Chapter 1. Public and Citizen Security in South America: Trends, Controversies and Proposals

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Introduction

This chapter explores the fields of public security and the closely related concept of citizen security, with a regional focus on South America. Because this topic covers a vast array of territories, societies, and realities, I will address only those aspects that are relevant, in my opinion, to scholarly discussion. Thus I caution the reader that many topics are touched upon only quite superficially. At the same time, I review the available literature—an unavoidable step when breaking new ground—in order to contribute to wider dissemination of knowledge with respect to research and public policies.

Recently, academic projects financed by international organizations have made advances in describing and analyzing the increasing criminal violence that affects Latin America. Throughout the chapter, I refer to these studies while minimizing statistical data as much as possible in order to devote greater attention to concepts or description.

Although it might seem that this subject has been covered extensively within the region, there are areas that deserve special attention, and which have yet to be addressed. One example is the gap between the formulation of public policies, on the one hand, and the preparation of well-founded analyses and recommendations from specialists, on the other. In itself, this is one of the challenges that must be a top priority if we want to address successfully the emergency caused by the region's increasing insecurity and violence.

As a first consideration, we should stress the importance of implementing policies that will ensure priority treatment for the diversity of players in the area of primary prevention (i.e., the general population and social setting), thus broadening the coverage through a variety of public policies that can improve security for the region's inhabitants from a democratic perspective. This is the challenge in terms of citizen security. The possibility, even the urgency, of achieving these increases when one observes that conventional government responses have largely failed.

Central Concepts: Security, Violence, and Crime Prevention

In principle, it would seem unnecessary to delve into the meaning of "security" and its relationship to freedom, human rights, democracy, and public order, among other concepts. However, to understand my particular perspective, I begin with a brief review of the evolution of these concepts in South America, particularly in light of the return to democratic rule during the 1980s.

As a kind of linguistic alert, I would note certain terminological considerations. The different meanings and scopes of *law enforcement* and *safety* in the English-speaking world and *seguridad pública (public security)* in Latin America may cause confusion, especially when undertaking comparative analyses and evaluating strategies and problem solving in the region based on previously tested experiences.

In the context of the reformulation of civil-military relations, the difference between the concepts of *national security*—used within a country and based on a military vision of ideological conflict—and *seguridad interior* or *seguridad pública (internal* or *public security)*—understood from a democratic perspective and aimed at crime prevention—was a topic of

discussion after the region's countries experienced democratic transitions.[1] In those countries where the problematic required it, this counterpoint established a conceptual, political, and legislative distinction between national defense and internal security,[2] applicable within the framework of the rule of law.

As we shall see later, innumerable factors have led to the introduction of *public security* as an issue in terms of public policy. As a "problem" to be solved, it is today not only a necessity for governments but also a predominant social demand.

The available literature reflects the deepening of the connection between *violence,* in its diverse manifestations,[3] and public security, both in the conceptual arena and as a problem. Violence is an important phenomenon in that it affects the development of physical, human, and social capital. However, this has been insufficient to make violence a priority for national and municipal government programs. Several sets of factors facilitate violence in the region.[4] The causes include the rupture of traditional institutions of social control, such as the family, religion, and the school system. Not poverty itself but rather deprivation and inequality appear as causes of violence. Other adverse environmental and physical conditions in urban areas, e.g., the lack of conflict-resolution mechanisms and impunity, encourage violence. Lastly, a high rate of alcohol consumption, the media's trivialization of violence, and access to weapons facilitate violence.

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[1] In 1986, Jorge Tapia Valdéz was already proposing a typology of the concept of "national security," based on a consideration of the characteristics of the political system.

[2] The concept of national defense is thus understood as national security, in the sense that this term is used in the United States, while public security resembles *law enforcement* and *safety* and focuses on protecting citizens from crime. The concept of *State security*, which focused on protecting the political régime in power, existed previously in the region.

[3] Various classifications and approaches are recognized. For a thorough analysis, see Mayra Buvinic and Andrew Morrison, *Preventing Violence*, Technical Note #5 (Washington: Inter-American Development Bank [IDB], 1999). Also see Caroline Moser and E. Shrader, *A Conceptual Framework for Violence Reduction*, LCR Sustainable Development Working Paper 2, Urban Peace Program Series (Washington: The World Bank, August 1999).

[4] Roberto Briceño León, *"Violence and the Right to Kill: Public Perceptions from Latin America,"* paper presented to the Research Workshop "Rising Violence and the Criminal Justice Response in Latin America: Towards an Agenda for Collaborative Research in the 21st Century," University of Texas, Austin, May 6-9, 1999.

According to Rodrigo Guerrero, former mayor of Cali, Colombia, the application of a practical public-health focus, in which multicausality allows consideration of risk factors associated with violence, would produce significant results in a short time. Concurrently with this, and because of the urgency to give priority to prevention and to promote both political will and civic commitment, we should discard simplistic views of violence in favor of multi-sectoral strategies, and should stop viewing violence as an immediate problem, taking, instead, a medium- to long-term view.[5]

As a preliminary conclusion, we find that public insecurity, particularly in urban areas, has overwhelmed police action to become, by virtue of a range of circumstances, an "issue" confronting society as a whole. Violence has assumed considerable weight in the configuration of the security-insecurity equation.[6]

The incorporation of the societal dimension into the matter of security and violence occurs not solely because of the state's failure to cope with growing crime rates or as a theoretical exercise in crime prevention. It occurs also in the context of the urgency to complete democratic transition and consolidation, and to give a greater role to civil society.[7]

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[5] Rodrigo Guerrero, *Violencia en las Américas, una amenaza a la integración social*, LC/R.1795 (Santiago: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 1998), pp. 48, adapted from a paper presented to the Primera Conferencia Regional de Seguimiento de la Cumbre Mundial sobre Desarrollo Social, São Paulo, Brazil (April 6-9, 1997).

[6] In an analysis of the situation in Peru, Manuel Piqueras notes, "Security and insecurity, but particularly the latter, constitute a tension that engulfs all aspects of life in human communities. It has economic, social, political, ethnic-cultural, moral, and institutional dimensions" (from "Seguridad para la Gente", paper presented to the Seminario Control Democrático de la Seguridad en el Perú, Instituto de Defensa Legal, Lima, April 1997).

[7] As Alvaro Camacho Guizado puts it, "all state measures for order require an unavoidable underpinning: The strengthening of civil society is, without a doubt, a basic mechanism for reducing violence. It implies inspiring general efforts to reinforce mechanisms for citizen participation in public affairs; stimulating a strengthening of day-to-day democratic reality in which the governing principles of social relations are tolerance, respect for difference and the rights of others, and fairness; increasing the level of autonomy for social organizations; encouraging political decentralization…" (translation, from "La Múltiple Dimensión de la Democracia y la Violencia en las Américas", Bogota, mimeograph, 1998).

Before proceeding, we should comment on the concept of *crime prevention,* also widely used in Latin America. Emphasizing its essentially political nature, Jan Van Dijk defined crime prevention in 1990 as "all policies, measures, and techniques, outside the boundaries of the criminal justice system, aiming at a reduction of the various kinds of damage caused by acts defined as criminal by the state."[8] Although this is a useful definition, it distinguishes between elements inside the boundaries of the criminal justice or court system and those outside of it; yet these boundaries are neither clearly defined nor static. In fact, according to Adam Crawford, crime prevention—which can be classified in a variety of ways[9]—lies somewhere between the narrow task of policing and the gargantuan and, at times, amorphous process of "*social control.*"[10]

As suggested by Garland's study of the transformation in criminal law and its enforcement, "A reconfigured field of crime control involves more than just a change in society´s response to crime. It also entails new practices of controlling behavior and doing justice, revised conceptions of social order and social control, and altered ways of maintaining social cohesion and managing group relations. The remodeling of an established institutional field, the emergence of different objectives and priorities, and the appearance of new ideas about the nature of crime and of criminals also suggests shifts in the cultural underpinning of these institutions. They suggest the possibility that, behind these new responses to crime, there lies a

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[8] Cited in Adam Crawford, *Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Politics, Policies and Practices* (London: Longman, 1998), p. 10.

[9] One classification of crime prevention distinguishes between: *primary prevention* aimed at the general population and the social setting; *secondary prevention* focusing on populations whose members are at risk of either perpetrating a criminal act or being victimized; and *tertiary prevention* aimed at both criminals and victims. Another classification establishes: *situational prevention*, addressing pre-criminal situations and the physical milieu to reduce opportunities for the commission of crimes; *social prevention*, targeting the temperament of potential criminals, both currently and as it develops; and *mixed* or *community prevention*, combining both situational and social-preventive measures.

new pattern of mentalities, interests, and sensibilities that has altered how we think and feel about the underlying problem."[11]

These concepts help provide a framework and options concerning policy measures and techniques involved in addressing the problem of citizen security.

Citizen security appears as an overarching concept, related to the quality of democratic life. Construed as a concept that helps build democracy, citizen security contributes to democratic consolidation "when it is adopted as a guiding principle for the governments' public security policies and actions."[12] Here it would be appropriate to mention that, while public security uses means institutionalized by the legal system, citizen security attempts to coordinate community organizations and the participation of citizens, among other things.[13]

Citizen Security: Approaches and Scope

At present, we are moving toward an *integrated approach*. The consideration of problems of security and violence covers subject areas that include:

♦ public security, democratic policing and police management (crime prevention and criminal investigations);

♦ citizen or community participation and networking;

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[10] Crawford, op. cit., pp. 11 and 8. For a U.S. perspective, see Dennis P. Rosenbaum, Arthur J. Lurigio, and Robert C. Davis, *The Prevention of Crime: Social and Situational Strategies* (Belmont, CA: West/Wadsworth, 1998).

[11] David Garland, *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 6.

[12] Enrique Bernales Ballesteros, "Seguridad Ciudadana y Gobernabilidad en la Región Andina," in Comisión Andina de Juristas, *Seguridad Ciudadana y Derechos Humanos* (Lima: Comisión Andina de Juristas, 1999), p. 108 (translation). See this volume for a discussion from a human-rights perspective. See also Rachel Neild, *From National Security to Citizen Security: Civil Society and the Evolution of Public Order Debates*, (Montreal: International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development, occasional paper, 1999), www.ichrdd.ca. *Citizen security* is somewhat related to the concept of *human security*, coined by the United Nations. By virtue of the Latin American experience, some have suggested that it might be appropriate to use the concept *inhabitant security*. See Elías Carranza, ed., *Delito y Seguridad de los Habitantes* (Mexico City: ILANUD and Siglo XXI Editores, 1997), p. 24.

♦ domestic violence, gender violence, and child abuse;

♦ juvenile violence and lawbreaking by youths;

♦ systems for support and empirical research (informatics, statistical, and analytical; e.g. victimization surveys, crime mapping); and

♦ the mass media, public opinion, and violence.

Another characteristic of security refers to the different roles of various governmental levels: national, provincial or state, and local or municipal.[14] It is here that the establishment of coordination and articulation mechanisms acquires relevance.

Following the description from the Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), based on an epidemiological approach to violence, we should give deeper thought to security programs that have proposed combining various types of measures:[15] **integrated measures** focused on those risk factors that have the greatest effect on acts of criminal violence; short-term **control measures** used by the police and applied to specific phenomena and for limited periods, with judicial, police, and correctional systems reforms; **preventive measures** accompanied by police monitoring, such as control over the possession of firearms and the drug and alcohol abuse that are frequently associated with violent behavior

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[13] Daniel H. de la Colina, "Una Aproximación al Concepto de Seguridad," *Colección Papeles del ISCO*, Vol. II (Buenos Aires: Universidad Católica de Salta –Subsede Buenos Aires, 1999) p. 88.

[14] Fernando Carrión emphatically maintains that: "…citizenship is the source and the end of urban violence…" and, therefore, citizens must participate in resolving the problem; Carrión, "De la Violencia Urbana a la Convivencia Ciudadana", 1998, p. 12, chapter in "*Devolver la Polis a la Ciudad.*", see RIADEL (Research and Action Web for Local Development) website,
http://www.riadel.cl/TEMA09/FCARRION.ZIP.
In my opinion, this is where the municipal or local arena plays a prominent role, which does not necessarily include responsibility for the control the police. Indeed, the region is characterized by centralized, that is, national and state or provincial-level, police forces. Among the range of citizen-security options, many are related to social and situational prevention, which are within easy reach of municipal management. This would enable strengthening of the connection between the municipality and citizens in relation to reducing insecurity.

[15] Irma Arriagada and Lorena Godoy, "Seguridad Ciudadana y Violencia en América Latina: Diagnóstico y Políticas en los Años Noventa", *Serie Políticas Sociales* 32 (United Nations Publication LC/L.1179-P) (Santiago: ECLAC-United Nations, August 1999), p. 29.

(curfews on the sale of alcoholic beverages, e.g., the *hora zanahoria* or the "carrot hour" in Bogotá); and **secondary preventive measures**, aimed at high-risk groups, such as young men who were victims of violence in their childhood, with the purpose of altering behavior, together with primary preventive measures intended to change attitudes, rules, and social behavior of the general population, especially younger groups.

In principle, given the outlook in South American countries, one must accept that police reforms assume a primary role, which, if well conducted, could create a solid foundation so that the new strategies for citizen security could be applied. However, as yet, we have little experience with the integrated reform of public-security systems.[16]

Toward a Definition of Security

In a synthetic fashion, trying to include all the concepts mentioned thus far, one can assume that as a democratic and integral notion, **public security** or **citizen security** is a de facto condition based in the rule of law, which safeguards liberty, the life and property of the inhabitants, their rights and guarantees, as well as the full viability of the constitutional institutions. We can accomplish this through:

- Crime prevention,
- Attention to risk factors for violent behavior,
- Coordination and articulation from an intersectorial perspective,
- Citizen participation and the active involvement of civil society, and
- Local- or municipal-level interventions

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[16] For the experiences in Argentina, see Eduardo E. Estévez, "Reforma de Sistemas de Seguridad Pública e Investigaciones Judiciales: Tres Experiencias en la Argentina", *Revista Colección* 6, no. 10 (2000): 139-82 (a publication of the School of Political Sciences, Universidad Católica Argentina, Buenos Aires). For a review of the regional realities and debates, as well as those in Peru, Chile, and Argentina, see Hugo Fruhling E., ed., *Control Democrático para el Mantenimiento de la Seguridad Interior* (Santiago: Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo, 1998); and also Hugo Fruhling & Azun Candina, eds., *Policía, Sociedad y Estado: Modernización y Reforma Policial en América del Sur* (Santiago: Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo, 2001). See also Rachel Neild, op.cit.

Public or citizen security in confronting crime is the exclusive responsibility of the state. It implies (1) the use of the human and material assets of a country's police and security forces—excluding the armed forces—in order to achieve the conditions outlined above, and (2) the coordinated interaction of the people and institutions within the democratic system, particularly the police, private security, and citizen participation under the rule of law.

Governability and Security

In the development of a democratic political culture within the framework of the region's democratic transition and consolidation processes, it is clear that we cannot separate governability and political stability from the analysis of the problems of security and from the relationship between high crime rates and violence. And this entails dangers. For the processes underway today in South America, "the most plausible risk, under current conditions, is that the citizens themselves approve of a return to authoritarian rule, as a way to confront the disorder violent crime causes."[17] In this sense, high levels of violence hamper the development of a democratic political culture, and favor an antidemocratic and authoritarian political culture.[18] Thus, one can see that the potential for ungovernability is significantly associated with public-security policies, the management of the police, and how the struggle against crime is managed.[19]

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[17] José Miguel Cruz, "Violencia, Democracia y Cultura Política", *Revista Nueva Sociedad*, no. 167 (May-June 2000): 134-46. Translation from passage on p. 137.

[18] This manifests itself in four ways: a reduction of public spaces for citizen participation; authoritarian attitudes that postpone respect for civil liberties and human rights out of a desire to privilege law and order; erosion of trust in the country's political institutions; and sympathy toward authoritarian leadership or regimes. Ibid., pp. 139-40.

[19] For instance, Thamara Santos Alvins has maintained this in an analysis of Venezuelan reality (Santos Alvins, "Policía y Democracia en Venezuela", *Pena y Estado*, no. 3 (issue title: *Policía y Sociedad Democrática)* (1998), pp 199-218. These considerations have led to empirical research on the use of force by the Venezuelan police, such as the study that Luis Gerardo Gabaldon discusses in "La Policía y el Uso de la Fuerza Física en Venezuela", in Peter Waldmann, ed. *Justicia en la Calle: Ensayos sobre la Policía en América Latina* (Medellín: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung - CIEDLA - ISLA, Biblioteca Jurídica DIKE, 1996), pp. 269-81.

If governability[20] implies the capacity to make opportune and effective decisions when confronting problems of concern to society, then we find another point of contact with security and its conceptual evolution. Included among the current challenges to citizen security[21] are the growth and complexity of crime; the state's overstepping of boundaries regarding police response; social pressure for repressive responses; and private violence coupled with forms of privatization of justice. One way to assess the situations in the countries is to consider the quantifiable social and economic *risk factors* that are associated with urban violence (see Table X.1).

Table X.1. Risk Factors Associated with Urban Violence in South America			
	Strong presence	*Medium presence*	*Low presence*
1. Inequality in urban income. The ratio of the richest 10% to the poorest 40%.	Over 11:1 Brazil, Colombia, Chile	Between 8:1 and 11:1 Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Venezuela	Up to 8:1 Ecuador, Uruguay
2. Percentage of urban homes at the poverty level.	40% of all urban homes Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Venezuela	Between 20% and 39% of all urban homes Brazil, Colombia, Peru	*Less than 20% of all urban homes* Argentina, Chile, Uruguay
3. Urban open unemployment rates.	More than 10% Argentina, Colombia, Uruguay, Venezuela	Between 6% and 10% Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru	Less than 6% Bolivia
4. Percentage of urban youths 13 to 17 years old who do not attend school or work.	Over 15% Uruguay	Between 8% and 15% Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay, Venezuela	Less than 8% Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador
5. Educational deficit: percentage of urban youths 14 or 15 years old who have not completed 6 years of study.	Over 20% Brazil	Between 10% and 20% Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Venezuela	Less than 10% Argentina, Chile, Uruguay

[20] This follows Waldo Ansaldi's conceptualization in "Gobernabilidad y Seguridad Democrática", Working Paper 1, Comisión Sudamericana de Paz, Seguridad y Democracia (Santiago, 1991), pp. 10-11.

[21] Bernales Ballesteros, op. cit., p. 110.

6. *Percentage of urban youths 13 to 17 years old who have a job.*	Over 15%	Between 5% and 15%	Up to 5%
	Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Paraguay	Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, Uruguay	Chile

Source: Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)**,** *América Latina 1997: Presencia de Factores de Riesgo de Violencia Urbana*, 1999**,** quoted in Irma Arriagada and Lorena Godoy, "Seguridad Ciudadana y Violencia en América Latina: Diagnóstico y Políticas en los Años Noventa", *Serie Políticas Sociales* 32 (United Nations Publication LC/L.1179-P) (Santiago: ECLAC- United Nations, August 1999).

South America has seen an increase in its urban populations but urban violence has increased even more. However, as Fernando Carrión suggests, we cannot regard the city as a determinant of violence. He asserts that "the restriction of the origin and the source of citizenship and the diminution of the quality of life are, each in turn, the cause and the effect of urban violence."[22] Added to this are economic crises and adjustment policies.

Similarly, we must assess *insecurity* not only as a concept in itself, but in connection with the various forms of violence, and also in relation to its impact on public opinion in general and on the media in particular.[23] In this context, we must consider as sources of insecurity not only criminal violence but also impunity and the illegal activities of the police. The perception of insecurity is an indication of the level of public satisfaction with respect to the policies and actions implemented. *Corruption* and *impunity* increase the perception that the established institutional mechanisms for coping with violence and citizen insecurity are ineffective.

Current Conditions and Priority Issues

In addition to the characterization by the Center for International Crime Prevention (CICP) and the UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) of Latin America as having the world's highest average homicide rate, this region, together with Africa,

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[22] Carrión, op. cit., p.4 (translation).

has the world's highest victimization rate. Similarly, victimization surveys have revealed that Latin America's level of corruption on the streets is also very high.[24] Studies by Juan Luis Londoño and Rodrigo Guerrero have detected a great heterogeneity of criminal violence from one country to another and even within a single country. For example, "El Salvador and Colombia have the highest intentional injury rates for aggravated assault, whereas Peru has the lowest."[25]

The most significant criminal manifestations are, among others, common crimes, organized crime, illegal drug trafficking, and related offenses, including less frequent phenomena such as terrorism. This, combined with manifestations of violence, lead to a discouraging outlook. (see Tables X.X1 and XX2). This is perhaps why, in recent times, analysts have repeatedly insisted on the need for qualitative and quantitative studies. Victimization surveys thus appear as an alternative, given the extremely low reporting rate characteristic of the region.

Table XX1 Total recorded crime (per 100,000 population)								
Country\Year	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**
Argentina	1,251	1,002	1,028	-	-	2,025	2,152	2,275
Bolivia	-	-	694	595	789	-	-	-
Chile	7,027	7,757	8,130	9,287	8,784	4,488	4,333	4,396
Ecuador	391	398	460	536	521	-	-	-
Paraguay	247	243	239	248	292	-	-	-
Peru	-	-	-	-	-	761	757	756
Uruguay	2,546	2,634	2,543	2,319	2,321	-	-	-

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[23] For an analysis taking into account the historical evolution of violence, see Luis Fernando Vélez, "El Mito de Vivir en un Mundo más Violento", *Revista Nueva Sociedad*, no. 167 (May-June 2000): 157-65.

[24] The percentage of victimized citizens in Western Europe is almost 61%, whereas in Latin America it is 71%. Corruption on the street in Latin America has reached 21%, while in Central and Eastern Europe, it is 11% and in Western Europe, only 0.7%. See Jan Van Dijk (Center for International Crime Prevention, UN Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention), "The State of Crime and Criminal Justice Worldwide", paper presented to the Tenth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Vienna (April 10-17, 2000).

[25] Juan Luis Londoño and Rodrigo Guerrero, "Violencia en América Latina: Epidemiología y Costos", in Juan Luis Londoño, Alejandro Gaviria y Rodrigo Guerrero, eds. *Asalto al Desarrollo: Violencia en América Latina*. (Washington: IDB, 2000), p. 24 (translation).

Table XX2 Homicide rates in South America (per 100,000 population)		
	Late 70's/ Early 80's	**Late 80's/Early 90's**
Argentina	3.9	4.8
Brazil	11.5	19.7
Chile	2.6	3.0
Colombia	20.5	89.5
Ecuador	6.4	10.3
Mexico	18.2	17.8
Paraguay	5.1	4.0
Peru	2.4	11.5
Uruguay	2.6	4.4
Venezuela	11.7	15.2
United States	10.7	10.1

Source: PAHO, Health Situation Analysis Program, 1997, as cited by Robert L. Ayres, *Crime and Violence as Development Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Washington: The World Bank, 1998), pp. 3

Concerning violence and its costs, Londoño and Guerrero note:

Violence in Latin America is currently widespread and involves huge costs. The most traditional indicators illustrate its magnitude: Each year, 140,000 homicides are committed. Every Latin American annually loses the equivalent of almost three days of healthy life because of violence. Each year, 28 million families are the victims of theft or burglary. The level of violence, measured by any of these indicators, is five times higher in Latin America than in the rest of the world.…Violence against property and individuals represents a level of destruction and transfer of resources equivalent to 14.2% of the region's GDP, that is, US$168 billion. Hospital expenditures are but a part of the loss in human capital, and the latter are almost as large as all the material losses combined.[26]

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[26] Londoño and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 7 (translation)

...Violence has indirect costs on investments, productivity, consumption, and work, which are even higher than the direct costs from the destruction of life and property. And its distributive costs are almost as high as those of all State contributions throughout the continent.[27]

The drug issue appears to be one of the factors that unleashes criminal violence, and it inevitably leads to differentiation[28] among the region's countries, based on whether they are points of transit, producers, consumers, or sites of money laundering, or if they have cultures or subcultures that use coca leaf. "Blast Furnace," a U.S. operation carried out on Bolivian territory in 1996, is emblematic of narcotics trafficking and the police in the 1980s. It consisted of a joint effort among the armies and police forces of Bolivia and the U.S. to combat narcotics trafficking (specifically with respect to cocaine inputs), and other joint operations followed it. Just as the war against drugs generated a militarization of the police by virtue of emphasizing U.S. military aid, it also facilitated a trend toward a "police-ization" of the armed forces. This occurred even though the armed forces took part only in missions supporting, not directly participating in, police operations. This case reflects a concern shared by several South American countries: pressure for militarization of public security as a result of the war on drugs, and its possible consequences for their fragile democracies.

We must not overlook the role of police forces themselves in contributing to insecurity. Waldmann maintains that the weakness of Latin American governments made it difficult to

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[27] Londoño and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 31 (translation)

[28] Disparities, difficulties, and disequilibria are described in a variety of aspects, including institutions, legislation, and the capacity to carry out not only regional operations but also those relating to prevention, repression, and treatment; the scarcity and diversity of the resources involved, as well as the incompatibility and limitations of regional mechanisms, where the Mercosur stands out in terms of its political will. The Chilean academic Guillermo Holzmann Pérez elaborated these concepts during an international conference held at the Instituto de Investigación

control police organizations. Consequently, he recognizes certain characteristic features of the police caused by inadequate funding, including deficient equipment, extremely low remuneration, and tendencies toward the abuse of power.[29] In analyzing the police in Bolivia, one researcher noted that "many functions remain theoretical, with no influence over the day-to-day performance of the police, and—even more seriously—no training [operates] on the mentality of regular police officers."[30] This may also hold for other Latin American countries. Similarly, it has been noted that "police precincts constitute the bottom rungs of the police hierarchy and are the gates of community access, making them an arena for tension between the logics of discipline and of service; a battleground between compliance with the orders from superiors and an effective response vis-à-vis community demands."[31] The significance of this line of analysis is evident for any citizen-security strategy.

Referring to the Andean region, and at the risk of being skeptical, it has been pointed out that, "Unfortunately, such a restrictive vision of security (as merely the need to maintain law and order) still constitutes the axis of most citizen-security policies being implemented in the region as well as most of the proposals under discussion. These are characterized by, among other things, lengthier sentences mandated for various offenses, especially those that involve direct contact with the population; extremely strict summary criminal procedures that violate due

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sobre Seguridad y Crimen Organizado (Security and Organized Crime Research Institute, ISCO), Universidad Católica de Salta, Buenos Aires campus (November 2000).

[29] Peter Waldmann, "Introducción," in Waldmann, ed., op. cit., pp. 21-23.

[30] Felipe H.C. Mansilla, "Estructuras, funciones y problemas de la Policía Boliviana: Un Esbozo Introductorio," in Waldmann, op. cit., p. 146 (translation).

[31] Gino Costa Santolalla and Eduardo Castillo Claudett, "Las Comisarías por dentro. Un Estudio de caso en Lima Metropolitana," *Cuadernos del CED* (Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo, Santiago, Chile) 33 (November 1999): 48 pp, p. 4 (translation). These authors add that "…the management or resolution of tensions generated in this process shall mark the profile of the precinct. Moreover, in the case of Peru, the lack of spaces for coordination between high-ranking police and the community—for instance, district- or civic-level citizen security committees—will make it impossible for such conflicts to be managed democratically, so that the type of response or solution will depend on each precinct and on the organizational resources at its disposal."

process; an increase in police discretion for purposes of detentions and investigations; treating juvenile offenders as adults; the focus of police 'reforms' on weaponry and technical hardware; and, in extreme cases, the use of the armed forces for internal security purposes.[32]

Various topics, each with its own specific weight, are relevant to this chapter, but because of space limitations, I can mention them only briefly. Given the obvious importance of the criminal justice system (justice administration and correctional systems) and its problems in the region, one of these topics is the analysis of *criminal policy* and its relationship to public and citizen security. Indeed, mainly as a consequence of failures and crises of the traditional justice system, over the past 30 years—and in some countries of the Northern Hemisphere—the trend has been toward crime prevention. However, in comparison with traditional justice, crime prevention has not received significant financing. Thus, it is argued that "it is clearly too early to talk of the eclipse of the 'deterrent paradigm' by a 'preventive security paradigm', albeit that a 'mixed agenda' or 'pluralistic order' appears to have emerged."[33]

Several points can be noted briefly. Flowing from the reasons that led to the differentiation between national defense and internal security, *domestic* or *internal intelligence* appears as a topic for study due to: the negative public perception of this activity, the requirements that it must meet in order to operate within the framework of the rule of law, and its specific ties with the public-security function. Also, as discussed in later sections, we cannot overlook the impact of *transnational crime* in the shaping of security policies both at national and regional levels. Further, the *government budget*, as a decision-making process and a reflection of the political will to tackle the problem, should be viewed as a tool not only to ensure

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[32] Comisión Andina de Juristas, *Seguridad Ciudadana: Cambios Necesarios* (Lima: Comisión Andina de Juristas, 1999), pp. 16-17 (translation).
[33] Crawford, op. cit., p. 247.

periodic accountability concerning actions undertaken, but also to contribute to the design of policy measures. The influence of debates and congressional audits on the statistics, objectives, policies, and plans that determine those measures is reflected in the government budget. Finally, we can study *technological innovations* as a source of change for both police practices concerning crime prevention and the government capacity for processing information important to citizen security.

From a Latin American perspective, the fundamental circumstances that we can use as a starting point for analysis of future actions may be drawn from the findings from the Tenth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: [34]

- Concern for the increase in violent crime and the use of weapons and explosives;
- Maximum priority to technical assistance to improve criminal justice systems;
- Adoption of modernization measures based on technological advances in crime prevention;
- Community participation "as a rule, not as an exception";
- Prevention of crime and violence as part of national policy and promoting it as a cultural value;
- Impacts of migration on public order and on the perception of security, as well as its relationship to the struggle against discrimination and xenophobia; and
- Greater attention to domestic violence and related offenses.

Some National Strategies and Relevant Experiences

Although this chapter will not detail the different national strategies for dealing with crime and violence, we can note some recent initiatives in Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, Colombia, and Argentina. Noteworthy in all cases, emphasis was placed on the development of preventive measures.

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[34] See the Informe de la Reunión Preparatoria Regional de América Latina y el Caribe para el Décimo Congreso de las Naciones Unidas sobre Prevención del Delito y Tratamiento del Delincuente (Report of the Regional Latin American Preliminary Meeting for the Tenth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders), San José, Costa Rica, February 22-24, 1999. United Nations Document, A/conf.187/RPM.4/1.

In January 1999 Chile's Ministry of the Interior introduced an Integrated Plan for Citizen Security. The policy makers construed citizen security as "one of the human-security issues that the state must address forcefully, using all the agencies that have public responsibility in the area of crime prevention and the rehabilitation of offenders."[35] The *fuerza carabineros* (police force), under the Ministry of Defense, took a leading role in crime prevention. The Plan Cuadrante (City Block Plan), centered on police patrols in Santiago's metropolitan area, began in May 2000.[36].

Brazil's Ministry of Justice launched the country's National Public Security and Crime Prevention Plan, whose guiding principles are: interdisciplinary methods (including sociological, anthropological, economic, psychological, and urban planning approaches, in addition to a repressive-penal perspective); multi-agency participation; community participation; impartiality; legality; human morality and dignity; professionalism; organizational pluralism; structural decentralization and the separation of the branches of government; strategic flexibility; limited use of force; and transparency and responsibility.

For its part, in 1999, Colombia launched a National Strategy for Citizen Coexistence and Security, "to promote a change in the approach to the coexistence and security of the country's inhabitants, through specific policies designed with the collaboration and participation of the National Police, municipal authorities, private enterprise, and the community."[37]

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[35] Informe Nacional de Chile para el Décimo Congreso de las Naciones Unidas sobre Prevención del Delito y Tratamiento del Delincuente (National Report for Chile for the Tenth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders), Vienna, April 10-17, 2000, United Nations Document A/Conf.187/G/Chile/1, March 13, 2000, p. 40 (translation).

[36] See *El Mercurio* (Santiago, Chile newspaper), May 3, 2000, p. 1.

[37] Presidencia de la República de Colombia (Office of the President of Colombia), *Estrategia Nacional para la Convivencia y Seguridad Ciudadana - Cambio para Construir la Paz*, July 1999 (translation).

In Argentina, the ministries of the Interior and of Justice and Human Rights jointly promoted the National Crime Prevention Plan in August 2000.[38] Its main objectives are to reduce street crime, diminish the perception of insecurity vis-à-vis that form of crime, encourage the participation of nongovernmental players, and establish a network to foster commitment, cooperation, and articulation among government actors.

Approaches that include attention to the various risk factors associated with crime and violence are, in turn, the exception. It is worth noting briefly some of the best practices and relevant experiences.

In the case of Cali, Colombia, where a 221% increase in the homicide rate occurred between 1987 and 1992 (from 42 to 93 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants), the mayor launched a series of prevention activities in 1992 that were based on work with neighborhood residents, with a focus on social development, public education, and increased respect for the law. This was achieved through the Programa Desarrollo Seguridad y Paz (Security and Peace Development Program, DESEPAZ), which was based on the following principles: multicausality, research, prevention, participation, tolerance, and fairness. From that, four strategic areas were defined: (1) the systematic study of violence; (2) institutional strengthening of the civil order; (3) citizen education and communication for peace; and (4) equity and social development.[39] Although analysts recognize the difficulties in evaluating the results of this program, it is notable that in 1995 the homicide rate fell for the first time in 12 years.[40]

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[38] See the full text in: *Perspectivas Criminológicas: Políticas Públicas de Seguridad en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos, 2000), pp.7-37.

[39] Rodrigo Guerrero, "El Crimen y el Gobierno de la Ciudad: Epidemiología de la Violencia. El Caso de Cali, Colombia," in *Hacia un Enfoque Integrado del Desarrollo: Etica, Violencia y Seguridad Ciudadana. Encuentro de Reflexión*, report of a conference organized by the Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D.C., February 15-17, 1996, pp. 45-48.

[40] Ibid., pp. 51 and 64.

International lending institutions, such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), have begun recently to finance integrated programs on security that address crime and violence in Colombia and Uruguay, and they are studying the feasibility for countries such as Venezuela, Ecuador and Argentina.

Although attention is generally given to the rules that govern the police, it is also necessary to focus on the rules that govern public security more broadly, because these allow the public-policy arena to promote democratic control. [41]

Legislative controls over security and intelligence agencies and practices are scarce in the region and, although specific commissions exist in some countries, the results are generally unsatisfactory.

This overview provides an introduction to trends, strong and weak, in regard to *national policies and strategies* for public or citizen security. Along another dimension, we should note advances in terms of *joint strategies—either bilateral or multilateral—*developed to cope with specific security problems. Indeed, the issue of public security at the subregional level, as well as that of transnational crimes, has led to the adoption of bilateral and multilateral agreements. The issues addressed have generally referred to allocation of shared legal assets along common borders and in the domain of socioeconomic activities. [42] Offenses considered as affecting the Southern Cone Common Market (Mercosur) countries (i.e., Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) along with Bolivia and Chile include narcotics trafficking, terrorism, arms and

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[41] In Argentina, the Interior Security Law 24.059 of 1992 provides an example of coordination and development in terms of a system applicable to a federalized nation. Concerning Peru, see Fruhling, op. cit.

[42] Certain Mercosur events stand out: in December 1996, the establishment of a Meeting of the Interior Ministers of Mercosur, Bolivia, and Chile ; in March 1998, approval of the General Security Plan for the Triple Border (between Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina); in July 1998, approval of the Reciprocal Cooperation and Technical Assistance Plan for regional security and the establishment of the Joint Mechanism for Registration of Buyers and Sellers of Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives, and Related Materials; and in June 2000, a proposal for creation of a

explosives trafficking, car theft, economic crimes and money laundering, smuggling, and migrant trafficking. One subject included in almost all the agreements is the strengthening of information exchanges and consultations, together with the creation of shared databases. Another subject is police training.

More recently, on June 8, 2001, the interior ministers of the Mercosur countries, plus those of Chile and Bolivia, signed the *Citizen Security Declaration of Asunción* which included measures to strengthen citizen security and to promote social capital formation.   A special working committee was created to oversee implementation of the measures.

Studies and Trends

Various theoretical and practical approaches exist in the area of public security and violence prevention. In this context, I would emphasize the importance of empirical studies as a starting point for the formulation of public policies.

The Brazilian specialist Cláudio C. Beato maintains that the reasons security policies fail or are altogether absent lie within the purely cognitive plane. Concerning Brazil, these policies fluctuate between social reform and individual dissuasion. As he puts it, "a more careful examination shows that such models and theories are not mutually exclusive but rather complement each other. A security model that is concerned with the state's containment and control over the rights of its citizens must recognize that security is also a human right, established by the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. On the other hand, the criminal justice system in general and the performance of the police in particular will be much more

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Coordination Center for Police Training for Mercosur, Bolivia, and Chile. See Secretaría de Seguridad Interior, *La Seguridad en el Marco de la Cooperación Internacional* (Buenos Aires: Government of Argentina, 1998).

efficient in the exercise of their duties when the communities where they operate give them more support."[43]

As already noted, the socioeconomic dimension is a priority vis-à-vis urban violence[44]. In this sense, "...in examining the configuration of most cities, it is impossible to overlook a number of global, national, and local events beginning particularly in the 1980s, which precipitated the current situation. These include the international financial crisis, the dismantling of the welfare state, the change in the conceptualization of fiscal expenditures and state regulation, structural adjustment policies, rising unemployment, migrations within Latin America, the increasing deterioration of public services, corruption, narcotics trafficking, and impunity." [45]

The *interrelationship between violence, citizen security, and social capital* is beginning to be analyzed in terms of its effect on democracy, as well as in relationship to interventions that may mitigate insecurity. In the case of Venezuela, for instance, "the many acts of violence that people experience in Caracas and most of the cities in the country have generated in a context of intensification of economic inequality and persistence of progressively asymmetrical social relations, with the consequent deterioration of the social-control networks and patterns of

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[43] See Cláudio C. Beato F., "Políticas Públicas de Segurança: Equidade, Eficiência e Accountability," mimeograph, 1999, p. 18 (translated from the Portuguese). Beato is categorical in asserting that, in strictly cognitive terms, public-policy formulations on security must avoid a culturalist approach since, for purposes of controlling crime, it is unnecessary to change the personalities of a country's inhabitants, nor is it within the realm of governmental policy to induce a change in values.

[44] An example is Project ACTIVA (*Multicenter Project: Attitudes and Cultural Norms toward Violence),-* a regional initiative coordinated by the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), to evaluate violence and related cultural norms and attitudes in selected cities of the Region of the Americas and Spain. See the Technical Papers: Alfred McAlister, Luis Fernando Vélez, Rebecca de los Ríos, Marco Fournier, Leandro Piquet Carneiro, *Protocol of the Multicenter Study: Cultural Norms and Attitudes Toward Violence in Selected Cities of Latin America and Spain*, PAHO, Division of Health and Human Development, Research Coordination Program (Washington, January 1999). Pamela Orpinas, *Who is Violent? Factors Associated with Aggressive Behaviors in Selected Cities of Latin America and Spain*, PAHO, Division of Health and Human Development, Research Coordination Program (Washington, January 1998); José Miguel Cruz. *Victimization from Urban Violence: Levels and Related Factors in Selected Cities of Latin America and Spain*, PAHO, Division of Health and Human Development, Research Coordination Program (Washington, January 1999). See also *Crimen y Violencia en Latinoamérica*, Pablo Fajnzylber, Daniel Lederman, and Norman Loayza (Bogotá: Alfaomega – Banco Mundial, 2001)

coexistence. The presence of this violence in everyday life also demonstrates its contradiction to the basic elements of democracy, such as dialogue, conflict negotiation, and the exercise of politics and citizenship."[46]

Diverse studies in the field of economics have analyzed the interactions between crime rates, victimization, violence, development, poverty, education, economic growth, income inequality, and police and legal system capacity. In a pioneering study, World Bank researchers explained that the connection between growth, development, and poverty in relation to violence and crime affected infrastructure capital, impeded the development of human capital, and destroyed physical capital, thus altering the state's governing capacity.[47] Consistent with this, more recent work has shown a positive correlation between income inequality and crime rates in the region, and the existence of "crime inertia," whereby offenses continue despite the reduction or eventual disappearance of the factors leading to increased crime.[48]

Another line of research has promoted the *analysis of the costs of violence and crime*. One classification explores the economic costs, both direct and indirect, that intentional violence has on society. The former include personal or family expenses for the treatment of the victims of violence; institutional care costs; rehabilitation costs; costs associated with violence prevention; and other direct costs, such as intangible costs and legal expenses. The latter include

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[45] Rosa De Olmo, "Ciudades Duras y Violencia Urbana," *Revista Nueva Sociedad*, no. 167 (May-June 2000): 74-86, p. 78 (translation).

[46] Ana María Sanjuán, "Dimensionamiento y Caracterización de las Violencia en Caracas," in *Convivencia y Seguridad: Un reto a la gobernabilidad*, Jorge Sapoznikow, Juana Salazar, and Fernando Carrillo, eds. (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá and Washington: IDB, 2000), p. 97.

[47] Robert L. Ayres, *Crime and Violence as Development Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Washington: The World Bank, 1998), pp. 7-8.

[48] See Pablo Fajnzylber, Daniel Lederman, and Norman Loayza, *Determinants of Crime Rates in Latin America and the World: An Empirical Assessment* (Washington: The World Bank, 1998). For the case of Argentina in particular, see Daniel Lederman, *Crime in Argentina: A Preliminary Assessment* (Washington: The World Bank, 1999).

the loss of productivity and income due to death or disability as a result of violence; and the material losses that such violence engenders.[49]

Police and police practices merit particular study. Basic aspects to analyze in terms of citizen security are institutional culture, the correspondence between legally mandated functions and those that the police actually perform, the variety of crime prevention tactics used, and the relationship of the police with the community. Gaining access to the police for research purposes is a challenge in itself. The advances in terms of democratic consolidation seem not to progress in government oversight of police organizations. Indubitably, this limitation hinders gathering data that would provide a scientific basis to evaluate police tactics and practices.

Another line of research devotes itself to *victims* as an object of study, a topic of basic importance in addressing the issue from a human-rights perspective. Although this chapter has already noted the inclusion of *juvenile violence* in integrated approaches, it would be appropriate to mention that we must view youths as victims and not just as perpetrators of offenses.[50] The Pan American Health Organization recently published a background paper[51] about this issue, and it recommended fostering prevention through a series of options that fall into two groups: policies or programs that modify the constraints and opportunities in violent environments, and educational campaigns for parents, schools, and communities.

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[49] This classification appears in Hugo Eyzaguirre, *La Violencia Intencional en Lima Metropolitana: Magnitud, Impacto Económico y Evaluación de Políticas de Control 1985-1995*, Inter-American Development Bank Research Network Working Paper R-332 (Lima: Instituto Apoyo and Washington: IDB, 1998), p. 20, quoting Bobadilla et al. 1995. A recent study on metropolitan Santiago, which took as a premise that, "investments formerly viewed only from the perspective of the obligation to provide a service, may be justified to political and civil society in terms of economic and social benefits that those investments can ultimately produce" found that, in 1998, the economic cost of crime amounted to US$274 million (Iván Silva Lira, *Costo Económico de los Delitos, Niveles de Vigilancia y Políticas de Seguridad Ciudadana en las Comunas del Gran Santiago*, Serie Gestión Pública 2 (with ECLAC and the Instituto Latinoamericano y del Caribe de Planificación Económica y Social, United Nations Publication LC/L.1328-P and LC.IP/L.171) (Santiago: ECLAC and United Nations, 2000), p. 10, 23.

[50] See Marco Vinicio Fournier, "Violencia y Juventud en América Latina," *Revista Nueva Sociedad*, no. 167 (May-June, 2000): 147-56.

The conditions under which the search for social tolerance unfolds, within a framework of acceptable levels of citizen security, implies the adoption of the *culture of lawfulness*[52] as a working element of primary prevention with special emphasis in school-based curricula for crime prevention . Although no efforts in this direction have yet appeared in South America, we must recognize its value for governability and the strengthening of democratic values.

Research and Public Policy Priorities

Above all, we must not forget the differences that appear when describing the situation in South America. As Londoño and Guerrero point out, in reality, "behind this diversity in the costs of violence hides a diversity in the manifestations of violence in these countries," which case studies have been able to identify :

- **Peru** is characterized by comparatively "homemade" –types of violence, with a high frequency of events of small magnitude, little lethality, and relatively low costs to the economy.
- In **Venezuela** private responses (by companies and households) are a predominant response to the rapid intensification of urban violence.
- In **Brazil** involvement by government officials in urban violence is marked.
- In **Colombia,** violence seems to have been "professionalized" more than in any other country of the world; and it is where multiple acts of instrumental violence coincide in time and space with problems of civil coexistence.[53]

Londoño and Guerrero suggest that the varied experiences and expressions of violence in the region calls for comparative study rather than for aggregate-level analyses or case studies.[54]

Before noting some prominent gaps in research, we should recall an important point raised by Rosa Del Olmo, who reminds us that given the complexity of urban violence it would not "suffice to compare it to violent crime in general."[55]

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[51] Pan American Health Organization, *Juvenile Violence in the Americas: Innovative Studies in Research, Diagnosis and Prevention* (Washington: Pan American Health Organization, 2000).
[52] Roy Godson and Dennis Jay Kenney, *School-Based Education to Counter Crime and Corruption: Evaluation of the Initial Pilot Curriculum* (Washington: National Strategy Information Center, 2000).

This noted, we have little information on certain sub-regions and countries, making it difficult to specify their deficiencies in qualitative and quantitative data. A recent study indicates priority activities for future efforts aimed at reducing violence:

- Theoretical research to identify risk factors and to make an in-depth assessment of pilot programs and "best practices";
- Statistics on the frequency and prevalence of violence; and,
- Studies on the costs and consequences of violence.

Also, concerning antiviolence programs, various sectors (education, health, the courts, the police, social services, the media, urban development and housing, and civil society) recognize the challenges posed by both primary and secondary prevention.[56]

The organization responsible for Argentine science policy convened a conference hosting national and international experts from different fields. The results of the meeting identify priority areas—and gaps—which policy makers incorporated into the country's 1999-2001 Multi-Year Plan.[57] These topics and the recommendations formulated for them are relevant to our discussion:

- *The State and specific institutions, and their relationship to violence and citizen security* (covering historical-procedural studies; empirical studies; studies on the processes of political definition of crime; police reforms; the privatization of security; and institutional interventions in the treatment of youths and minors);
- *Social sectors and their relationship with violence and citizen security* (including sociological categories and their relationship with crime; exclusion,

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[53] Londoño and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 30 (translation).

[54] Londoño and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 31 (translation).

[55] Del Olmo, op. cit., p. 79 (translation).

[56] See Mayra Buvinic, Andrew Morrison, and Michael Shifter, *Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Framework for Action*, Technical Study of the Sustainable Development Department, Inter-American Development Bank (Washington: IDB, 1999), pp. 25-27

[57] Plan Nacional Plurianual de Ciencia y Tecnología 1999-2001 (1999-2001 National Multi-Year Science and Technology Plan): Violencia y Seguridad Ciudadana (Sección 3.3.11.), Gabinete Científico-Tecnológico, Poder Ejecutivo Nacional (Science and Technology Cabinet, Executive Branch), República Argentina, December 1998.

segregation, and poverty processes; risk groups; production of subjective concepts; criminalization as a crime-reproducing agent; and comparative diagnostic studies);

- *Culture and regions, and their relationship with violence and citizen security* (including analysis and exploration of cultural phenomena that generate and shape violence; violence and body interactions ; violence and gender stereotypes; violence, drugs, and informal markets).

- *Social imagination and violence* (covering the social imagination, and the role of the media and their influence on violent conduct, among other things; definitions and classifications of violence, general and criminal, from the point of view of the players; solidarity networks; violence in school and at home); and,

- *Responses and modes of intervention with respect to the phenomenon of violence and citizen security* (including educational campaigns for the violence prevention; development of new technologies for management and community organization; feasibility studies on community security; comparative studies on intervention models; a multidisciplinary perspective on specialized training).

A series of studies from the Inter-American Development Bank's Latin American Research Network [58] provide relevant lessons for the development of further research and for the design of public policies. [59] As effective interventions against violence, four stand out :

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[58] The IDB Research Department's Latin American Research Network project on *Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Magnitude and Control Policies* produced a series of documents including [this series is cited in FN 25 and 50] Roberto Briceño León and Rogelio Pérez Perdomo, eds., "La Violencia en Ve nezuela: Dimensionamiento y Políticas de Control," IESA/LACSO, Inter-American Development Bank Research Network Working Paper R-373 (Washington: IDB, 1999); CISALVA (Centro de Investigaciones Salud y Violencia, School of Health, Universidad del Valle, Colo mbia), *Dimensionamiento de la Violencia en Colombia*, Inter-American Development Bank Research Network Working Paper R-339, (Washington: IDB, 1998); Eyzaguirre, op. cit.; ISER (Instituto de Estudos da Religião, Rio de Janiero), *Magnitude, Custos Econômicos e Políticas de Controle da Violência no Rio de Janeiro* (Leandro Piquet Carneiro and Luciana Phebo, research directors), Inter-American Development Bank Research Network Working Paper R-347 (Washington: IDB, 1998); Londoño and Guerrero, op. cit.; Mauricio Rubio, *La Violencia en Colombia: Dimensionamiento y Políticas de Control*, CEDE (Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico, Facultad de Economía, Universidad de Los Andes, Santa Fé de Bogotá, Colombia) and Inter-American Development Bank Research Network Working Paper R-345 (Washington: IDB, 1998). Also see Londoño, Gaviria and Guerrero, op. cit.

[59] Londoño and Guerrero also note that, "The main policy lesson learned from this effort may be the recommendation to focus the fight against violence on a 'contingent pragmatism,' that makes it possible to combine

- The power of information used in systematic processes of epidemiological surveillance, and activation of the demand for prevention and protection;
- The control of excessive alcohol consumption and other forms of mental disorder;
- The control of weapons possession; and,
- The efficacy of emergency treatment in health systems.

The topic of the police as a source of insecurity, already mentioned, requires analysis of the use of force on citizenry by the police. Contradicting the position of the Latin American literature on the subject, Luis Gerardo Gabaldón suggests that in the Venezuela case "police officers are not robots [programmed for] a generalized repressive mission that the hierarchy has designed; [they] can be sensitive to the demands and expectations of the population concerning the use of force."[60] He adds that scant attention has been paid in the region to police-citizen dynamics or to standards for police conduct defined by more exacting community standards.

A proposed plan for research on the police in Latin America[61] would consist of three steps: interviews with high-ranking experts; closed surveys/questionnaires; and observation, participation, and open-ended interviews.

Similarly, the Latin American Research Network study, cited above, found four types of policy measures that are more complex to implement but which would provide satisfactory results:

- Consider, as the main instrument against impunity, the increased probability of punishment rather than a harsher but less likely punishment;
- Strengthen the independence of all public instruments for the control of crime and violence, such as the police, the intelligence-collection agencies, and judges, to prevent their infiltration or weakening by organized crime;
- Make violence prevention and control mechanisms more flexible and powerful through the efforts of nongovernment players, who could expedite and complement government action; and

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effective, well-known interventions with complex, but enormously promising, interventions, within macro-social contexts that help discourage violent behavior" (op. cit., p. 54, translation).

[60] Gabaldón, 1996, pages 278 y 280.

[61] Carola Schmid, "Posibilidades de una Investigación Empírica sobre la Policía en América Latina," in Waldmann, ed., op. cit., p. 376.

- Strengthen the social milieu, where education occurs that shapes social interactions and promotes social control and punishment of violent behavior. [62]

The recommendations from the Reunión de Expertos Gubernamentales sobre Lucha contra el Crimen y Prevención de la Delincuencia (Meeting of Government Specialists on Crime Prevention and the Fight Against Crime), organized within the framework of the Organization of American States, provides an example of priorities formulated by regional organizations and the instruments available to them. OAS recommendations largely echo ideas emerging from their member states. For example:

- In the fight against crime, states should adopt integrated policies to support families and the most vulnerable social sectors, particularly youth, women, and children.
- Civil society participation must be encouraged so that it will support programs and campaigns that the authorities of each country implement in the fight against crime.
- The OAS can promote activities designed to facilitate the exchange of experiences and information in fields such as preventive programs, police training, data-collection, model legislation, and cooperation with international and civil society agencies. [63]

By Way of Summary

We can point out some approaches that are appropriate for shaping public-security in terms of respect for the rule of law. A consensus holds that, as discussed above, we can be more effective in the struggle against violence and crime if the region's databases are improved; urban poverty is reduced; and we focus our work on risk groups, reconstructing social capital, strengthening the crime-fighting capacity of local governments through active community

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[62] Londoño and Guerrero op. cit., p. 54 (translation).
[63] See Informe Final de la Reunión de Expertos Gubernamentales sobre Lucha contra el Crimen y Prevención de la Delincuencia, Organization of American States, Medellín, Colombia, April 19-20, 1999.

involvement, reforming the criminal justice system, and re-professionalizing the police.[64] Coincidentally, recommendations suggest that giving priority to the creation of citizen-security policies could facilitate the implementation by governments of coordination strategies, in which the creation of national and local-level consensus might be a factor of major relevance for democratic governability.[65]

In another area, we see both the usefulness and the limitations of the public-health approach, which must be complemented by other approaches. Additionally, broaching the need for reforms of the police and criminal justice system, "…prudence would indicate that in such a controversial field, the launching of pilot experiments—with limited expectations, few activities, and along known paths—would be more advisable than the implantation of macro-strategies imported from other realities, which ultimately lead to false hopes and frustration for the countries."[66]

Table X.2 lists topics to be considered in devising a public security agenda for South American countries.

Table X.2
Topics to Consider for the Public Agenda [67]

Institutional

- Conceptualization of the scope of integral public security policies.
- Coordination as a fundamental element in articulating a public security system.
- Influence of other public policies that can contribute to violence prevention.
- Suitable budget allocations.
- Creation of statistical, informational, and analytical systems for ongoing, reliable decision-

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[64] Ayres, op. cit., 23.

[65] Bernales-Ballesteros, op. cit., p. 148.

[66] Fernando Carrillo Flórez, "Estado, Gobernabilidad y Lucha contra la Violencia en América Latina," in Sapoznikow, Salazar and Carrillo, eds., op. cit., p. 24 (translation).

[67] Based on the topics proposed for discussion at: *Seguridad Pública Estado y Sociedad - Jornadas Interdisciplinarias de Seguridad Pública*, conference organized by Interior Security Secretariat, Argentine Ministry of Interior, Buenos Aires, December 9-10, 1998

making; e.g., victimization surveys.
- Attention to the interaction between citizens and police (e.g. community policing).
- Training of police forces.
- Regulations and clear procedures for police performance.
- Consideration of alternative tactics for crime prevention.
- Modernization of the criminal justice system and its balance with security policy.
- Crisis situations: legal restrictions and operational focus.
- Tools and special institutions used by the police in prevention activities.
- Roles of legislative bodies (both at the national and state or provincial levels).
- Roles of municipal or local governments.

Civic

- Citizen participation in public security; mechanisms for participation at different levels.
- Public opinion and the security situation: perceptions of insecurity.
- Development of local diagnostics for risk factors.
- Citizen contributions to improve the police, prevention tactics, the security system, and the conditions for security against crime and violence.
- Democratic oversight and police accountability.
- Roles of the intermediate organizations and NGOs (non-governmental organizations)
- Roles of institutions such as schools and health centers.

International

- Public security in regional and international contexts: trends and challenges.
- Organized crime and terrorism of a transnational character.
- Need for shared diagnostics and consensual solutions.
- Institutions for political and technical cooperation, coordination and articulation in the area of regional and subregional security.
- Information exchanges and regional intelligence requirements and gathering.
- Combined operations in border areas.

In addition, I might hazard some recommendations for action in light of the examples, and trends described throughout this chapter. As an example, two essential pillars for any public- or citizen-security policy based on an integral and multilevel approach would be:

- Determination of goals and activities based on a knowledge of the citizen demands

- Careful analysis of police organizations to know their resources, organize, equip, and train them efficiently, and ensure effective controls.[68]

Final Comments

This chapter has attempted to address some of the principal aspects of the problematic of public security and the complexities of citizen security, along with the conceptual and practical dimensions for both. However, many issues remain.

From a regional perspective, the security-insecurity struggle surpasses the individual action of nations. During the past two decades, the military problem and defense policies were the focus of interests in the region, making significant advances in the spheres of regional—international—security and measures for building mutual trust. For the immediate future, the principal issue is citizen security within a framework of governability and fragile socioeconomic conditions.

As stated before, Latin America is in transition from *security* understood as issues addressed exclusively by the police and the prison system toward a concept that integrates other disciplines and approaches and focuses on citizens. As argued throughout the chapter, we need to narrow the gap between security policies and well-designed research and to expand the influence of public polices that can contribute to reducing insecurity and violence through an emphasis on prevention. These are crucial, but new and fragile ideas that need strong support.

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[68] I have noted elsewhere ten common elements that characterize the public security reform processes: an integral, systemic focus; police reform through decentralization and specialization; improved functioning of criminal investigation; reform of criminal proceedings [reforma procesal penal]; adherence to the principles of the UN and other conventions relating to police practices and respect for human rights; citizen participation; civilian management of the public-security system; control of corruption and police abuse; legislative controls; approval of new legislation to support these processes (Estévez, op. cit.).