



Peace Brokers – Understanding Good Practice in Violence Prevention and Reduction in Jamaica

Situating Violence and Peace Building in Jamaica

On June 24, 2008, August Town's corner leaders signed a peace agreement to end gang violence that had resulted in significant loss of life, caused incalculable trauma and retarded the social and economic development of their community. The agreement prohibited the carrying and shooting of guns and intimidation. It also required that community leaders steer members of their area away from violence and

encourage tolerance for people of different political beliefs. The agreement also set up a peace council charged with the responsibility of monitoring adherence to the terms of the agreement¹. The agreement, also signed by the Peace Management Initiative, political representatives and members of the civil society resulted from the desire of citizens to build lives and communities free from violence, fear and deprivation. This desire, impelled community members, facilitated by a range of peace brokers, to initiate and sustain a peace building process (Jamaica Gleaner, July 2008).

This episode of peace building was not an isolated incident. Whether focused on individuals, groups or communities, Jamaica has many organizations working to prevent and reduce violence. They are evidence of Jamaica's too often obscured peace movement. The factors that account for the relatively little attention this peace movement receives are considerable. The multivalent impact of violence, and its pernicious link with crime, is far-reaching:

- In 2010, Jamaica's intentional homicide rate was 52 per 100,000 (UNODC 2011, p. 76).
- Each escalation in homicide was characterized by more multiple killings, increasing violent death of children and an increased willingness of criminals to challenge the police. (Peace Management Initiative, 2008, p. 1).
- Violence-related injuries (VRIs) accounted for over 38,000 visits to accident and emergency units of Jamaican hospitals island wide in 2005. The estimated cost of patient care for VRIs in 2006 was J\$2 billion (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011).
- It is estimated that by reducing its homicide rate to 8 per 100,000 Jamaica could boost economic growth per capita by 5.4 percent per annum (World Bank, 2007, p. 59).



Children First mural completed after once cycle of the MAN programme showing vastly improved community and child-parent relationships
 © Children First Agency

In many polls highlighting issues of social concern, crime and violence consistently comes out on top. It occupies a considerable proportion of the attention of the electronic, print, and now, social media. Academia and policy makers are also understandably preoccupied with this issue and a voluminous literature has flowed from this preoccupation. Much of Jamaica's problems of violent crime had its genesis in the toxic nature of garrison politics, but has undergone numerous permutations (Levy, 2009)².

That a host of intrinsic and extrinsic risk factors contribute to violence is well established in the literature. The intrinsic factors include personality, genetics and biological functioning. Environmental factors range from peer influence, socialization in families and communities to community disadvantage (Guerra et al, 2010, p. 3). Expert evidence uncovered during this research, as well as world beating rates of violent crime, suggest that in Jamaica's case, many of these risk factors are acute and multiplicative. This is especially true for the country's youth who are vastly overrepresented in

official statistics on the victims and perpetrators of violence (McLean and Blake Lobban, 2009, p. 9). Moreover, there is a growing understanding that young people are not just overexposed to violence (Bailey, 2009, p. 64), but are being, and this is especially true for young males, actively socialized into patterns of criminality and violence (Gayle, 2009). A further factor which escalates violence is the prevalence of illegal weapons. While the number of illegal arms is difficult to estimate, the vast majority of the island's gun-related crimes are committed with illegal weapons and being able to rent weapons substantially multiplies the number of people with access to weapons (Leslie, 2010, p. 41, p. 44).

This *Issue Brief* draws attention to the vital but underreported success stories of organizations working to reduce and prevent violence in Jamaica.³ It will examine individual-level, group-based and community initiatives. In doing so, it unpacks their operational processes, philosophical underpinnings and uncovers six essential pillars that account for their success. The primary source of the findings of this brief is qualitative inter-

views conducted in September 2011 with the leadership of the organizations reviewed. Where available, use was also made of prior special reports, annual reports and evaluations. This research was produced within the Geneva Declaration process.⁴

Types of Responses to Violence

Individual-Level Programmes

The YMCA Youth Development Programme (YDP)⁵ aims to help low income males 14-17 who are not in education, employment or training programmes gain life skills, academic qualification and accomplish personal development objectives (Guerra et al, 2010, p. 8). The boys, all from communities in the Kingston Metropolitan area were not in schooling due to a range of academic and behavioural problems. Aggressive behaviour was the primary behavioural problem. The programme accomplishes this by providing intensive remedial education and social skills training over three to four years. The YDP is structured around daily supervision, instruction in small classes of around 20



PMI involving the political directorate in peace building
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students and socialization activities. Counselling and mentorship is vital to the social skills aspect of the programme.

The post-hoc analyses⁶ not only revealed that there were significant reductions in aggressive behaviour in both samples, but the impact of the reduction was quite long lasting for the graduates of the programme. Many of the graduates of the programme, who were now adults still living in disadvantaged communities, showed significantly reduced propensity to engage in aggressive behaviour. The intensity of a conflict would need to be of a much greater magnitude in order for these young men to use violence. The results are striking given how late into adolescence many of the programme beneficiaries were when they began the programme and suggest it is never too late to build bridges to facilitate young men in transitioning out of socially harmful patterns of behaviour.

Group-Based Programmes

In its 5th year of operation, the Child Resiliency Programme (CRP) is an outreach programme of the Hope United Church catering to an average of 60 children every year. Many of the children live in the low-income communities of Kintyre, Tavern and August Town. The objectives of the programme are to identify and support pre- and young adolescents ages 8-12 who are demonstrating a number of high-risk behaviours. These include sub-par literacy skills, have suffered neglect or abuse, excessive fighting, violence and drug abuse. Approximately 83% of registrants were actively engaged in the programme and there is a much higher attendance rate.⁵ The children are referred to the programme from schools and are assessed via a behavioural questionnaire upon registration in the programme.

The system of support that CRP provides is underpinned by four main arms: academic support, life skills training, nutrition and parenting and family support. The objective of the academic support arm is to provide remedial intervention to allow children who are falling behind to catch up and those who are reading at grade level to achieve an even higher academic standard. The life skills component is oriented to helping 'young people gain knowledge, insight and meaningful perspectives of themselves' (Scott, 2011, p. 14). A range of self, cognitive, social and spiritual developmental activities are undertaken. The nutrition component provides healthy meals. The parenting and family support component aims to enhance parents knowledge of good parenting practices and create a support system when facilitates the development of positive parenting capabilities (Scott, 2011, p. 20).

An annual evaluation is conducted typically using a combination of extended interviews, observation and focus group discussions. The evaluation for the 2010-11 school year revealed that both parents and children report considerable improvements in children's life outlook, parent-child communication and reduction in aggressive behaviour and fighting. Where the academic component of the programme is concerned, 55% of the children were reading at one higher grade level.

Having started in 1992 as an outreach project of the University of the West Indies, Change From Within (CFW) is the oldest intervention reviewed. CFW uses an action research methodology to uncover, test, refine and then deploy school-led transformation processes. It is now in a total of 40 schools primary and high schools. The Task Force on Educational Reform Report recognized its community engagement processes as a best practice which should be adopted by other schools (Government of Jamaica, 2004, p. 132).

There are four key pillars to the CFW process. These are building on leadership, building on strengths, exploring alternative pedagogical methods to encourage and stimulate all students, but especially boys. Parents and the wider community must also be effectively engaged in the change process.⁸ The basis for the cementing of any of these four pillars in a school is the Circle of Friends.

The Circle of Friends is comprised of school principals and is a space where informal leadership training, mentoring

Box 1

Change from Within's impact on an underperforming primary school

The St. Peter Claver Primary School in Kingston is one of the success stories of the programme. Prior to the start of the programme there was little to set this innercity school apart from other troubled schools. The students were under performing, their morale and self esteem were low, the teachers morale was also low and parents had little enthusiasm for the school. Since the inception of the programme the students' academic performance has surpassed all the other 15 schools in their territory and mirrors that of students in private preparatory schools. Scores on the Grade 4 Literacy Test average 89% mastery rates literacy achieved, compared to the national average of 60%-65%. The school produced the top boy in the 2006 GSAT as well as the top boy for the region in 2004.

Source: Government of Jamaica, 2007

and support are offered. Colleagues have honest exchanges about their challenges, reflect on the effectiveness of their strategies and help one another to devise practical solutions to their challenges (Solomon and Down, 2006, p. 104). The Circle of Friends that has been developed for students is also critical to the process.

CFW's school interventions have had the impact of decreasing the incidence of violence, increasing parental involvement in and ownership of the schools and enhancing academic performance. Research conducted between 2002 and 2007 revealed sizable reductions in weapons seizure and gang activity in many CFW schools (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008, p. 30).

Children First (CF) emerged out of the wind-up of a Save the Children UK project in Spanish Town in 1997. CF currently have 10 projects dealing with issues as diverse as reproductive health, the elderly, empowerment and violence prevention serving over 3000 beneficiaries. A distinctive feature of CF is its gender sensitive programming. 'We felt that it was important to look at what is the challenge for our boys.'

Like the CRP, CF do a risk intake assessment when a child registers for one of its programmes. It then designs a tailored, developmental programme for the child. The design, monitoring and evaluation of this programme is heavily participatory, using diagramming and mapping techniques in addition to formal measures such as passes in government achievement tests. In 1998, CF received the Press Association of Jamaica Award for Excellent Contribution to Community Development. A don in one community told the executive director 'Yuh a shorten our soldiers.'

There are two violence prevention programmes with a direct reach of 300 young people. The youngsters formulate

Peace Action Plans that allow them to become peace builders in their own communities. The action plans vary in scale and scope as it is highly individualized, but at the heart of all of them are three principles: acting as a peer supporter, modeling peaceful behaviour and values and community engagement.

A Community-based Intervention

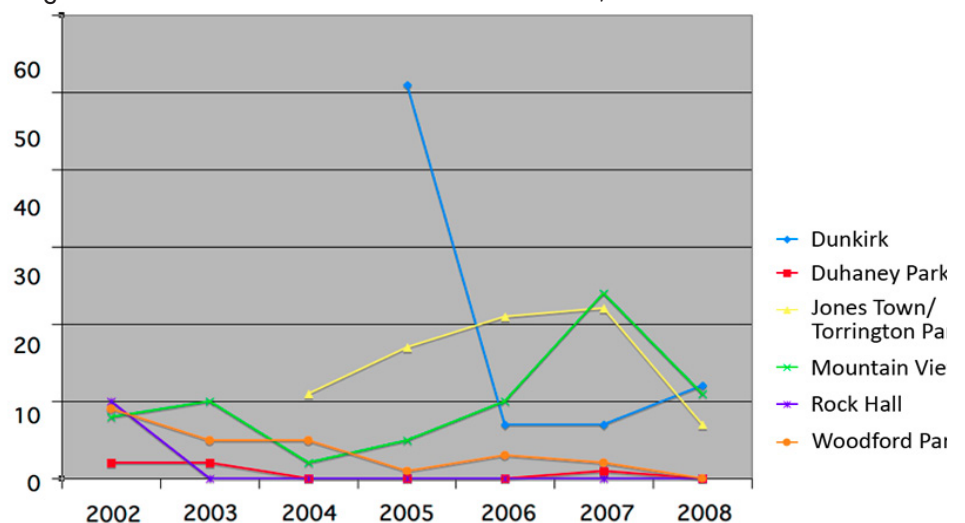
The central objective of the Peace Management Initiative is 'to head off or defuse, through dialogue, the community violence' which accounts for a large proportion of the island's violent deaths (Peace Management Initiative 2008: 1). Formed by the Ministry of National Security, Government of Jamaica, in 2002, the PMI comprise personnel from faith groups, academia, the two largest political parties. It presently has 4 field staff. The PMI currently operates in 60 communities – much of the Kingston Metropolitan Area and some areas of Spanish Town and spends approximately USD\$10,000 paying its staff and rent each month. The huge costs to set up meetings as well as pay for transport and food are not covered by those monthly costs.¹¹

The PMI has considerable 'comparative advantage' over these other violence prevention interventions in a number of respects. It works directly with youth involved in violence, collects local data on outcomes in which it is interested (principally murder) and organizes therapy for both the victims and perpetrators of violence (McLean and Blake Lobban 2009: 45). No other programme works with perpetrators of violence in this manner as such interaction remains taboo.¹²

The PMI is credited with significantly reducing community violence in August Town, Brown's Town and Mountain View (McLean and Blake Lobban, 2009, p. 45). Community leaders from at least 11 other communities have credited the PMI with sustaining peace in their communities (Jamaica Observer, January 2009). Mediation, counselling and livelihoods projects are the cornerstone of the PMI approach (Levy, 2009).

When there is a violent eruption in a community, the PMI goes into the community and meets with community members with a view to begin a mediation process. For the mediation process

Figure 1: Evolution of Murders in PMI Communities, 2002 - 2008



Source: McCleand Blake Lobban, 2009, p. 46

to begin, the parties to the conflict have to be persuaded to talk to, then listen to each other. Though these face-to-face encounters can be very tumultuous, these mediation sessions have never suffered a walkout. This is usually done at a neutral venue such as a hotel or the PMI offices. Many community members interested in a cessation to the violence come forward. Increasingly, the 'shottas' have been willing to talk to the PMI, even requesting its preemptive intervention.

Once the violence in a community has subsided, the counselling team begins to conduct family and house-to-house visits. This team draws on volunteer councilors, pastors and psychologists. This is an essential service for family can community members traumatized by violence. The counselling programme currently operates in 35 communities in the KMA and St. Catherine and has 30 active members.¹³ This is especially important for children whose lives can be dramatically twisted by violence. Many more men need these services but are afraid to access them.¹⁴

PMI mobilizes and transport people to counselling and therapeutic sessions as

effective counselling cannot take place in the environment where trauma has occurred. In many cases, people know the perpetrators and their lives may be under threat. Additionally, it is difficult for some people to cross turf borders¹⁵ in order to get to counselling sessions. These sessions not only provide opportunities for venting, but helps victims and perpetrators of violence acquire the skills to deal with trauma in a non-violent way.¹⁶

Unpacking Successful Interventions: What Makes Them Tick?

A Holistic Approach in the Context of Community Building

All the respondents reflected that far too many violence prevention interventions looked at violence prevention in a far too narrow and disconnected way. 'No one thing is going to solve violence.' Intervention must address all the things that human beings need -

'cultural, sporting, employment activities and life skills. Employment without life skills is worthless.'¹⁸ Moreover, these interventions are not simply targeted at individuals, but engage family, whole schools and communities, who take ownership of the problem.

CRP and CFW are explicit in saying that they are not violence prevention programmes. Like the YMCA's YDP, both these programmes focus on providing global protection. By teaching life skills and literacy, powerful safeguards against a range of harmful outcomes such as violence, drugs and early pregnancy are being provided.

Violence is intimately bound up with other social mores and behaviour. CF understood that the issue of violence cannot be addressed without addressing what it means to be a man. Lack of self-esteem and positive role models are intimately connected not just with violence against women, but violence more generally as for many young men masculinity is *defined* in terms of violence. In response to this, it developed Male Awareness Now (MAN). The thrust of the programme is to get young people



This mural shows boys depiction of community and household violence before Children First's Male Awareness Now (MAN) programme. © Children First Agency

to understand their value as men. It does this by providing forums for young men to discuss their challenges in their 'Come Mek Wi Reason' sessions, facilitating their acquisition of skills and involving them in community activities. By integrating these sessions with their larger personal development plans, CF had been able to transition many gang members into legitimate opportunities.

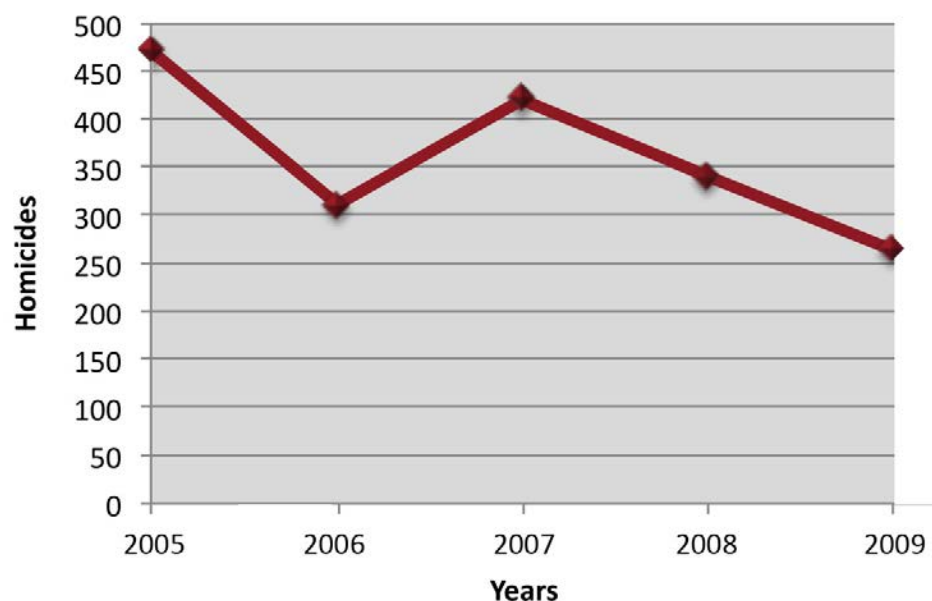
The PMI was most effective in areas where it was able to use its multifaceted, three-pronged strategy of mediation, counseling and development initiatives in a sustained manner. These communities are in police divisions that have shown a 42% drop in the number of homicides between 2005 and 2009.

The police divisions of Kingston Central, Kingston East, Kingston West and St Andrew Central showed a significant long-term decrease when the overall national trend showed an increase in the number of murders (Peace Management Initiative, 2008, p. 4).¹⁹

Beneficiary Responsiveness & Enabling Participation

Another essential factor which accounts for the success of these programmes is the extent to which they not only meet the (often times unmet) needs of their beneficiaries, but are meaningfully shaped by beneficiaries. A vital element of responsiveness is tailoring support to the needs of individuals or groups. Organisations' relationships with their beneficiaries ranged from facilitating opportunities for them to express their concerns, to facilitating community ownership over a change process. An example at one end of the spectrum is the PMI's dialogue with communities. The first step in reducing community violence is to go into a community and listen. Few other agencies actually do this. Fear is the principal reason.²⁰

Figure 2: Total Homicides across the Kingston Central, East and West; and St. Andrew Central Police Divisions, 2005-2009



Source: Peace Management Initiative, 2008, p. 7.

Over time, CF's outputs have changed radically as they have been shaped by the needs of the communities they serve. The inclusion of violence prevention activities is part of this change. At the beginning of each year, a participatory planning meeting is held. These forums allow CF to understand from the child's perspective, which aspects of the programmes were beneficial to them, and which were less so. The children 'talk about what they would like us to do differently and tell us why.'²¹ The children also discuss what is happening in their communities and link this to their needs.

Similarly, the counselling function was not originally part of PMI's operations. It arose out of the absence of services for community people to receive counselling and therapy. Moreover, the PMI realized that this absence was making their objective of reducing community violence more difficult. For many in conflict torn communities, 'their family is the gang.' To retaliate after an attack is

part of the mourning process. This *reprisal mechanism* is a major driver of community violence.²²

An example of the power and difficulties of deep participation is the setting up of peace councils. The setting up of a peace council is an important milestone in the exercise of community ownership over a peace process and provides an incalculable psychological boost to that process. This was done formally in two places: August Town and Waterhouse. The Waterhouse peace did not last due to turf strife in which there were homicides.

August Town has been building its peace movement over a much longer time. As noted earlier, the current peace in August Town was cemented by a public agreement. The recommendation to have it public came from a community member. This is a powerful incentive to keep the peace movement going and is the basis for its resilience. This peace has held for over three years despite sporadic incidents of violence.

Recognising and Building on Strengths

The interventions examined did not focus on the deficits or deficiencies in the schools or communities they worked with, to the exclusion of everything else. There was an understanding that individuals, schools and communities have an understanding of the problems they confront and solutions to these problems. That is, they have functional and knowledge assets that *must* be enhanced in order to combat violence. From its inception, using strengths as a tool in violence reduction was a foundational principle of CFW. CFW identified four schools which were taking a 'whole-school approach' to the issue of violence and anti-social behaviour. The CFW process is not imposed from above, but validates experimentation that was already occurring in schools.

These schools were focusing on 'pulling out the positives, highlighting the positives and using those positive to build self-esteem in the school community. We treat these positives as things that are worthy of close and serious attention.' In one school, potential

participants in a top tier interschool football competition had to come to assembly, and before the entire school explain to their peers why they should get the chance to represent the school. Student match referees were also appointed to record the behaviour of the players. Again, at assembly, the student referees and the players have to give an account of their behaviour.

By focusing on a positive within a school and democratising the decision-making process around who got the chance to represent the school, the school's sporting teams were not only very successful in competition, they consistently won awards for most disciplined team and the academic performance of many of the boys on the team and in the school more generally, improved.²³

Leadership and Mentorship

'A good leader makes all the difference, for good or for ill.'²⁰ Leadership is different from management. From schools to communities, effective leaders were able to outline a vision which their constituents bought into. These

constituents then aided in devising practical ways in which the vision could be achieved. CFW proposed that great school leaders were not afraid to experiment with doing things differently, empowered others and were able to get a crucial mass of the school community, inside and outside the school, to buy into a change agenda.

Thus, they have focused on building leadership at different levels of the schools. There are meetings where principals can discuss their challenges in a not merely non-threatening, but an actively supportive forum. 'We meet, we discuss issues, we look at best practices, we look at challenges and together we organize how we are going to deal with those challenges in the particular school.' A circle has also developed for students.

Leaders had to create a constituency to help them pursue a change agenda. Effective mentorship was a key enabler in this regard. In the CFW process, mentorship flowed in several directions. There was traditional mentorship (between people of vastly different statuses), but also peer mentorship (principals mentoring principal, teachers



Child Resiliency Programme photo showing a session on effective parenting.
© Child Resiliency Programme

mentoring teachers and students mentoring students). Student mentorship is vital for building effective student leadership. It is often more effective than having an adult mentor disruptive students. A new principal at a school in the KMA helped the students in their circle develop a Big Sister Programme that they used to drastically reduce incidents involving students outside of the school. Mentees reported that it was easier having someone they know, respected and want to emulate, tell them that their behaviour was not appropriate.

Trust and Respect

Trust is a vital form of social capital. There can be little cooperation between and amongst groups without it. For the organizations studied, impartiality, transparency and local resonance were the building blocks of the trust, and related respect they enjoyed. 'Inner-city people want respect more than anything else. Respect is the number one thing they want.' Lack of work, poor infrastructure and poverty are manifestations of disrespect towards them by wider society.²⁵

It is very important to remain neutral and to be *seen* to be impartial. This is very important in dealing with political-

ly charged communities and is also important in dealing with gangs. The parents have responded to this impartiality and have urged other parents to refrain from bringing political symbols into CF spaces. Similarly, the PMI is viewed by different combatants in community conflicts as neutral and thus trusted to initiate a community dialogue.

Local resonance and transparency are two other important drivers of trust. The communities themselves have seen the results of the interventions of the programmes work and it is these real life examples that are the cornerstone of the respect that they have earned. All CF's activities are open to the community with many of the reasoning sessions held outside. Many of the men were skeptical of an approach that wanted to talk about men's issues. However, when they saw positive changes in their younger males, there was significant community approval.

Partnerships

Partnerships were consistently used to leverage external expertise to catalyse the changes the programmes wish to achieve and encourage ownership and behaviour change on the part of the

beneficiaries. 'Its pardna, same like how yuh throw pardna a yuh yaad, if yuh nuh throw in yuh hand, yuh cyaa get nuh draw.'²⁶ The PMI has consistently stated that, where its interventions were successful, it would not have been able to achieve such results working alone. Partnerships with community police, Citizens Security and Justice Programme (CSJP), Community Security Initiative (CSI) and civil society were vital (Peace Management Initiative, 2008, p. 4).

Jamaica's academic community is playing a vital role in reducing some human capital deficits, which are institutional impediments to peace-building. These are principally in the areas of remedial academic instruction and counselling. The UWT's Violence Prevention Clinic is used by the PMI as a counselling site and its counselling practicum students volunteer at many programmes. The University of Technology has a community service programme that provides critical voluntary support to the CRP and CF.

Parents are the first role models. If they do not understand and model positive social behaviours, then they cannot encourage this in their children. All three group-based processes have holistic parenting outreach and support services. CFW realized that lack of parental involvement in schools is a crucial impediment to improved behaviour and academic performance. CFW schools have thus actively sought to build relationships with parents as opposed to only communicating with them when their child has caused problems. It is also important to communicate with children about issues such as conflict management, but parents often lack the confidence and competence to do this. Training sessions where parents can draw upon each others' experience has helped to redress this problem.



Graduates of Child Resiliency Programme showing off their certificates.

© Child Resiliency Programme

Other essential partnerships that received repeated comment were the Dispute Resolution Foundation, the Community Policing Unit of the Jamaica Constabulary Force, the Social Development Commission, the church (which absorbs a large part of CRP's costs), and local business people.

Discussion

Despite strong and sustained headwinds, successful violence prevention and reduction initiatives have emerged in Jamaica. In reviewing five such initiatives, six *interlocking* and *mutually reinforcing* features were seen to characterize them:

- a holistic approach,
- strong beneficiary responsiveness,
- enabling their beneficiaries to participate,
- effective leadership,
- trust as well as respect and
- productive partnerships.

These factors combined to illustrate that effectively combating violence

requires building up a peace building constituency and this can be accomplished in a number of ways.

This finding is important in two principal respects. First, it can, and respondents say should, provide a basis for changing the narrative about Jamaica's high rate of violence, from one where violence is an accepted fact of life, to one where violence can be successfully tackled. Second, it provides a basis for a multiplicity of organizations to strengthen primary prevention at the population level by experimenting with the institutional features discussed here. This is especially true for early childhood education since early intervention has been shown to have positive and long-lasting effects (Leo-Rhynie, 2010, p. 19).

Despite the successes of the reviewed interventions, they face profound challenges. There are human resource pressures, but in most cases this is a knock on from their financial constraints.²⁷ These profound financial constraints affected the ability of the programmes

to respond to known gaps, reduced their geographical reach and means that the small staff of these programmes have to spend an inordinate amount of time seeking funding.

This dearth of funding indicates that violence prevention needs to be included in the development agenda in a more substantive and holistic manner. Moreover, as noted earlier, violence is an important retardant to development. Consequently, the potential development payoff from greater allocation of state

resources to violence prevention is significant. Other research into the effectiveness of violence reduction programmes has recommended that the **'PMI should be given a larger, predictable budget** to enable it to expand its mediation activities and strengthen its organisation' [original emphasis] (McLean and Blake Lobban, 2009, p. 48). Such funding from international development partners and governments would go a long way in addressing the difficulties outlined above. The predictable funding given to the Dispute Resolution Foundation by the Ministry of Justice under a memorandum of understanding is an arrangement that should be replicated.

Getting the funding mix right is not the only challenge. The wider social, economic and policy landscape remains hostile to deepened peace building. High rates of youth unemployment persist. And all these programmes report being vastly oversubscribed. Schools, parents and young people themselves want to be involved in meaningful activities, but there are relatively few available in relation to the demand. More specifically, there are too few violence prevention initiatives for young men aged 14-24 who, as pointed out earlier, are disproportionately the main victims and perpetrators of crime and violence. While the programmes presented provide considerable insight into effective peace building strategies, Jamaicans must acknowledge that our high rates of violence 'did not descend on us overnight. There will be no quick fix, overnight solution' (Jamaica Gleaner, July 2008). Given these facts, a much more robust national response is required.



Brokering peace at meeting outside the community.
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Notes

1. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.
2. Garrisons as a political phenomenon was first analysed in depth in Stone (1986). Stone posited that garrison constituencies were political strongholds based on tradition and homogeneity in political beliefs. This homogeneity is kept in place by force and the distribution of state benefits. Since then, other observers have pointed to the relative independence from political control that garrison bosses have been able to exercise as a consequence of their involvement in the drug trade (Leslie, 2010, p. 27).
3. These organizations had been recognized by experts as successful programmes, had documented their interventions, were in possession of data and/or evaluation studies and were willing and able to meet with the investigator. They are by no means the entirety of Jamaica's peace building best practices.
4. Examination of such interventions is vital. Jamaica as a signatory to the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development in 2006, has a responsibility to achieve measurable reductions in armed violence. The Geneva Declaration is supporting the documentation and dissemination of good practices in armed violence reduction and prevention as a mean to support signatory states in fulfilling their commitments under the Declaration. This paper will be presented at the occasion of the 2nd Ministerial Review *Conference on the Geneva Declaration of Armed Violence and Development*, held in Geneva, Switzerland on October 31 and November 1, 2011.
5. The data on individual level programmes comes from an evaluation sponsored by the World Bank. The data was collected in 2007-8 by a University of the West Indies, Mona team and forms the basis for Guerra et al, 2010.
6. This quantitative evaluation, using two different groups with separate controls, is very different to the evaluation techniques the other programmes employ. All programmes could benefit from mixed-methods evaluations.
7. Author interview with Dr. Kim Scott, programme director, The Child Resiliency Programme, 12 September 2011.
8. Author interview with Pauletta Chevannes, director, The Change from Within Programme, 12 September 2011.
9. Author interview with Claudette Richardson-Pious, executive director, Children First, 27 September 2011.
10. Meaning, she was reducing his access to young men who would commit crimes on his behalf.
11. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.
12. Author telephone conversation with Berthlyn Plummer, senior social worker, Peace Management Initiative, 28 September 2011.
13. Author telephone conversation with Berthlyn Plummer, senior social worker, Peace Management Initiative, 28 September 2011.
14. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.
15. A specific geographical area regarded by the gang as being under their control.
16. Author telephone conversation with Berthlyn Plummer, senior social worker, Peace Management Initiative, 28 September 2011.
17. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.
18. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.
19. As will be discussed later, the joint intervention of other agencies, in this case particularly, the Citizen's Security and Justice Programme, the Jamaica Social Investment Fund and the Social Development Commission, indispensable in achieving these results.
20. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.
21. Author interview with Claudette Richardson-Pious, executive director, Children First, 27 September 2011.
22. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.
23. Author interview with Pauletta Chevannes, director, The Change from Within Programme, 12 September 2011.
24. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.
25. Author interview with Horace Levy, executive member, Peace Management Initiative, 13 September 2011.

26. Author interview with Claudette Richardson-Pious, executive director, Children First, 27 September 2011. She is describing a small, informal rotating saving and credit scheme common Jamaica.
27. Both the key informants for Children First and Change From Within made this point explicitly during interview.

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About the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence

The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, endorsed by more than 100 countries, commits signatories to supporting initiatives intended to measure the human, social, and economic costs of armed violence, to assess risks and vulnerabilities, to evaluate the effectiveness of armed violence reduction programmes, and to disseminate knowledge of best practices. The Declaration calls upon states to achieve measurable reductions in the global burden of armed violence and tangible improvements in human security by 2015. For more information about the Geneva Declaration, related activities, and publications, please visit www.genevadeclaration.org.

About the Small Arms Survey

The Small Arms Survey serves as the principal international source of public information on all aspects of small arms and armed violence, and as a resource centre for governments, policymakers, researchers, and activists. The Survey distributes its findings through Occasional Papers, Special Reports, a Book Series, and its annual flagship publication, the Small Arms Survey.

The Small Arms Survey is a project of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva. For more information see www.smallarmssurvey.org.

About the Violence Prevention Alliance

The Violence Prevention Alliance (VPA) works with all sectors of society to build safe communities where our children can grow up free from fear or violence. Since 2004, the VPA has been working to build safe communities in Jamaica and advances this objective by maximizing the impact of violence prevention initiatives through:

- Collection and analysis of available data
- Broad dissemination of such data
- Channelling of resources into initiatives that exhibit best (proven) practices
- Support for systematic change at the policy level

Credits

This *Issue Brief* was written by Astley Henry, Policy Officer of the Violence Prevention Alliance. It would not have been possible without the input of key informants Pauletta Chevannes, Horace Levy, Kim Scott, Claudette Richardson-Pious and Berthlyn Plummer, and the editorial guidance of Horace Levy and Elizabeth Ward.

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