

Some Conceptual Basis for Crime Prevention in Brazil and USA: Generic Public Policies and Control Crime Programs

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Abstract: This paper is a comparison in crime prevention between Brazil and United States, specially regarding the role of local programs vis a vis generic social policies. In Brazil, there is a tendency to design more generic strategies of crime control. In USA, there is a style of using a more specific approaches. These differences have implication on the evaluations on crime prevention made in each country

Keywords: Crime prevention, public policies in crime control, Brazil crime prevention, United States crime prevention.

INTRODUCTION

The idea of crime prevention means different things in regional and national contexts. Conventionally, it can be refer to specific police strategies or courts procedures, or specific programs and projects involving schools, gangs, and situational interventions in urban environments (Tonry and Farrington, 1995). In Brazil this acquires a distinct meaning, related to social policies in general. The aim of this essay is to reflect about the social policies' issue concerning its relation to crime, or the way this issue has surfaced within the Brazilian context and USA programs. The attempt is to establish some connections and contrasts with the way it has been approached in the USA. In Brazil, when crime and social policies are quoted, in fact, we are talking about social policy programs and crime prevention not exactly focused in crime. The association amid social policies and specific policies for crime management is not well defined. The North American case, for instance, is plentiful of experiences, projects and programs specifically addressed to particular issues related to violence and crime. Communities are the targets of intervention, and these have different impacts on the organizations of criminal justice (Crawford, 1999). These differences have to do with genealogical traits (that conform institutions and organizations (Garland, 1995). In the case of Brazil the centralization / decentralization dilemma is at the origins of our criminjal justice (Faoro, 1977?).

By making it simple, we may say that there is a North American orientation to develop specific

programs and practices focused on the premises (Sherman, 1998. CrimeSolutions.org), whereas in Brazil there is a tendency to discuss about large-scale social and economical policies, including generic social policies. The more successful and visible outlines for crime control and prevention policies are oriented by a systemic approach, and frequently interlinked with large-scale social policies (Beato, 2007).

GENERIC SOCIAL POLICIES, PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME

It is difficult to conceive crime control programs and projects in Brazil. The urgency of ours problems compels policy makers to adopt multidimensional strategies which act at different levels of intervention. The demand of organized groups of the society for order fastly is translated for better quality of life. These characteristics explain the immense difficulties carrying out evaluations of outcomes as well as determining costs and benefits. The upshot is that it becomes impossible to ascertain exactly what is working and what is not.

There is a tendency to think that generic social policies might affect the crime control. Chioda *et alii*, 2015, found that a cash transfer programs like "Bolsa Família" in Brazil have a robust effect on crime rates in the city of São Paulo. Other studies present robust results that good social policies toward unemployment, poverty, can produce a reduction of crime (Bennett and Ouazad, working paper. Dix-Carneiro, forthcoming)

However, it is not evident how it takes place and what the most important results upon crime reduction are. This is partly due to the social policies elaborated and executed in different levels of public administration

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(local, state and federal). In Brazil, for example, the police forces are under the state governments' control, but an expressive part of the social policies is under the auspices of local and federal governments. This disjunction can have an important effect on the results that any policy can have (Beato and Siveira, 2014)

Brazil, as other Latin American countries have a political culture that represented the powerful presence of the state and the centralized institutional structure, especially for the organization of police forces (Bayley, 1985. Nunes Leal, Faoro, 1977, Halloway). The actual authoritative inheritance has also caused extremely large difficulties in the organization of programs that control and prevention are put together, particularly in relation to the police forces. It has taken to a rather conservative conception about crime control programs. Against the idea that taking the matter under the local administration's standpoint it is argued that crime is a problem of the state because the state controls the police force. The same takes place at the federal level and hence imputing responsibility upon crime prevention policies to the state level. The sequence of thoughts is the same: crime is the police force's problem, then, the one in charge should deal with the policy. Being simple and orthodox, this thesis has been largely defended by a wide ideological and political specter including a large number of opposing leftist and liberal governments. This an idea that holds a twice as much helplessly standpoint

- (a) To conceive safety policies either under the responsibility of the police force or lawyers in charge of laying down the law, other sectors of the public administration do not exercise too much function. The idea is that suppression and hardening of punishment, as well as laws that allow police activities are strategies that actually work. Actually, we have others actors playing important roles in control crime. Sharkey, 2018, argue that the large decrease of crime in USA have to do with police actions in conjunction with prevention made by civil society organizations. Beato, 2018, say that municipalities have an important role in control crime, beside the states government.
- (b) This means to conceive a secondary status to the crime control programs, as if they were subjected to other issues, which are more relevant. Thus, the achievement of a social welfare state that guarantees universal access to decent standards of housing, leisure, education,

health and transport, would take a place of greater importance. Such mentality incites an evaluation of no possibilities in short and medium term for crime reduction, unless by means of hardening control measures as penal full legal age reduction, capital punishment, the increase of the number of police officers and incarcerated population.

- (c) Moreover, the role of the police forces concerning crime prevention is unclear or minimized. Even acknowledging the insufficiency of entirely responsive patrolling patterns, one should bear in mind that other patrolling patterns and management of the police activities that appreciate the systematic record and information analysis. The continuous staff's qualification, police intelligence, hotspots policing and being close to the community (including the search for cooperation and participation in the preventive actions), have introduced positive results on violence reduction in several places (Braga, 2015. Beato and Ribeiro, 2017).
- (d) The crucial role of justice institutions (judges and prosecutors), laws and criminal procedures, prison system have an important function in repression, but as a deterrence force in preventing others individuals to commit crimes. The examples of the "Car Wash" operation, trough ta task force and using some legal devices, can be an example not only regarding corruption, but crime control and prevention in the future.

There are a lot of evidences of macro public policies affecting crime rates. Fiscal crisis, unemployment, economic cycles and inequalities can be a powerful explanation. However, the public policies that can be designed are more blurring because several others factors, including institutional ones, are concurring to produce results. Unemployment reduction and as a consequence crime rate will decline (Rafael, 2001). This is an empiric and theoretically complicated relation. Actually, unemployment rate's substantial reduction upon crime would be very small (Beato e Reis, 2002. Chiricos, 1987).

The idea that only macro structural change as a policy to control crime has being replaced by a conception of crime prevention as a specific field. James Q. Wilson, 1985, rose against the idea that we should oppose the crime roots to achieve results "not because crime has not root causes, but because a free

society can do so little about attacking these causes that a concern for their elimination becomes little more than an excuse for do nothing" (p.6). The same sociological orientation remains nowadays in LA. Today, many countries carry out debates on themes which were debate in the USA in the 1960s, 1970s such as the relation between social policy and crime, the role that falls to the police and different possibilities of their reform, the prisons' and law's functions for crime control. The recent Brazilian Federal intervention in Rio de Janeiro raises this kind of discussion in Brazil.

The focus of the discussion in the 1960s and 1970s in the USA and during the recent years in the Latin American countries is the possibility of having a set of specific projects and programs addressed to safety public that should not entangle in more generic social policies. There are intersections amid them. Although, not entirely addressed to crime prevention, some policies contribute to improve it by favoring economic growth, social cohesion, employment increase and a transparent economic environment (PNUD, 2013). We have also the urban policies addressed to the improvement of the housing quality and public space, as well as development policies reducing local disproportions. One of these policies is particularly important and it is related to incentive policies for research – addressed to a better reality insight and identification of good actions. There are some research that shows that a decrease in crime rates is related to an increase in life conditions, urban mobility and school performance specially among marginalized populations (Sharkey and Spinosa, 2017, Sahrkey, 2018. Burdick *et al.* i, 2011)

The concept of prevention itself is not yet elaborated among Latin Americans academicians and scholars, being translated into general concepts such as "safety public", "citizenship", human "or" democratic safety (Dammert, 2006). Apparently, the discussion about respect to human rights and the need to develop efficient means of control has not been decided yet. The police is still opposed to efficient means of control conflicting with an action in accordance with legal standards. It is believed that laws flounder the police efficiency in solving and preventing crimes and prevention projects should not "mingle" with the police likewise.

THE IDEA FOR PREVENTION

Prevention, as a concept applied to public policies, surfaced in the health field, during the 1950s, 20th

century with the Leavell & Clark's today classical theories, (1958). According to this conception it is possible "anticipate, precede or make impossible the progress of diseases and damages to health by means of an early precaution". The early precautions are based on the interruption of a sequence of events through which one seeks to neutralize, eliminate, minimize the causative agents (risk factors), or interfere in mechanisms that lead to damages. Therefore, the possibility to identify risk factors or causative mechanisms is an element of great importance to the idea of prevention; however, not having them the operation process of any premature measures would turn into a blind experiment.

Crime prevention measures are either pro-active actions reported by certain theory on crime genesis or through empiric knowledge about factors that interposed and promptly associate with violent and criminal activities in determined place and time. According to Friday, 1998, what has been historically defined as crime prevention emphasizes the control that is, technically, a reaction to either an infringement or a measure taken after the infringement has occurred. So prevention would be a response to the infringement behavior that bears as a preventive element the supposition that the legal and punishing measure is powerful enough to retain and control manners that may violate the law.

The prevention presupposes that certain situations do not take place if determined measures are used. Therefore, it is characterized as pro-active and the quoted measures should be adopted before the crime occurrence. On the other hand, the control is responsive and takes place after the crime event. Although, this type of response to crime and fault might be justified as prevention, in practice, the argument is an explanation in a rational manner for punishment: weather it is active and accurate, it will work as a dissuasion element of other powerful transgressor's behavior (Beccaria, 2007).

At the beginning, a focus in neighborhood, family, and employment, in a community-based strategy, doing a mix of social and situational measures (see Rosenbaum 1986, 1988). Theoretically, this dichotomy has been attenuated. Recent versions in literature about crime repressing policies in different countries, have emphasized integration programs which are carried out along with transgressors, as well as opportunity reduction strategies (Crawford, 1998) leading to a systemic approach for crime control (Bursick, 1993. Sherman, 1997. Sharkey, 2018).

Actually, it is hard to separate dissuasive programs and actions from social programs by reason of theoretical order, since we are dealing with social control processes. The absence of control mechanisms would reduce the capacity of groups and communities regulate individuals' behavior so that they could act in accordance with collective principles. It is possible to have mechanisms externally induced such as the participation of the system of justice and particularly the police participation. Others concern to endogenous regulation processes spontaneously induced by setting up reliability bonds among the community members, as well as the willingness for voluntarily reach the common good (Sampson e Raudenbusch, 1997). This mutual reliability with voluntary aspirations for intervention in order to improve social control mechanisms aiming to reach the common good will define the local context entitled "collective efficiency" (Sampson *et al*, 1997). This context is related to the "social capital" mobilization capacity, more than its accumulation and it is addressed to specific activities to maintain the order at local level. Thus, at a more generic level, the collective efficiency refers to the social cohesion and reliability articulated around expectations for a collective action. This is the context in the city centers, much more than the bonds among the inhabitants, which will contribute to the development of crime prevention mechanisms.

Poverty and social exclusion may or may not be articulated within a bigger or smaller collective efficiency context. Control policies in urban environments might be addressed to on hand social capital mobilization processes in communities in order to develop social control processes at different levels. The strategy comprises the resetting of "social disorganization" elements (Shaw e MacKay, 1942), particularly the supervision and control of children, introduction community control mechanisms, actions related to individuals living extreme social vulnerability situations, as well as the resetting of mutual reliability bonds. Therefore, the need of an approach at multiple levels would guarantee the possibility to develop informal or formal control mechanisms of criminal activities.

THE PUBLIC PROBLEM OF SAFETY AND PREVENTION PROGRAMS

It is a notable aspect of the crime problem in Brazil since it just comes to be object of attention of our governing when it exceeds the structural limits to which it is traditionally confined. When extended to the middle class and to the wealth regions of the cities, immediately the alarms of the media and of the elites

go off. In this moment the people set out to speculate about the causes of crime in order to fight it. One of the theories is that crime would be "evidently" associated with poverty, misery, the urban centers less important condition and the migratory processes (1). This is the argument of the people's deterioration of values due to the urgent need for survival at any cost. Felson, 1994, addresses to this perspective as the "fallacy of plague": "...bad things derives from other bad things. Crime is a bad thing, therefore, it must emerge from other bad actions such as unemployment, poverty, cruelty and so on. Moreover, prosperity should lead us to lower crime rates" (2).

In terms of definition of a safety public problem, this means that the agenda is determined by successive crises, which results in a great instability in relation to its definition and the role of prevention programs. Of course, this is not a rule. Countries such as Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina, even due to tragic and successive crises, have attempted to formulate the bases of such a policy that suits as much in the support of the justice system, in its capacity of repression, as in the development, despite being fearsome, of prevention programs.

As an example, in Brazil, since 2003, the Federal Government considers a Safety Public National Policy that foresees violence and crime prevention as one of operational areas. The prevention actions had gained importance particularly with the reviewing of the Safety Public National Fund Law, which extended the possibility of financing local actions for crime prevention. In 2005, in the survey about Violence and Crime in Brazil, the Ministry of Justice presented basic characteristics of 168 prevention practices registered in the Observatory until May, 2005 through a paper titled Profile of Democratic Laboratory Registered Practices for Violence Prevention Practices in Brazil. The work accomplished pointed out that the Military Police and the Fire Department are the institutions that in greater part promoted violence and crime prevention actions, answering for 56% of the total. The Civil Police answers for 23% and the state departments and other institutions of the civil society answer respectively for 11 and 10%.

The most target cited problems are drug dealing and use of drugs and the chemical dependence mainly by the Police forces. In the state departments, other institutions and in civil Police one third of the projects say concerns the juvenile crime prevention and the promotion of the Child and Adolescent Statute. The

main difficulties pointed out for the accomplishment of the objectives are the lack of articulation, which means “counterpropaganda”, the community distrust, interaction difficulty, lack of commitment, lack of interest, lack of integration, lack of participation and community distrust and resistance. The shortage of human, physical and material resources were still pointed as difficulty. This difficulty was pointed out by two thirds of the programs. Most of the programs is addressed to urban populations. As for the accomplished results, the actions legitimacy in the presence of the target public was pointed by 28% of the respondents. 34.5% out of the total of programs has at least an institution as an associate, 32.7% two or more, 19.6% three or more and 13.1% no associate. None of these interventions were evaluated.

The most common intervention level belongs to the community, so that in 42,9% of the times the young ones from 12 to 24 years comprises the target population and 55.4% of initiatives work with victims and aggressors. 32.3% of the programs have reported to have reached more 2000 people during the 12 months preceding the research and 64.9% has stated to be supported by different types of intervention. But 7.7% of the programs focus on risk factors 81.0% describes the program as comprehensive, with more than one objective and place for implementation. Out of the total, only half of the programs states to have passed through some type of evaluation. Further details about the type of evaluation, to which programs were submitted and the findings of these evaluations have not been presented. Although, most of the crime and violence prevention programs and projects in the country have not been incorporated in the data base reported, it is common knowledge that evaluations, while existing, almost always are inexpertly accomplished, they confuse products with results and impacts. The evaluations favor process in detriment of the impacts, and the experimental or almost experimental patterns are rare and the construction of indicators is very unsafe.

The budgetary process of the Ministry of Justice, in 2016, however, shows clearly the focus on police activities. 70% of the budget goes to Federal polices. Prisons, that are one of the main Brazilian problems, gets 11, %.

Municipalities are the main actors in crime prevention, because they have several tools at their hands. But in Brazil, only 39,1% of our cities said that they have public security expenditures on public safety

(Forum, 2017), The total amount was the equivalent of 656 million dollars.

Table: Budget of Ministry of Justice, 2016 (\$ x 1 million)

Ministry of Justice	\$4.084,03	%
MJ - Administration	\$409,05	10,0%
Department of Federal Highway Police	\$1.103,66	27,0%
Department of Federal Police	\$1.782,15	43,6%
FUNAI - Indigenous affairs	\$164,03	4,0%
Prison Fund	\$456,49	11,2%
National Security Funds	\$96,55	2,4%
Antidrug Fund	\$30,77	0,8%
Outros	\$41,29	1,0%

Due to enormous variety of possible interventions, the policies and programs have a much more diffuse, dispersed and multifaceted character, becoming difficult its evaluation and comparison. Prevention programs have been implemented by dozens of ONGs that operate in several areas and adopting distinct types of strategies. Therefore, there isn't a comprehensive model of social assistance concerning the way to deal with several problems addressed to the population, and the specialized treatment of victims and aggressors (IDB.Biehl, 2000).

In USA, the Department of Justice had the following budget in 2017:

	(\$000)
2016 Enacted	\$28,710,709
Technical and Base Adjustments:	199,155
2017 Current Services	\$28,909,864
Federal Program Increases:	1,430,844
<i>Law Enforcement Components</i>	1,097,465
<i>Litigating Components</i>	72,882
<i>Prisons and Detention</i>	213,853
<i>Admin/Technology/Other</i>	46,644
Federal Program Offsets and Balance Rescissions:	(878,604)
Federal Programs Net Change	552,240
Grant Programs Net Change:	(115,460)
Funding within CVF	(371,000)
2017 DOJ Request	\$28,975,644

Source: <https://www.justice.gov/jmd/file/821916/download>. In March, 04,2018.

The Office of Justice Programs (OJP) provides support to state, local, and tribal justice systems, by disseminating knowledge and practices, and grants for

U.S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
FY 2016 DOJ REQUEST	
STATE, LOCAL AND TRIBAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE	
(Dollars in Thousands)	
FY 2015 ENACTED	
National Institute of Justice (NIJ)	36.000
<i>Indigent Defense Initiative -- Social Science Research</i>	-
<i>Civil Legal Aid Research</i>	-
<i>Collecting Digital Evidence From Large-Scale Computer Systems and Networks</i>	-
Domestic Radicalization Research	
Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS)	41.000
<i>Indigent Defense Initiative-- National Survey of Public Defenders</i>	-
<i>Indigent Defense Initiative -- National Public Defenders Reporting Program</i>	-
<i>National Crime Victimization Survey</i>	-
Forensic Sciences	4.000
Forensic Sciences Commission	
NIST	
Regional Information Sharing System (RISS)	30.000
Evaluation Clearinghouse	-
TOTAL, JUSTICE ASSISTANCE	111.000
State and Local Law Enforcement:	
State Criminal Alien Assistance Program (SCAAP)	185.000
Adam Walsh Act Implementation	20.000
Byrne Competitive Grants	-
Justice Assistance Grants (JAG)	376.000
<i>NIJ for Domestic Radicalization</i>	
<i>State and Local Antiterrorism Training (SLATT)</i>	-
<i>Countering Violent Extremism Training</i>	
<i>State and Local Assistance Help Desk and Diagnostic Center</i>	-
<i>VALOR Initiative</i>	
<i>Puerto Rico Plebiscite</i>	
<i>Smart Policing</i>	
<i>Competitive Grants to Distribute Firearm Safety Materials and Gun Locks</i>	
<i>Smart Prosecution</i>	
<i>Missing Alzheimers Program</i>	
<i>Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Program</i>	
<i>Improving Juvenile Indigent Defense</i>	
<i>Bulletproof Vest Partnership/ Under JAG in 2016</i>	-
Byrne Incentive Grants	-
Justice Reinvestment Initiative	27.500
Task Force on Federal Corrections	
Residential Substance Abuse Treatment (Improving Reentry)	10.000
Indigent Defense Initiative -- Answering Gideon's Call	-
Civil Legal Aid - Competitive Grant (In Consult w/ATJ)	-
Procedural Justice - Building Community Trust	-
Body Worn Camera Partnership Program	
Drug Court Program	41.000

Mental Health Collaboratons	8.500
Veterans Treatment Courts	5.000
Victims of Trafficking	42.250
Vision 21	12.500
Prescription Drug Monitoring Program	11.000
Prison Rape Prevention and Prosecution Program	13.000
Capital Litigation Improvement Grant Program	2.000
National Sex Offender Public Website	1.000
Next Generation Identification (NGI) Assistance Program	-
Project Hope Opportunity Probation with Enforcement (HOPE)	4.000
Bulletproof Vest Partnership/ Under JAG in 2016	22.250
NIST/OLES	
National Criminal History Improvement Prog (NCHIP)	73.000
NICS Improvement Act	
Court-Appointed Special Advocate	6.000
NamUs	-
DNA Initiative	125.000
Rape Kit Backlog	-
DNA Analysis and Capacity Enhancement Program	
Kirk Bloodsworth Post Conviction DNA Testing Program	
Sexual Assault Forensic Exam Program Grants	
Community Teams to Reduce the Sexual Assault Kit (SAK) Backlog	41.000
Coverdell Forensic Science Grants	12.000
Countering Violent Extremism Grant Program	-
Violent Gang and Gun Crime Reduction	5.000
Second Chance/Prisoner Reentry	68.000
Smart Probation	
COIP Demonstration Grants	
Pay for Success	
Pay for Success (Permanent Supportive Housing Model)	
National Center for Campus Public Safety	2.000
Missing Alzheimer's Program	-
Economic, High-Tech, Cybercrime Prevention	13.000
Intellectual Property Enforcement Program	
Defending Childhood/Children Exposed to Violence	8.000
Comprehensive School Safety	75.000
Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Program	-
Indian Assistance	30.000
John R. Justice Student Loan Repayment Program	2.000
TOTAL, STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSIST.	1.241.000
Juvenile Justice and Safety Programs:	
Part B: Formula Grants	55.500
Juvenile Accountability Block Grant Prog (JABG)	-
Emergency Planning	
Youth Mentoring	90.000
Title V: Local Delinquency Prevention Incentive Grants	15.000
Tribal Youth Program	

Gang Prevention	
Juvenile Justice and Education Collaboration Assistance (JJECA)/School Climate	-
Enforcing Underage Drinking Laws	-
Community-Based Violence Prevention Initiatives	
National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention	
Victims of Child Abuse -Improving the Investig. & Prosec. Of Child Abuse (APRI)	19.000
Juvenile Accountability Block Grant Prog (JABG)	-
Indigent Defense Initiative -- Improving Juvenile Indigent Defense	-
Community-Based Violence Prevention Initiatives	-
National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention	-
Missing and Exploited Children's Program (MECP)	68.000
Child Abuse Training for Judicial Personnel	1.500
Smart on Juvenile Justice (formerly Juvenile Justice Realignment Incentive Grants)	-
Competitive Grant for Girls in the Justice System	2.000
Children of Incarcerated Parents Web Portal	500
TOTAL, JUVENILE JUSTICE PROGRAMS	251.500
TOTAL, PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICERS DISCRETIONARY PROG	16.300
Public Safety Officers Death, Disability and Educations Programs:	71.000
(which equals PSOB mandatory approp)	
Crime Victims Fund (Obligation Limitation)	2.361.000
Cap	
Inspector General Oversight	
Vision 21	
Vision 21 -- Tribal Victims of Violence Grants	
Domestic Trafficking Victims Grants	
TOTAL, OJP DISCRETIONARY GRANT PROGRAMS	1.619.800
OJP Set-Aside for New Flexible Tribal Grant (7%)	
OJP Set-Aside for Research and Eval. (2% in FYs 2013 and 2014; 3% in FY 2015 and 201	[28,870]
OJP - Management and Administration	[194,227]
TOTAL, OJP MANDATORY GRANT PROGRAMS	2.432.000
GRAND TOTAL, OJP	4.051.800
COPS APPROPRIATION	
Supporting Law Enforcement Activity:	
Tribal Law Enforcement	
COPS Hiring Program	180.000
Transfer to Tribal Resources Grant Program	
Incentive to Increase LEA Diversity	
Community Policing Development/Training and Technical Assistance	
Collaborative Reform Model (Formerly Elevate)	
Regional Anti-Gang Task Forces	
Countering Violent Extremism	
DEA Methamphetamine Enforcement and Cleanup	7.000
Anti-Methamphetamine Task Forces/ Anti-Drug Program	7.000
Anti-Heroin Task Forces	
COPS Set-Aside for Research and Evaluation -- 3% of discr funds	
COPS - Management and Administration	

TOTAL, COPS APPROPRIATION	208.000
Office on Violence Against Women (OVW)	
Violence Against Women Grants:	
Grants to Combat Violence Against Women (STOP)	195.000
Research and Eval. Violence Against Women (NIJ)	3.000
Transitional Housing	26.000
Consolidated Youth Oriented Program	10.000
Grants to Encourage Arrest Policies	50.000
Homicide Reduction Initiative	[4,000]
Rural Dom. Violence & Child Abuse Enforcement Asst.	33.000
Legal Assistance Program	42.500
Grants to Support Families in the Justice System	16.000
Campus Violence	12.000
Disabilities Program	6.000
Elder Program	45.000
Sexual Assault Services	30.000
Indian Country - Sexual Assault Clearinghouse	500
National Resource Center on Workplace Responses	500
Research on Violence Against Indian Women	1.000
VAWA 20/20 Program	-
Tribal Special Domestic Violence Criminal Jurisdiction	-
VAWA Tribal Government Grants Program	[35,975]
VAWA Tribal Coalitions Grants	[6,282]
OVW Set-Aside for Research and Evaluation -- 3% of discr funds	-
OVW Management and Administration	[18,959]
TOTAL, OFFICE ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	430
RESCISSION OF BALANCES:	
OFFICE OF JUSTICE PROGRAMS	
COPS OFFICE	
OFFICE ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	
TOTAL OF RESCISSIONS	
GRAND TOTALS, INCLUDING RESCISSIONS:	
DISCRETIONARY, INCLUDING RESCISSIONS	2,119,300
DISCRETION. & MANDAT., INCLUDING RESCISSIONS	4,551,300
GRAND TOTAL, EXCLUDING RESCISSIONS:	
DISCRETIONARY, NOT INCLUDING RESCISSIONS	2,257,800
DISCRETION. & MANDAT., NOT INCLUDING RESCISSIONS	4,689,800

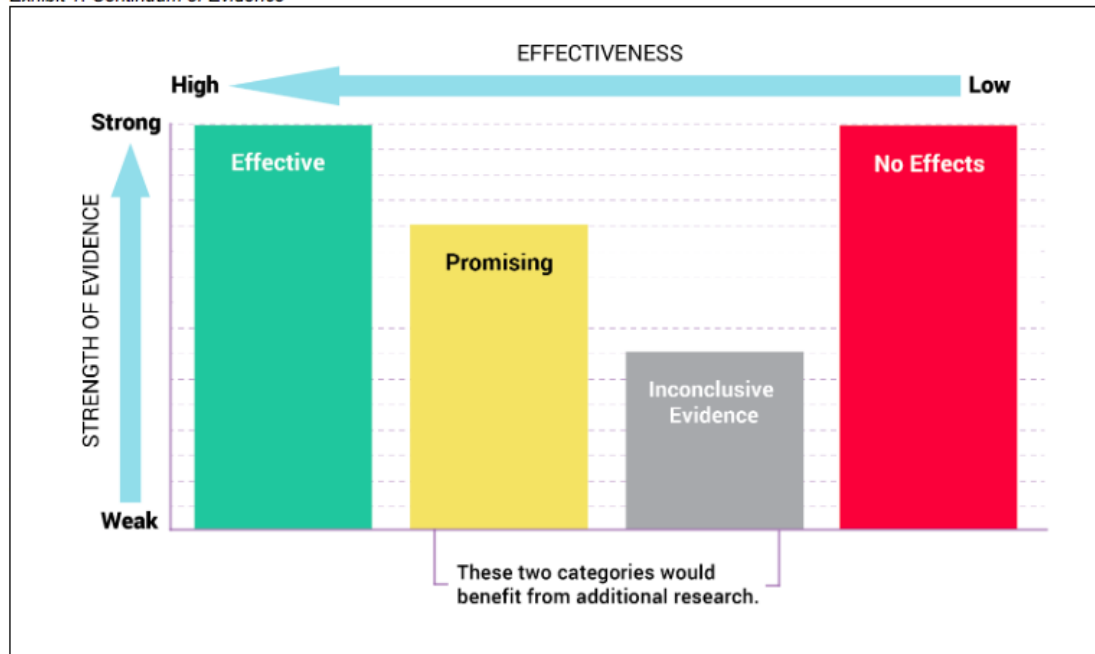
the implementation of these crime-fighting strategies. Its an organization that funds different programs. They have a budget of \$ 4,6 billion for 2017 that are distributed as a following:

Why don't we like to evaluate what we do?

Evaluation is an important component in crime prevention.

Perhaps, the most notorious difference concerning the USA is the evaluation of countless on hand prevention programs in LA, which is nearly inexistent. The academic production and the experiences recording in regard to crime prevention programs and projects in English speaking developed countries, particularly England and the United States, do not match the still rather moderate production in South American developing countries.

Exhibit 1: Continuum of Evidence



Evidence based public policies and evaluations are an important subject in the academic field of criminology. Some approaches were central to the development of this idea. Sherman *et alii*, 2003, is a referential book on this subject where they evaluate several programs and policies trying to categorize them in different degrees of scientific evidence. They don't evaluate general policies of central government, but specific strategies territorially circumscribed: "reductions in delinquency, juvenile crime, youth gang activity, youth substance abuse, and other high-risk factors; reductions in the risk factors in the community, school, and family environments that contribute to juvenile violence; and increases in the protective factors that reduce the likelihood of delinquency and criminal behavior".

The Presidents Commission suggested the creation National Criminal Justice Statistics Center, independent of the Department of Justice, in the sixties, in order to establish a National Foundation for Criminal Research as an independent agency, and provide financial support for independent criminal justice research. One of the results is related to criminal justice prevention programs. There is a site to share valuable and rated information for academics and practitioners¹. "Programs are reviewed based on evaluations and practices based on meta-analyses that

synthesize different evaluations, but those evaluations have to be sufficiently rigorous. Each screened program and practice is reviewed by two certified reviewers using objective scoring instruments. Ratings are assigned based on the consensus score, which is subject to a documented dispute resolution process when necessary" (In *About Crime Solutions*). The promotion of applied research through grants is an important and continuous strategy to promote applied knowledge to crime prevention or police strategies.

Another example is the site by George Mason University, which developed a tool for Evidence-Based Policing². It is a matrix for categorization and visualization of research in the area, focusing general or focused tactics, that can be more or less proactive, and directed to individuals, and targeting individuals, groups, communities and so on (Lum and Koper, 2017).

Beato and Silveira, 2015, pointed out some aspects that contribute for this shortcoming:

1. Poor state of information systems in public security. The major challenge faced today in crime studies across Latin America involves the information bases needed for advancing toward the attainment of empirical proposals, as well as performing more sophisticated theory testing.

¹<https://www.crimesolutions.gov>

²<http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/>

2. In the specific field of criminology, there are few dedicated academic centers in the area, and rather shorter number of empirical research studies on crime prevention. Although, there some dedicated researchers on violence, these studies are sprayed in some fields such as health, education, law, sociology, political science, anthropology etc. without a specific emphasis on prevention.
3. A growing corporate domain of public security by the police forces. There are several mechanisms by which this corporate isolation manifests and leads to a dearth of solid evaluations of effectiveness. The first and most important is the corporate ownership of data and information, justified by a certain "culture of secrecy", a remnant harking back to the exception period during the military governments (1964-1985).

Actually, there is a divorce between the academy world and the public policies universe. In part, it derives from some myths in the imaginary of *policy makers*, who are in charge of taking and implementing decisions. One of them is translated into the reiterated notion that "our crime problems are so urgent that we cannot lose systematic time with evaluations and studies, because we need action". Recently it has taken an expurgation form of the government's academic thought: "stop that academicism". It might be true. The problems are very urgent, in accordance with the data discussed initially. But the absence of evaluations, of a transparent diagnosis, will make them worse and therefore we will be condemning to blind flights or guided by defined agendas from most powerful groups in the society.

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