio un programa que se llama "Fuente Viva"? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?

19b. ¿Hay en este municipio un programa que se llama Rendición de Cuentas? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Para qué sirve? (que lo explique).

De lo que usted sepa, hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito la Rendición de Cuentas?

19c. En algunos países de Centroamérica existe un programa policial que se llama Jóvenes Contra el Delito. ¿Ha oído de este programa

¿Qué sabe de este program? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Qué ha logrado hasta el momento, según su entender?

19d. ¿La policía en Esquipulas tiene algún programa para niños y adolescentes durante las vacaciones de verano? ¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito?

19e. ¿Conoce el programa "**Escuelas Abiertas**"? ¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿La policía participa en este programa? Lo tienen acá en [nombre del municipio]? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito en prevenir la delincuencia juvenil?

19f. ¿Hay por acá un programa que se llama "Dame una Oportunidad"? ¿Qué sabe al respecto?

19g. ¿Ha oído de un programa que se llama Soldados Anónimas? ¿Qué sabe de este programa? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito?

19h. ¿Ha oído de los Jóvenes en el Mundo y la Violencia? ¿Qué sabe del programa?

19i. ¿Ha oído hablar de un programa que se llama Jóvenes contra el Delito? ¿Qué sabe de este programa?

C. **Actividades de toma de denuncia**

20. Hablando ahora de la toma de denuncia y atención ciudadana, ¿las comunidades por acá tienen acceso a Centros de Denuncia)? ¿Cómo se llaman estas oficinas en Panamá.

Si las comunidades no tienen acceso a tales oficinas de denuncia, ¿adónde van las personas para hacer las denuncias?

21. ¿Por qué será que hay personas que no denuncian los delitos? ¿Qué obstáculos enfrentan?

¿Por qué será que hay personas que ni llaman a la policía para informar de un delito?

22. Cuando alguien de alguna comunidad viene a la unidad policial para hacer una denuncia, ¿qué tipo de seguimiento y supervisión da usted a la denuncia?

23. Además de la unidad policial, ¿adónde puede ir una persona para hacer una denuncia?

23a. ¿Conoce el programa de "contacto directo"? ¿Cómo funciona?

¿Hasta que punto ha tenido éxito el "contacto directo" en los barrios en que le toca trabajar? [que explique su respuesta]

24. ¿Hay alguna coordinación entre este puesto policial [subdelegación] y la fiscalía? ¿Cómo funciona esta coordinación [favor de explicar].

D. **Características de las comunidades de intervención**

25. ¿Usted se da cuenta de los problemas que las comunidades consideran prioritarios?

26. En el caso de [nombre del municipio donde trabaja el/la entrevistado/a], ¿cuáles son los problemas prioritarios que identifican?

27. ¿Qué tipos de problemas **sociales** en general enfrentan estas comunidades?

28. ¿Cuáles son los problemas de violencia y delincuencia que existen en estas comunidades?
¿Cuáles son los delitos más comunes en estas comunidades?

28a. ¿Cuáles son los factores de riesgo social y situacional que amenazan a la comunidad?

29. ¿Qué tan violentas son las comunidades del municipio de [nombrarlo]?

30. ¿Quiénes son los que cometen estos actos de violencia?

31. ¿Cuáles son las comunidades menos peligrosas en que usted trabaja? ¿Y las más peligrosas?

32. ¿Qué porcentaje de los delincuentes que viven en las comunidades en que usted trabaja son personas que han sido deportadas de los Estados Unidos? (la menor parte, la mayoría, o la mitad)

33. ¿Qué porcentaje de ellos han salido directamente de cárceles? (la menor parte, la mayoría, la mitad)

E. Acciones de maras y pandillas

34. ¿Hay maras o pandillas en las comunidades en que usted trabaja? ¿Cuáles son?

35. ¿Qué tipos de delitos cometen los pandilleros en las comunidades en que usted trabaja actualmente (o en que ha trabajado, si no hay pandillas en las comunidades donde trabaja actualmente?)

Los pandilleros que viven en las comunidades donde usted trabaja, ¿hay algunos que han sido deportados de los Estados Unidos?

¿Qué delitos habían cometido en los Estados Unidos?

¿Qué estatus tienen los deportados entre sus compañeros pandilleros? ¿Tienen un rol especial en las pandillas?

¿Los deportados, habían sido inmigrantes legales o ilegales en los Estados Unidos?

¿A cuál mara pertenecían en los Estados Unidos? ¿En que estado habían vivido?

36. ¿Cómo sabe usted si un joven es pandillero al verlo en la calle, qué características lo identifican como pandillero? [Sondear: Ropa, tatuajes, corte de pelo]

¿Los pandilleros tienen una forma de hablar especial de ellos? ¿Cómo es?

¿Usan una forma de comunicación **no verbal** -con las manos, gestos- especial? ¿Me las puede describir?

37. Y si es niña o mujer, ¿cuáles son las características que señalan que ella es miembro de alguna pandilla?

38. ¿Por qué, cree usted, se meten los jóvenes en las pandillas? ¿A qué edad lo hacen?

39. Y las niñas y mujeres, ¿por qué se meten en ellas?

40. ¿Hasta qué edad se quedan en las pandillas?

41. ¿Hay manera de salir de una pandilla o mara? ¿Cuál es la manera?

42. ¿Conoce cuál es la diferencia entre "pandilla" y "clica"?

43. Cuando usted ve grafitis (manchas), ¿los entiende? ¿Sabe qué significado tienen y a quién se dirigen estos mensajes? [Sondear: A otra pandilla? A los miembros de la misma pandilla? A la Policía?]

44. **[**Mostrarle fotos de grafitis y murallas, y pedirle que explique lo que significa cada uno**]**.

45. Hablando ahora de las bandas del crimen organizado, ¿Qué hacen?

46. ¿En qué forma son distintas a las pandillas y maras? ¿En qué forma son parecidas? O sea, ¿qué tienen en común las bandas del crimen organizado con las pandillas y las maras?

47. Para los pandilleros que salen de las cárceles después de haber cumplido con su sentencia, ¿hay programas de rehabilitación? ¿Hay suficientes para todos los que salen de los cárceles? ¿Qué tipos de rehabilitación se ofrecen?

48. Para los pandilleros menores, ¿hay suficientes Centros de Resocialización? ¿Qué tipos actividades ofrecen estos Centros?

F. **Actividades de patrullaje de acuerdo a las Patrullas de Intervención Policial**

49. ¿Desempeña usted labores de patrullaje policial? [Si contestó que no, pasar a #51]

50. ¿Cuáles son sus deberes en su condición de patrullero?

51. ¿Hace usted alguna forma de vigilancia preventiva? ¿Qué hace exactamente?

52. ¿Capturar delincuentes forma parte de su trabajo? ¿Qué tan a menudo ha capturado delincuentes en los últimos seis meses?

53. ¿Sabe si se trabaja en su unidad policial de acuerdo al modelo de las **Patrullas de Intervención Policial Comunitaria**? ¿Qué hacen exactamente? O sea, ¿cuáles son sus formas de intervenir? ¿Cuáles son sus ventajas y desventajas?

54. ¿Qué ha oído usted de la medida de éxito o fracaso que han tenido las Patrullas de Policía Comunitaria? ¿Por qué cree usted que la policía comunitaria ha tenido éxito, o no ha tenido éxito?

55. ¿Qué podrían hacer los patrulleros de policía comunitaria para lograr mejores resultados en cuanto a prevenir la delincuencia? ¿Qué reformas se podrían llevar a cabo, en su opinión?

56. ¿Ha participado usted en el patrullaje de policía comunitaria? ¿En qué lugares? [Si contestó que no, pasar a #58]

57. ¿Le habían dado entrenamiento especial en trabajar en patrullaje de policía comunitaria? ¿Qué tipo de entrenamiento ha recibido?

G. **Actividades de coordinación y participación comunitaria**

58. ¿Realiza usted actividades en conjunto y coordinadamente con las comunidades? [Sondear--¿Cuáles por ejemplo?]

59. ¿Planifica usted, juntamente con los líderes comunitarios, los servicios policiales?

60. ¿Hasta qué punto el trabajo de la Policía en su jurisdicción se dirige según las necesidades que se identifiquen junto con las comunidades?

61. ¿Hay algunas responsabilidades que la Policía comparte con los líderes comunitarios en las comunidades en que usted trabaja?
¿Qué tipos de líderes son? (líderes de centros comunitarios, sacerdotes/pastores, maestros)

62. ¿Ha establecido usted contactos con miembros de las comunidades en que usted trabaja, que sirvan de informantes sobre hechos de delincuencia y violencia? ¿Con qué frecuencia conversa usted con estas personas?

63. ¿Hay algunas responsabilidades que el alcalde de [nombre del distrito pertinente] comparte con la Policía? ¿Cuáles son?

H. **Opiniones generales finales**

64. ¿Ha oído hablar de la política anti-delincuencial de "Mano dura" que se está usando en El Salvador? ¿Qué sabe usted de este plan? ¿Existe semejante política en Panamá?

65. ¿Qué opina usted del rol del Ejército en prevenir la delincuencia?

66. [Mostrarle al entrevistado(a) la siguiente lista de **comunidades que pertenecen al municipio** en que se encuentra la (sub-)delegación pertinente, y preguntar:]
a. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿cuántas veces ha ido a las siguientes comunidades por motivo de atender a un caso de delincuencia [leerle la lista—sólo del distrito en que trabaja el entrevistado(a)--una por una]. [Para cada comunidad a que responde afirmativamente, preguntarle lo siguiente]
b.¿Qué tipos de delitos fueron cometidos en esa comunidad, de lo que recuerde?

MUNICIPIO	No.	BARRIO
Esquipulas	1	Residenciales del Valle
Esquipulas	2	San Mateo II
Esquipulas	3	Colonia San Pedrito

Esquipulas	4	Barrio Santa Ana
Esquipulas	5	Valle de María
Esquipulas	6	El Pinal
Esquipulas	7	Santa Rosalía
Esquipulas	8	Cruz Alta
Tactic	7	Barrio San Jacinto
Tactic	8	Barrio La Asunción
Tactic	9	Barrio Chamché
Tactic	10	San Juan de la Asunción
Tactic	11	El Porvenir
Tactic	12	Cahaboncito I
Tactic	13	Cahaboncito II
Tactic	14	Platero I
Tactic	15	Platero II
Tactic	16	Pasmolón
Guatemala	1	Colonia Lavarreda
Guatemala	2	Renacimiento Municipal
Guatemala	3	Colonia Venezuela
Guatemala	4	Colonia Quinta Samayoa
Guatemala	5	Colonia Castillo Lara
Guatemala	6	Colonia Proyecto 4-4
Guatemala	7	Bienestar Social
Guatemala	8	Barrio Santa Ana
Guatemala	9	La Libertad II
Guatemala	10	Colonia Reformita

ETID. Hablando ahora de usted, ¿Usted se considera una persona ladina, indígena u otra? (2) Ladina (3) Indígena (7) Otra (88) NS (98) NR	
GUAETIDA. ¿Considera que su madre es o era una persona ladina o indígena? (2) Ladina (3) Indígena (7) Otra (88) NS (98) NR	

LENG1. ¿Cuál es su lengua materna o el primer idioma que habló de pequeño en su casa? **[acepte una alternativa, no más] [No leer alternativas]** (201) Español (202) Mam (203) K'iche' (206) Kaqchiquel (207) Q'eqchi' (204) Otro (nativo) (205) Otro extranjero (88) NS (98) NR	

LENG4. Hablando del idioma que sus padres conocían, ¿sus padres hablan o hablaban **[Leer alternativas]**: *(Encuestador: si uno de los padres hablaba sólo un idioma y el otro más de uno, anotar 2.*) (1) Sólo castellano o español (2) Castellano - español e idioma nativo (3) Sólo idioma nativo (4) Castellano - español e idioma extranjero (88) NS (98) NR	

Muchas gracias por su participación en este estudio Vanderbilt University.

Cuestionario para encargados de RTI, Guatemala, ronda 2

(Primero leerles a los entrevistado el formulario de consentimiento, como a cualquier participante del studio)

Después deje que el/la entrevistado/a siga el rumbo de cualquier respuesta, como en los focus groups. Si quieren dar una exposición, dejarles hacerlo. Pero termine, consiga las respuesta a las siguientes preguntas.

1. ¿Me puede explicar cómo funciona este centro para jóvenes?

¿Cuáles son las actividades que se ofrecen a los niños y jóvenes?
¿Cuántos niños y jóvenes participan en cada proyecto?
¿Cuántos años tienen los niños y jóvenes?
¿Cuántas horas al día pasa un joven ahí, por día, generalmente? ¿Cuántas veces a la semana tiende a venir un niño o joven a (nombre del proyecto)?

3. Típicamente, ¿cuál es la duración de la participación de un/una joven en un centro para jóvenes? (¿Cuántos meses y cuántas semanas?) ¿Tienen estadísticas al respecto? ¿Me puede dar unas estadísticas sobre cuánto tiempo pasa los/las jóvenes en este centro?
4. ¿El/la joven tiene que pagar alguna matrícula por los cursillos y/o actividades del centro? ¿Todos pagan igualmente o es según el ingreso de sus padres?
5. ¿Qué criterios tiene que cumplir un/una joven para ser aceptado a un centro para jóvenes?
6. ¿Hay suficiente cupo para la demanda de los jóvenes (hay listas de espera), o es que hay menos jóvenes que vacantes?
7. ¿Cuántos adultos hay en cada centro, trabajando de (instructores? supervisores? Consejeros?). ¿Qué papel desempeñan los adultos?
8. ¿Qué relación hay entre sus proyectos y el gobierno municipal? ¿Hay alguna interacción entre los dos? ¿Qué tipo de interacción hay?
9. ¿Hay alguna interacción entre ustedes y los padres y madres de los niños/jóvenes que asisten a sus actividades?
10. ¿Qué tipo de contacto tienen ustedes con los/las docentes de las escuelas de las comunidades en que sus proyectos están ubicados? ¿Con qué frecuencia se reúnen ustedes con ellas/ellos?
11. ¿Hay algún contacto entre ustedes y los líderes de los COCODES de las comunidades en que sus proyectos están ubicados?
12. ¿Hay algún contacto entre ustedes y los líderes religiosos (sacerdotes católicos, pastores evangélicos)? ¿Qué tipo de relación hay entre ustedes y los religiosos?
13. ¿Han notado si ha bajado el nivel de violencia y delincuencia en las comunidades donde ustedes tienen sus proyectos? ¿Qué le da la impresión que ha bajado?
14. ¿Ha habido un aumento en el nivel de violencia y delincuencia en estas comunidades?
15. ¿Qué tipo de contacto hay entre ustedes y la policía que se encarga de las comunidades donde ustedes trabajan? ¿Hay cooperación o colaboración entre ustedes y ellos?
16. ¿De los niños y jóvenes que participan en sus proyectos, hay algunos pandilleros o mareros?

17. ¿Cree usted que su programa ha servido para disuadir que los niños y jóvenes se afilien con las pandillas y maras? ¿Qué le da esta impresión?
18. ¿Cómo sabe usted si un niño o adolescente es miembro de una pandilla o mara? ¿Qué características hay en su comportamiento o apariencia?
19. ¿Ha notado algunos eventos negativos o positivos en cuanto al comportamiento de los niños y jóvenes en las comunidades donde se encuentran sus proyectos?
20. ¿Qué obstáculos o barreras ha encontrado usted en lograr las metas de sus proyectos?
21. Si pudiera hacer algunos cambios para mejorar los proyectos, ¿qué haría usted?
22. ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito este centro de alcance en reducir los niveles de violencia en [nombrar la comunidad]? [Que explique el/la entrevistado su razonamiento]
23. ¿A base de qué criterios se determina si un centro ha tenido éxito en reducir la violencia y delincuencia juvenil?
24. ¿Qué métodos se usan para atraer o reclutar jóvenes a este centro para jóvenes?
25. En cuanto a los programas de las ONGs con que este proyecto se afilia, cuáles piensa usted tienen más éxito, y por qué? ¿Cuáles han tenido menos éxito? ¿Por qué opina eso?
26. Con respecto a los programas gubernamentales con que este proyecto se afilia, cuáles han tenido más éxito en reducir el nivel de violencia entre los jóvenes? (Que razone su opinión.)
27. En cuanto a las iglesias con que este proyecto juvenil se afilia, ¿cuáles han tenido más éxito en su trabajo con jóvenes, y cuáles menos éxito? ¿A base de qué opina así?
28. ¿Cuáles de los centros de alcance en [NOMBRE las 6 comunidades de tratamiento] cree usted va a sostenerse después de que termine la intervención de RTI? ¿A base de qué opina esto?
29. Favor de describer la colaboración de la policía nacional con este centro para jóvenes. Actualmente hay policías asignadas a este centro?
30. ¿Qué hacen, exactamente, estos policías? ¿Cree usted que las acciones de estos policías ha servido para prevenir la violencia y delincuencia entre los jóvenes?
31. ¿Qué tipo de colaboración hay entre este centro y las escuelas en esta comunidad?
32. ¿Cuál es la relación entre este centro y el Consejo Municipal para la Prevención de la Violencia y Delincuencia en el distrito de [nombrar el distrito]? ¿Qué tipo de colaboración hay entre ustedes?
33. ¿Cómo ha resultado la colaboración entre RTI y la USAID con respecto al proyecto de jóvenes en riesgo? ¿Tiene usted algunas ideas sobre cómo habría sido mejor?
34. El informe de Julio 2011 a Junio 2012 menciona que RTI ha tenido frustraciones en trabajar con algunos organismos gubernamentales en su esfuerzo de cumplir con las expectativas de la USAID. ¿Con cuáles organismos gubernamentales ha habido este problema? ¿Cuál ha sido el obstáculo desde el punto de vista de los organismos gubernamentales?

35. Entiendo que RTI colabora con varios programas que enfocan los/las jóvenes en riesgo. [Jonathan: use los nombres en **español para los sigiuentes programas que se nombran en inglés**]

Este centro para jóvenes, ¿De qué manera colabora con estos programas, para tratar de prevenir o reducer el nivel de violencia y delincuencia entre los jóvenes):

a. Community Police Training

b. School resource officer (oficial de policía que sirve de recurso escolar)
c. Pocket field guide for community police officers
d. Local youth development committee
e. Life skills for Peace Curriculum
f. Youth Against Violence Movement (Movimiento de la Juventud contra la Violencia)
g. Barrio Limpio, Barrio Seguro program
h. Youth Development program (Desarrollo Juvenil)
i. Futbol de Calle
j. Mi primer empleo (trabajo)
k. Sports for Development (los Deportes para el Desarrollo)
l. Jóvenes por la Paz

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Cuestionario para Directores y Docentes de Escuelas y Colegios

A. La comunidad en que se encuentra el Centro Escolar es:_____
B. Tipo de Centro Escolar:
(1) Primaria (primer grado hasta sexto)
(2) Primer grado hasta noveno
(3) Primer grado hasta duo-décimo grado
B. ¿Cuál es el trabajo de la persona entrevistada? (director(a); subdirector; orientador; docente) _____.
C. ¿El sexo del(a) entrevistado(a) ____ [NO preguntar esto; sólo anotarlo]

D. ¿Cuál es su edad? _____.
E. Escolaridad:
(1) Secundaria (bachillerato)
(2) Universitaria (número de años aprobados) _____.
F. Número de años que ha trabajado como docente: _____.
Número de años que ha trabajado como director(a) _____.
G. ¿Qué grados ha enseñado? _____
¿Qué grado (si es profesor de colegio: qué curso especializado) enseña actualmente? _____

I. Preguntas generales

1. ¿Cuáles son los problemas más grandes con respecto a los alumnos de su escuela o colegio?
2. ¿Qué tan comunes son los conflictos en su escuela? (conflictos entre alumnos; entre alumnos y maestros)?
3. ¿Cómo resuelve la escuela los conflictos entre alumnos(as), o entre maestro(a) y alumno(a)? ¿Qué estrategias usan los docentes y directores?
4. ¿Existen medios de resolver conflictos que sugiere el Ministerio de Educación (p.e., convivencia escolar)? ¿Cómo funcionan estos medios?
5. ¿Cuál es el rol de los/las padres y madres de familia en resolver los conflictos que involucran los y las alumnos?
6. ¿Los y las alumnos tienen un rol en resolver estos conflictos?
7. ¿Qué hace los docentes para resolver tales conflictos (entre alumnos o entre alumno y docente)?
8. a. El o la director(a), ¿qué rol tiene en la resolución de conflictos en la escuela?
   b. El el/la subdirector(a), ¿qué rol tiene en la resolución de conflictos?
9. Cuando un alumno sigue comportándose de una manera que no se considera aceptable en la escuela/colegio, es posible expulsarlo(la)? Cual es el reglamento del Ministerio de Educación al respecto?
10. De hecho, hay estudiantes que entran en sus escuelas que han sido expulsados de otras escuelas? ¿Qué han hecho estos alumnos? ¿Por qué han sido expulsados?
11. ¿Su escuela o colegio tiene algún programa de prevención de violencia y delincuencia? ¿Cómo es este programa? [Que lo describa en detalle]
    ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito este programa? ¿Cuáles han sido sus logros?
12. Cuál es la tasa de deserción estudiantil? En qué grado tienden a abandonar la escuela los alumnos? Cuáles son los motivos más comunes por la deserción?
13. ¿Hay barreras que impidan que un(a) niño(a) se matricule en una escuela? Cuáles son? ¿Qué se podría hacer para superar estos obstáculos a la inscripción?

II. **Convivencia Escolar**

1. ¿Participa su escuela/colegio en algún programa de Convivencia Escolar?
2. ¿Me puede explicar cómo funciona este programa?
3. Según este plan, ¿cómo se debe manejar los conflictos entre estudiantes? ¿Cómo se debe negociar los conflictos?
4. ¿Qué tipos de correcciones y sanciones se usan para con los agresores?
5. ¿Los y las alumnos de su escuela o colegio participan en mantener la seguridad o vigilar por la convivencia escolar?
   a. ¿En qué forma lo hacen?

b. ¿Qué tan exitoso han sido sus esfuerzos? (Pídales que den ejemplos.)

6. ¿Qué tipo de liderazgo estudiantil hay en su escuela o colegio? ¿Hay comités o clubes de líderes estudiantiles?
   a. ¿Qué hacen estos comités o clubes?
   b. ¿Cómo trabajan?
   c. ¿Qué ha hecho este club o comité para negociar los conflictos entre estudiantes? (que dé ejemplos)
   d. ¿Han hecho algo estos comités o clubes para **prevenir** los conflictos de convivencia?

11. ¿Hay un Comité Estudiantil de Mediación en su escuela o colegio?
   a. ¿Qué hace este comité? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Qué tipo de estudiante forma parte de el?
   b. ¿Ha habido casos que involucraban pandilleros?

12. ¿Se usan Cartas o Declaraciones de Compromiso en su escuela o colegio?
   a. ¿Quién compone estas cartas?
   b. ¿Qué dicen estas cartas? ¿Cuál es su función?

13. ¿Se trabaja con niños y niñas de edad parvularia, para educarlos en la convivencia escolar?

14. ¿Hay un Consejo de Alumnos en su escuela o colegio?
   a. ¿Cómo es distinto el Consejo al Gobierno Estudiantil? ¿Cuáles son las diferencias entre ellos?
   b. ¿Qué hace el Consejo de Alumnos para <u>prevenir</u> los conflictos?
   c. ¿Qué hace el Consejo de Alumnos para <u>mediar</u> los conflictos?

15. ¿Hay brigadas estudiantiles de solidaridad en esta escuela?
   a. ¿Qué hacen exactamente?
   b. ¿Cómo funcionan?
   c. ¿Juegan algún rol en prevenir la violencia?
   d. ¿Juegan un rol en negociar los conflictos?
   e. ¿Me puede dar un ejemplo (un caso) en que la Brigada Estudiantil de Solidaridad logró prevenir la violencia entre unos estudiantes?
   f. ¿Me puede contar una ocasión en que la Brigada negoció un conflicto?

16. ¿Hay una Comisión de Protección Escolar en este Centro Escolar?
   a. ¿Qué hace? ¿Cómo funciona?
   b. ¿Qué tan exitoso ha sido esta comisión? (que el/la entrevistado/a dé ejemplos)

17. ¿Hay un Comité de Disciplina esta escuela?
   a. ¿Qué hace? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Quiénes forman parte de este comité?
   b. ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito este comité? (que el/la entrevistado/a dé ejemplos)
   c. ¿Este comité trata de resolver conflictos entre estudiantes? ¿Cómo lo hace?

18. ¿Hay un comité estudiantil de seguridad y vigilancia aquí?
   a. ¿Cómo trabaja?

b. ¿Qué tan exitoso ha sido? (que dé ejemplos)

19. ¿Hay un Comité Estudiantil de Mediación?
a. ¿Qué hace este comité? ¿Cómo funciona? ¿Qué tipo de estudiante forma parte de el?
b. ¿Ha habido casos que involucraban pandilleros?
c. **Si no hay un comité, hay otra forma en que los/las estudiantes sirven de mediadores en casos de conflictos entre estudiantes?**

19A. ¿El director de esta escuela (colegio, instituto) hace mediación?
¿Dónde recibió el adiestramiento sobre cómo llevar a cabo la mediación? ¿Me puede decir cómo es ese programa de adiestramiento (¿quién lo financia? ¿Todos los/las directores de escuela reciben este adiestramiento? ¿Cómo se escogen a los directores que van a recibir tal adiestramiento? ¿Cuándo se fundó el programa?
¿Me puede dar un ejemplo de un caso de mediación en que usted participó o en esta escuela o en otra en que usted ha trabajado? ¿De qué se trató el caso? ¿Qué había hecho el alumno? ¿En qué se realizó la mediación?

20. ¿Ha oído hablar de las "escuelas seguras?" ¿Qué sabe al respecto? ¿Por qué se llaman "seguras"? ¿Hasta qué punto cree que estas escuelas proveen la seguridad a los y las alumnos y a los/las docentes? (que explique su respuesta)

20A. ¿Hay Normas de Convivencia en su escuela o colegio? Están escritas en algún documento? [¿Me puede dar una copia de estas normas?]

20B. ¿Hay una psicóloga que trabaja en esta escuela? (¿Cuántas veces a la semana viene a la escuela? ¿Quién finanza su trabajo?)
21. Hablando ahora de la Escuela de Padres y Madres, ¿qué tan activa es este grupo en reducir el nivel de violencia o delincuencia en su escuela o colegio?
a. Específicamente, qué ha hecho la Escuela de Padres y Madres para prevenir la violencia entre los y las estudiantes?
b. ¿Ha hecho algo para prevenir que los y las estudiantes se metan en pandillas? ¿Qué ha hecho?
c. ¿Cuáles son los actos de delincuencia más comunes en este Centro Escolar?
d. ¿Ha ido usted alguna vez a la casa de algún(a) estudiante para hablar con su padre y madre sobre su conducta en el Centro Escolar? ¿Por qué fue? ¿Qué resultado tuvo esta visita?
e. Otros docentes de este Centro Escolar a veces van a las casas para hablar con la madre y el padre del estudiante?

22. ¿Hay una asociación o comité de Padres y Madres de Familia en esta escuela (este colegio)? ¿Qué ha hecho para prevenir o disminuir el nivel de violencia y delincuencia entre los y las alumnos?

23. ¿Qué rol ha desempeñado la policía en su escuela o colegio? ¿Cuáles han sido sus actividades?
a. ¿Con qué frecuencia vienen a la escuela o colegio? ¿Qué hacen cuando vienen? [Si el/la entrevistado/a menciona que "dan charlas", preguntas sobre qué temas dan charlas.]

b. ¿Participan los policías en las clases de deportes? ¿Qué hacen en cuanto a los deportes?
c.¿Los policías hacen algo para prevenir que los pandilleros se acerquen a los y las alumnos?
d. ¿Qué hacen los policías para prevenir la violencia y delincuencia dentro de la escuela (colegio)?

24. Fuera de las actividades de la policía, ¿ . ¿Qué medidas de seguridad se toman en esta escuela (colegio) para prevenir la violencia? ¿Se revisan las mochilas o las bolsas de los/las estudiantes, para buscar cuchillos o armas de fuego? ¿Quién hace estas revisiones? ¿Se hacen todos los días?

25. ¿Los sacerdotes católicos o pastores evangélicos vienen a su escuela o colegio? ¿Qué actividades realizan?
¿Hacen algo para prevenir la violencia y delincuencia? ¿Qué hacen?

26. En esta comunidad, ¿existen programas para niños y adolescentes durante los meses de vacaciones de verano? ¿Cuáles son? ¿Cómo se llaman y en qué consisten?

27. ¿Hay Escuelas Abiertas en este barrio, o en barrios cercanos? ¿Cómo funcionan? ¿Qué tanto éxito tienen?

28. ¿Trabaja por acá en este barrio o en barrios vecindarios la Fundación Fuente Viva? ¿Qué hace este programa para con los jóvenes? ¿Qué logros ha tenido por acá?

29. ¿Los y las docentes de esta escuela participan en el programa "Vecino Vigilante"?

30. ¿En esta escuela tienen el programa DARE? (Si dice que "sí", preguntar: ¿Qué opina usted de este programa? ¿Hasta qué punto ha tenido éxito? (que explique su respuesta).

III. Las pandillas

1. Hablando ahora de las maras y pandillas, ¿cuáles pandillas o maras tienen afiliados en su escuela o colegio?

2. ¿Cómo sabe usted si un alumno o una alumna es miembro/miembra de una pandilla?
a. ¿Qué señas dan los jóvenes que pertenecen a una pandilla? (Sondeo: su apariencia; su conducta)?
b. ¿En qué forma se visten los muchachos? Y las niñas y mujeres?
c. ¿Cómo es el peinado de los muchachos, que los distingue de los que no son pandilleros?
¿Y las niñas o mujeres?
d. ¿Cómo es su forma de hablar? ¿En qué forma hablan distintamente a los otros jóvenes?
¿Las niñas y mujeres también hablan así?
e. ¿Hay algo en su comunicación no verbal que los distingue de los que no son pandilleros?
¿Me puede describir esta comunicación no verbal?
f. ¿Se ponen tatuaje? ¿Qué significa el tatuaje que típicamente usan?
g. ¿Su vestimenta es distintiva? ¿Cómo es?
(1) ¿Cómo se llaman las pandillas o maras que hay en Esquipulas (Tactic, Guatemala)?

3. ¿De qué manera se comportan los miembros de las pandillas, la que es distinta al comportamiento de los otros muchachos de su escuela o colegio?

4. ¿A qué edad comienzan los y las alumnos a afiliarse con las pandillas?

5. ¿Cometen delincuencias en su escuela o colegio? ¿Qué tipo de delincuencias cometen?

6. ¿Qué hace la escuela cuando se da cuenta de un acto de delincuencia juvenil?

7. ¿Qué hacen los docentes para prevenir los actos de delincuencia en esta escuela (este colegio)?

8. ¿Hacen los estudiantes algo para dañar la propiedad de la escuela (del colegio)?

9. ¿Escriben graffitis (manchas) dentro de la escuela o en los muros del centro escolar?
   a. ¿Usted entiende lo que quieren decir los graffitis?
   b. ¿A quién se dirigen los mensajes de graffiti (a los miembros de la pandilla a que pertenece el pintor? A los miembros de otra pandilla? A la policía? A otro grupo?)

10. ¿Por qué cree usted que los jóvenes se afilian con las pandillas?
    ¿Y las niñas y mujeres, por qué se afilian?
    a. ¿Qué factores contribuyen a esta afiliación?
    b. ¿Qué estrategias usan los pandilleros para reclutar jóvenes a su pandilla?

**11. ¿Qué se podría hacer para prevenir que los y las jóvenes se metan en pandillas?

12. ¿Los y las docentes de su escuela o colegio coordinan sus esfuerzos con otros miembros de la comunidad para prevenir que los y las jóvenes se afilien con las pandillas?
   a. ¿Con qué instituciones trabajan los y las docentes en esta comunidad? ¿En qué forma trabajan juntamente? ¿Qué hacen?

13. Los/las estudiantes en esta escuela, ¿qué porcentaje diría usted que son indígenas?
14. ¿Hay algún programa de educación bilingüe para ellos?

Muchas gracias por sacar el rato para conversar conmigo. Les estoy muy agradecido.

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Cuestionario para
Jóvenes que se Consideran en Riesgo (mayores de 18 años de edad)
(At-Risk Youth)

¿Cuántos años tiene usted?

1. En su opinión, ¿cuáles son los problemas más graves de los jóvenes como usted, aquí en esta comunidad?
2. ¿Qué se debería de hacer para resolver estos problemas? (o sea, los problemas de X, Y, Z--los que han sido nombrados)
3. ¿Hay organismos en este municipio que han hecho esfuerzos para resolver estos problemas? ¿Qué organizaciones han hecho algo? ¿Qué han hecho, específicamente? ¿Estos esfuerzos, hasta qué punto han logrado solucionar los problemas?

4. Hablando de la violencia y de los delitos que la gente de esta comunidad dice que son tan comunes hoy en día, en la escuela elementaria y secundaria que usted ha asistido, ¿qué tan serio era el problema de la violencia?
5. En las escuelas que usted ha asistido, ¿qué tipo de violencia había? Eran los alumnos mismos que hicieron actos violentos, o eran jóvenes de afuera, que no eran alumnos de la escuela de usted?
6. Y los delitos que se cometieron en la escuela, ¿qué tipos de delitos eran?
7. Los que cometieron estos actos de delincuencia, eran miembros de alguna pandilla? ¿Cuál? (¿Qué pandilla(s)?)
8. ¿Cuántas pandillas había en su escuela o colegio? ¿Cómo se llamaban?
9. ¿Cómo se sabía que cierto alumno y cierta alumna era miembro o miembra de una pandilla? ¿Qué señas mostraban que pertenecían a alguna pandilla?
10. ¿Qué hacía el director o directora de la escuela o del colegio cuando se enteraba de que algún estudiante había cometido un delito o algún acto de violencia? (¿Me puede dar ejemplos de algunos casos que usted recuerda?)
11. ¿Ha sido víctima usted de algún acto de delincuencia en su escuela o colegio? ¿Me puede contar el incidente? ¿Cómo se resolvió esto? ¿Qué pasó con el agresor?
12. En la escuela o colegio que usted había asistido, ¿se expulsaba a los y las estudiantes violentos? ¿Eran expulsiones permanentes? ¿Qué pasó con estos estudiantes después de su expulsión—se trasladaron a otra escuela u otro colegio, o dejaron de estudiar?
13. En su escuela o colegio, ¿se hacía algo para prevenir la delincuencia?
14. En su escuela o colegio, los alumnos y las alumnas tenían algún rol en mediar los conflictos entre alumnos? ¿Qué hacían ellos en cuanto a la mediación?
15. ¿Hacía algo la escuela o el colegio para prevenir que los alumnos y las alumnas se metieran en las pandillas? ¿Qué hacía?
16. ¿Qué hacen las pandillas para convencerle a un o una joven que se meta en la pandilla?
17. ¿En su escuela o colegio, había charlas sobre el uso de las drogas narcóticas? ¿Quiénes daban estas charlas?
18. ¿La policía nacional hacía algo para proteger a los y las estudiantes de los pandilleros y mareros? ¿Qué hacía la policía?
19. ¿Cómo trata la policía a los jóvenes de esta comunidad? (pedir ejemplos)
20. ¿Ha sido usted víctima de algún delito? ¿Qué atención ha recibido de las autoridades?
21. ¿Tiene usted confianza o desconfianza en la policía? ¿Por qué dice esto?
22. ¿Cómo han sido las experiencias que usted o sus amigos han tenido con la policía?
23. ¿Qué sabe usted con respecto a las leyes que tienen que ver con la delincuencia juvenil? ¿Usted sabe si las leyes benefician o no a los jovenes, tanto menores de edad como a los mayores de 18 años? ¿En qué respecto? (que explique)
24. ¿Qué diferencia existe entre el sistema judicial tanto para jóvenes hasta los 17 años y los que son igual o mayor a 18 años? ¿Qué diferencias existen?
25. Y los fiscales de la cabecera municipal, ¿cómo son ellos en su forma de tratar a los jóvenes?
26. ¿Qué sabe usted de las leyes que tienen que ver con la delincuencia juvenil? ¿A qué edad se manda a un condenado a una prisión para jóvenes y a qué edad se le manda a una prisión para adultos?

Acciones de maras y pandillas

27. ¿Hay maras o pandillas en las comunidades en que usted trabaja? ¿Cuáles son?
28. ¿Qué tipos de delitos cometen los pandilleros en las comunidades en que usted trabaja actualmente (o en que ha trabajado, si no hay pandillas en las comunidades donde trabaja actualmente?)
29. Los pandilleros que viven en las comunidades donde usted trabaja, ¿hay algunos que han sido deportados de los Estados Unidos?
30. ¿Qué delitos habían cometido en los Estados Unidos?
31. ¿Qué estatus tienen los deportados entre sus compañeros pandilleros? ¿Tienen un rol especial en las pandillas?
32. ¿Los deportados, habían sido inmigrantes legales o ilegales en los Estados Unidos?
33. ¿A cuál mara pertenecían en los Estados Unidos? ¿En qué estado de los EE.UU. habían vivido?

34. ¿Cómo sabe usted si un joven es pandillero al verlo en la calle, qué características lo identifican como pandillero? [Sondear: Ropa, tatuajes, corte de pelo]
35. ¿Los pandilleros tienen una forma de hablar especial de ellos? ¿**Cómo es?**
36. ¿Usan una forma de comunicación **no verbal** -con las manos, gestos- especial? ¿Me las puede describir?

Y si es niña o mujer, ¿cuáles son las características que señalan que ella es miembro de alguna pandilla?

37. ¿Por qué, cree usted, que los jóvenes se meten en las pandillas? ¿A qué edad lo hacen?
38. Y las niñas y mujeres, ¿por qué se meten en ellas?
39. ¿Hasta qué edad se quedan en las pandillas?
40. ¿Hay manera de salir de una pandilla o mara? ¿Cuál es la manera?
41. ¿Conoce cuál es la diferencia entre "pandilla" y "clica"?
42. Cuando usted ve grafitis (manchas), ¿los entiende? ¿Sabe qué significado tienen y a quién se dirigen estos mensajes? [Sondear: A otra pandilla? A los miembros de la misma pandilla? A la Policía?]
43. Hablando ahora de las bandas del crimen organizado, ¿Qué hacen?
44. ¿En qué forma son distintas a las pandillas y maras? ¿En qué forma son parecidas? O sea, ¿qué tienen en común las bandas del crimen organizado con las pandillas y las maras?

45. Hablando ahora de su familia, ¿Cómo es la situación de su hogar? ¿Está satisfecho con el nivel de apoyo que su mamá y su papá le han dado a usted y a sus hermanos?
46. ¿Qué le hace falta para poder lograr sus metas?
47. ¿Hay alguna institución en esta comunidad o en el municipio (la alcaldía, la iglesia, la escuela, una ONG), o algún individuo, que le ha ayudado a conseguir lo que necesite? ¿Qué institución o persona será? ¿En qué forma le han ayudado?
48. ¿Tiene usted un trabajo en este momento? (Si dice que "no" preguntar, "por qué no?". Si dice que "sí", preguntar: ¿Qué tipo de trabajo es? ¿Está contento con este trabajo, o preferiría tener un trabajo mejor?

(¿Qué tipo de trabajo le gustaría tener? ¿Hay obstáculos que le previenen conseguir tal trabajo? ¿Cuáles son estos obstáculos?)

49. ¿Ha completado usted sus estudios, o sea, se ha graduado del colegio? (Si dicen que "no", preguntar, "Por qué dejó sus estudios?") **¿Cuál fue el último grado que llogró completar en el centro escolar que asistió?**

50. ¿Hay oportunidades por acá para completar los estudios, para los que ya han dejado de estudiar en las escuelas o los colegios?

51. ¿Qué tipos de trabajo ha tenido usted desde que dejó de estudiar? ¿Qué tendría que hacer para poder conseguir un trabajo mejor?

52. ¿Ha tenido usted problemas en completar sus estudios o en conseguir trabajo por el hecho de que usted habla una lengua indígena mejor que el español, o porque tiene problemas en expresarse en español?

53. **¿Ha oído hablar de [programa de RTI]? ¿Qué sabe al respecto? ¿Qué opina de [programa de RTI], en cuanto a beneficiar a los jóvenes? ¿Ha participado usted in las clases de [programa de RTI] ¿Cuál? ¿Qué le pareció?

54. Hablando de las posibilidades de mejorar su situación laboral, en los últimos 12 meses, han mejorado, empeorado, y han quedado igual sus posibilidades de encontrar un buen trabajo? ¿Por qué dice esto? (¿Qué le da esta impresión?)

55. Hablando del nivel de delincuencia y violencia en la comunidad en que usted vive, en los últimos 12 meses ha cambiado? (¿Han bajado los niveles de delincuencia y violencia, han subido o se han quedado iguales? ¿Qué le da esta impresión?

56. ¿Hay algo que quiere agregar a la conversación, algo que no se ha comentado hasta el momento?

57. **ETID.** ¿Usted se considera una persona ladina, indígena u otra? **58.** (2) Ladina (3) Indígena (7) Otra (88) NS (98) NR	
GUAETIDA. ¿Considera que su madre es o era una persona ladina o indígena? (2) Ladina (3) Indígena (7) Otra (88) NS (98) NR	

LENG1. ¿Cuál es su lengua materna o el primer idioma que habló de pequeño en su casa? **[acepte una alternativa, no más] [No leer alternativas]** (201) Español (202) Mam (203) K'iche' (206) Kaqchiquel (207) Q'eqchi' (204) Otro (nativo) (205) Otro extranjero (88) NS (98) NR	
LENG4. Hablando del idioma que sus padres conocían, ¿sus padres hablan o hablaban **[Leer alternativas]**: *(Encuestador: si uno de los padres hablaba sólo un idioma y el otro más de uno, anotar 2.*) (1) Sólo castellano o español (2) Castellano - español e idioma nativo (3) Sólo idioma nativo (4) Castellano - español e idioma extranjero (88) NS (98) NR	