

Violence Research Centre



INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

Creating More Peaceful Societies --- Global Strategies to Reduce Interpersonal Violence by 50% in 2040

Nigel Walker Lecture and Inaugural Lecture

Manuel Eisner

Wolfson Professor of Criminology

Director, Violence Research Centre

Deputy Director, Institute of Criminology

The Rio +20 Summit and the SDGs

- The UN Rio +20 summit (June 2012) formally commits governments to new *Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)*
- Sequel to *Millennium Development Goals* (2000-2015)
- Goals developed in extensive consultation process.
- UN General Assembly adopts the 17 development goals on 25 September 2015
- Define a comprehensive development agenda to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity.

4a provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all.

5.2 eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.



17 SDG Goals
169 Targets
230 Indicators

16.1 significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.

16.2.1: % children aged 1-17 years who experienced any physical punishment and/or psychological aggression by caregivers in the past month

16.2 end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children.

Indicator 16.2.3: % young women and men aged 18-29 years who experienced sexual violence by age 18

The Size of the Problem

Approx. **430,000 homicides** per year, accounts for 71% of all violent deaths.

McEvoy, C., & Hideg, G. (2017). Global Violent Deaths 2017. *Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva.*

800 Million women aged 15-64... have experienced physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence (141 studies in 81 countries)

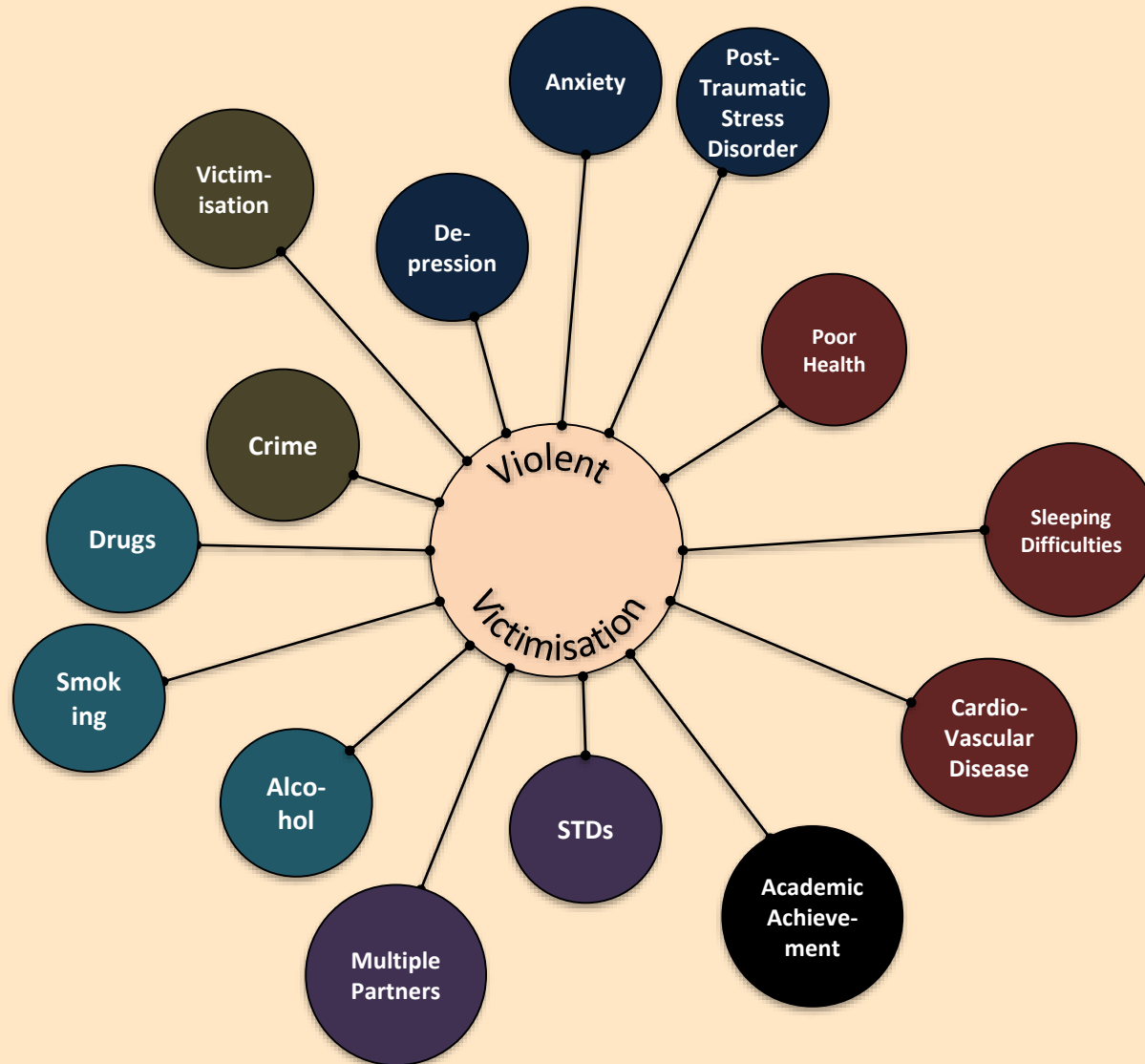
Devries et al. (2013). The global prevalence of intimate partner violence against women. *Science*, 340(6140), 1527-1528.

1 billion children under age 18 have experienced violence in the past year (38 reports, 96 countries)

Hillis, S., Mercy, J., Amobi, A., & Kress, H. (2016). Global prevalence of past-year violence against children: a systematic review and minimum estimates. *Pediatrics*, 137(3), e20154079.

36% of 12-18-year olds have experienced recent bullying.

Consequences of Violent Victimisation



- Campbell, J. C. (2002). Health consequences of intimate partner violence. *lancet*, 359(9314), 1331-1336.
- Finkelhor, et al (2007). Poly-victimization: A neglected component in child victimization. *Child Abuse Negl*, 31(1), 7-26.
- Hughes, et al. (2017) The effect of multiple adverse childhood experiences on health: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *The Lancet Public Health*, 2(8), e356-e366.
- Ttofi et al. (2011). Do the victims of school bullies tend to become depressed later in life? A systematic review and meta-analysis of longitudinal studies. *J Aggress Confl Peace Res*, 3(2), 63-73.

Economic Costs of Violence per Year

Severe Violence incl. Homicide	\$1.2 Trillion (1.5% GDP)
Intimate Partner Violence	\$4.4 Trillion (5.2% GDP)
Child Maltreatment	\$3.6 Trillion (4.2% GDP)

For Comparison

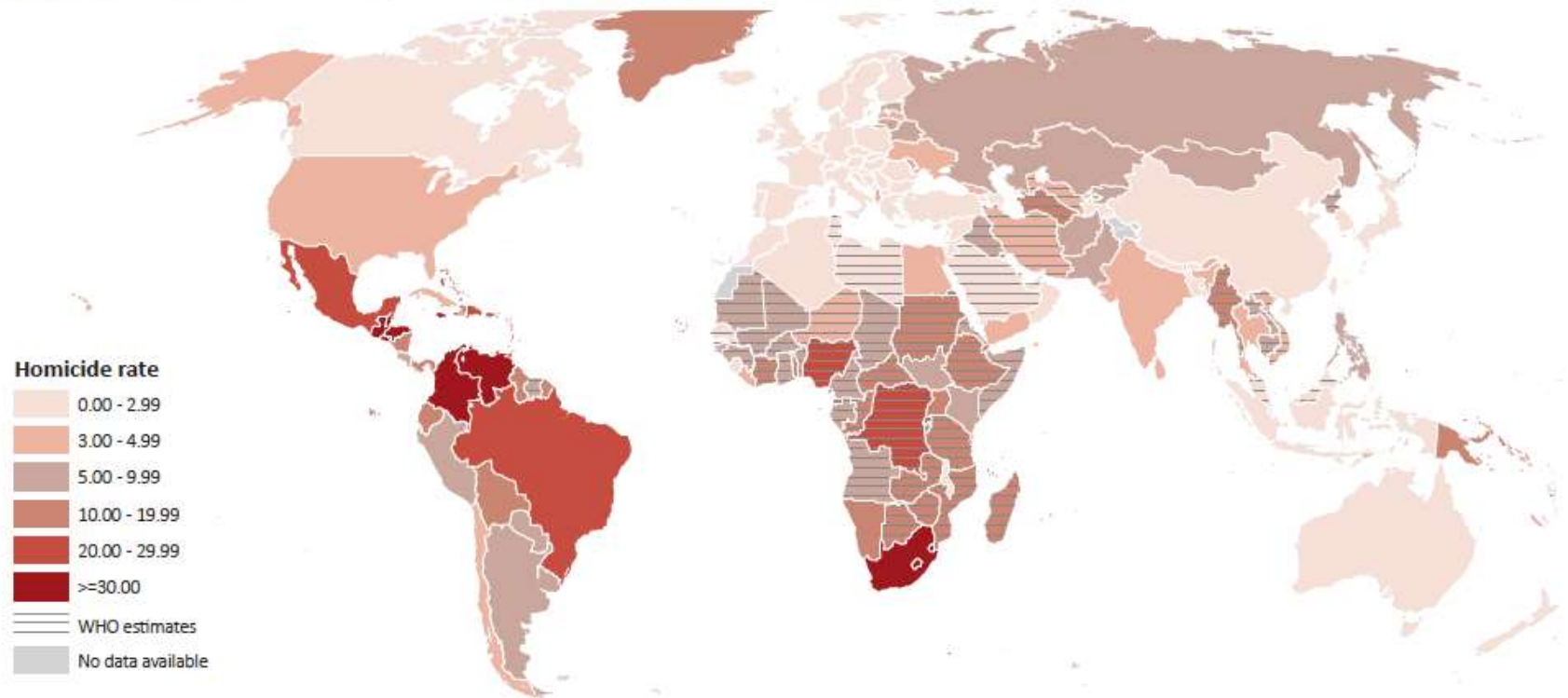
All Collective Violence	\$0.17 Trillion (0.20% GDP)
Total GDP UK	\$2.6 Trillion

Source: Hoeffler, A. (2017). What are the costs of violence?. *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, 16(4), 422-445.

Butchart, A., & Mikton, C. (2014). Global status report on violence prevention, 2014.

Regional Differences: Homicide

Map 1.1: Homicide rates, by country or territory (2012 or latest year)

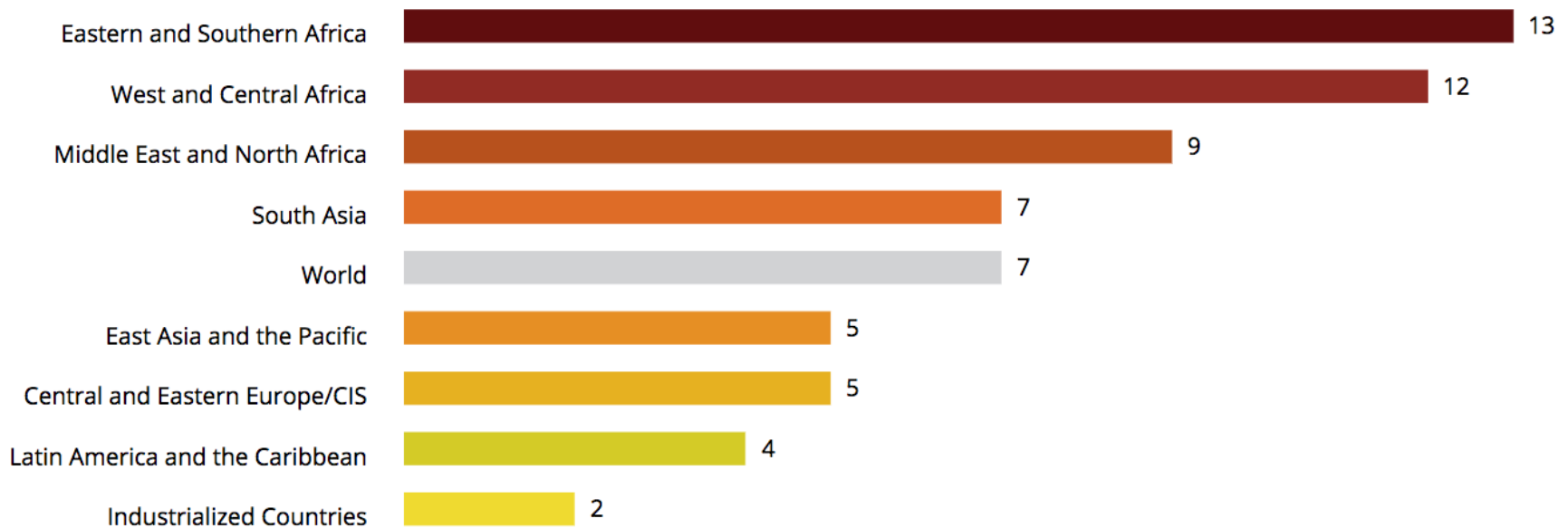


Note: The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations. Dashed lines represent undetermined boundaries. The dotted line represents approximately the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir agreed upon by India and Pakistan. The final status of Jammu and Kashmir has not yet been agreed upon by the parties. The final boundary between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan has not yet been determined. A dispute exists between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

Source: UNODC Homicide Statistics (2013).

Regional Differences: Sexual Abuse

FIGURE 2.5: Sexual violence against adolescent girls (aged 15-19) by region, 2015.



% of girls aged 15-19 who ever experienced sexual abuse including in childhood

Source: Shiva Kumar and others 2017 for Know Violence in Childhood 2017.

Progress towards the SDGs

1. Growth in Available Data

E.g. Violence Against Children surveys, IPV meta-analyses, Homicide Monitor

2. More Evaluation Studies outside Europe and USA

E.g. Children and Violence Challenge Fund

3. Development of Global Information Systems

E.g. v-info, global violence prevention information system

4. Diffusion of Public Health Approach

What's the problem – What's the cause – What works – How do you do it?

5. Global Monitoring of Violence Prevention Efforts

Butchart, A., & Mikton, C. (2014). Global status report on violence prevention, 2014.

-> A growing toolbox of prevention strategies.

What is in the Toolbox?

The example of **INSPIRE**



- Developed by WHO and US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) with involvement of UNICEF, PAHO, World Bank, UNODC.
- Aims to help achieve SDG target 16.2, “end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children”.
- Rooted in a public health approach.
- Presents selected strategies under seven headings.
- Accompanied by recommendations on implementation, monitoring, and evaluation.

World Health Organization (2016). *INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence against Children*. Geneva: WHO.

What is in the Toolbox?

The example of **INSPIRE**

“we already have sufficient evidence to allow us to stop the violence and replace it with safe, stable and nurturing environments in which children can thrive”



Implement laws that ban corporal punishment

Implement education and community mobilization programmes against violence.

Target hotspots and create safe built environments

Provide Parent training programmes

Implement cash transfer programmes

Improve child protection services

Implement life and social skills training

“The INSPIRE package includes seven strategies that together provide an overarching framework for ending violence against children”

- Packages like INSPIRE provide frameworks for actionable, practical strategies based on research evidence.
- They foster interagency co-operation and intervene in different systems, targeting various layers of risk factors.
- They are broad enough to be adapted as more evidence emerges.

Are these the right strategies to move towards achieving the violence reduction stipulated in the SDGs?

Four suggestions for research that can provide further support.

Proposal 1

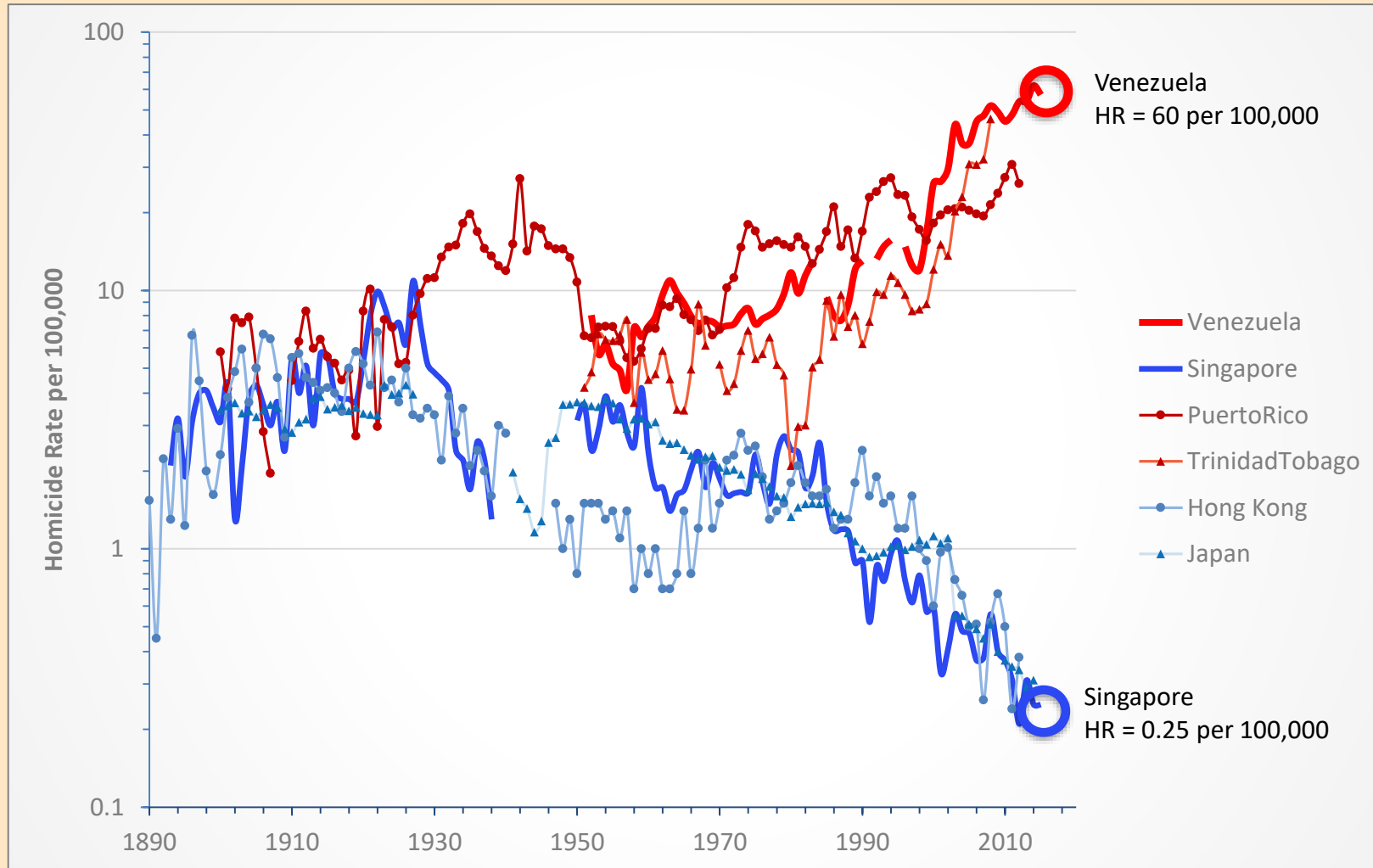
Understand the processes that drive
macro-level trends in violence

Do we think too much about programmes?

**Do
We
need
Wider
System
Change?**



What drives population-wide levels of interpersonal violence?



Sources: Wei Shyong, T. and T. Gek Hsien (2014). "A Study of Homicide Trends in Singapore from 1955 to 2011." *Home Team Journal*(5): 74-87. Lappi-Seppälä, T., & Lehti, M. (2014). Cross-comparative perspectives on global homicide trends. *Crime and justice*, 43(1), 135-230. Own data collection.

The Venezuela-Singapore Problem

- Venezuela **300x more homicidal** than Singapore
- Differences historically relatively recent
- Different trends are part of regional patterns.
- National policies play a subordinate role.

Zimring, F. E., Fagan, J., & Johnson, D. T. (2010). Executions, deterrence, and homicide: a tale of two cities. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 7(1), 1-29.

Possible Explanations

- Drug policies and drug markets?
- Different trajectories of institutional legitimacy?
- Differences in investment into human capital, especially self-control?
- An East Asian “Civilising Process”?

Research Implications

- There exist many examples of successful macro-level violence declines.
- More rigorous analyses of crime drops can inform policy programming.
- Consideration of malleable factors (policing, diffusion of prevention policies, legal change, new technologies) in macro-level analyses is essential.
- Synthetic case control designs to improve causal inference.

Abadie, A., Diamond, A., & Hainmueller, J. (2015). Comparative politics and the synthetic control method. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(2), 495-510.

Proposal 2

Develop a better understanding of universal causal mechanisms --- at the micro and the macro level --- that support aggression and cooperation.

Linking Micro and Macro: The Revenge Mechanism as an Example

Linking Micro and Macro: The Revenge Mechanism as an Example

The desire for retaliation and revenge when being harmed is a human universal.

It evolved as a result of three mechanisms:

- It deters potential aggressors from acts of violence.
- It prevents attackers from attacking again.
- It prevents egoistic actors from free-riding.

**O, from this time forth,
My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth!**

Hamlet, Scene 4:4

Boehm, C. (1984). *Blood revenge: the enactment and management of conflict in Montenegro and other tribal societies*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

McCullough, M. E., Kurzban, R., & Tabak, B. A. (2013). Cognitive systems for revenge and forgiveness. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 36(01), 1-15.

The Revenge Mechanism

The revenge mechanism is consistent with ...

Game-theory models about conflict and cooperation, 2nd and 3rd party punishment.

E.g. Fehr and Fischbacher (2004) *Third party Punishment and Social Norms*, EvolHumBeh

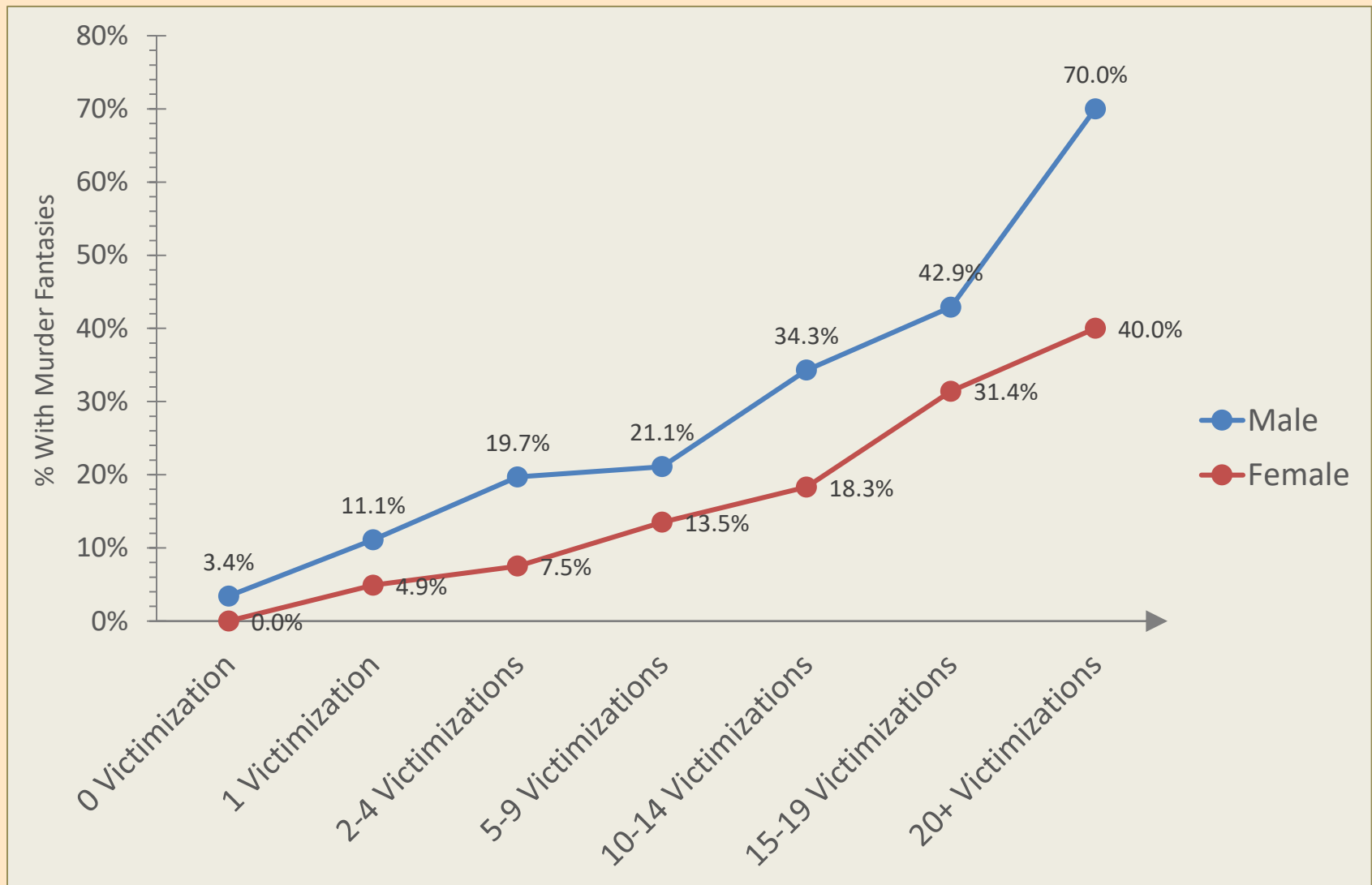
Evolutionary theories about universal psychological mechanisms associated with fairness, revenge, forgiveness, reputation management, punishment.

E.g. Boehm (1984) *Blood Revenge*.

Theories of state-building, the centralization of power, emergence of the rule of law, decline of violence.

E.g. Norbert Elias, *Civilizing Process*

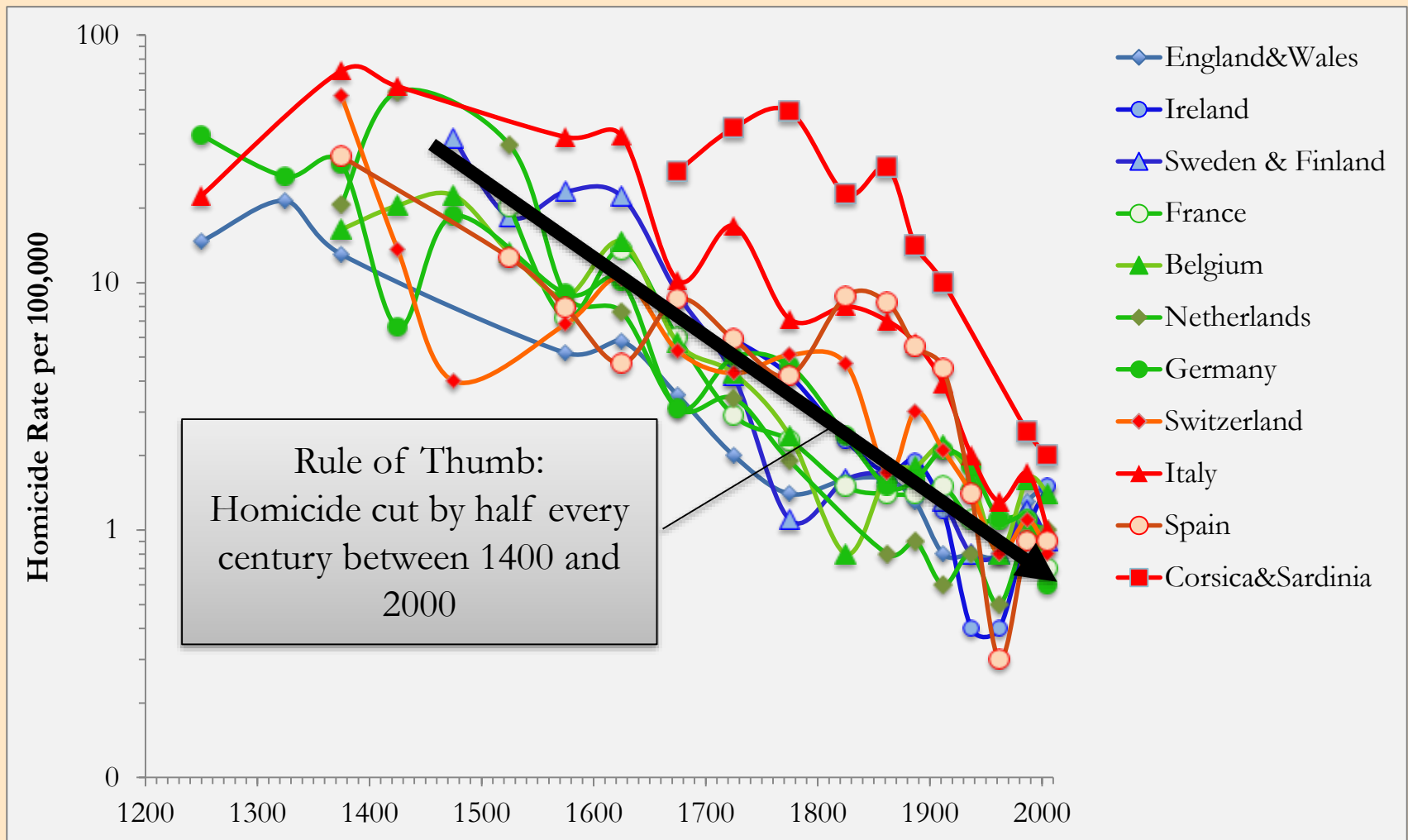
The Micro Mechanism: Murder Fantasies at Age 17 as a Function of Poly-victimization



The Macro

Was the long-term decline in homicide rates across Europe a result of increasing control over revenge and feud connected to the pacification of the elites?

Homicide Trends in 11 European Regions, 1200-2013



Eisner, M. (2014). *From Swords to Words – Does Macro-Level Change in Self-Control predict Long-Term Variation in Homicide Rates*. Crime and Justice.

The Norbert Elias Hypothesis

The wider pacification of society and the control of private vengeance as a type of justice requires the subordination of local warlords under rulers who successfully assert a monopoly of legitimate violence.

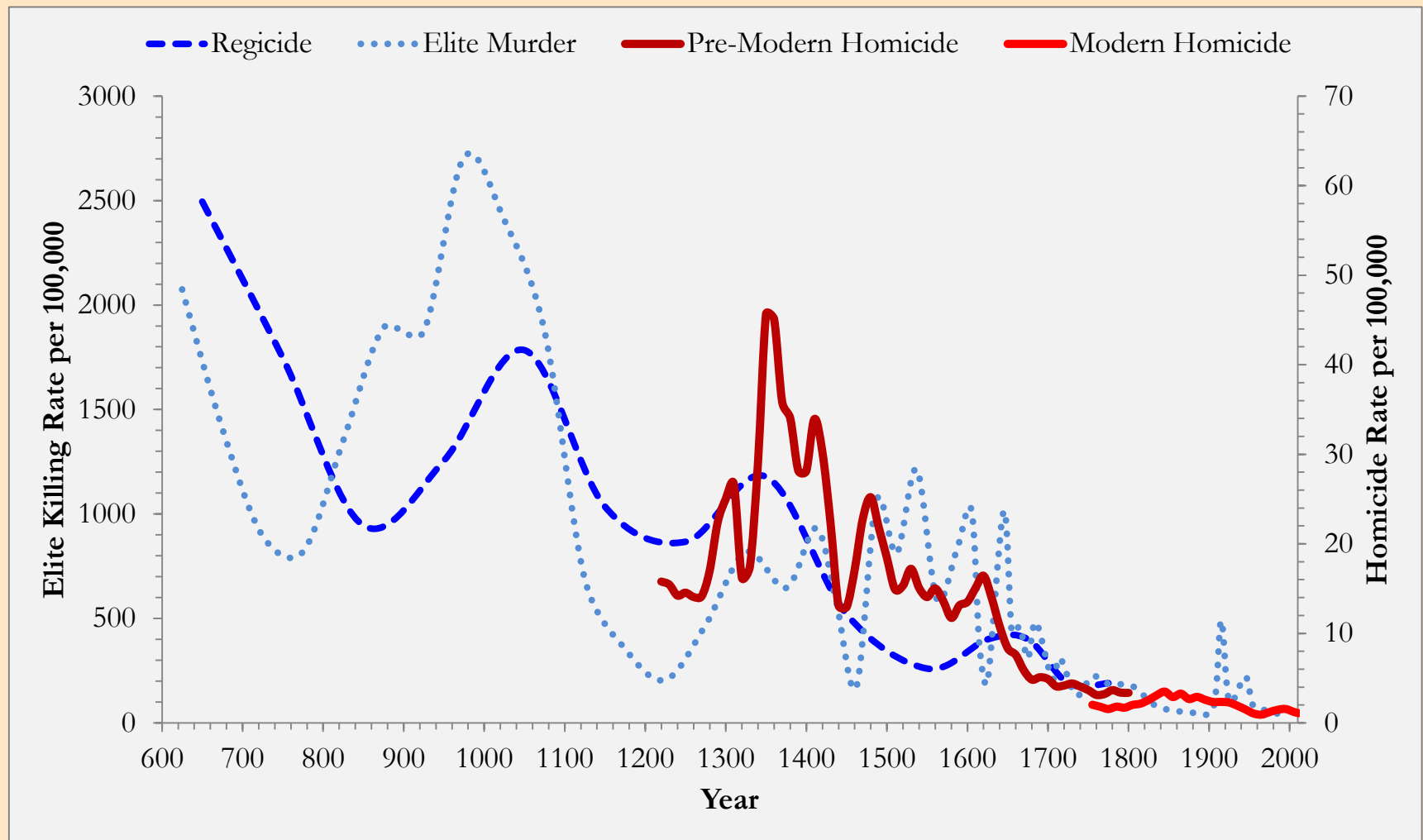
Measuring Elite Violence

- Code all 1628 monarchs in Europe, 600-1800
- Code 25,621 biographical entries of men in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 600-1945.

Eisner, M. (2011). Killing kings: Patterns of regicide in Europe, AD 600–1800. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 51(3), 556-577.

Eisner, M. (2014). *From Swords to Words – Does Macro-Level Change in Self-Control predict Long-Term Variation in Homicide Rates*. Crime and Justice.

Elite Violence and the Decline in Homicide, 600-2013



Source: Eisner, M. (2014). *From Swords to Words – Does Macro-Level Change in Self-Control predict Long-Term Variation in Homicide Rates*. Crime and Justice.

Research Implications

- The rise of centralized power-structures with formalized power-transition mechanisms and the decline in private elite violence preceded the decline in male-to-male homicide in the general population.
- Findings are consistent with the idea that state legitimacy and good governance are preconditions for control over the revenge mechanism.

- 16.1 Significantly **reduce all forms of violence** and related death rates everywhere
- 16.3 Promote the rule of law and ensure **equal access to justice**.
- 16.5 **Reduce corruption and bribery** in all its forms
- 16.6 Develop **effective, accountable and transparent institutions** at all levels

These SDG targets belong together!

Proposal 3

Bridge the Gap between Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice and Public Health Systems

Prevention/
Public health



Repression, control,
punishment



Why is the CJ system important for a public health approach?

1. Fair and effective enforcement of laws is the basis for any sustainable delivery of violence prevention.
2. Law enforcement agencies are often the first point of contact for victims.

In the US, law enforcement agencies are by far the most important source of substantiated child maltreatment cases (32%), NCANDS (2013).

1. Where the state fails to provide protection, victims will seek the help of others, e.g. gangs.

In Honduras and El Salvador only 2-3% of all homicide cases result in a conviction. Eisner (2015) *How to reduce Homicide*, <http://homicide.igarape.org.br/>

4. The CJ system is the most likely access for interventions for serious and repeat offenders

Most serious violent adult offenders had contact with the CJ system as adolescents.

“Neither health agencies nor police services have generally considered policing as part of a public health response to violence.”

Jonathan Shepherd (2017), JAMA

Why is this a problem?

Inter-systemic integration

- Across all systems, but CJ --- public health possibly most difficult and most important.
- CJ system support essential for effective prevention.
- Convincing national advocacy coalitions need a strong anchor in public health, education, and criminal justice.
- Capacity building (e.g. training of professionals) needs to promote mutual understanding and support.
- Interagency cooperation needs strengthening.

An Example: The Cardiff Data-Sharing Model (Jonathan Shepherd)

- Anonymised information-sharing arrangement in a partnership between the hospital emergency department (ED), police and local government.
- Partnership uses combined data to address specific risks and patterns observed in the data.
- Low running costs.
- Total benefit cost ratio 82:1
- Now implemented across UK, Netherlands (Amsterdam), USA (Atlanta, Philadelphia, Milwaukee), Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra), South Africa (Cape Town), possibly Mexico

Florence, C., Shepherd, J., Brennan, I., & Simon, T. R. (2014). An economic evaluation of anonymised information sharing in a partnership between health services, police and local government for preventing violence-related injury. *Injury prevention*, 20(2), 108-114.

Florence, C., Shepherd, J., Brennan, I., & Simon, T. (2011). Effectiveness of anonymised information sharing and use in health service, police, and local government partnership for preventing violence related injury: experimental study and time series analysis. *BMJ*, 342, d3313.

Research Implications

- More strategies/trials that bridge the gap between policing/criminal justice and public health.
- Especially important in areas related to domestic violence, child maltreatment, substance abuse control, in particular in Low and Middle Contexts.
- Test and implement strategies that build partnerships between agencies.

Proposal 4

Highlight limitations in our understanding where policy recommendations are based on a selective reading of the evidence

The Example of Early Prevention

“High quality early learning and care is one of the most powerful weapons against crime”

*Economic Opportunity
Institute*

Science has demonstrated that early childhood interventions [...] are important because they help mitigate the impact of adverse early experiences which if not addressed lead to poor health [...], poor educational attainment, economic dependency, increased violence and crime, greater substance abuse and depression

UNICEF (2013)

<http://www.unicef.org/earlychildhood>

Early Intervention will have a positive effect on reducing crime and therefore must be at the heart of crime strategies.

*Allen Report (2011) to the UK
Government*

We now know that the better and more cost-effective place to stop the “cradle to prison pipeline” is as close to the beginning of that pipeline as possible. Early intervention prevents the onset of delinquent behavior and supports the development of a youth’s assets and resilience.

*US Interagency Working Group on Youth
Programs (2016), <http://youth.gov>*

Is that true?

- Some childhood risk factors (difficult temperament, conduct problems, impulsivity, attention problems, hyperactivity) may be symptoms of an underlying genetic or non-genetic propensity rather than 'causes'. -> heterotypic continuity.
- Some (social deprivation, teenage mothers) may be markers of a causal mechanism we don't understand.
- Some (poor parental monitoring) may be effects of child behavior.
- For almost all putative childhood risk factors it is unknown whether they are causal and malleable.
- It is unclear which childhood risk factors for adolescent and adult aggression replicate across studies and societies.

Eisner, Manuel and T. Malti (2015). "Aggressive and Violent Behavior". Lamb, M. E. (ed.) *Handbook of Child Psychology and Developmental Science, Vol. 3 Socioemotional Processes*. New York: Wiley. pp 794-841.

Murray, A. L., Eisner, M., & Ribeaud, D. (2016). The development of the general factor of psychopathology 'p factor' through childhood and adolescence. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 44(8), 1573-1586.

An Empirical Examination

- Murray et al. (2018) conduct first systematic review of developmental risk factors for antisocial behavior and aggression in Low and Middle Income Countries (LMICs).
- 39 longitudinal studies in 18 LMIC countries.
- Exclusively focus on *prospective* risk factors.
- Descriptive and meta-analytic synthesis of findings.

Murray, J., Shenderovich, Y., Gardner, F., Mikton, C., Derzon, J. H., Liu, J., & Eisner, M. (2018). Risk Factors for Antisocial Behavior in Low-and Middle-Income Countries: A Systematic Review of Longitudinal Studies. *Crime and Justice*, 47(1), 000-000.

Findings

Some expected findings

- Early behavior problems predict later offending.
- Maternal depression predicts problem behaviors.

Many surprises

- Widely assumed **early health factors** had no or very small effects associations with antisocial behavior in LMICs. This includes prenatal and postnatal malnutrition, tobacco and alcohol use in pregnancy, birth complications, brain injury, and exposure to toxins.
- Widely assumed **social deprivation factors during childhood** had notably weak or null associations. This includes Poor educational achievement, large family size, low maternal education, and family poverty.
- Contrary to many retrospective studies, child maltreatment had no consistent effect on later conduct problems or aggression.

Research Implications

- Developmental prevention is popular and important.
- Our understanding of developmental processes related to aggression and antisocial behavior outside Western societies is poor.
- Urgent need for high quality longitudinal studies in LMIC contexts.
- Comparative studies across contexts to assess salience and effect of risk factors, and to better understand interaction between social context and individual characteristics.

How can we contribute?
The Evidence for Better Lives Study

Evidence for Better Lives



A global cohort study to tackle violence against children

A research initiative by academics at the Babes-Bolyai University (Romania), Health Services Academy (Pakistan), Hue University of Medicine and Pharmacy (Vietnam), Queensland University of Technology (Australia), Universiteit Stellenbosch (South Africa), University College London (UK), University of Cambridge (UK), University of Cape Town (South Africa), University of Ghana, University of Kelaniya (Sri Lanka), University of the Philippines, University of the West Indies (Jamaica)

Acknowledgement: We are grateful for the support of the the EBLS Foundational Study by the **Fondation Botnar**. Earlier stages of the study were supported the *Jacobs Foundation*, the *Optimus Foundation*, and the University of Cambridge *School of Social Sciences Research Support Fund*.

Evidence for Better Lives Study

Three Main Components



RESEARCH ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT

The EBLS cross-cultural birth cohort study will generate the knowledge required to support positive psychosocial development from the very beginning of life.



POLICY IMPACT

The EBLS impact strategy will ensure that knowledge generated will be widely disseminated and influences national and international violence reduction policies and practices.



CAPACITY BUILDING

Capacity-building activities will support the local expertise in each site as well as strengthen the research infrastructure and collaborative networks needed for sustainable capabilities for promoting positive psychosocial development from early childhood.

The Sites



Site	Top to Bottom 10% (1)	Homicide Rate (2)	Gender Inequality index (3)
Jamaica	17.3	43.2	0.422
Ghana	14.1	1.7	0.547
South Africa	33.1	34.3	0.394
Romania	7.1	1.5	0.339
Pakistan	6.5	7.8	0.565
Sri Lanka	11.1	2.9	0.386
Vietnam	6.9	1.5	0.337
Philippines	15.5	9.8	0.437

The Consortium

- Interdisciplinary group in Cambridge including Criminology (Manuel Eisner, Aja Murray), Psychology (Claire Hughes), and Education (Paul Ramchandai)
- Strong site teams forming an interdisciplinary network with specialists in Public Health, Psychology, Psychiatry, Pediatrics, Health Economics.
- EBLS early career network across the sites.
- Partnership with and support by WHO Prevention of Violence unit, Global Partnership to End Violence against Children, UNICEF Child Protection Unit, UNODC.

Core Features of EBLs – The First 1000 Days of 12,000 children born in 2020

- ❖ Representative sample of 1500 children and their families in each site.
- ❖ Same methodology, sampling strategy, measurement instruments in all sites
- ❖ Start at last trimester of pregnancy. Data collections at ages pregnancy, 6 months, 18 months 30 months.
- ❖ Study design from the onset to allow for long-term continuation.
- ❖ Inclusion of both fathers and mothers as respondents.
- ❖ Biological, experimental/observational, and questionnaire-type data.
- ❖ Thematic focus on the effects of
 - Fetus/child exposure to community, intimate partner, family violence and parental history of problem behavior and victimization
 - On
 - Biological and behavioral indicators of child psycho-social and cognitive functioning, respective mental health symptoms

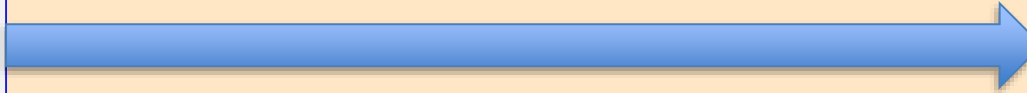
The Foundational Study

- Starts 1 June 2018, Duration 18 Months
- Comprehensive pilot with tests of
 - Translation, fieldworker training, sampling, data management, data collection logistics, biosampling, re-contacting, organizational structure stress test.
- 150 pregnant women per site = 1,200 total.
- Cognitive interviews, qualitative interviews.
- Child Protection “Policy Summit” in Manila, November 2018, Majors from all cities.

Thematic Focus

Cause

Maternal Exposure
to intimate partner
violence during
pregnancy



Effect

Child outcomes
at age 6 Months

- Crying
- Irritable
- Cognition

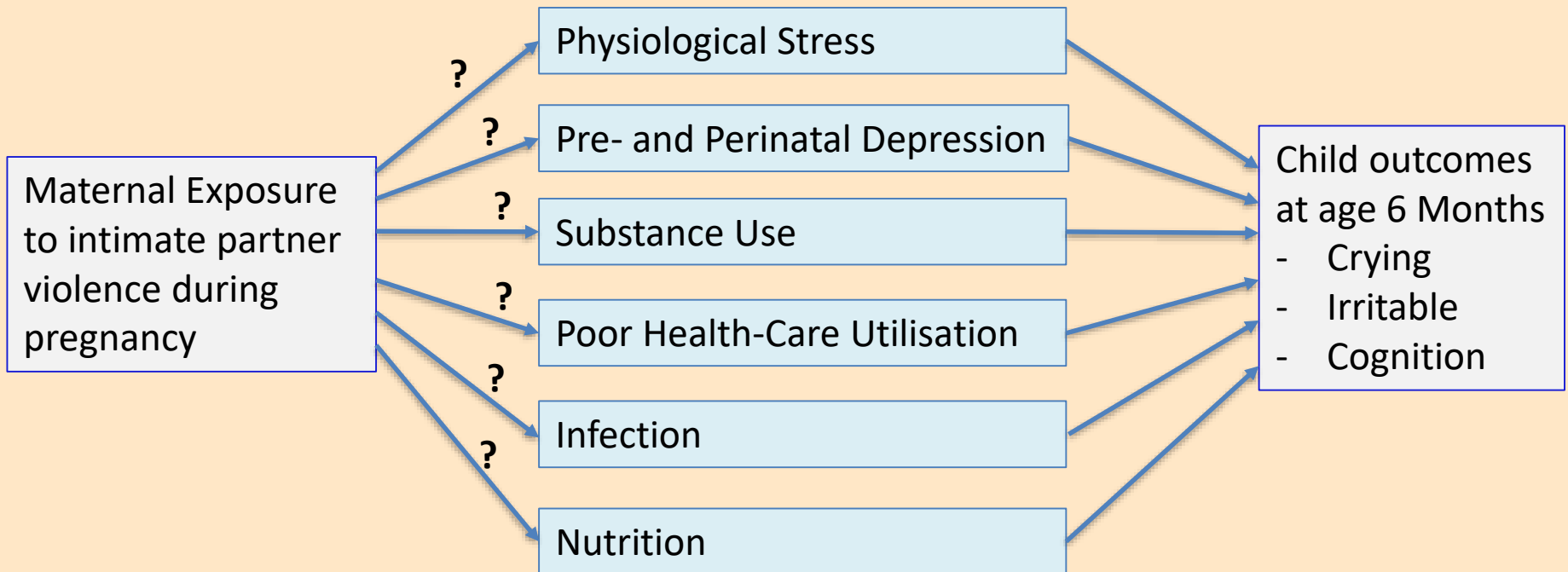
Murray, A.L., Kaiser, D., Valdebenito, S., Hughes, C., Baban, A., Fernando, A.D., Madrid, B., Ward, C., Osafo, J., Dunne, M., Sikander, S., Walker, S., Thang, V.V., Tomlinson, M., Eisner, M. (2018). The intergenerational effects of intimate partner violence in pregnancy: Mediating pathways and implications for prevention. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Thematic Focus

Cause

Mediating Pathways

Effect



Murray, A.L., Kaiser, D., Valdebenito, S., Hughes, C., Baban, A., Fernando, A.D., Madrid, B., Ward, C., Osafo, J., Dunne, M., Sikander, S., Walker, S., Thang, V.V., Tomlinson, M., Eisner, M. (2018). The intergenerational effects of intimate partner violence in pregnancy: Mediating pathways and implications for prevention. Manuscript submitted for publication.

The Long-Term Vision --- Our Contribution to the SDGs

- ❖ The **first global birth cohort study** on child psychosocial health in LMICs could become the most important resource for interdisciplinary developmental work on child well-being in the early 21st century worldwide.
- ❖ The **policy impact strategy** in collaboration with International organisations and city authorities could make a major contribution to achieving SDG goals related to violence against children and psycho-social health.
- ❖ A **capacity building approach** that promotes young scholars, South-South collaboration, and translational science could lead to step change in the capacity to better promote child well-being.
- ❖ An **organizational structure** with a strong role of all study sites and coordination at the University of Cambridge through an interdisciplinary team , developed gradually over several stages, will be sustainable for fruitful collaboration over many years.