

Analysis on innovation in citizen security and human rights in Latin America and the Caribbean

A perspective from the public policies and institutional management



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Executive summary

Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is a region that has been impacted by criminal violence (chronic violence) like no other. For many years, it has had the highest rates of violent crime globally, such as in homicides and gender-based violence. The public's perception of insecurity is comparable to that of countries with armed conflicts; and the institutions responsible for addressing the issue experience low levels of trust among the population. For decades, security problems have hindered the sustainable development of the countries in this region and have affected their democratic governance. It is therefore understandable that citizen security has become a priority issue for the regional agenda and one of the main challenges for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals, which will increase in light of the consequences of the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The progress that has been made in LAC in the area of security and human rights cannot be taken for granted, in view of the risks associated with the latent presence of positions inspired by punitive populism that still persist in the region, and which could re-emerge due to a combination of factors such as: the worsening of economic and social conditions generated by COVID-19, the growth of fear and social unrest, and leaderships that seek to take advantage of these circumstances in the run-up to an electoral cycle that is about to begin in the region.

Despite the dimensions of the problem, important transformations have been taking place in the treatment of this issue for almost two decades. In terms of doctrine, a notion of citizen security has been established from a human rights perspective, of a multi-causal nature, whose condition as a public good, demands the observance of democratic and participatory standards. In response to these notions, reforms have been promoted at the level of legal systems, institutional designs, policy formulation and personnel training processes; all of which have had positive effects on the management of the security sector. Finally, there is a significant body

of experience in all countries aimed at the prevention and control of various forms of violence and crime, both at the national and subnational levels, inspired by the aforementioned approaches and with promising results; some of these experiences have been associated with reductions in crime, as shown in the cases selected for analysis in this report.

However, efforts to reform and improve the institutional management of the citizen security sector must be intensified in order to accelerate progress towards the goals of the 2030 Agenda, and to generate the positive impacts that the Latin American population demands in terms of security, well-being and quality of life. The main objective of this study is to analyze institutional management and public policies in the area of citizen security in LAC, identifying good practices that contribute to nurturing the processes of reform and strengthening of the citizen security sector from a democratic and human rights perspective.

Although the study includes a general analysis of security in the region, the cornerstone of the study is the analysis of cases. Five experiences on issues related to citizen security that took place in five different countries (Brazil, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico and Uruguay) were selected based on considerations such as: the appropriateness of the approach used, the relevance of the problem for the region, the effectiveness of the response provided, the diversity in the type of intervention carried out, and the availability of information for the analysis. The analysis of the cases highlights those conditions that tend to improve the quality, effectiveness and strength of public policies in the public safety sector, such as: rigor, comprehensiveness, multisectoralism, sustainability and innovation. For each of the cases, contributions and innovations were identified, and at the end of the study, the conclusions presented below were consolidated.

CONCLUSIONS:

1. The drop in violent crime in various regions and countries of LAC is an encouraging sign, but the associated causes need to be analysed more rigorously and in depth in order to adjust strategies and sustain efforts.
2. Violent crime continues to target young people, women and girls, which makes it necessary to concentrate intervention efforts on these segments of the population.
3. Undeniable progress has been made in institutional management and in the design and implementation of public policies that respond to the

citizen security paradigm, but the process must be accelerated in order to protect improvements and avoid backsliding, given the complex conditions posed by the crisis caused by COVID-19.

4. The legal and regulatory framework governing the security sector in the region has been reflecting the most important advances in international human rights doctrine, but it is insufficient to ensure prompt, compliant and guaranteed justice. This is especially true in the area of violence against women.
5. The security sector today has higher standards of rigor in the production and management of information, as well as in the evaluation of processes and subsequent evaluation of results, but there is a lack of impact analysis and cost/benefit studies.
6. The incorporation of innovation processes in public policies has accelerated and the importance of ICTs in security sector management has grown, but their incorporation does not always produce the expected results, generating high costs and questionable benefits.
7. The territorial management of security is displacing, with good results, the generic and nationally induced responses, but the institutional structures and processes are weak and require additional shielding.
8. Civil society has gained prominence and relevance in the security sector and its actions have become more professional, but there is room to expand and improve the quality and nature of its participation.
9. The gender-sensitive approach has been mainstreamed in some security strategies and the levels of citizen alert on the issue are growing, but the levels of violence against women are still unacceptably high and women continue to be underrepresented in security institutions.
10. The security sector has not escaped the impact of the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, through the reconfiguration of security and public order scenarios and the impact on key institutions of the sector, including the police and prisons. The progress achieved could be put at risk and there could be a resurgence of tendencies towards punitive populism.

Based on the results of the analysis and in the context of the scope of this study, the following main recommendations should nourish UNDP's reflection towards a better fulfillment of its mission to support the governments and sectors of the region in their efforts to guarantee peaceful coexistence and citizen security for the inhabitants in accordance with democratic standards.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. To shift the efforts made so far in the development of indicators and data and information management to the development of impact analyses and cost/benefit studies.
2. Focus support to the sector on improving results-based management processes and on the design of public policies with minimum standards.
3. Make participatory management a priority in the institutional transformation processes of the security sector.
4. Improve the processes, mechanisms and instances of security management with a territorial approach.
5. Promote a greater and more effective convergence of strategies, policies and actions between the social and citizen security sectors.
6. Readjust profiles and develop capacities for security management with a comprehensive and integral vision.
7. Convert information into action, through practices that positively impact the operational level of institutional management.
8. Design an institutional architecture for innovation and strategies for change management.
9. Identify mechanisms for the financial sustainability of citizen security policies that involve both revenue and expenditure efforts.
10. Expand efforts to promote gender-sensitive security policies so that they cover the entire public policy cycle, and encompass the composition of decision-making bodies and the operational level of the security sector.

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Contents

	Introduction	13
Chapter I	Conceptual framework for citizen security	20
	Citizen security as a human right and as a public good	20
	Citizen security as a condition for human development and the 2030 agenda	24
Chapter II	The state of citizen security in Latin America and the Caribbean	29
	Characteristics and dimensions of violence and insecurity	29
	• Homicides	29
	• Violence against women	34
	• Perception of insecurity	37
	• Levels of trust in security and justice sector institutions	39
	• Scenarios of social unrest	41
	Institutional framework, management and public policies	43
	• Institutional framework	45
	• Public policies and institutional management	52
Chapter III	Findings and lessons learned in citizen security management and crime prevention	62
	Methodology for selection and analysis of cases	62
	Case 1. Comprehensive interventions at the local level: the case of Sao Paulo, Brazil	66
	1. Context	66
	2. Strategy	68
	3. Achieved results	76
	4. Contributions and innovations	78
	Case 2. Women, drugs and prisons: the case of Costa Rica	80
	1. Context	80
	2. Strategy	84
	3. Achieved results	88
	4. Contributions and innovations	89

Case 3. Social protection and prevention of violence and crime: the case of Mexico	91
1. Context	91
2. Strategy	95
3. Achieved results	97
4. Contributions and innovations	98
Case 4. Innovation and ICTs in police management: the case of Uruguay	100
1. Context	100
2. Strategy	102
3. Achieved results	109
4. Contributions and innovations	110
Case 5. Comprehensive management of violence against women: the case of El Salvador	112
1. Context	112
2. Strategy	114
3. Achieved results	119
4. Contributions and innovations	120
Chapter IV COVID-19 and the reconfiguration of security scenarios in the region: risks and opportunities	123
Impact effects on violence, crime and public order	124
• Risks	125
• Opportunities	129
Impacts on the police	131
• Risks	133
• Opportunities	134
Impact on the prison system	135
• Risks	136
• Opportunities	136
Conclusion and recommendations	138
Appendix Summary of measurement methodologies of the impact studies considered in the cases analysis	147
• Comprehensive Interventions at the Local Level: The Case of São Paulo, Brazil	148
• Social Policy and Violence and Crime Prevention: The Case of Mexico	149
• Innovation and ICTs in Police Management: The Case of Uruguay	150
• Integral management of violence against women: the case of El Salvador	150
Bibliography	151

Boxes

Box 1.	ODS 16 and ODS 5 goals associated with the citizen security sector	25
Box 2.	Will a significant reduction in homicides be achieved by 2030?	26
Box 3.	Homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants in selected LAC cities and countries 2016 - 2017	31
Box 4.	Figures on violence against women in LAC	35
Box 5.	Main findings of law enforcement interventions, 2019	42
Box 6.	Security Approaches	44
Box 7.	Prison population by region of the world 2000 - 2018	48
Box 8.	Keys to a successful citizen security policy at the local level	50
Box 9.	Pre-conditions of citizen security public policies	53
Box 10.	POLSEPAZ - An integrated public policy model	55
Box 11.	An integrated information system	58
Box 12.	Financing instruments for the security sector in some LAC countries	60
Box 13.	ICTs frequently used by police in LAC countries	61
Box 14.	Cases	64
Box 15.	Main technological tools adopted in the State of Sao Paulo for information management	71
Box 16.	Sao Paulo Metropolitan Public Security Forum	71
Box 17.	Key actions of the "Ley Seca" program of the municipality of Diadema	73
Box 18.	Predominant profile of the female prison population, Costa Rica	84
Box 19.	Law 9161, Article 77 bis Costa Rica	86
Box 20.	Positive Externalities of CCTPs on Crime and Violence in Brazil and Colombia	94
Box 21.	TIC incorporadas na Polícia Nacional do Uruguai	108
Box 22.	Good practices derived from the actions promoted by the CNSCC and the PES	115
Box 23.	Areas of action and institutional coordination of the National Policy for Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence (2016-2021)	117
Box 24.	Measures taken by some countries to address gender-based violence in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic	130
Box 25.	Preparation measures and changes in routines of LAC police officers for COVID-19	132

Figures

Figure 1.	Homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants, LAC 2017 - 2018	30
Figure 2.	Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants in regions of LAC, Brazil and Mexico 2010 - 2018	32
Figure 3.	Types of violence that affect men and women throughout the life cycle in Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador 2018	35
Figure 4.	Fear of being a victim of crime in Latin America 2007-2017	38
Figure 5.	Percentage of people who say they trust the police in their country, by region of the world 2019	39
Figure 6.	Level of trust in the police (a lot or some trust) 2018	40
Figure 7.	Level of trust in the judicial branch (much or some trust), 2018	40
Figure 8.	Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants, LAC and Brazil sub-regions 2019	67
Figure 9.	Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants, Sao Paolo 2004-2018	67
Figure 10.	Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants, Costa Rica 2001-2019	82
Figure 11.	Confinement rate per 100,000 inhabitants, Costa Rica 1996-2018	83
Figure 12.	Number of women deprived of their liberty, Costa Rica 2000-2018	86
Figure 13.	Homicide rate per 100,000 population, Mexico 2006-2019	93
Figure 14.	Rapine and theft rate per 100,000 inhabitants, Uruguay 2010-2019	101
Figure 15.	Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants, El Salvador 2010-2019	113
Figure 16.	Number of violent deaths of women and femicides, El Salvador 2013-2019	113
Figure 17.	Homicide rate in Central American countries, first half of 2020	125

Illustrations

Illustration 1.	Three dimensions of citizen security	21
Illustration 2.	Relations and institutional framework of the public security sector	47
Illustration 3.	Relevant conditions in the design and execution of public policies for citizen security	52
Illustration 4.	Mexico's National Public Security System	57
Illustration 5.	Key areas of intervention in citizen security in the State of Sao Paolo	69
Illustration 6.	Citizen Security management components in the municipality of Diadema, Sao Paulo	72
Illustration 7.	Flowchart of RED program actions in Costa Rica	87
Illustration 8.	Components of PADO in Uruguay	103
Illustration 9.	Information management of the SGSP in Uruguay	107

Introduction

For almost three decades, the UNDP has been highlighting the relevance of security in the field of human development. In 1994, a report was published that redefined a concept previously associated primarily with scenarios of war and armed conflict; the new notion proved to be contrasting and established a new paradigm by proposing that "*the search for human security should be carried out through development and not through weapons*" (UNDP, 1994).

UNDP in Latin America and the Caribbean has contributed to the analysis and the generation of new action-oriented knowledge with: three Regional Human Development Reports addressing the issue of violence prevention, a set of publications oriented towards violence against women, citizen security guidelines, human development reports, among others. The UNDP has a strong network and a set of experiences for technical advice, political-strategic positioning, programmatic tools which are oriented to enhance institutional transformations to achieve transparent, efficient, quality and people-centered responses.

According to the Human Development Report 2019, beyond income, beyond averages, and beyond the present, a new set of capabilities is becoming central to life in the 21st century. The inequalities that exist in these capabilities show dynamics that are surprisingly different from those seen in the case of basic capabilities and are at the origin of a new generation of inequalities. In this regard, it should be recalled that Latin America is losing 21.8 percent of its human development due to inequality in the dimensions of the human development index. The region faces complex challenges that hinder the construction of just, inclusive and peaceful societies, such as the multidimensionality of violence, the incidence of femicide, the prevalence of impunity and the reduction of civic spaces. The increase in inequality and the stagnation in the reduction of poverty have generated a perception of the absence of progress and a lack of opportunities.

The region has been submerged in a wave of social conflicts that have reached high levels of violence. The region is home to 8% of the world's population, but 33% of all homicides in the world take place there. In addition, 17 of the 20 countries with the highest number of homicides in the world are in the Latin America and the Caribbean ("**LAC**"). While the WHO classifies 10 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants as an epidemic, the average in LAC was 21.6 in 2018. Countries such as El Salvador, Honduras and Jamaica had homicide rates above 40 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018.

Crime rates in Latin America and the Caribbean are not only high, but also well above those countries with similar levels of development. For example, Honduras and Zambia have similar per capita GDP rates, yet Honduras suffers 56.5 homicides per 100,000 people, while Zambia suffers 5.3. Similarly, while Mexico has about 20 homicides; Thailand, with a slightly lower per capita GDP than Mexico, has only 3.2. The homicide rate in Colombia is over 25, while in Lebanon it is 4.

Although in the region where there have been advances in the regulatory frameworks and where public policies for the management of public and citizen security have been tested; there are still challenges for the institutional transformation of the sector, containing an innovative approach, which effectively incorporates the equality approach.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, traditional processes or approaches to social problems coexist: the criminalization of social protest, the use of instruments of the penal system to sanction individuals and groups of protestors, and the political use of security forces that - in turn - make disproportionate use of force. Moreover, there are policies of security and peaceful coexistence centered on punitive and distant responses to the State of Rights and obsolete normative frameworks and regulations of the institutions of the sector. There are biases of criminalization of the phenomenon of human mobility and State responses to the problem focused on control from the security sector, and biases of criminalization of diversity.

In addition to the complex scenario, there are examples of the use of violence as a political tool or as a public policy: the use of violence as a political tool in electoral contexts, the reopening of closed discussions on the clear distinction between public security and national defence, the use of the armed forces to address internal security situations, the creation of security forces in the last decade that repeat obsolete institutional architectures, the collusion, corruption and the absence of a culture of accountability, the fallacy of lack of resources and the lack of tools, and the training of security sector officials.

The health crisis of COVID-19 - since March 2020 - has brought to the BOX important challenges to the scope of ODS 16. the latter is a fundamental pillar of sustainable development, a key facilitator and an entry point for achieving Agenda 2030. It is the legitimization and organization framework for addressing the major challenges related to the response to the pandemic, for focusing on effective, inclusive and responsive institutions and governance processes, and for improving oversight of the response to crises.

The purpose of this analysis is to generate evidence-based knowledge from the experiences and to make available a set of programming recommendations that will be useful to the countries, as well as to help consolidate UNDP's regional contribution in the area of citizen security.

The Report presents concrete experiences that have been considered promising, and issues policy and public management recommendations that contribute to positively impact the governance and performance of the citizen security and crime prevention sector. It also incorporates reflections on the ways in which COVID-19 impacts the aspects of security and crime prevention, in terms of risks and opportunities.

Based on this notion, there has been an evolution in the paradigm that has placed the concept of security as a central concern in human development strategies at the global level and as a sector of public management whose governance¹ is fundamental to progress in the Agenda for Sustainable Development (Agenda 2030). Within this agenda, various goals associated with security issues are contemplated, specifically as part of the Objectives for Sustainable Development (ODS) No.16 "*Peace, Justice and Solid Institutions*" and No. 5 "*Gender Equality*".

Hence, is the importance of analyzing and monitoring the issue. This is especially true in a region like Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), which for several decades has experienced serious security problems expressed in high rates of violence and crime that have a direct impact on people's fundamental rights and essential capabilities, and have hindered the human development of these nations. The importance is also justified by the region's lagging progress towards some of the Agenda 2030 goals related to citizen security.

The study analyzes the state of citizen security in Latin America and the Caribbean from the perspective of human development and in light of the commitments that the nations of the region have assumed as part of Agenda 2030, focusing on aspects of institutional management and public policy. Although the study presents some regional trends, it focuses on the analysis of concrete experiences that have been implemented in some countries of the region in the area of citizen security, with the purpose of responding to a central concern: how to accelerate the processes of change in the management of the security sector so that they generate positive and sustained impacts on violence and crime, and with adherence to democratic and quality standards, from the perspective of rights and with intersectional and comprehensive approaches? A response, the importance of which increases in light of the negative effects that the COVID-19 pandemic may generate on the region's security indicators.

¹ By governance we mean the concept that UNDP coined, according to which, "It is a complex of mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations, and mediate their differences". It is a broad concept that transcends the state and includes the private sector and civil society. Unlike the concept of governance focused on public authorities, the concept of governance analyzes the State and public power in their interaction with social and private sectors to achieve public interest objectives. (UNDP, 1997)

Based on the analysis of concrete experiences, we try to answer the central concern of the study, how to accelerate the processes of change in the management of the citizen security sector so that they generate positive and sustained impacts on violence and crime, and with adherence to democratic and quality standards. This response is all the more urgent in light of the negative effects that the COVID-19 pandemic could have on the region's security indicators, which could have an impact on progress towards the ODS of Agenda 2030.

Although it was not contemplated in the initial terms of reference of this study, given the relevance of the situation in which the work was developed; it was agreed to incorporate reflections on how COVID-19 will impact the security and crime prevention aspects analyzed here, in terms of risks and opportunities. The UNDP, as well as other multilateral institutions, have warned of the adverse effects that this pandemic will have on the most basic foundations of societies, including governance, human rights and security (Steiner, 2020). The impact is such that preliminary estimates made by this organization indicate that for the first-time human development is regressing since it began to be measured (UNDP, 2020). The UNDP has also been promoting an effort to accompany country authorities in various aspects of the management of the pandemic, and to "*help decision makers look beyond recovery*", without losing sight of the commitments set by Agenda 2030 (UNDP, 2020).

The main objective of the research was to analyze institutional management and public policy in the area of citizen security in LAC, from the perspective of good practices that contribute to solving the problems of insecurity in accordance with human rights and quality standards such as rigor, comprehensiveness, multisectoral participation, sustainability and innovation. Its results are aimed at providing inputs to UNDP for better fulfillment of its mission to support governments and sectors in the region in their efforts to "*configure a social contract that will guarantee coexistence, build trust, promote more meaningful participation and improve the capacity to respond to social demands.*"²

²UNDP's vision towards equal opportunities in Latin America and the Caribbean. Accessible at: <https://www.latinamerica.undp.org/content/rblac/es/home/democratic-governanceand-peacebuilding/in-depth.html>

The main objective of the study is the institutional management and public policies in the area of citizen security in Latin America and the Caribbean, identifying good practices from which recommendations can be extracted that contribute to nourishing the processes of reform and strengthening of the citizen security sector from a democratic and human rights perspective.

The report is organized in four parts. The first part presents the conceptual framework serving as a starting point for the research. It develops the concept of citizen security in three dimensions: as a human right, as a public good, and as an essential condition for sustainable development, which have ethical, functional, and strategic implications. The individualization of these dimensions is relevant because of the scope it has in the processes of institutional management and public policy design for the security sector. The individualization also allows for a better understanding of the complexity involved in turning this conceptual heritage into concrete institutional designs and decision-making processes, and the importance of supporting governments and sectors in improving the sector's governance.

The second part is dedicated to the state of the citizen security situation in the region through the analysis of criminal indicators such as homicide and femicide, data on victimization and the perception of both expressions of violence and the performance of the institutions that are part of the response chain. The objective is to provide the context in which the experiences analyzed take place and to justify their relevance, given that they produce positive effects on some of the most worrying manifestations of violence in the region. In an effort to go beyond the regional aggregates, we observe how violence is concentrated in some countries and within these in some regions, which justifies the importance assigned in this study to policies and programs with a territorial approach. This section also discusses the main challenges facing the sector in terms of institutional management and public policies, and quality services focused on people. It is from the identification of these challenges that the analytical categories applied to the selected policies are established. The chapter includes at the end, a brief approach to the issue of public order; which although is not part of the central object of analysis, contributes to illustrate some of the challenges that the security sector has faced in the most recent months and can continue to face in the pandemic and post-pandemic scenarios.

The third part of the report presents the analysis of each of the five experiences that were chosen. The first part explains the criteria that governed the selection of the cases and the methodology used to analyze them; five relevant cases³ that have taken place in LAC countries over the last fifteen years were identified based on four considerations: (i) adherence to the human development and security approach that underpins this work; (ii) relevance of the problem to the region; (iii) effectiveness of the response in terms of its impact on the problem; (iv) diversity in the approach and level of intervention so that more far-reaching recommendations can be derived for the sector; and (v) reliability of the information available for the analysis.

Selected experiences include: one on the reduction of homicides that involved a comprehensive response at the local level (Brazil); another that refers to a case of gender-sensitive criminal prosecution and prison policies (Costa Rica); a third on the positive externalities that social programs to combat poverty and exclusion have on the reduction of violence and crime (Mexico); the fourth consists of the drop in robberies and thefts through the incorporation of digital tools and innovative strategies in police action (Uruguay); finally, it considers a model of informed and comprehensive management of violence in general and of domestic violence (El Salvador). All cases were selected through a process of consultation and approval by UNDP authorities, and throughout the preparation of the report, validation was carried out with UNDP specialists in the countries of reference.⁴ UNDP also conducted the peer review as part of the quality assurance process. At the end of the document there is an Annex describing the methodology of the impact studies that were considered for each of the cases, with the exception of the case of Costa Rica, for which no impact analysis was found.

Given the relevance of the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, a fourth chapter was added on the subject. This part gathers relevant information for the security sector derived from the experience of managing the pandemic during the first phase; in addition, some considerations are given in terms of the risks and opportunities that the crisis poses to the aspects of public security considered in the report.

Finally, a set of conclusions and recommendations are presented to answer the most relevant question about how, based on the consolidated

³ According to the terms of reference provided by UNDP for the study, relevant cases are defined as those capable of "evidencing a reduction in the expressions of violence and effective violence and effective management of public policies".

⁴ Three sessions of consultations were organized. The first was attended by representatives of UNDP representatives from the countries with the backgrounds considered in the study: Brazil, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico and Uruguay. The second day was only with representatives from the headquarters in El Salvador and Mexico, and the last day of consultation was with UNDP specialists in the topics covered in the report.

achievements, the processes of change in the governance of the citizen security sector can be accelerated through better institutional designs and effective and quality public policies, all with the ultimate goal of positively impacting progress towards the goals of Agenda 2030; which becomes even more relevant given the negative impact that the pandemic will have on the sector.

CHAPTER I

Conceptual framework for citizen security

CITIZEN SECURITY AS A HUMAN RIGHT AND AS A PUBLIC GOOD

This study is based on the human development approach and its inter-relationship with the central themes of this report, such as security and human rights. Understanding the implications of this paradigm for management and decision-making in the citizen security sector is the first step in adequately addressing the issue, although the challenges do not end there, as will be discussed in the rest of the report.

In a broad conception, citizen security refers to numerous aspects inherent to organized social life, generally used in relation to issues of interpersonal violence and criminality. But behind this apparent simplification of the concept, there are hidden considerations that make citizen security a complex issue with relevant implications from the point of view of public management, and one of the most decisive areas for human rights, sustainable development, and the quality of democracy. As will be seen (Illustration 1), citizen security is a human right, thus interpreted in a manner derived from the existing instruments on this subject and which, consequently, implies ethical assessments in the design of any policy; it is also a public good, with which it has functional implications on the policies and institutional arrangements of the security sector; finally, it is a fundamental condition for sustainable development, that is, an enabler without which it is not possible to sustain successful development strategies. Hence the importance that should be assigned to the standards that

govern this sector.

In its approach as a human right, although citizen security is not enshrined in the international legal system as a human right in itself, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (“**IACHR**”) has interpreted that this right arises from the state's obligation to guarantee the security of the person, in the terms of Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: *"Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person"*; Article 1 of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man: *"Every human being has the right to life, liberty and security of person"*; Article 7 of the American Convention on Human Rights: *"Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person"*; and Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: *"Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person"* (CIDH, 2009).

Illustration 1. Three dimensions of citizen security



Source: own elaboration

Based on this solid foundation developed by the CIDH, it follows that the fundamental objective of citizen security policies is to protect people from violent or criminal behavior that puts essential rights at risk, such as the right to life, the right to physical integrity, the right to liberty, the right to due process and the right to peaceful use of property, amongst others.

For its part, the UNDP has conceptualized security from the point of view of effectively safeguarding the inherent human rights of individuals through a process in which democratic civil order can be established, strengthened

and protected, eliminating threats of violence in the population and enabling safe and peaceful coexistence (PNUD, 2013).

In this process, not only do the rights of those who suffer the deprivation of some fundamental right through criminal acts count, but also the rights of those who are deprived of liberty as they are involved in the commission of the crimes as offenders.⁵ With respect to the latter, the protection of rights such as due process of law and its fundamental principles and guarantees come into play, as does the effective protection of the rights of persons deprived of liberty.

TenIn view of the foregoing, there are important implications for public policy, inasmuch as the actions promoted in matters of citizen security must attempt to harmonize two apparently contradictory objectives of state action: (i) the protection of society through the application of procedures protected by law that make possible the discovery, prosecution and eventual punishment of the violator of the criminal law, and; (ii) the protection and promotion of the rights and freedoms of all citizens (including the accused), without which there can be no question of the rule of law (Rico & Chinchilla, 2002). That is why, in addition to the important considerations regarding the rule of law and the principle of legality that should govern repressive responses, preventive approaches have been increasingly incorporated as a way to restrict the state's punitive response, especially when it is exposed to excesses and abuses, and to avoid the often-irreparable consequences of criminal conduct.

In its nature of public good, citizen security must be accessible to all members of a society, without exclusion, and its administration is the responsibility of the public authority. Guaranteeing the security of the members of a community has historically been one of the justifications of public power and one of the uncontested monopolies of the state, inasmuch as it involves the legitimate use of force in the name of protecting the essential rights of individuals. This ideal, however, is permanently exposed by limitations in public management that prevent the provision of efficient and timely security services to all citizens alike. The response has been the growth of private security services that generate two major risks: a risk of social exclusion when not all citizens have the same economic capacity to hire them, and a risk of overreaching their powers, when societies do not have adequate regulatory capacities. Hence the importance of strengthening the management of the security sector from a social inclusion perspective.

⁵ Beyond the general human rights instruments, there is a wide range of specific instruments, including Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners; Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment; Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners; United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (“the Beijing Rules”); United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty; United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-custodial Measures; and other international human rights instruments applicable in the Americas.

In its nature as a public good, security also has some distinctive characteristics, such as: **multi-causality, territoriality and intersectoralism**, all of which have implications for institutional management, as will be seen in the analysis of the experiences selected in the study.

Multi-causality refers to the complex interrelationship of factors that are at the root of the problems of crime and violence. Based on the recognition of the multifaceted and multi-causal nature of criminal and violent phenomena, there is a need for the issue to go beyond the sphere of control and sanctioning bodies such as the police, the justice administration systems and the prison sector, and to incorporate entities with an impact on issues such as health, education, employment, urban management, children and adolescents, migration, and others. This is why, at the level of concrete action, greater convergence is required between citizen security policies in their most traditional sense and other state policies, especially social policies. To achieve this, institutional designs and policy management processes must be reviewed.

The territoriality and spatial conditions are fundamental components in the behavior of criminal phenomena, which has been reflected in prevention modalities such as local, community and situational prevention of crime and violence. This approach has stimulated the incorporation of institutional actors at the subnational level in the formulation and management of security policies, such as local governments, municipal police forces and local representatives of national or federal institutions, among others.

Finally, the characteristics of **intersectoralism** derive from the multi-causal nature of the problem, which requires that representatives of multiple institutional and social sectors be brought together to address it. One of the most relevant trends in public management is the leading role that civil society has been playing, not only through the way it presents its demands to public authorities, but also by demanding their active incorporation into decision-making processes, resource allocation, oversight and evaluation of policies and programs. This trend has been particularly significant for the security sector, which has traditionally been characterized by closed and vertical structures. The trend in recent decades has been evident, from citizen participation in local initiatives for crime prevention, dispute resolution, or victim assistance programs, to their incorporation into mechanisms for planning, monitoring and evaluation of security programs, to their role as overseers of community sanctions within the framework of alternatives to prison. Through institutional designs and strategies of participatory management, the incorporation of citizens becomes an opportunity to increase the effectiveness, quality and legiti-

macy of public policies in matters of citizen security.⁶ This component, in particular, will be emphasized in the analysis of the selected experiences and in the recommendations issued.

CITIZEN SECURITY AS A CONDITION FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE 2030 AGENDA

The concept of citizen security as a human right and as a public good, each of which has ethical and functional implications for institutional management and policy design, are complemented by the important role it plays as a condition for human development.

The **human development** approach proposes that the ultimate goal of development is the growth of human capabilities, which can only be achieved within the framework of a continuous process of expanding freedoms and opportunities. Amartya Sen, the intellectual father of the concept of human development, warns that "*development requires the removal of major sources of the absence of freedom: poverty as much as tyranny; limited economic opportunities as much as systematic social marginalization; the deterioration of public facilities as much as intolerance or the intrusion of repressive states*" (Sen, 1990). As a derivative of this notion of development, UNDP coined the concept of "*human security*" with a broader connotation than the then prevailing traditional definitions of security, covering the protection of people from chronic or sudden threats to their freedoms and capabilities (PNUD, 1994).

Citizen security is a dimension of the concept of **human security**,⁷ speci-

⁶ The authors avoid the use of the term "co-responsibility" when referring to the nature of civil society's participation in the processes of managing citizen security. This is because in the context of countries with authoritarian traditions, as is the case in Latin America and the Caribbean; it could encourage attitudes of vigilance that have led groups of people in the past to assume parapolice and paramilitary functions, to the point of wanting to do "justice by their own hand". Some authors go further, affirming that punitive populism includes the notion of bringing the mechanisms of social control closer to the citizenry, making them co-responsible for vigilance tasks (De la Torre & Marin Alovarez, 2011). It is considered that citizen participation in matters of citizen security must have clearly defined limits, so it is preferred to speak of shared but differentiated responsibilities, as it is a public good, that for its production involves the legitimate use of force and coercion authorized by criminal law, all of which corresponds exclusively to officials vested with authority.

⁷ Initially, the not exactly assimilable concept of personal security was presented, defined as "the absence of physical violence and threat of physical violence, coming from diverse sources such as: the State (political violence), other States (war), groups of people (terrorism and ethnic violence), individuals or gangs (crime, gender violence, child abuse, and others), and even oneself (suicide)".

fically referred to the risks and threats derived from physical violence and crime. Understood from a human development perspective, citizen security is "the personal, objective and subjective condition of being free from violence or the threat of violence or intentional dispossession by others" (PNUD, 2005). The importance of this dimension to human development is recognized by UNDP in highlighting that, "high levels of armed violence and insecurity have destructive consequences for a country's development, affect economic growth and often result in entrenched grievances that can span generations" (PNUD, 2018b).

The concern for the aspects that citizen security encompasses has been included in the Objectives of Sustainable Development (ODS), specifically in ODS 16: Peace, Justice and Solid Institutions, which recognizes that to achieve sustainable development, efforts to provide peace and security must be promoted, and in ODS 5: *Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering All Women and Girls*. The goals of both ODSs, directly associated with the public security sector, are shown in BOX 1.

Box 1. ODS 16 and ODS 5 goals associated with the citizen security sector	
<p>16 PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS</p> 	<p>ODS 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significantly reduce all forms of violence and corresponding mortality rates worldwide; • End child abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children; • Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all; • By 2030, significantly reduce illicit arms and financial flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime; • Significantly reduce corruption and bribery in all its forms; • Create effective and transparent institutions at all levels that are accountable; • Ensure inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels that responds to needs; • Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national laws and international agreements; and • Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, to build capacity to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime.
<p>5 GENDER EQUALITY</p> 	<p>ODS 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other forms of exploitation.

Source: (PNUD, 2018b)

Among the targets set to achieve ODS 16 is the important Target 16.1: *Significantly reduce all forms of violence and corresponding mortality rates worldwide*, for which progress is being made, although not to the extent required.

Studies on the behavior of homicide highlight that it is the greatest cause of violent deaths in the world, in a high proportion; in 2017 it caused 464,000 deaths globally, representing five times more deaths than armed conflicts -89,000 (UNDOC, 2019). An analysis of its evolution shows positive, but not conclusive, signs that the goal of a significant reduction in deaths by 2030 can be achieved. The United Nations recognizes that although the global homicide rate has decreased slightly, from 5.9 to 5.8 per 100,000 inhabitants between 2015 and 2018; greater efforts are needed to accelerate this reduction and achieve more ambitious goals by 2030. BOX 2 (UN, 2020b). This same study highlights that LAC, along with Sub-Saharan Africa, has the highest concentration of homicide victims globally, at 33% and 35% respectively, and would not reach the goal of significant reduction by 2030; therefore, these are the regions where the greatest reduction efforts should be concentrated (UN, 2020b).

Box 2. Will a significant reduction in homicides be achieved by 2030?
Variation in actual (2015-2018) and projected (2019-2030) intentional homicide rates, by world regions.

Region	(A) 2015 - 2018	(B) 2019 - 2030	(A+B) 2015 - 2030
Sub Saharan Africa	0.923	4.906	5.829
Oceania *	0.392	1.612	2.004
Latin America and the Caribbean	-0.903	1.535	0.632
North Africa and Western Asia	-1.554	-4.634	-6.188
Australia and New Zealand	-10.457	-59.773	-70.231
Central and South Asia	-11.042	-44.764	-55.806
Europe and North America	-11.983	-49.779	-61.762
East and Southeast Asia	-19.779	-80.221	-100.000
World	-2,779	-9.679	-12.458

Source: Author's elaboration from data from United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Section.

* Australia and New Zealand are excluded

If the phenomenon is analyzed in terms of absolute numbers, the prognosis is more negative; in its most recent report, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC) has documented that between 2015 and 2017, the total number of homicide victims in the world increased by 4%,

and warns that if this trend continues, Target 16.1 will not be reached by 2030 as proposed (UNDOC, 2019). When the data is disaggregated by country, different scenarios are observed. The Institute for Economic Peace notes that out of 163 countries monitored for compliance with the ODS16 targets, 125 (equivalent to 77 percent) have reduced their homicide rates between 2005 and 2017, while only 37 nations have experienced a growth in homicide rates. (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2019).

If the current rate of reduction in homicides is maintained, the overall rate by 2030 would reach 5.2% per 100,000 inhabitants, a significant reduction of 12%. However, in the case of Latin America the reduction by 2030 would only be by 0.6% (UN, 2020b), leading it into the region that presents the greatest challenge in relation to Target 16.1 of ODS 16 "to significantly reduce all forms of violence and corresponding mortality rates worldwide".

Another relevant SDG to this analysis is SDG 5: *Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls*, specifically Goal 5.1: *Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other forms of exploitation*. Existing measurements confirm the magnitude of the problem and the trend towards its growth. It is estimated that 35 percent of women worldwide have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner, or sexual violence by a third party, at some point in their lives (OMS, 2017). For its part, the UNODC indicates that in 2017, an estimated 87,000 women were killed intentionally, out of which 58% (50,000) died at the hands of their intimate partners or family members; this figure is 11 points higher than that recorded in 2012, when the percentage was 47%, equivalent to 48,000 women (UNODC, 2018).

Progress towards Target 5.1 faces other limitations as well: (i) the availability of reliable information to monitor the tracking of relevant indicators; it has been noted that fibrous information exists in only 75 countries and that in none of them does the data allow for trend analysis, since they are limited to only one year (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2019) and; (ii) problems of under-reporting, as it is estimated that less than 40% of women who experience violence manage to report the crime or seek help (UN, 2020b).

Beyond the challenges posed to progress towards the goals of ODS 16 and 5, the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and of containment me-

asures on homicides, femicides and other forms of violence should be closely monitored with the aim of establishing scenarios for meeting the goals of Agenda 2030. These aspects, as far as the region is concerned, will be analyzed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

The state of citizens' security in Latin America and the Caribbean

CHARACTERISTICS AND DIMENSIONS OF VIOLENCE AND INSECURITY

Citizen insecurity is a serious problem in several countries in the region and is manifested through high levels of crime, a sense of insecurity, significant economic costs, and a deterioration of citizen confidence in the institutions responsible for addressing the issue. In order to measure the problems addressed by the selected experiences at the regional level, an analysis of these manifestations is presented below. It also incorporates an assessment of the public order problems that have been intensifying in the region, with important repercussions in terms of human rights, institutional stability and democratic governance. Finally, the main challenges facing the institutional and public policy management of the security sector are presented, which allow for the introduction of the following chapter on the analysis of the experiences that have been proposed to respond to these challenges.

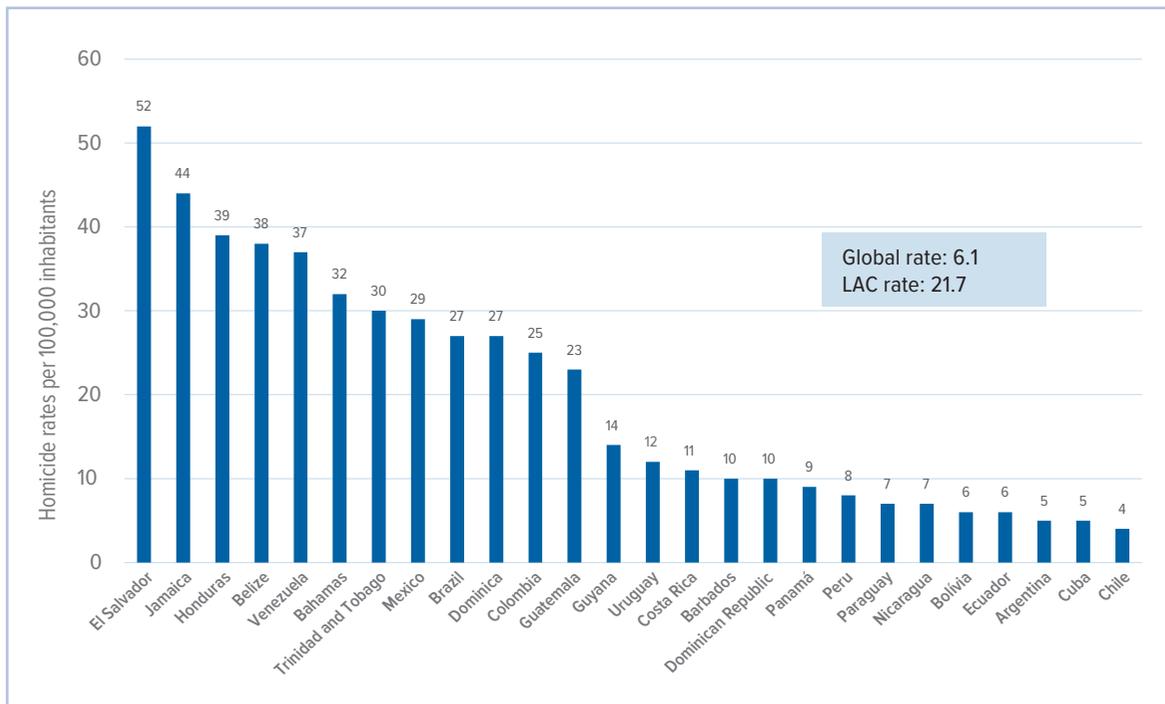
Homicides

The region is noted for showing endemic levels of violence, which has some notable characteristics: (i) it is distributed unevenly and with great contrasts between sub-regions, countries and regions within them; (ii) the

young male population is the main victim of violence in higher proportions than other regions of the planet; (iii) women, although they represent a low proportion in the numbers of murders, are also exposed and more than in other regions, to femicide and other forms of violence; (iv) despite the fact that in recent years, there have been reductions in homicide rates in some regions and countries, the causes associated with them are still not sufficiently documented and evaluated, restricting the possibilities of making adjustments to existing strategies.

Latin America and the Caribbean is the only region where the homicide rate has been growing steadily over time, widening the gap with other regions of the world. Of the 25 countries, only 9 have single-digit homicide rates, and in only five of them are the rates equal to or lower than the global average. But beyond the regional average, it is necessary to look at the behavior of violence in a disaggregated way. The differences in homicide rates among the countries of the region are marked, even though some of them are very close in geographical terms (Figure 1). For example, according to data from 2018 in the case of Central America, El Salvador had a homicide rate (52 per 100,000 inhabitants) more than seven times higher than the rate in Nicaragua (7 per 100,000 inhabitants) and in the Caribbean, Jamaica had a homicide rate (44 per 100,000 inhabitants) more than nine times higher than the rate in Cuba (5 per 100,000 inhabitants) (UNODC, 2019a).

Figure 1. Homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants, LAC 2017 - 2018



Source: Own elaboration from data from UNDOC, 2018 and 2019.

By further disaggregating the indicators at the geoFigureal level, high levels of concentration of homicide are observed in certain cities (BOX 3), some of which have reached five times the country average, as is the case with Acapulco in Mexico. Greater disaggregation at the district level confirms the unequal concentration of crime; for example, in Mexico City, four districts amount to more than a quarter of the state's homicides, and in Caracas, three municipalities account for more than 50% of the murders (Muggah & Aguirre, 2018).

Beyond the regional statistical aggregates on homicides and other crimes, LAC presents great contrasts between countries, as well as between regions and cities within countries, which reaffirms the importance of the territorial approach in the design of intervention strategies and based on information that is as disaggregated as possible on the variables relevant to the environment in which the intervention is to take place.

Box 3. Homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants in selected LAC cities and countries 2016 - 2017

City	Rate	Country	Rate
San Salvador	136,7	El Salvador	60,0
Acapulco	108,1	Mexico	20,4
San Pedro Sula	104,3	Honduras	42,8
Maraba	76,7	Brazil	27,8
Guatemala	70,8	Guatemala	26,1
Cali	53,2	Colombia	22,0

Source: Own elaboration from data of (Muggah & Aguirre, Citizen security in Latin America: Facts and Figures, 2018)

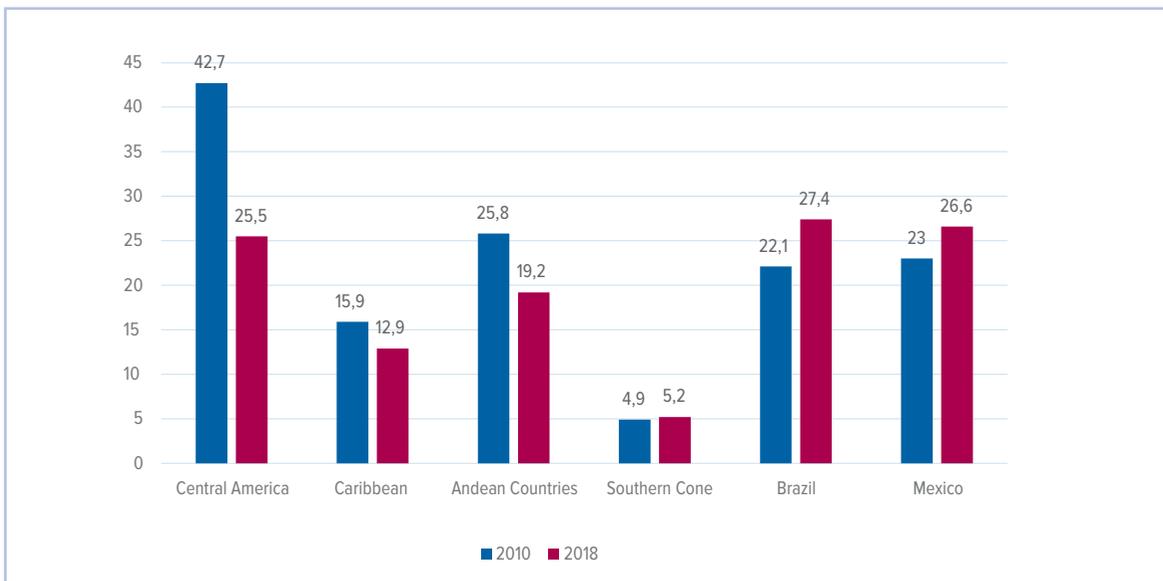
Despite the high levels of violence in some major cities in the region, there have been significant drops in homicide rates, as exemplified by the cases of Bogotá and Medellín in Colombia, Ciudad de Juárez in Mexico, and Sao Paulo in Brazil.⁸ Reductions have occurred in several countries, being especially noticeable in the cases of Colombia, and the nations

⁸ Between 1990 and 2016, Medellín experienced a drop in the homicide rate of 89%, in the same period Ciudad Juárez had a 70% reduction and Rio de Janeiro 65% between 1991 and 2016.

of Central America, where the falls have been significant but not always sustained.⁹ However, Brazil, Jamaica, Mexico and Venezuela have been experiencing increases.

The reasons associated with falls in homicide rates are diverse. Some of the accumulated evidence points to the positive effects of preventive and integrated interventions, which have taken place in recent years and which contemplate actions such as: control of risk factors (alcohol consumption, use of firearms), police deployment and surveillance with preventive and proactive approaches (community police, surveillance of hot spots with predictive methods), promotion of urban recovery programs, and primary prevention efforts with vulnerable sectors such as youth.¹⁰ A study that analyzed ten homicide reduction interventions in countries of the region highlights that while there are "clear indications" of the contributions of these programs to the reduction of violence, there tends to be a lack of rigorous impact evaluations, either because they are not planned or because of difficulties of a technical nature. (Cano & Rojido, 2016)

Figure 2. Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants in regions of LAC, Brazil and Mexico 2010 - 2018



Source: Own elaboration from UNODC data (2020) and Infosegura (2019)

⁹ In the case of Central America, homicide rates have fallen in several countries and in several consecutive years, especially in Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama, where homicides have been falling steadily since 2010. In Honduras, the drop has been registered since 2013, but in 2019 it increased again. In the cases of El Salvador and Costa Rica, after experiencing significant drops between 2010 and 2013, a growth in homicide rates is again recorded between 2014 -2017. However, in El Salvador they began to decrease again in 2018 and in 2019 there was a significant drop.

¹⁰ Whilst there is extensive literature on the benefits of preventive approaches, most of it refers to cases outside LAC. However, the preventive interventions in the region, which have been rigorously analyzed, show positive effects in terms of reducing rates of violence (Muggah, Garzón, & Suárez, 2018).

In contrast to the existing evidence in the case of interventions of a preventive nature, with regard to repressive actions such as stiffer penalties, lowering the age of criminal responsibility, the enactment of open criminal penalties, an increase in arrests and the intensification of mixed police/army patrols, among others; few evaluations have been carried out and when they are conducted, they tend to be superficial (Muggah, Garzón, & Suárez, 2018).

Finally, one of the most widely shared hypotheses about some of the variations in crime behavior, particularly in those countries that have experienced a strong presence of organized crime, is that such variations are associated with changes in the behavior of criminal gangs, either through alterations in their strategies to control illicit drug markets, or through government-promoted interventions; these interventions range from negotiations between authorities and armed groups,¹¹ even "war on drugs", even though the latter do not always generate the desired effects.¹²

Such hypotheses have a place as one of the main causes associated with the high levels of violence exhibited by some LAC countries, is organized crime and drug trafficking. It is estimated that about 19% of homicides worldwide are related to organized crime and criminal gangs; however, these percentages tend to be higher in LAC countries. Criminal organizations dedicated to illegal drug trafficking in Mexico and Central America are responsible for a third of the violence, compared with only an estimated 1% generated by these criminal groups in regions such as Asia and Europe (UNODC, 2018).

Additionally, in terms of victimization, the region follows the same global pattern, although in greater proportion, according to which the main victims of homicide are young men, for whom this constitutes 25% of the causes of death (PAHO, 2016). According to data from fifteen LAC countries in 2016, the homicide rate for adolescents between the ages of eighteen and nineteen was 46 per 100,000 inhabitants, well above the average population rate. The figures are higher in some Central American and Caribbean countries. A victimization study carried out among the young population of El Salvador, quantified that about 29% had been victims of one or more crimes in the twelve months prior to the survey

¹¹ This has been the case with the so-called "truce between the maras" that was promoted by the Government of El Salvador in 2012, through which better prison conditions were offered to gang members in exchange for a decrease in their violent activities, which effectively occurred. One study estimated more than 5,000 homicides prevented by this intervention (Katz, Hedberg, & Amaya, 2016).

¹² The available data shows the differentiated impact that some forceful interventions by the State in the area of illicit drugs have had in the region: while this type of intervention is attributed to the reduction of homicides in the case of Colombia, where the rate went from 80 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1991 to 25 in 2017; in the case of Central America and Mexico, the intensification of State actions against drugs have produced episodes of increased murder (UNODC, 2019b).

(Infosegura, 2020d). In this same country, the homicide rate of young people for the period 2007-2017 was 53.4% higher than that of the adult population (PNUD, 2018a).

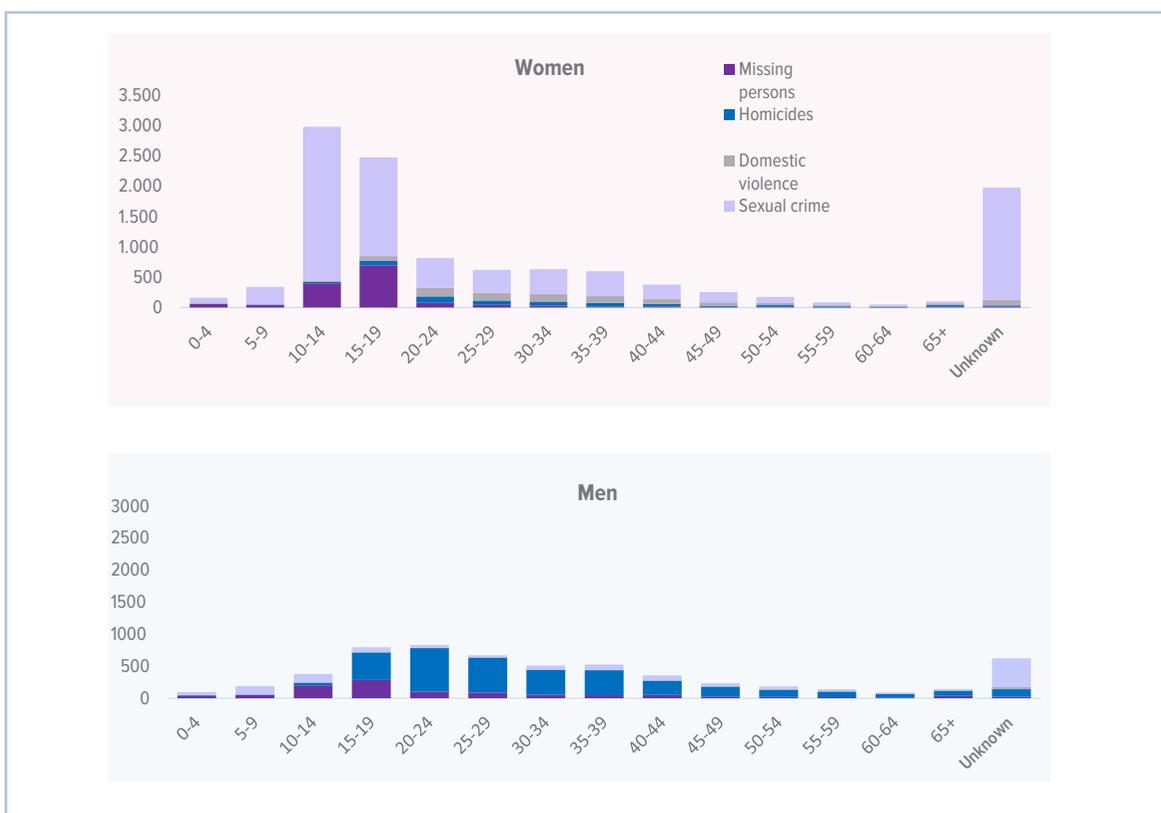
Violence against women

Violence impacts women differently and LAC is no exception.¹³ While men experience higher levels of lethal violence than women, it is women who are more exposed to gender-based violence. It is estimated that about 40% of women murdered in the region lost their lives at the hands of their partners, while the percentage of men murdered by their partners is reduced to 15% (OPS, 2019). Of the fifteen countries in the world with the highest rates of femicide, eight are located in LAC (Infosegura, 2019). With regard to sexual violence, the region has the highest incidence rates globally when the crime is not committed by the couple and the second highest rate when the couple is responsible (PNUD, 2017b).

Women are also exposed to violence throughout their life cycle, which is expressed in various ways and from very early ages. As shown by Figure 3, which gathers information from three Central American countries, women suffer higher levels of violence at younger ages (ten to nineteen), compared to men who are hit harder from age twenty onwards. In addition, the sexual violence suffered by women in exorbitant proportions manifests itself with particular force during childhood (ten to fourteen years), followed by disappearances (Smutt, 2018).

¹³ Although the analysis refers especially to femicides, it is important to note that some studies warn about the relationship between the deterioration of citizen security and the increase in violence, and dramatic changes in the type of murders that most affect women (Data Cívica & CIDE, 2019).

Figure 3. Types of violence that affect men and women throughout the life cycle in Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador 2018



Source: (Smutt, 2018)

Other sources confirm the seriousness of gender-based violence in LAC in the global context, particularly in the countries of Central America and the Caribbean (BOX 4).

Box 4. Figures on violence against women in LAC

- Fourteen of the twenty-five countries in the world with the highest rates of femicide are located in LAC.
- It is the region with the second highest rate of violence by a partner or former partner.
- It is the region with the highest global rates of non-partner sexual violence.
- Three of the ten countries in the world with the highest rates of rape of women and girls are in the Caribbean.
- In Central America, two out of every three women murdered are victims of femicide.
- In some Central American countries, 72% of murders against women are committed with firearms.
- In some Central American countries, nine out of ten victims of sexual crimes are women

Fontes: (ONU Mujeres, 2017), (Smutt, 2018)

Given the magnitude of the problem, various responses have been attempted at the institutional and social levels. On one hand, actions have been promoted to make the issue visible and to raise the population's awareness with apparent positive effects. An opinion poll conducted by the Latinobarómetro in 2016, which has followed up on the violence perceived in the region, observed that when asked “*what type of violence is most harmful to society?*”; the majority of citizens responded that it was violence against women (63%) and against children (62%) (Latinobarómetro, 2016). A response that, as illustrated by the same study, has been growing over time, reflecting a significant change in the public nature attributed to acts of violence that occur in the domestic and family environment and could have a positive impact on social norms that affect different forms of gender inequality, including the perception of women's physical integrity.¹⁴

In addition, legal and institutional instruments to combat gender-based violence have been developed for almost three decades. All countries ratified, early on, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (“**CEDAW**”), as well as the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, from which a wide development of legislation on the subject took place. Currently, the laws of all countries recognize physical and psychological violence, most recognize sexual violence, and some include economic or property violence. Several criminal legislations have created the criminal type of femicide, or treat it as aggravated homicide. Finally, nearly 50 percent of the countries have national plans and other programmatic instruments, as well as institutions responsible for monitoring the issue, in some cases with the rank of ministry or secretariat of state (PNUD, 2017a). In some countries, significant efforts have been made in the areas of information management, violence observatories, inter-institutional coordination, and facilitation of reporting processes (Smutt, 2018).

However, these normative, programmatic, and institutional advances are not sufficient to contain the problem, as evidenced by the figures on violence cited, or by the high levels of impunity for crimes in this area (PNUD, 2017b). Additional legal steps need to be taken. Out of 38 countries in LAC, only 13 have enacted laws for a comprehensive protection of women against violence, and only 18 criminalize femicide (CEPAL, 2020d). Other limitations and shortcomings include: under-registration of data, obstacles to accessing complaint mechanisms, lack of protocols for vic-

¹⁴ In the Human Development Report 2019, a new index of social norms was incorporated that explores the relationship between social beliefs, prejudices and gender equality. The relative weight of this indicator could explain the slowdown observed in progress toward equity, so it is advisable to monitor it and incorporate it into the analysis and design of policies. Gender biases in social norms are measured through people's opinions collected in the World Values Survey. One such opinion is related to tolerance of violence against women.

tim care, weak inter-institutional coordination, limited technical capacities of staff in charge, scarce financial resources, prevalence of socialization and education processes with gender biases, and lack of comprehensive responses for managing aggressors.

A relevant aspect concerning the problem of violence against women is the under-representation of women in the security forces. The percentages of women's participation in the region's police forces range from 10% to 15%, with a few exceptions that reach percentages of 25% (Uruguay) and 30% (Nicaragua) (López Méndez, 2016).

Perception of insecurity

Citizen insecurity is not only about real criminality, but also about perceived criminality. The feeling of insecurity has become a threat in itself with consequences at the personal, social, and institutional levels, and therefore deserves to be individualized in any citizen security strategy. In many cases, this phenomenon causes changes in people's behavior that can deteriorate citizen coexistence (i.e., stigmatization of minorities, segregation of public spaces), aggravate the insecurity situation of the population (i.e., acquisition of firearms for defensive purposes, justice by one's own hand), and encourage policy measures of immediate impact but of questionable effectiveness in the medium and long term (i.e., increased sentences, imprisonment, deployment of armed forces). It is therefore necessary to incorporate this concern into the design of citizen security strategies and policies.

Citizen insecurity is not only about real criminality, but also about perceived criminality. The feeling of insecurity, generated due to the social alarm, constitutes a threat in itself with consequences on the personal, social, and institutional levels, that deserves to be individualized in any citizen security strategy. The objective is not to instrumentalize it in order to create a climate of generalized fear, as punitive populism or heavy-handed interventions have done, but to channel it through actions that induce informed, constructive and responsible citizen participation.

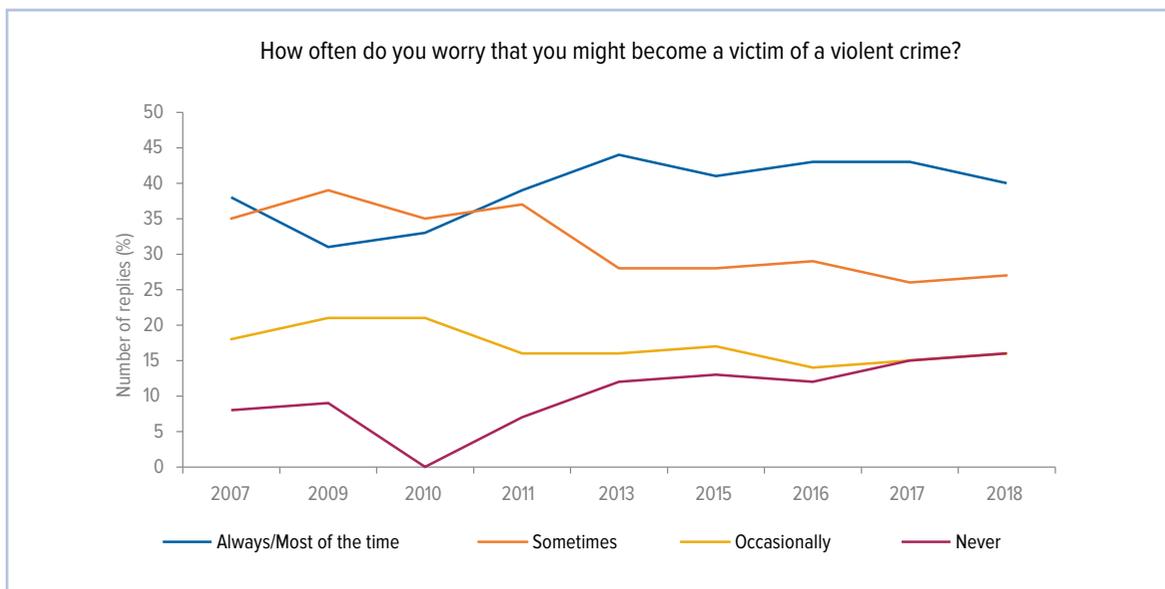
Concern about insecurity has been and continues to be present in a significant way in the region's population, as well as high levels of feeling of insecurity and conditioning citizen attitudes towards the issue. In relation

to the concern about the problem, data from Latinobarómetro 2018 indicated that for the population, crime was the most important problem their country experienced (19%), followed by unemployment (15%) and the economy (13%). By referring the question to the municipal level, the percentage that considered it to be the main problem amounted to 24%, confirming the high territorial and local conditioning of this problem (Latinobarómetro, 2018).

With respect to the sense of insecurity, the same source recently cited indicates that more than 40% of the region's population is constantly afraid of being a victim of violent crime (Latinobarómetro, 2018); and in terms of comparison with other regions of the planet, another measure confirms that the population of LAC is the least secure in their respective communities (Figure 4) (Gallup, 2019).

The perception of insecurity in the face of common crime has expanded in recent years to other particularly important criminal acts such as public corruption. Although at the regional level, the concern about this phenomenon appears below common crime and the economy, in seven countries it ranks first and second (Colombia, Peru, Brazil, Mexico, Paraguay, Dominican Republic and Bolivia) (Latinobarómetro, 2018). These data reinforce the need to place white-collar crime among the priorities of LAC criminal policies, especially when the acts of corruption involve representatives of the security sector itself (police, prosecutors, and judges).

Figure 4. Fear of being a victim of crime in Latin America 2007-2017

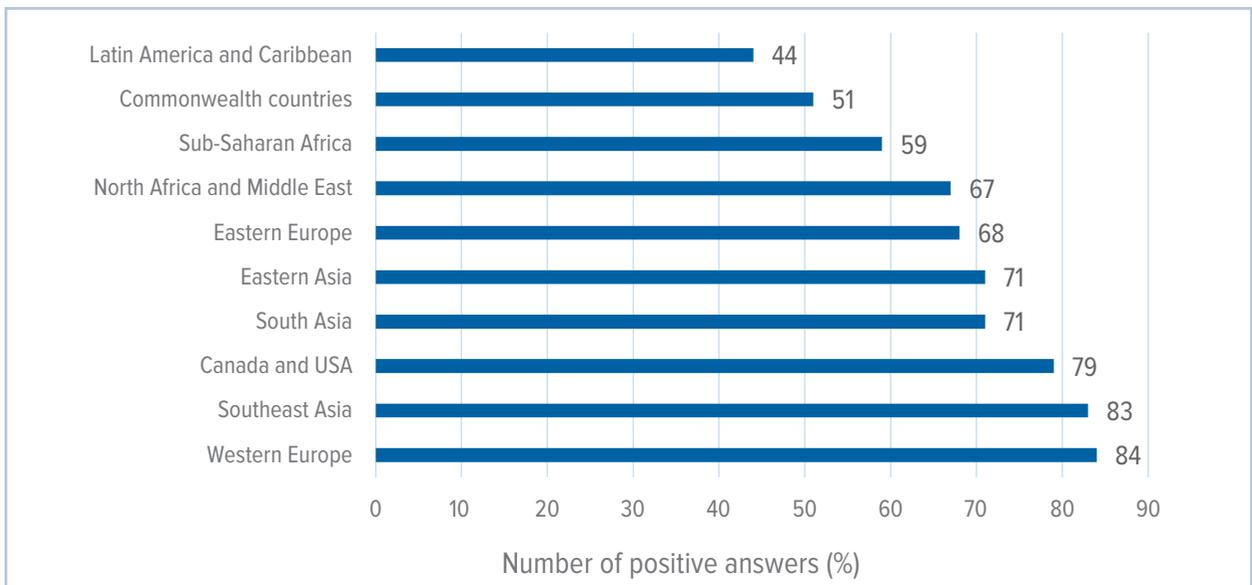


Source: Own preparation based on data from Latinobarómetro, 2018

Levels of trust in security and justice sector institutions

Still on the level of perceptions, studies on this subject have confirmed, for many years, the deterioration that the institutions most directly involved in the responses to the problems of insecurity, especially the police and the administration of justice, have been experiencing, has deepened to the point that the degree of confidence of the inhabitants of the region in the police institutions is the lowest in comparison with other regions of the world (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Percentage of people who say they trust the police in their country, by region of the world 2019



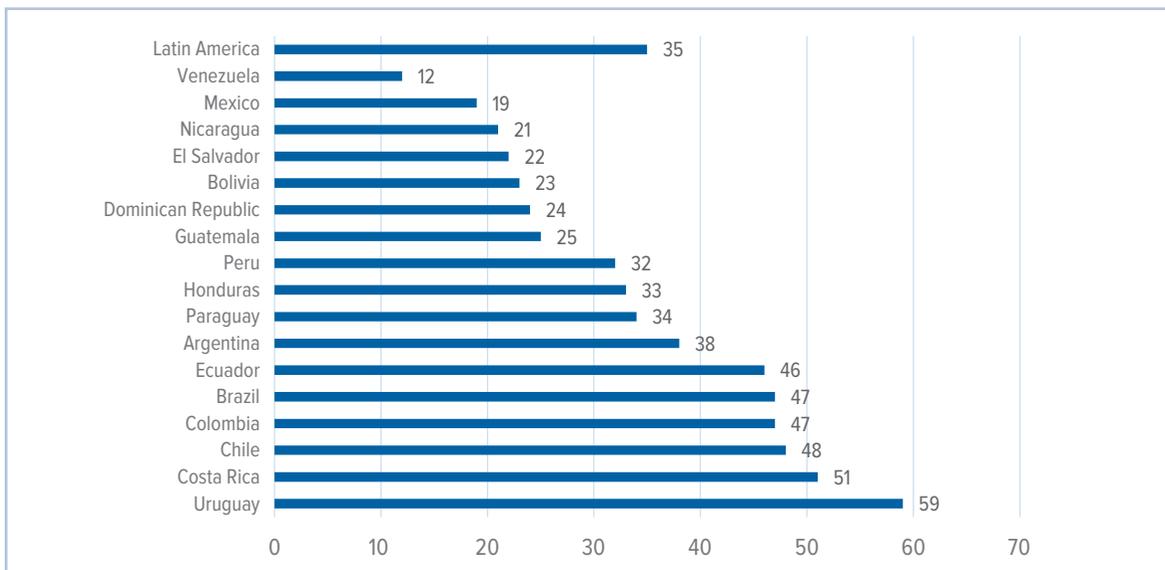
Source: Own elaboration from data of (Gallup, 2019)

Another opinion study, at the regional level, indicates that the average rate of confidence in the police tends to decrease to 35%, which compares negatively with respect to the Armed Forces (44%) and positively if contrasted with 24% reliability in the Judicial Branch. While levels of trust in institutions tend to vary across countries in general, levels are low; more than 40% of the population trust the police only in six countries and more than 40% trust the judiciary only in one country (Figures 6 & 7).

The low levels of trust in the institutions directly involved in the care of citizen security have serious consequences, including: the reluctance of citizens to file complaints or collaborate in the resolution of cases, the growth in the hidden figure of criminality, higher levels of impunity, and

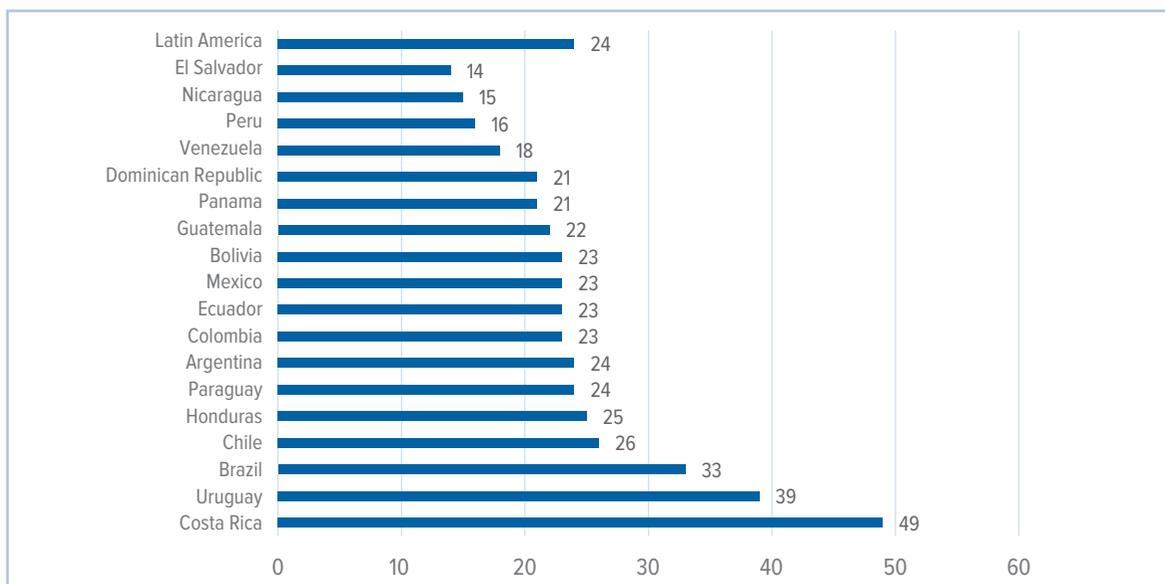
citizen unrest. This is why problems related to citizen insecurity have also become political problems and one of the greatest challenges for democratic governance in LAC countries. Therefore, the strategies designed in this area must include actions that generate immediate benefits for the institutions and agents involved and have an impact on reducing crime and the feeling of insecurity, but which are also in line with democratic precepts and comply with standards that guarantee their sustainability.

Figure 6. Level of trust in the police (a lot or some trust) 2018



Source: Own elaboration from data of: Latinobarómetro, 2018

Figure 7. Level of trust in the judicial branch (much or some trust), 2018



Source: Own elaboration from data of: Latinobarómetro, 2018

Scenarios of social unrest

To the problems of crime and violence that the security sector addresses, one must add the concern for public order that has gained relevance as a result of growing social unrest and institutional responses to scenarios of citizen protest. Recent events in the region are a reminder of the challenges this issue poses for the democratic management of security. The social demonstrations and protests that took place throughout 2019 in several countries of the region such as Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru and Honduras, and the violent demonstrations that were unleashed, highlighted important shortages and/or excesses in the actions of some of the public security institutions. Although in several of the events that took place, cases of vandalism, looting of commercial premises, destruction of vital infrastructure, and aggression against security agents and third parties were detected, and the actions of the security forces were marked by complaints of the disproportionate and indiscriminate use of force and serious human rights violations.¹⁵

Since it involves important considerations regarding civil liberties and involves public entities that exercise a monopoly on the use of force, the issue of public order must be considered as part of the challenges facing the region in terms of citizen security. The way in which public order situations are responded to, will be critical in guaranteeing sustainable processes of social peace and political stability. It is an issue that should be at the center of democratic governance concerns in LAC countries, particularly because of the social and political consequences that the pandemic could generate.

The problems that characterized the interventions from one country to another were similar. BOX 5 shows the main abuses and human rights violations recorded by the international bodies that prepared reports. These events set off alarm bells for the authorities, who, in recognition of the excesses that had occurred, instructed investigations to be opened and procedures reviewed. Measures were also taken at the legislative le-

¹⁵ See in the case of Chile, the report issued by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights of the United Nations (United Nations Human Rights, 2019). In the case of Ecuador, the report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR, 2020).

vel, such as the establishment of more severe sanctions for certain crimes associated with acts of vandalism and restrictions on the right to protest, with consequences for citizens' rights to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression (Naciones Unidas Derechos Humanos, 2019).

Box 5. Main findings of law enforcement interventions, 2019

Main findings of security force interventions during the protests that took place in LAC countries in 2019:

- violations of international norms and standards on the use of force;
- arbitrary deprivation of life and unlawful killings involving state agents;
- injuries from the use of pellets and other devices;
- torture and ill-treatment;
- rape and other forms of sexual violence;
- limitations on access to health for those affected;
- illegal and/or arbitrary arrests and detentions;
- criminalization and stigmatization of demonstrators in the context of social protests;
- aggressions and attacks on the press by both security forces and demonstrator; and
- violations of the right to freedom of expression and association.

Source: Own elaboration from data of (United Nations Human Rights Report, 2019) - (CIDH, 2020)

In light of the serious economic and social circumstances generated by the pandemic, a growth in social unrest with expressions of protest and civil disobedience is to be expected, which could lead to new scenarios of confrontation between the population and the security forces and the consequent deterioration of social peace and institutional stability.¹⁶ Therefore, the implementation of the recommendations that were issued by human rights organizations in the context of the previous year's protests should be accelerated, including the elimination of certain techniques for the control of public order, the revision of protocols for the use of force, the incorporation of techniques for social dialogue and alternative conflict resolution, and the strengthening of jurisdictional, legislative and social control mechanisms over the actions of the security forces, amongst others. At the same time, governments should strive to dismantle the exceptional measures that they place in the hands of the administrative authorities with special powers, once health conditions permit.

¹⁶ Towards the end of September, when eight months have elapsed in most of the countries of the region since the adoption of the first confinement measures; protests with different levels of violence have been registered in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Peru.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK, MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC POLICIES

After a period in which concepts such as "mano dura" and "mano super dura" gained ground¹⁷ in countries of the region that had experienced worsening security conditions and high levels of social alarm, policies with alternative approaches began to be adopted and have now been consolidated. This is the citizen security approach, which focuses on an integral treatment of the problems of crime and violence prevention as an indispensable complement to punitive interventions, and human rights as a reference in the design of policies (BOX 6). However, these advances face two challenges: (i) the difficulty of turning these concepts and principles into operational strategies and concrete actions; and (ii) the remnants of national security doctrines based on a reactive and punitive vision of security that are reluctant to disappear. The possibility that the latter will reappear and gain ground will depend on several factors, including whether the first challenge can be successfully met; hence the emphasis in this report on the need to accelerate the processes of strengthening the institutional management of security according to democratic parameters.

Conceptual advances have permeated various policy instruments such as laws, plans and programs, as well as the contents of training and personnel development; however, these changes are not translated with the desired speed into the functioning of institutions and public policy management. The fundamental reason for this is that the new security paradigms place complex demands on institutions from the functional and operational point of view. Multi-causal approaches to address the problems of crime, violence and public order, policy design and planning based on evidence and reliable information, strategic and operational coordination between institutions of various kinds, incorporation of sub-national administrations and civil society in decision-making processes, impact assessment from baselines, etc., are all management modalities that break with institutional designs and bureaucratic routines that are well established in the region, characterized by centralism, verticalism and fragmentation in decision-

¹⁷ The popular terms designated measures, typical of punitive populism that privileged the adoption of repressive measures at the legislative, administrative, judicial and community levels. At the legislative level, new criminal types were promoted, and the age of criminal responsibility was lowered; at the administrative level, special police units were created with expanded powers and the Armed Forces were regularly incorporated into routines of a police nature; at the judicial level, the use of preventive detention and the application of more drastic sanctions were intensified, which led to the growth of the prison population; and at the community level, vigilantism, parapolice and paramilitary groups were stimulated and cases of lynching and "justice by one's own hand" were reported (Chinchilla & Vorndran, 2018)

Box 6. Security Approaches

Approach	Paradigm	Strategies
"Mano dura" or punitive populism ¹⁸	Violence and crime are the result of transgressive behaviors that are solved by neutralizing individuals with punitive and repressive measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stiffening of penalties and lowering of the age of criminal responsibility • Incarceration • Expansion of the powers of the police and incorporation of the Armed Forces to the tasks of citizen security • Establishment of exceptional measures -curfews, raids, roadblocks • Vigilantism and Parapolice and Paramilitary Actions by Civil Society
Citizen Security	Violence and crime are the result of multiple causes that demand comprehensive approaches, at the level of prevention, control and punishment in accordance with the rule of law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comprehensive and multi-sectoral interventions • Impact on risk factors associated with violence and crime • Strengthening the local level through the design and implementation of policies and programs • Evidence-based management and rigorous management of data and statistics • Participation of civil society in the processes of managing citizen security and in the framework of shared but differentiated responsibilities

Source: UNDP 2020.

¹⁸ The concept of *punitive populism* was developed by the English criminologist Anthony Bottoms in reference to the promotion of punitive measures or zero tolerance or heavy hand by politicians with the aim of obtaining immediate returns and in response to the fears of the population, with independence of convenience considerations (Bottoms, 1995). In LAC, the combination of high levels of crime, authoritarian political culture, and populist leadership have resulted in the ideal combination for repressive populism to germinate, at various times in history. On the phenomenon in our region, see, amongst others: (Basombrío & Dammert, Security and punitive populism in Latin America: corroborated lessons, findings and emerging issues, 2013) (De la Torre & Martín Alvarez, 2011, 1).

-making, the absence of updated and rigorous information, and a weak institutional culture of accountability and working in partnership with the community.

In this phase in which the region finds itself, priority should be given to promoting initiatives that provide support to the security sector, especially to the respective ministries or secretariats and police services, in the processes of institutional design and transformation and in the management of public policies in line with the vision and values set out in this study and promoted by the UNDP. This is a fundamental step to guarantee the sustainability of the advances that the region has experienced, to generate impacts that benefit the population, and to avoid the temptation to return to the past with repressive policies.

The main challenges facing the sector in terms of institutional design and management, as well as public policy, are presented below.

Institutional framework

From a functional point of view, citizen security constitutes a sector of the administration responsible for managing public policies whose objective is to prevent, control and punish crimes, or illegal acts aimed at depriving citizens of essential rights such as life, physical integrity, the exercise of public freedoms, or property owned by them. The main national institutions in this sector are the Ministries or Secretariats of Security or Interior as political leaders, and the police and gendarmerie services as operational entities, with the tasks of maintaining public order, applying the laws, defending the conditions necessary for the exercise of fundamental freedoms of persons, as well as preventing, controlling and repressing crime.

In compliance with its tasks of crime prevention and control,¹⁹ the police are not limited to simple deterrence caused by their presence, they also resort to the adoption of multiple strategies for patrolling, community relations, information management, development of alert and awareness campaigns on the criminal phenomenon, and others. With respect to its

¹⁹ The tasks of prevention and control have traditionally been within the control of the administrative police, attached to the executive branch at the national, state or municipal level. In almost all LAC countries, the police are bodies with national jurisdiction, of a civilian nature, attached to the Ministries of security, government or the interior, and their work is complemented in some countries by state and municipal police. In some countries, entities known as national guards or gendarmeries have been created, which are of a diffuse nature between the civilian and the military. The use of the Armed Forces in support of security tasks has also been recurrent in the region, especially in the fight against organized crime.

obligations in the area of criminal repression,²⁰ the police are in charge of the verification of the crimes, their investigation, the search and arrest of those responsible and the collaboration of the organs in charge of the prosecution and criminal sanction.

Due to the range of institutional actions and interventions that are opened, both on the side of prevention and on the side of crime repression, the police become an institution in permanent relationship with other organs of the State, and the security sector appears as a sector with important intersections with other areas such as social and criminal justice. In addition, the police and the security sector administrations have been gaining prominence in the processes of managing security policies, local administrations and the citizenry, forcing the police and the security sector administrations to interact in an increasingly organic manner with local governments and the citizenry. Without the permanent, methodical and institutionalized interaction of the security sector with other sectors and social actors, its scope is limited, as is its potential to influence the problems of violence and crime. The aspects related to the relationship and institutional framework necessary for the adequate performance of the citizen security sector are addressed below

The citizen security sector, traditionally made up of the political authority in charge of the subject such as the Ministries or Secretariats of the Interior and its operational arm which is the police, appears as a sector with important intersections in the fulfillment of its objectives with other areas such as social, and criminal justice. In addition, there is a need for an increasingly organic relationship with local administrations and citizens. Without the permanent, methodical and institutionalized interaction of the security sector with other sectors and social actors, its scope is limited, as is its potential to influence the problems of violence and crime.

The relationship between the public security sector and **the criminal jus-**

²⁰ The police functions of crime repression are generally assigned to the so-called technical, scientific or investigative police. The institutional model of these police forces in LAC varies from country to country. In some cases, they are a specialized body of the national police, attached to the executive branch; in others, they are part of the judicial branch or of the prosecutor's or attorney general's offices, since their essential function is to assist these bodies in solving reported cases.

Illustration 2. Relations and institutional framework of the public security sector



Source: UNDP 2020

Justice sector (prosecutors' offices, criminal courts, prison system) is more obvious because of the criminal nature of the problems they address and because such relationships are regulated by law. Despite this, problems of relationship and coordination between the institutions that make up these sectors are common, particularly when the auxiliary investigative function is assigned to a police body attached to the executive branch, which is the case in several LAC countries.²¹ These aspects become sensitive to the problem of impunity, which presents worrying dimensions in some countries of the region. It is estimated that while in Europe, 81 criminals are sentenced for every 100 victims, in LAC the ratio is 24 per 100 (Villa & Vélez Grajales, 2019). A global analysis of the problem of impunity carried out in 2017, highlights that among the 20 countries with the highest levels of impunity out of a total of 69, 12 were in Latin America (Universidad de las Américas Puebla (UDLPA), 2017).

²¹ Some of the main tensions have arisen in the context of the adoption in LAC countries of the adversarial procedural system, which has strengthened the Public Prosecutor's Office, giving it greater independence from the executive branch and a more active role in the criminal process. This process has generated difficulties in the integration of the technical police into the Public Prosecutor's Office, in those cases where this has been done, and a lack of coordination with the police services in criminal investigation (Rico & Chinchilla, 2002), difficulties that continue to this day (Rico & Chinchilla, 2002).

Despite the problems of impunity, the rates of imprisonment in the region are among the highest globally, which has an impact on prison systems burdened by overcrowding, overcrowding and violence. Between 2000 and 2018, the prison population in LAC increased by 121%, by far the highest growth rate of any region in the world (BOX 7).

Box 7. Prison population by region of the world 2000 - 2018

Region	Estimated population around the year 2000	Estimated population around the year 2013	Growth rate
Africa	902,55	1,162,440	28.8%
America	2,690,300	3,787,059	121,2%
Asia	3,023,500	4,164,323	37,7%
Europe	2,013,600	1,565,643	-22,0%
Oceania	34,400	64,154	86,5%

Source: (Walmsley, 2019)

The relationship between the security sector and **the social sector** is based on theories that highlight the social determinants of violence and crime²² and that justify interferences that impact variables of the socio-economic context such as: income, education, labor insertion and inequality (Pinzón C., 2015). Given the nature of these interventions, which affect criminal phenomena indirectly and with delayed effects over time, they are not usually considered expressly as instruments for the reduction of violence.²³ However, the role of social policy should be validated within the framework of comprehensive strategies for citizen security and with the presence of social sector institutions in collegiate bodies in charge of violence and crime prevention. Recognition of these links should come not only from the security sector, but also from the social sector, as exemplified by the calls of the Pan American Health Organization (“PAHO”) when it recognized that homicide in LAC is an epidemic and therefore a public health problem (OPS, 2008), or when studies on inequality warn about the relationship between inequality and violence, as highlighted in the case of Mexico.

²² The "social development model" is a theory of antisocial behavior developed more than two decades ago, based on a hypothesis that certain risk and social protection factors influence criminal behavior (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996).

²³ We are not referring here to the association between the socioeconomic conditions of the population and criminality that can lead to the mistaken and inconvenient "criminalization of poverty and vulnerable groups", which has been disproved by several studies, including the UNDP Regional Human Development Report 2013-2014. This report confirmed that the relationship between poverty and high homicide rates does not seem to obey any pattern (UNDP, 2013).

Measures of a social nature do not necessarily have as their main objective the reduction of crime, but rather the improvement of the general living conditions of the population, so that their effect on crime rates is not direct but rather induced. Despite this, the links between social and security policies must be made explicit in the planning processes and institutional designs in order to promote higher levels of inter-institutional coordination and cooperation and to enhance the effects of social measures on violence and crime.

In addition to the relations of the citizen security sector with the institutions of the criminal and social justice sectors, the role played by other actors in the management of security, such as local administrations, civil society and the private sector, is noteworthy.

Local administrations have been gaining ground in the management of citizen security in conjunction with the growing importance assigned to the territorial approach in the design of strategies and community and situational crime prevention programs. The potential offered by local governments in terms of territorial management and their close relations with citizens is recognized. It is increasingly common to find in LAC countries municipal programs that propose the recovery of public spaces, urban designs for social integration, promotion of recreational and entertainment activities, social interventions with regard to vulnerable groups in the community, and treatment of victims of violence. However, the emphasis placed on the local level poses significant challenges: (i) the difficulties in achieving adequate complementarity and coordination with national authorities (Wilson Center, 2015); (ii) the easier co-optation of police and municipal surveillance services by criminal groups;²⁴ (iii) and (iii) the lack of specialized and adequately trained human resources and tools for action. In relation to this last aspect, it is necessary to highlight the actions carried out to strengthen local interventions developed by UNDP, through tools for local management, some of which are shown in the BOX 8 (PNUD, El Salvador, 2010)

²⁴ Data provided by the National Federation of Municipalities of Mexico in 2013, gave an account that 40% of the towns and cities in that country were under siege by organized crime, through extortion mechanisms to benefit their businesses and the direct co-optation of mayors and police commanders (Althaus, 2018).

Box 8. Keys to a successful citizen security policy at the local level

Keys to a successful citizen security policy at the local level

1. Leadership of the mayor to promote and follow up on policy;
2. Creation of alliances between national and local institutions;
3. Mechanisms for the coordination and follow-up of the policy;
4. Reliable information system on the situation of violence and crime in the locality;
5. Focus of the actions on spaces (risk areas) and on vulnerable groups, especially youth and women;
6. Elaboration and periodic update of diagnostics on the state of the situation;
7. Recovery of urban meeting spaces;
8. Pedagogical work on the respect for rules and people, and promotion of civic values;
9. Active citizen participation;
10. Communication with citizens to inform them of the advances and setbacks of politics; and
11. Accountability.

Source: Own elaboration from data of (UNDP, 2020)

As far as **civil society** is concerned, it is undeniable how important it has become to participate in the management of public security in LAC countries, and how it has changed (Leeds, 2013). In the first stage, marked by the transition from the national security model to that of citizen security, collective action focused on denouncing police abuse and promoting reforms that would incorporate a concept of democratic security into the legal and constitutional order. Later, and as a result of the reform processes that took place, the incorporation of civil society representatives into coordinating and deliberative bodies at the national and subnational levels was encouraged, and the professionalization of civil society gained strength through the creation and strengthening of study and research centers specialized in the subject. More recently, civil society has increased its levels of influence at various levels of decision-making, from promoting laws through popular initiative, participatory diagnoses and budgets, and co-management in public policies including the monitoring and evaluation stages.

Despite these advances, there are still trends to be avoided and barriers to be overcome. Among those that must be avoided are those that refer to the instrumentalization of the citizen initiative by the security institutions in actions of a repressive nature, which have negatively marked some operational moments in the sector; among the barriers to be overcome are the bureaucratic resistance and the little tradition of the institutions to work with participatory management models, the lack of knowledge of

techniques to make this participation effective, and finally, the difficulty to achieve an informed and lasting intervention on the part of the citizens. (Chinchilla & Vorndran, 2018).

Finally, the leading role that **the business sector** has been gaining in the management processes of citizen security should be highlighted. The concern about insecurity and its impact on economic activities such as tourism, trade or foreign investment, has been incorporated into the agendas of the unions and various actions have been deployed, including: participation in special commissions, promotion of legislation, support for social prevention initiatives and labor reinsertion, and even participation in complementary financing schemes and trusts.²⁵ In addition, the private sector has become a direct provider of security through companies that offer services and products for surveillance and protection. It is estimated that there are more than 16,000 private military and security companies in Latin America, employing approximately 2.4 million people. In some countries, such as Brazil, this represents a ratio of four private guards to one public security officer; in Guatemala the ratio is five to one; and in Honduras, almost seven to one (Kinosian & Bosworth, 2018). While this sector offers great potential for supporting security policies, its participation also carries risks such as the increasing privatization of services with weak regulatory frameworks, and unequal access for the population to quality security services.

As can be seen from the above information, the citizen security sector is in permanent contact with various institutional sectors and social actors, which generate relevant contributions to the construction of safer societies. To respond to this network of institutions and social actors, several LAC countries have promoted institutional arrangements that encourage the integration and interaction of these agents in an organic, coordinated and effective manner. Such "institutional arrangements" have been adopted in legislation governing the organization of the security sector through the creation of categories such as "systems" and figures such as "councils" and "commissions". These types of bodies seek to materialize a systemic vision of the sector and a collegial management involving not only traditional security sector institutions, but also the social sector, the local level and even representatives of civil society.

One study documented the existence of various types of coordination bodies at the national or federal level with broad integration in at least fourteen Latin American countries, with variations in terms of their functions - consultative, deliberative, etc. - their composition, and the technical, administrative and financial resources they have (Chinchilla &

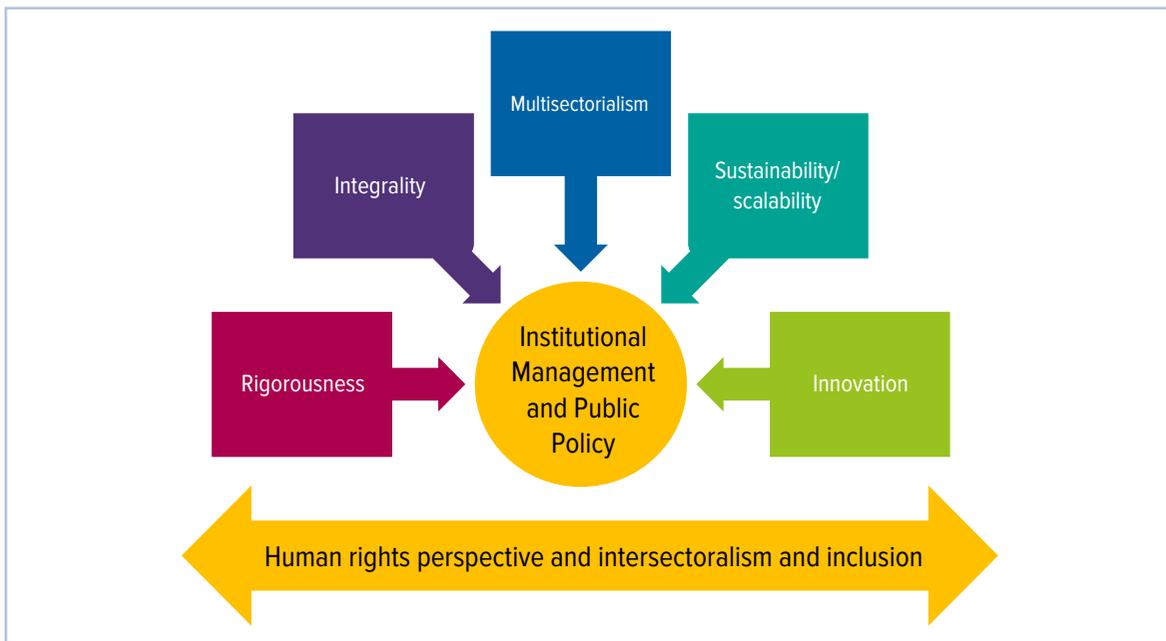
²⁵ The private sector in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, created the Fideicomiso para la Competitividad y Seguridad Ciudadana (FICOSEC) to financially support interventions that improve security in the area and encourage citizen participation in public safety issues.

Vorndran, 2018). These structures have represented a significant advance in integrated safety management. They guarantee a shared space for the comparison of criteria and coordination of actions and in some cases, for the definition of policy guidelines, the establishment of programmatic priorities, and even for the allocation of resources. Their importance and limitations are discussed later in this section.

Public policies and institutional management

As has been pointed out, progress has been made in the area of citizen security and that has been reflected in various types of regulatory instruments and official documents. But this is not enough; it is essential to guarantee greater and sustained progress so that institutional management reflects these principles and values. The challenges faced by LAC countries in the process of aligning institutional management and public policymaking with the postulates of citizen security go beyond considerations of human rights and social inclusion to include six relevant conditions: rigorousness, comprehensiveness, multisectoralism, sustainability/scalability, integrality and innovation (Illustration 3). When these conditions are present in institutional designs and public policies, better management quality standards and improved performance of the sector's institutions can be ensured (Chinchilla & Vorndran, 2018).

Illustration 3. Relevant conditions in the design and execution of public policies for citizen security



Source: UNDP

These five categories are defined below and how they are reflected in the functioning of the region's security sector is discussed. A summary of these categories is presented in BOX 9.

Box 9. Pre-conditions of citizen security public policies

Challenge	Key elements
Multisectorialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategies based on a multi-causal approach to the problem, capable of articulating diverse components and actors with differentiated capacities and interventions, around a shared vision and common guiding principles. • <u>Instruments</u>: Instruments: National, territorial and local plans and institutional programs, etc.
Integrity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizational structures with adequate coordination and communication mechanisms, which promote a concerted, agile and effective management of the different actors involved, they be from the national, state or municipal level, from the public, private or community sphere. • <u>Instruments</u>: National commissions, local and neighborhood committees and working groups.
Rigorousness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision-making processes that in their different phases (planning, execution, inspection, evaluation) are supported by evidence, and reliable, updated and timely information. • <u>Instruments</u>: Tools based on evidence, statistics, surveys of victimization and perception of insecurity, evaluations of processes and institutional performance, as well as of results and impact.
Sustainability/ scalability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies and programs resilient to political cycles, with assured sources of funding and a basis of legitimacy in the eyes of the population. • <u>Instruments</u>: Solid planning units, trained technical and managerial staff, co-management processes with the incorporation of civil society, dissemination campaigns, results and permanent financing mechanisms.
Innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management of projects that promote applied research for the generation of knowledge capable of having a positive impact on the resolution of problems associated with security and that stimulate technological development and the incorporation of digital tools. • <u>Tools</u>: Applied research, ICT for various types of applications, organizational units for the development of research and digital management.

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data partially taken from: (Chinchilla & Vorndran, 2018)

Comprehensiveness refers to the multi-causal approach to the problems addressed by the citizen security sector (crime, violence, public order) and whose attention requires comprehensive approaches in terms of the factors that contribute to the development of crime and violence and which it seeks to affect, as well as the levels of intervention (prevention, control and punishment), and the recipients of such interventions (actual or potential victims and offenders).

The effective incorporation of the notion of integrality into institutional strategies through instruments such as policies, plans and programs is one of the main advances in the region, as has been documented in studies and practical guides developed by the UNDP (PNUD, 2015), but it still faces limitations. In the first place, the integral approach to security implies more than the sum of factors associated with criminal phenomena, or inventories of responsible actions and institutions. The concept must be present from the design of strategic planning and programming instruments, which must make explicit the theoretical/conceptual principles that will guide the interventions, establish the programmatic guidelines with a state vision - in the case of national level instruments - that covers the areas of prevention, control, punishment, reparation of victims, etc., as well as the management model that will guarantee the effective deployment of the strategy. An example of this type of instrument was the Integral and Sustainable Policy of Citizen Security and Social Peace (POLSEPAZ) (BOX 10) developed by the Government of Costa Rica in 2010 with the support of UNDP (PNUD, Costa Rica, 2010).

From the strategic planning phase, the various institutions whose actions will have an impact on the problems of violence and crime must come together. While, there is a greater awareness among police organizations and security agencies on the importance of addressing social risk factors; social policy institutions are not always incorporated into the policymaking process. On the other hand, as noted above, even when there is agreement on the part of social organizations to work in a collegial manner, policies in these areas do not have the explicit objective of reducing levels of violence and crime (Chioda, Ending Violence in Latin America, A Look at Prevention from Childhood to Adulthood, 2016). On the other hand, social programs focused on the attention of groups in situation of vulnerability offer greater conditions to impact risk factors that can be reproduced during the life cycle.

By **multisectoralism**, we understand the incorporation of diverse organisms and sectors in the processes of management of the citizen security, beyond the classic agencies of the sector like the ministries or secretariats of interior and the police and gendarmerie, whose intervention has incidence in an indirect or deferred way in the behavior of the delinquency and the violence, such as organisms specialized in education, recreation, health, urban planning, childhood and youth, gender, amongst

POLSEPAZ - An integrated public policy model

The Comprehensive and Sustainable Policy for Citizen Security and the Promotion of Social Peace (POLSEPAZ) was conceived as an instrument to guide the actions of the Costa Rican State in matters of citizen security and the promotion of peace, with the aim of contributing to human development, improving the quality of life and the well-being of the inhabitants. This programmatic tool was developed within the framework of the UNDP and Eurosocial Regional Model of Integrated Policy for the Prevention of Violence and Crime in 2010.

Objectives: (i) promote and strengthen state policies that contribute to reducing violence and crime with a comprehensive vision and; (ii) strengthen a multidimensional vision of security problems; (iii) stimulate practices of social co-production of security at national and local levels.

Methodology. The work included three main instruments:

- a national consultation to gather different visions, opinions and information on the effects of crime and violence, as well as successful experiences;
- an intensive study of standards, research, experiences and statistical data on the subject and the advice of national and international experts; and
- an ad hoc Advisory Committee with representatives of the three branches of Government, public institutions, political parties, civil society organizations and sectoral entities, which accompanied the process and provided qualified advice.

Components. There were three main components:

- strategic lines that guide policy;
- management model; and
- functionality conditions.

Source: (PNUD Costa Rica, 2010)

others. Likewise, the diversity of organizations is considered according to whether they are in the public or private sphere, as well as at the national and sub-national level; finally, the incorporation of civil society in the processes of co-management of citizen security has become a fundamental condition for improving the quality of public policies.

One of the most frequent responses to this need has been the creation of coordinating bodies such as councils or commissions with broad mandates such as the promotion of social peace, crime prevention and citizen coexistence. One example that stands out for its design, integration and resources available to it, is the National Council of Public Security

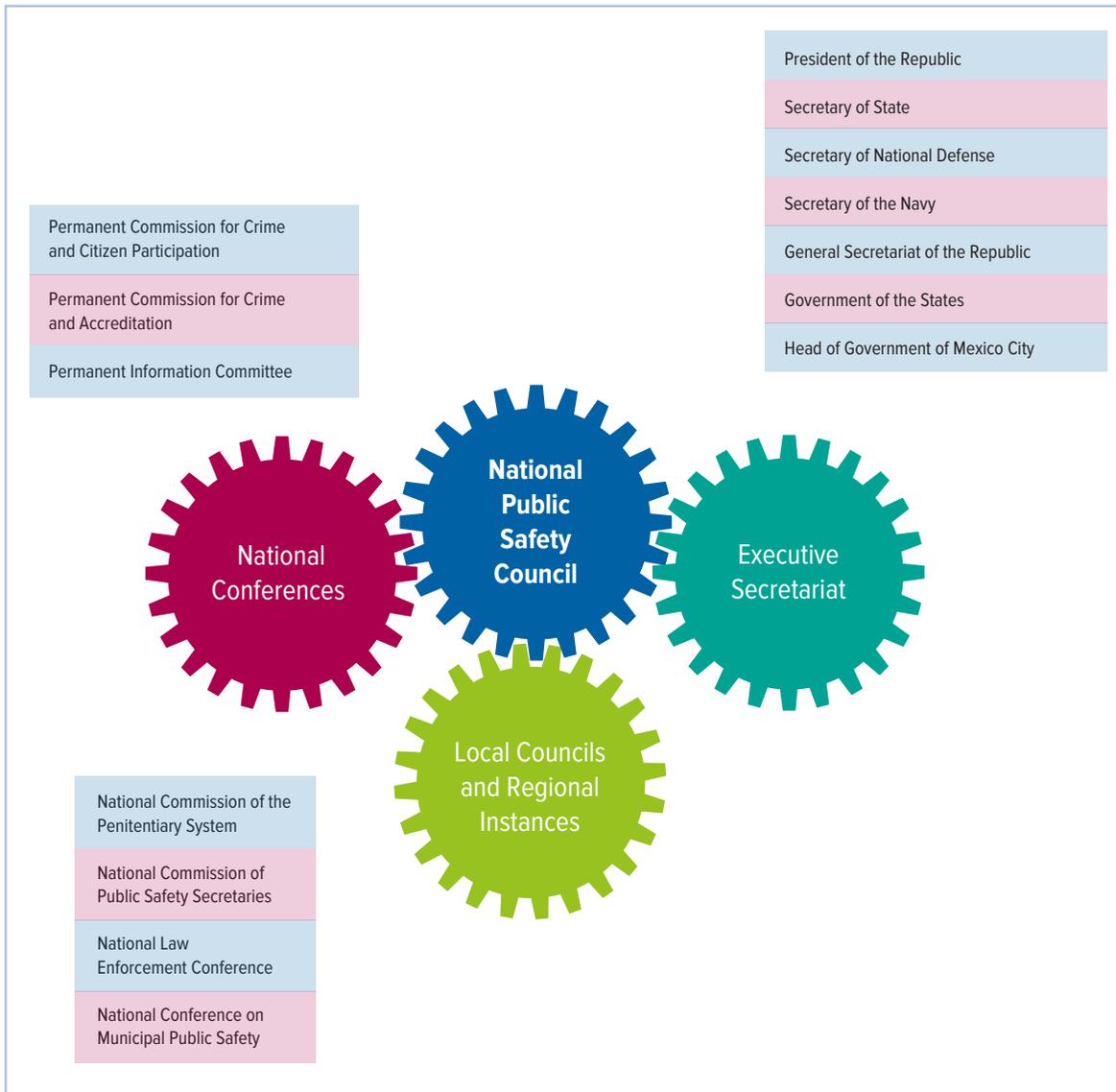
(“CNSP”) of Mexico, an organ that serves as the superior body of the National Public Security System (Illustration 4). It is integrated at the highest political level, which guarantees support for its decisions, incorporates state representation to ensure territorial coordination in a federal system such as that of the country, and establishes an organic relationship with regional bodies and local councils at the municipal level, as well as with the so-called national conferences specialized in thematic areas such as: justice, prison system, public security and municipal security; it also has an Executive Secretariat that provides it with managerial and administrative capacities. The attributions granted to the council are wide, among which stand out the following: (i) to establish guidelines for the formulation of security policies, (ii) to promote coordination among the various bodies that are part of the security system, (iii) to promote and evaluate policies, and (iv) to monitor the distribution and application of resources (Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System, 2016).

Because of the contributions that this type of body makes to the integrated management of citizen security, it must be helped to overcome some of its limitations, including: dispersion in its mandate and objectives, lack of representation of key actors, weak leadership, lack of regularity in its operation, weak mechanisms for convening, administering and following up on agreements, lack of personnel and material and financial resources, amongst others. It is also necessary to strengthen the tools for political and social dialogue, especially when it comes to the relationship between representatives of national and local entities whose political and party affiliations are not aligned, or when it comes to the incorporation of civil society, which tends to face resistance from bureaucracies with little tradition in the use of participatory management models.

By **rigorosity**, we mean the incorporation of reliable, rigorous and timely inputs, qualified human resources and information management processes into the decision-making and public policy design process. This is one of the most important conditions for the success of any policy or program; to guarantee it, it is important that three elements concur: (i) availability of reliable, rigorous and timely data and information; (ii) existence of a human resource with adequate technical capacities in both public institutions and civil society;²⁶ and (iii) access to ICTs for information management and their incorporation into decision making. One of the most successful cases from the point of view of program management rigor is the one analyzed in the PADO study in Uruguay. Honduras has also been building an integrated information system to support the sector's decision-making process. (BOX 11).

²⁶ The professionalization of the study and analysis of violence and crime in LAC is one of the greatest advances. Almost all countries have independent research centres or centres attached to universities, dedicated to the production of information, analysis and evaluations on security-related issues. This resource should be linked in a more organic way with the decision-making processes of the public sectors and international cooperation.

Illustration 4. Mexico's National Public Security System



Source: (Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System, 2016)

Box 11. An integrated information system

ICSC - An integrated information system - Honduras

The Integrated Information System for Coexistence Policies and Citizen Security of the Secretariat of Security of Honduras is a tool for evidence-based information management related to citizen security issues.

Objective: to generate quality data to feed decision making and the design and execution of public policies in the area of security.

Components:

- information on criminal incidents, and other variables and indicators of human development;
- multidimensional analysis of the criminal phenomenon; and
- strengthening the capacities of technical personnel.

Source: (Infosegura, 2020c)

Despite progress in information management, problems persist such as: inconsistency in data recording, the absence of uniform and comparable categories over time, the difficulty of updating information in real time and in a georeferenced manner, the absence of protocols for proper information management to decision-making units, weak coordination between the various public agencies that must feed the databases, and the sporadic use of instruments such as victimization surveys (Basombrío & Dammert, *Decálogo para la seguridad ciudadana a nivel local*, 2015). In addition, although progress has been made in training the personnel in charge of the units that manage information and planning, challenges persist at the level of the operational teams where human resources are not always prepared to make optimal use of the information provided to them.

The criteria of **sustainability** and **scalability** point to the possibility that a policy or program can be projected into the future (sustainability) and can expand its levels of coverage and impact without losing the essential conditions that guarantee its quality or identity (scalability).²⁷ Many of the projects implemented in the region face difficulties in overcoming the test of time, or do not manage to scale beyond a geoFigureal space - neighborhood, commune, district or municipality - or a segment of the target population - schools, youth groups, women's groups, etc. In addition to the risk of program sustainability, there is also the risk of scalability; that is, the difficulty

²⁷ The term comes from computer engineering. It differs from scaling, which suggests ascent but does not necessarily seek quality status.

for programs and projects to scale beyond a restricted geographical space - neighborhood, commune, district or municipality - or a segment of the target population - schools, youth groups, women's groups, etc.

Several factors threaten the sustainability of efforts, among them: political cycles that impact administrations, changes in leadership and bureaucratic jealousy, short-term budgetary and international cooperation contributions, and approaches to pilot experiences with no guarantee of projection. In addition to the risk of program sustainability, there is the risk of scalability, i.e., the difficulty for programs and projects to scale beyond a restricted geographic space -neighborhood, commune, district or municipality-, or a segment of the target population -schools, youth groups, women's groups, etc.

The growth of the geoFigure and population coverage of citizen security policies and programs should be an explicit objective from the design phase of the initiatives and, to this end, the following factors should be considered: adequate planning that contemplates sBOX and permanent financing mechanisms, stability and professionalization of the personnel in charge of the tasks, promoting participation that favors a sense of ownership of the initiative by civil society, and development of communication campaigns that raise awareness among the population about the benefits of a given project. In addition, while political support for initiatives is important to ensure adequate material and financial backing; personalities associated with certain projects should be avoided, as they cause political and bureaucratic misgivings that jeopardize the continuity or expansion of policies and programs.

The aspect of financial sustainability will tend to become more relevant given the low growth that economies have shown in recent years and its impact on public finances, all of which will be aggravated by the crisis caused by the COVID-19. Comparative data for 2014 show that while the region spent an average of 1.6% of GDP on security spending, slightly more than the 1.5% spent by OECD countries, when adjusted for purchasing power, the average OECD spending (US\$532) is double the average LAC spending (US\$218) (Serrano-Berthet, 2018). In this sense, some alternatives for the creation of special funds for financing security that have taken place in the countries of the region, such as Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Mexico, should be rescued (BOX 12), which have contributed to the sustainability and scalability of security programs by shielding them against the budgetary restrictions and fluctuations so frequent in the countries of the region²⁸ (Chinchilla & Vorndran, 2018).

²⁸ Some of these funds have been created through laws that have imposed new fiscal obligations specifically to finance security programs (Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica and El Salvador), or have established percentages on state contracts (Colombia); others were created from existing resources in national budgets but ensuring transfers to the federative units (Mexico).

Box 12. Financing instruments for the security sector in some LAC countries

Country	Security sector programmatic instruments
Bolivia	Contributions from departmental autonomous territorial entities, Law of the Citizen Security System "For a Safe Life" No. 264 (2012)
Chile	National Public Safety Fund
Colombia	National Fund for Citizen Security and Coexistence (FONSECAN) Territorial Security and Citizen Coexistence Funds (Fondos Territoriales de Seguridad y Convivencia Ciudadana)
Costa Rica	Law for the Taxation of Casinos and Electronic Betting Calling Link Companies No. 9050 (2012). Law on Taxation of Legal Entities for Security Financing (2015).
El Salvador	Special Contribution Law for Citizen Security and Coexistence, Legislative Decree No. 162, (2015).
Mexico	Public Security Contribution Fund (FASP).

Source: (Chinchilla & Vorndran, 2018).

Finally, **innovation** is an indispensable condition of any management process that is associated with the introduction of new, creative and effective ways of solving problems, designing processes and rethinking methods of institutional organization. Although innovation processes are not exclusively linked to ICTs,²⁹ digital tools have become an accelerator of transformation processes,³⁰ and in terms of citizen security, they have great potential to add more efficiency to the tasks of prevention and control of violence and crime, and to criminal investigation. They also contribute to a better management of resources, access to information, and citizen empowerment; finally, if the adoption procedures of these technologies are governed by rigorous criteria, they constitute low financial impact alternatives. In LAC, police institutions, ICTs have been gaining

²⁹ The Oslo Manual, Guide to Collecting and Interpreting Data on Innovation (OECD, European Commission, Eurostat, 2006), defines innovation as: "the introduction of a new, or significantly improved, product (good or service), process, new marketing method or new organizational method, in the firm's internal practices, workplace organization or external relations" (Oslo Manual, 2006, p.56).

³⁰ UNDP sees technologies as a key accelerator and enabler for the SDGs and particularly recognizes their importance with respect to SDG 16. As is the case in other areas of governance, digital technologies are promoting access to information, as well as more efficiency and effectiveness in security institutions (Steiner, Governments of the Future: Leveraging Innovation and New Technologies for the 2030 Agenda, 2018).

ground by incorporating diverse resources such as: command, control, communications and computer centers, electronic surveillance, drones, mobile applications, big data, and others (Dammert & Silva, 2018), (Dammert, 2015), (International Telecommunication Union, 2016).

Box 13. ICTs frequently used by police in LAC countries

ICTs frequently used by police in LAC countries

- Local level operations centers;
- Emergency agency operations systems;
- Information and geoFigure positioning systems;
- CCTV surveillance systems;
- Integrated ballistic identification system (IBIS);
- Dactyloscopy systems;
- Vehicle identification system;
- Airport identification system;
- Identification and facial recognition system;
- Forensic Information Systems; and
- Integrated centers with interoperability with previous 911-type solutions.

Source: Own elaboration from data of (International Telecommunication Union, 2016).

The use of ICT has contributed to improve the efficiency of security institutions and has allowed the introduction of new information exchange practices and more information management and analysis capabilities (Haskins & Chapman, 2016), (Strom, 2017). Despite its importance, there are still countries that show a weak incorporation of ICTs to the tasks of citizen security, either due to ignorance or lack of financial resources for their acquisition. Also, there are cases in which their incorporation does not generate the desired benefits as their adoption is not framed in properly designed organizational strategies, giving way to failed experiences (Lum, Koper, & Willis, 2017).

The challenges facing institutional management and public policy in the citizen security sector, which have been highlighted in this section, are being responded to through various initiatives, as confirmed by the experiences analyzed in the following chapters of this report. However, there is still a long way to go in terms of identifying and systematizing the experiences, developing analysis methodologies that allow for going beyond quantitative aspects and incorporating quality conditions, and promoting evaluations not of processes and results, but of impact and incidence on the most critical variables affecting citizen security.

CHAPTER III

Findings and lessons learned in citizen security management and crime prevention

METHODOLOGY FOR SELECTION AND ANALYSIS OF CASES

Case analysis is the "cornerstone" of this study. By dissecting them, highlights good practices and innovations in public policy and institutional management that can feed the processes of strengthening the region's citizen security sector. **Five relevant experiences**³¹ which took place in LAC countries over the last fifteen years were identified, based on five considerations: basic doctrine, relevance of the problem, effectiveness of the response, diversity in the approach and level of intervention, and reliability of the available information:

- 1 According to **the basic doctrine**, the cases selected respond to the basic postulates of human development and the notion of citizen security developed in this report. They all explicitly adopt the concerns of human rights, rule of law, inclusion, and sustainable development.

³¹ According to the terms of reference provided by UNDP for the study, relevant cases are defined as those capable of "evidencing a reduction in expressions of violence and effective management of public policies."

- 2 According to **the relevance of the problem**, experiences were chosen that refer to issues of special impact³² for citizen security and human rights, such as: homicide, robberies, violence against women and illicit drugs; and that, at the same time, allow for coverage of key institutional actors in security management such as: the police, the social policy sector, the penitentiary system, local governments and the community.
- 3 According to **the effectiveness of the response**, cases were selected that had a positive impact on the problem they were intended to address, in accordance with the rule of law and with respect for and promotion of human rights, and also those that have a demonstrative effect, from the point of view of adequate standards in the design of public policies.
- 4 Per **the diversity in approach and level of intervention**, experiences were identified that allowed for the observation of interventions and good practices from different prevention approaches including (i) social prevention; (ii) community prevention; (iii) situational prevention; and (iv) prevention through social reintegration.³³ The diversity of perspectives enables analysis at different institutional levels of intervention, such as social policy, police action at the local and community level, and the policy of criminal prosecution and punishment.
- 5 According to **reliable information available**, since the study did not contemplate field work, the cases were chosen considering the existence of reliable information, coming from primary and secondary sources that would allow the documentation of good practices, and evaluations of processes and results, as well as impact.

On this last point, it is important to note that the evaluation of programs and interventions in the area of citizen security, both in terms of impact and cost/benefit, has been one of the main shortcomings in the management of the sector. Bilateral cooperation agencies and international

³² We have defined impact in terms of those crimes that affect life and physical integrity such as homicide and femicide, that present high levels of incidence such as robbery and theft, or that generate high levels of incarceration and consequently, risks of human rights violations such as illicit drug micro-trafficking.

³³ This categorization of types of prevention follows the criteria established in the UNODC publication, Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines (2010).

organizations, including UNDP³⁴ and BID,³⁵ have led to important efforts in the analysis of projects and initiatives in security and crime and violence prevention in the region. Despite this, there is still a gap in rigorous, informed and documented knowledge that methodically feeds into decision makers, and there are still few experiences in which the paradigm of evidence-based interventions, with impact evaluations based on baselines, and cost/benefit analysis, is applied (Abt & Winship, 2016).

The experiences selected are five (BOX 14): one relating to the reduction of homicides through comprehensive responses at the local level (Brazil); another on policies of criminal prosecution and prison policies with a gender perspective (Costa Rica); a third referring to the positive externalities that social programs seem to have on the reduction of violence and crime (Mexico); another on the fall in robberies and theft through the incorporation of digital tools and innovative strategies in police action (Uruguay); and finally a model of informed and comprehensive management of violence against women (El Salvador). All cases were selected through a process of consultation and approval by UNDP technical experts.

Box 14. Cases

Case	Institutions	Country
1. Comprehensive local space interventions for homicide reduction	Local Governments	Brazil
2. Women, prisons and micro-trafficking	Penitentiary System	Costa Rica
3. Social Protection and Violence Reduction	Social Protection	Mexico
4. Innovation and ICT for effective police management	Community security	Uruguay
5. Comprehensive care of violence against women	Inter-institutional	El Salvador

Source: Own elaboration.

³⁴ This agency, together with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), has created the Infosegura project, a platform specialized in the management of evidence-based information to strengthen public policies on citizen security in Central American countries and the Dominican Republic. Other efforts for the systematized review of interventions in the security and justice sector are the *Campbell Collaboration* project founded in 2000 through its Security and Justice Group (C2CJG), which systematically analyzes high quality research, pointing out relevant findings for decision makers in the region (Campbell Collaboration, 2020); and the Global Policing Database project, from the University of Queensland, Australia, which captures all evaluations of police interventions - experimental and quasi-experimental - including some countries in the region such as Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Peru (University of Queensland, 2020).

³⁵ Through its Citizen Security and Violence Prevention program, the IDB offers access to more than 123 publications on the subject and is about to launch DATASEG, a platform that compiles reliable data on the phenomenon of violence and crime in the region. For more information, consult the IDB's "Building Security with Citizenship" portal (2020).

The cases are analyzed based on previously existing evaluations, highlighting those conditions that tend to increase the quality, effectiveness and strength of public policies in the citizen security sector, such as: rigor, comprehensiveness, multisectoralism, sustainability and innovation (Chinchilla & Vorndran, 2018). These conditions respond to the challenges in terms of management and public policies presented by the security sector, which were developed in Chapter II of this report. The presentation of each experience follows the same structure: (i) general context, (ii) description of the case, (iii) results and impact, and (iv) contributions and innovation. At the end of the report, a section of Annexes is included containing a summary of the measurement methodologies of the impact studies considered in the experiences analyzed.

CASE 1. COMPREHENSIVE INTERVENTIONS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: THE CASE OF SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

This case refers to an intervention that took place in the state of Sao Paulo, Brazil, and that achieved in a period of five to seven years a significant decrease in the homicide rates in several of the municipalities. The intervention combined various actions that affected these results, from an adequate focus of the problem, its rigorous measurement and establishment of baselines, the use of ICTs in information management and the continuous training of personnel in charge of public security. One of the most notable characteristics of the process was the leading role played by local administrations in the implementation of municipal guards and the development of preventive actions, the incorporation of civil society actors, and adequate coordination and agreement mechanisms.

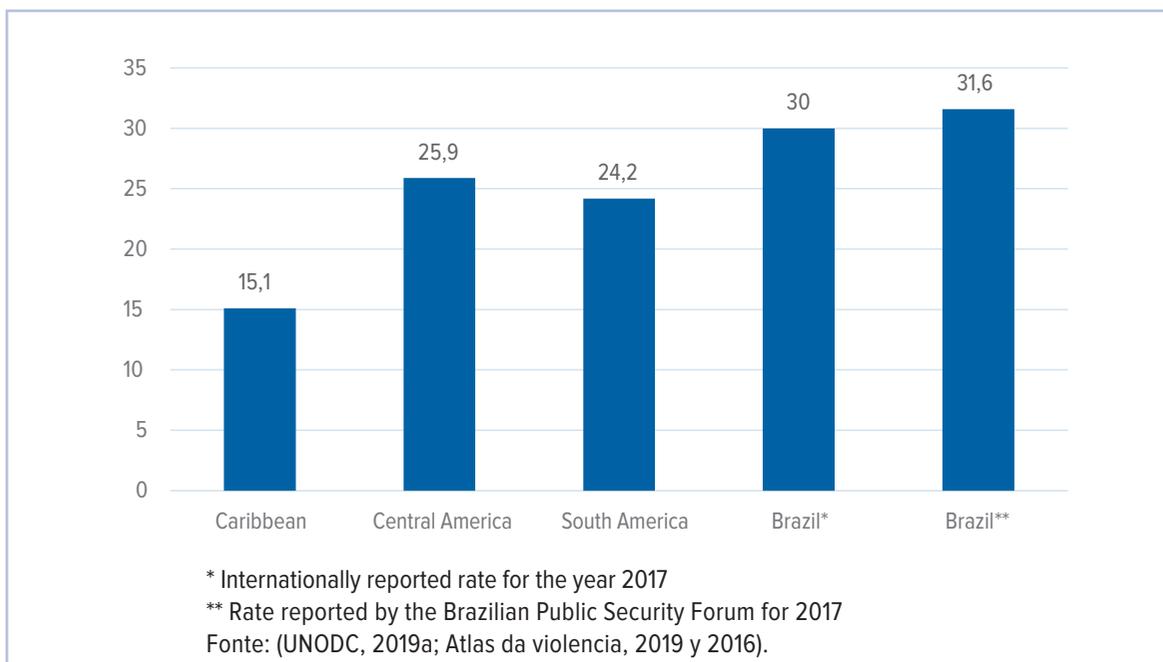
1. Context

Among the sub-regions most affected by criminal violence in LAC is South America with 24.2 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2017 (Figure 8). Brazil belongs to the group of countries with consistently high rates in this sub-region, its rate in 2012 was between 20 and 26 per 100,000 and rose to 30 in 2017 (UNODC, 2019a).

However, in the last two years the trend seems to be reversing. The data reported by the Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, a non-governmental organization dedicated to data analysis and awareness on the subject, indicates that at the end of 2019, 41,635 homicides were registered, which is a 19% decrease compared to the previous year or 9,923 fewer victims. This drop in homicides occurred in all Brazilian states (Monitor da Violencia, 2020).

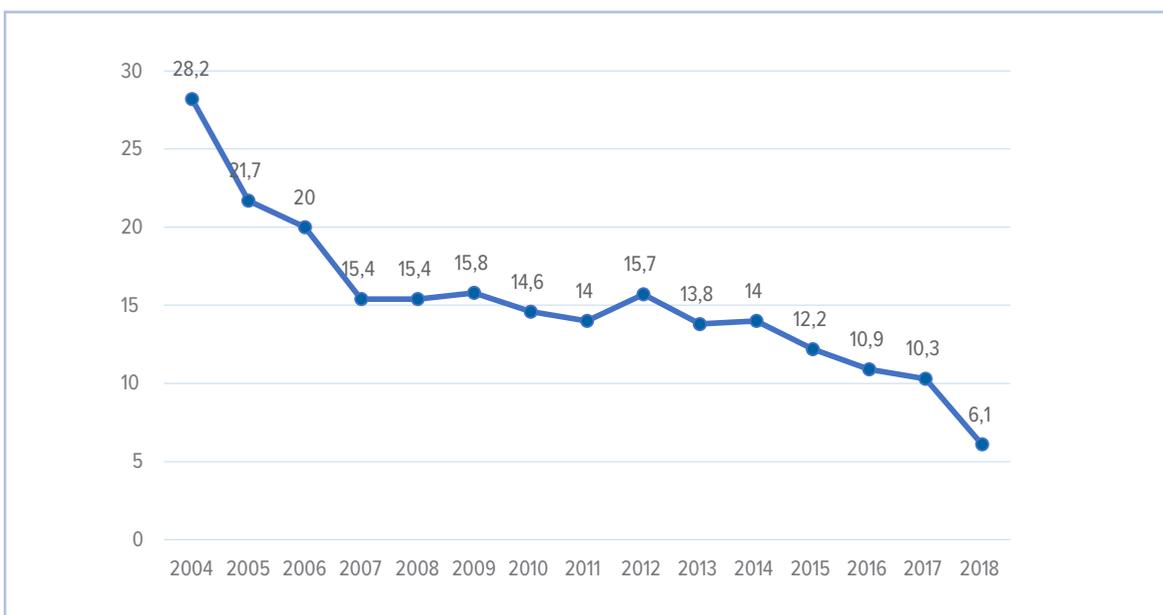
São Paulo - the richest and most populated state in the country and one that has occupied an important place in criminal incidences - has been showing a consistent drop in homicides (see Figure 9). Since 2000, the State has

Figure 8. Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants, LAC and Brazil sub-regions 2019



Source: (UNODC, 2019a; Atlas da violencia, 2019 y 2016).

Figure 9. Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants, Sao Paulo 2004-2018



Source: Own elaboration from data of (Atlas of violence, 2019 y 2016).

gradually and continuously lowered its homicide rate.³⁶ It peaked at 52.5 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 1999, falling to 6.1 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018, five times less than the national average (Muggah & Szábo de Carvalho, 2018). Between 2000 and 2007 alone, there was a drop from 5,979 to 1,311 victims of this crime, a reduction of 78% (Freire, 2018).

Although several causes associated with this drop in homicides have been identified, among them is the leadership of state and municipal governments, which have adopted management models and promoted public policies with criteria of integrality, rigor, innovation and community participation. In addition, they have achieved in several cases, the continuity and sustainability of the programs promoted, as demonstrated by several municipalities in the state of Sao Paulo, where in the last decade police intelligence, criminal analysis, evidence-based public policies, the strengthening of social policies and inter-institutional coordination at different levels (federal, state and municipal) have been strengthened (Monitor da Violencia, 2020), (Muggah & Szábo de Carvalho, 2018).

2. Strategy

In the late 1990s, the State of Sao Paulo faced a profound public security crisis. For four continuous decades, homicides had grown at an alarming rate. Between 1960 and 1999, the incidence of this crime increased by 906%, from a rate of 6.5 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants to 59.4 per 100,000 inhabitants, respectively³⁷ (Manso, 2016). In addition, the crisis experienced by the security services, which include the federal, civil and military police and the armed forces, was compounded by the number of homicides in that State³⁸. A mixture of corruption in high places, abuses against vulnerable populations and negligence in the management of the crime problem generated an environment of distrust in the population (Mesquito Neto, 2005).

Since 2001, measures have been implemented to resolve these two associated crises, the growth of criminal violence and police inefficiency. The measures adopted can be grouped into four categories: (i) a conceptual framework that incorporated new methods of intervention in the face of the criminal problem, (ii) police reform and training, (iii) the adoption of digital technologies, and (iv) the incorporation of municipal governments

³⁶ In 2015, a controversy arose over changes in the registration and management of criminal data. As a result, some analysts have pointed out that the drops in homicide rates were lower than those reported by the State (Epoca, 2015). However, the trend in the fall of homicides is recognized (Epoca, 2015).

³⁷ According to the author, there are no clear explanations for this phenomenon. Most of the related cases were attributed to interpersonal conflicts

³⁸ A rate above 10%, as is the case of violence, is considered epidemic according to the World Health Organization's definition of epidemic (World Bank, 2014).

in addressing the problem of insecurity. These measures were accompanied by social and urban interventions, as highlighted in the case of the municipality of Diadema.

Illustration 5. Key areas of intervention in citizen security in the State of Sao Paulo



Source: Own elaboration

In relation to the **conceptual framework** that articulated the strategy, the theoretical approach to the economics of crime was adopted³⁹ (Becker, 1968), and an intervention methodology that promotes targeted deterrence to influence individuals' criminal behavior⁴⁰ (Freire, 2018). These focused policies, whose priority was to reduce homicides, were combined with measures such as: strengthening police work, promoting inter-institutional and multisectoral collaboration, social prevention programs, controlling the consumption of liquor and the use of firearms, and toughening penalties (Freire, 2018).

In the area of **police reform**, replacements were made at the senior management level and the institution moved towards a new operational model of proximity, which included the following actions: deployment of community police units in complex areas, creation of a Community Police Commission made up of representatives of the military police, civil police and the community, modification of action protocols to establish new gui-

³⁹ Becker's economic theory of crime assumes that criminals are individuals who act rationally and seek to maximize their welfare; therefore, individuals commit criminal acts if the benefits of doing so outweigh those of legal activities.

⁴⁰ Focused deterrence considers that crime can be prevented when offenders are aware that the costs of committing a crime are greater than its benefits. Therefore, strategies are designed to change the perception of the risk and consequences of offending, using positive incentives aimed at improving offenders' opportunities on the one hand and, on the other, reinforcing control and sanction actions on offenders who continue to offend.

delines on the use of force, creation of incentives associated with good performance, and training. (Mesquito Neto, 2005), (Muggah & Szábo de Carvalho, 2018). A reform of the Department of Homicide and Protection of the Individual (DHPI), in charge of the investigation of the homicides in Sao Paulo, was also promoted.

The adoption of new ICT took place since 2000 with the objective of impacting the capacity of analysis and criminal investigation, and to support the model of police action of hot spots that was chosen.⁴¹ The main tools (BOX 15) made it possible, among other things, to produce the first detailed diagnosis of homicide behavior in São Paulo. The 2001 study found that: 56% of the victims were young people between the ages of 15 and 29, with a high concentration in the group of 19-year-olds living in the city's suburbs; 88.6% of the homicides were committed with firearms; 44.2% of the victims were under the influence of alcohol; and that most of the homicides were carried out during the weekend with different incidences according to the day (Estudio de Gawryszewski, Kahn, and Jorge sobre homicidio en Sao Paulo citado en [Goertzel & Kahn, 2009]). This information served as a baseline for the plan that addresses the problem of homicide (original title: *Plano de Combate aos Homicídios*) focused on repeat offenders.

The **role of the municipalities**, in a more methodical way, to the strategies of citizen security since the nineties, was one of the most critical elements in the success achieved in the reduction of homicides in the State of Sao Paulo. The Municipal Civil Guards were created or expanded,⁴² Municipal Security Plans were elaborated, and the regulatory powers granted by the Municipal Laws and Ordinances were used in aspects relevant to security, such as the control of alcoholic beverages, and others (Kahn & Zanetic, 2005). In 2001, the *São Paulo Metropolitan Public Security Forum* was created (BOX 16), which played a very important role as a mechanism for dialogue, coordination and cooperation among the State's municipalities (Cidade de Sao Paulo, 2009).

The actions carried out at the state level, along with coordinated action with municipal agencies, military police and communities, generated a set of initiatives with favorable results (Muggah, Robert, Chainey, & Avelar G, 2019). This is exemplified by the case of the municipality of Diadema,

⁴¹ So-called *hot spot policing* has proven effective in reducing crime in several places where it has been adopted. However, the police in LAC countries have had difficulty in adopting it because, among other reasons, of the lack of personnel to allow for the required deployment, the poor quality and management of information, and resistance to change in the face of deep-rooted traditional patrolling systems (Serrano-Berthet, Sin miedos, 2017).

⁴² The Municipal Civil Guard (*Guardas Cívicas Municipais* in Portuguese) are the police services of the municipalities of Brazil, created by constitutional mandate, under the authority of the mayors and responsible for the surveillance of public spaces and municipal facilities. They are an important actor in security matters, with approximately 120,000 agents distributed throughout Brazil's 1,200 municipalities

Box 15. Main technological tools adopted in the State of Sao Paulo for information management

Technological tools adopted in the State of Sao Paulo for criminal information management

- *Infocrim*, information system that produces records - updated every two hours - on criminal events, duly recorded by time and place (Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados, 2020a).
- *Fotocrim*, database that stores information and photographs of people with police and criminal records, in order to georeference the information, monitor criminal activities and support police and judicial investigation (Secretaria da Segurança Pública del Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2020).
- *Omega*, system that is fed by various databases, such as records of persons, criminal records (orders, procedures, investigations), vehicle registration and weapons (Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados, 2020b).
- *Compon Online*, information system that combines geo-processing and incident records reported by the emergency line and allows real-time monitoring of the reported events, as well as the human and material resources used (Secretaria da Segurança Pública del Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2020).

Source: Own elaboration from the sources cited here.

Box 16. Sao Paolo Metropolitan Public Security Forum

Objective: To strengthen the role of the sciences in the reduction of violence rates

Actions:

- expand, articulate, and integrate the actions of the municipalities of the Metropolitan Region of the State of Sao Paulo;
- promote the integrated action of municipalities with the State and National Public Security Secretariats; and
- exchange experiences and information to strengthen municipal management.

Integration:

39 municipalities in the Metropolitan Region of Sao Paulo:

Arujá, Barueri, Biritiba-Mirim, Caieiras, Cajamar, Carapicuíba, Cotia, Diadema, Embu, Embu-Guaçu, Ferraz de Vasconcelos, Francisco Morato, Franco da Rocha, Guararema, Guarulhos, Itapeverica da Serra, Itapevi, Itaquaquecetuba, Jandira, Juquitiba, Mairiporã, Mauá, Mogi das Cruzes, Osasco, Pirapora do Bom Jesus, Poá, Ribeirão Pires, Rio Grande da Serra, Salesópolis, Santa Isabel, Santana de Parnaíba, Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo, São Caetano do Sul, São Lourenço da Serra, São Paulo, Suzano, Taboão da Serra and Vargem Grande Paulista.

Source: Own elaboration from data of (Cidade de Sao Paulo, 2009)

located in the Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region, where a succession of good practices in safety management was generated that eventually led to positive results. The following is an outline of the main components of safety management and the programs that were applied in the municipality of Diadema.

In the intervention that took place at the municipality of Diadema, tools were applied for a **comprehensive and participatory diagnosis** of the criminal phenomenon.⁴³ These results fed the design in 2001 of the *Municipal Security Plan - Diadema Melhor Fazendo uma Vida Segura* - with the main objective of reducing homicides through prevention, control and sanction actions, as well as the integration of diverse institutional actors to the process, including social and community participation through the creation of the *Conselho Municipal de Segurança Pública*⁴⁴.

Illustration 6. Citizen Security management components in the municipality of Diadema, Sao Paulo



Source: own elaboration

One of the main components of the Municipal Security Plan was the *Lei Seca Program* (BOX 17). In addition to regulating the sale of alcohol after 11 pm in bars and nightclubs, the Program integrated different components at the level of police control, primary and secondary prevention, and community participation.

⁴³ The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Brazil - adopting a comprehensive, local and participatory approach in addressing public safety - developed a set of methodologies, instruments and tools for the collection "Coexistence and Citizen Safety: Guidelines for Participatory Territorial Management" published in 2015.

⁴⁴ The figure of the Municipal Public Safety Councils is common to several municipalities in Brazil and, although not in all cases they have achieved a sustained operation; the mechanism has proven to be effective, among others, for the following reasons: they have legal backing since they are instituted by means of municipal laws which have their own financing that is ensured through municipal public safety funds; they are granted relevant functions and not exclusively of a deliberative nature, such as analyzing and suggesting measures for the elaboration of public safety policies, supervising the fulfillment of actions and deciding on the allocation of budgetary resources.

Box 17. Key actions of the "Ley Seca" program of the municipality of Diadema

- In the late 1990s, Diadema was the most violent municipality in the State of Sao Paulo and one of the most violent in all of Brazil with a rate of over 102.8 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants (1999).
- In Diadema, took place one of the biggest scandals of police abuse in Brazil, the Favela Naval scandal of 1997 (Cano & Rojido, 2016).
- The program's success in reversing homicide rates and improving police performance led to the experience being replicated in other cities in the São Paulo Metropolitan Area.

Key action	Description
Multisectoral mechanism	Creation of the Conselho Municipal de Segurança Pública (COMUSP) with the aim of monitoring the situation of violence, encouraging public debate and promoting community participation in security policies. This body is composed of various actors (Prefeitura, Military and Civil Police, Public Ministry, churches, research institutes, non-governmental organizations, neighbors, etc.).
Mechanism technician/ advisor	Creation of the Coordenadoraia de Defesa Social to advise local authorities on the design, implementation and monitoring of security policies; develop the Municipal Civil Guard (GCM); manage coordinated actions with the Civil and Military Police; promote the participation of civil society; and analyze criminality to intervene efficiently in the areas of greatest incidence.
Measurement of the problem and evidence	Elaboration of a diagnosis of the dynamics of violence, with emphasis on homicides (1997 and 1999) that became the baseline for the implemented public policy. Among the findings of the study, it was noted that the majority of the homicides occurred on weekends, at night and in the early morning, in the vicinity of bars, as a result of fights and settling of scores, among young men, and with predominant use of firearms.
Public policy design	Based on the diagnosis, the Municipal Security Plan was designed with the objective of reducing crime rates, especially homicides, through social inclusion and prevention policies promoting a culture of peace. Both the diagnosis and the Plan were the starting point for the design of the "Lei Seca" - an intervention that sought to influence the causes, places and moments of greater incidence of homicides, including the following components: (i) operation of bars and similar establishments from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m.; (ii) prohibition of the granting of licenses for establishments located less than 300 meters from educational centers; and (iii) penalties for non-compliance through the progressive application of economic fines, cancellation of the special operating regime, and administrative closure of the establishment.

Key action	Description
Validation of public policy	<p>Previous consultations with political leaders by the mayor, prior to the approval of Lei Seca in March 2002. Also, public opinion studies were conducted that confirmed the broad support for the proposed policy (83%).</p> <p>Sensitization of stakeholders. Prior to the approval of the law, meetings were organized with liquor merchants and vendors and they were asked to sign a statement saying they were aware of the law and the legal consequences for non-compliance. The process validated the law which was unanimously approved by the Municipal Chamber.</p>
Implementation of public policy	<p>Awareness campaign, through communication campaigns and meetings with social leaders, further strengthened support for the law. A survey revealed that 98% of the local population knew about it and 93% supported the new policy.</p> <p>Monitoring of the Law: the Diadema Legal program was created, made up of municipal prosecutors, members of the JCM and the Military Police, who are responsible for ensuring compliance with the law through activities that guarantee proper supervision. For example, to reduce the risk of corruption, inter-institutional teams were formed and the location of the inspection was not announced until the start of the patrol activities.</p> <p>Community participation: the collaboration of neighbors was key to investigating infractions and to receiving complaints - for which a hotline was created.</p>
Measuring results	<p>After the entry into force of the Lei Seca, in the municipality of Diadema, homicides decreased significantly, from a rate of 102.8 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 1999, to 34.4 in 2004 (Cano & Rojido, 2016). Another study on the impact of the Lei Seca concluded that the law generated a reduction of 319 homicides between 2002 and 2004, representing a decrease of 44%. However, attacks against women showed no statistically significant difference (Goertzel & Kahn, 2009).</p>

Source: Own elaboration consulting the following sources: (Cano & Rojido, 2016) and (Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation, 2004)

Measures such as the improvement of the video surveillance and monitoring system, the strengthening of the Municipal Civil Guard (GCM) and the adoption of a proximity patrol,⁴⁵ the integration of the work of the JCM and the state and federal police, secondary prevention projects including disarmament campaigns⁴⁶ and against alcohol and drug consumption, urban improvement measures, and citizen participation were adopted (Cano & Rojido, 2016), (Muggah, Robert, Chainey, & Avelar G, 2019), (Muggah & Szábo de Carvalho, 2018).

Efforts to control alcohol consumption were accompanied by activities to also control firearms, and volunteer campaigns were promoted that included promoting a culture of peace among schoolchildren and destroying toy weapons.⁴⁷ These actions were favored by activities to encourage the disarmament of the population, promoted by the federal authorities, and by the conditions generated by the enactment at the federal level of Law No. 10,826 *Estatuto do Desarmamento* in December 2003, which contains stricter rules to control the possession and carrying of firearms, and more severe penalties for violations of the provisions contained in the law.

Police control, intelligence actions and secondary prevention were developed at the same time as the deployment of social inclusion, urban recovery and citizen participation policies. The Diadema City Council, in collaboration with the Federal Government, provided, through the *Family Grant Program*, assistance to women from 11,000 low-income families, and through the *Adolescent Learning Program* also provided grants to young people. Through the *Favela Zero programme*, hundreds of families from the suburbs were relocated to apartments and under-developed areas were transformed into neighborhoods with public sewage, lighting and paving. At the same time, the city's shopping malls were revitalized, stimulating the generation of more economic activity.

Participatory management was another important instrument incorporated into the experiences of the municipality of Diadema. Through the *Shared Action* program, the Diadema municipal Government has promoted processes of co-administration of public spaces, in which the population has made and executed decisions (Prefeitura de Diadema, 2006). Through instruments such as *participatory budgets*, dialogue between the Government and communities was promoted and citizen impact on

⁴⁵ GCM was legally created in December 1999. Between 2001 and 2003, it increased its force from 137 to 230 elements. At the same time, the policing model was modified, emphasizing foot, motorcycle and bicycle patrols to prevent crime and increase contact with the community.

⁴⁶ At the same time, the policing model was modified, with emphasis on foot, motorcycle, and bicycle patrols to prevent criminal actions and increase contact with the community.

⁴⁷ According to those responsible, some 1,400 firearms and 15,000 toy weapons were collected and exchanged for children's books and comic books during the program's 9 months of operation.

municipal affairs was strengthened.

Despite the positive results of the *Ley Seca program*, over time, community support for this Diadema project has weakened. With the drop in homicides, the perception that recreational and commercial activities are excessively restricted tends to grow, as well as the pressure to make the measures more flexible; in addition, other forms of distraction have emerged such as the so-called "street parties", which generate new problems of violence (Cano & Rojido, 2016). All of which raises the importance of considering an essential role in matters of public security and police action, which is the constant change in social dynamics and the permanent adjustment of strategies in the face of such dynamics. The value of police action depends on its ability to adapt to changes in society and its environment (Rico, Inseguridad Ciudadana y Policía, 1983).

3. Achieved results

The drop in the homicide rate, not only in the municipality of Diadema, but also in other municipalities of Sao Paulo⁴⁸ made the impact at the State level significant; the homicide rate went from 33.1 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2001, to 6.4 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018. The São Paulo Metropolitan Area showed the same behavior, with the rate of this crime rising from 49.2 in 2001 to 5.5 in 2018 (Muggah, Robert, Chainey, & Avelar G, 2019). The decline was observed in the State's large cities, including the capital where the rate was highest; there, 75 of 93 neighborhoods saw declines in the incidence of intentional homicide (Manso, 2016). Violent deaths decreased in all population groups, but especially among men aged 15-24 (-78.0%) and those living in extreme poverty (-79.3%). Homicides committed with firearms fell by about 74% between 2001 and 2008 (Freire, 2018).

There is a broad consensus that the policies promoted in several municipalities in Sao Paulo had an impact on homicide rates. Although evidence based on statistical correlations is weak (Freire, 2018), the following positive results are highlighted:

- Regarding the impact of targeted policies, Freire (2018) estimates that more than 20,300 lives were saved in Sao Paulo between 1999 and 2009. His study found that Sao Paulo's homicide rate would have been 50% higher in the absence of the public policies that were implemented (15 versus 32 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants);
- In relation to the prohibition of firearms that began to be applied

⁴⁸ Among them: Juquitiba, Embu-Guacu, São Lourenço da Serra, Itapeverica da Serra, Embu, Osasco, Itapeví, Barueri, Jandira, Diadema, Maua, Suzano.

with Brazil's National Disarmament Law of 2003,⁴⁹ it is estimated that it was responsible for saving between 2,000 and 2,750 lives in cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants in the State of Sao Paulo; 1% fewer guns in the cities reduced the homicide rate by 2% (Cerqueira de Castro, 2014);

- Measuring the impact of the implementation of InfoCrim estimated that this police information system was responsible for an average reduction in the homicide rate of 8.4 per 100,000 inhabitants, which prevented 2,546 homicides between 2000-2010 (Cabral, 2016); and
- Finally, in relation to regulations on alcohol consumption, in addition to the case of the Municipality of Diadema, a study that examined 16 municipalities,⁵⁰ in the São Paulo metropolitan area that implemented some kind of alcohol sales restriction policy, between 2001 and 2003, showed a greater reduction in the homicide rate (-9.8%) compared to those that did not (-0.6%) (Kahn & Zanetic, 2005). The study showed that the law would have contributed to a significant reduction in homicides in four cities - Osasco, Embu, Mauá and Diadema. According to its estimates, around 750 lives were saved between 2002 and 2004, which is equivalent to 21% of the drop in homicides in São Paulo during this period.

In addition to the factors analyzed, other studies mention other causes that may have been associated with the drop in homicides in the State of Sao Paulo.⁵¹ Some analyses emphasize structural causes, such as the decline of young men between the age of 15 and 25 in the population pyramid (Mello & Schneider, 2007), or the drop in the unemployment rate (Muggah, Robert, Chainey, & Avelar G, 2019). There is also consensus

⁴⁹ In an effort to reduce violent crimes committed with firearms, Brazil enacted Law No. 10.826, the Statute of Disarmament, in December 2003. It contains several aspects to control the possession of firearms, such as the right to carry, procedures to request possession and sanctions for violation of the provisions. It included the creation of a National Registry (SINARM) to register all firearms sold; the Federal Police as the agency that issues licenses; more requirements to obtain a permit (the applicant must be over 25 years of age, with no criminal record, have a formal job, show proof of residence, pass a psychological exam, take a course on gun handling and pay a fee); limited possession within one's own residence (or place of business); modification of the criminal status: of illegal possession and carrying of firearms became a felony with a penalty of 2 to 4 years imprisonment (without bail) and a fine. For the promotion of disarmament of the population, the Brazilian Government has promoted disarmament campaigns under Decree No. 5.123, of July 1, 2004, entrusted to the Ministry of Justice. The following year, a referendum was held on banning the trade of firearms and ammunition throughout the national territory, and the proposal was rejected by 63.94% of voters (Soares, 2013). In addition, the federal government carried out several gun buyback programs, which allowed for the collection and destruction of more than 1.1 million weapons throughout the national territory between 2003 and 2011 (Associated Press, 2011). However, in recent years there have been several attempts to relax gun ownership laws in Brazil.

⁵⁰ Among these municipalities are: Juquitiba, Embu-Guacu, Sao Lourenco da Serra, Itapeccerica da Serra, Embu, Osasco, Itapevi, Barueri, Jandira, Diadema, Maua, Suzano, among others (Kahn & Zanetic, 2005).

⁵¹ For an analysis of the drop in homicides in the State of Sao Paolo, see: (Tourinho Peres & al, 2011).

that the efficiency of the DHPP in the investigation was an important factor in the reduction of homicides, reaching in 2005 a rate of clarification of 65% in the cases investigated, with a focus on multi-homicides and massacres (Risso, 2014). Others mention the case of the well-known "First Capital Command" (PCC), the largest organized crime group in Brazil,⁵² and that in mid-2000 he emerged as a mediator in intra-prison conflicts, implementing informal courts in prisons that replaced lynching or killings, thus contributing to a significant reduction in violence through the prison system (Manso, 2016) (Freire, 2018).

4. Contributions and innovations

The success in the sustained reduction of homicides in the State of São Paulo, as exemplified by the case of the Municipality of Diadema, is largely explained by decentralized management at the municipal level, which adopted a comprehensive approach to the problems to be solved, promoted adequate diagnostic and planning tools, incorporated technology and innovation, and designed institutional mechanisms of a participatory nature. Among the main contributions, the following stand out:

- **Integrity.** The problem to be solved (high levels of homicide incidence) was addressed from a comprehensive perspective incorporating various risk factors at the primary level (families and youth at social risk), and secondary level (alcohol intake and use of firearms), as well as factors associated with the environment (location of bars, hours of operation, etc.), and the improvement of police control mechanisms through more efficient information management and patrol tools;
- **Rigorousness.** The process was based on a rigorous diagnosis of the problem, with emphasis on the homicides that served as a baseline for the development of the action plan and specific intervention programs;
- **Protagonism of the local management.** The policies implemented in Sao Paulo exemplify the importance of the participation of the organs at the sub-national level - municipalities. In 2001, mayors from 39 municipalities in the metropolitan area created the *Metropolitan Forum for Public Security* in São Paulo to promote municipal actions to prevent violence and crime and improve public security, through agreements between state and municipal governments. Through

⁵² It emerged in the early 1990s in response to the growing demands of the prison population in the State of São Paulo and gradually expanded to all prisons in the country. PCC is present throughout the national territory and in some LAC countries and engages in assaults, bank robberies, drug and arms trafficking (Justusa, Castro Cerqueira, Kahn, & Carvalho Moreiraca, 2018).

the Forum, the *Metropolitan Plan for the Prevention of Violence* was promoted and maps and data on criminal events were developed based on the integration of information from police records, which served as the basis for the development of municipal violence prevention programs (De Mesquita Neto, 2008). The experience of *Lei Seca* in Diadema inaugurates a period of greater protagonism of the municipal government in the public security sector in Brazil, which promoted collaboration with the traditional actors of the criminal justice system and the development of instruments of a participatory, preventive and multi-agency nature⁵³ (Cano & Rojido, 2016)

- **Citizen and inclusive participation.** The role of the community in the experience analyzed was significant in all stages of the process: from the diagnosis through consultations with different sectors of the population, through campaigns aimed at informing and raising awareness, to their participation in instances such as the Municipal Council of Public Security and collaboration in reporting infractions through special telephone lines such as *Disque-denunciação*. Another example at the State level is the Sao Paulo Institute Against Violence, a non-governmental organization that brings together business leaders, academics and representatives of various social organizations concerned with the problems of crime, violence, corruption and police inefficiency. The Institute has partnered with public authorities to develop projects in conjunction with the three levels of government (federal, state and municipal) in four main areas: police services, judicial processes, the prison system, policies, programs and actions to prevent violence, focusing on urban areas and high-risk social groups (Mesquita Neto, 2005);
- **Sustainability.** It is important to highlight the fact that there was continuity in the management of the State government of Sao Paulo from 1995 to 2018, which led to the continuation of efforts that had earlier prioritized measures to reduce homicides (Freire, 2018). Similar situations have been experienced at the level of some of the municipalities; and
- **Innovation.** The incorporation of ICTs allowed for the strengthening of analytical and planning capacities, as well as routine monitoring mechanisms of the project analyzed here (Muggah, Robert, Chainey, & Avelar G, 2019), (Justus, Kahn, & Cerqueira, 2016).

⁵³ Their actions are normally restricted to social prevention activities (educational and assistance projects, etc.), situational (surveillance cameras, alarms, etc.) and police (guards). Municipal guards have the mission of preserving public property (buildings, parks, etc.) and organizing traffic, although in practice, they can also contribute to repression tasks.

CASE 2. WOMEN, DRUGS AND PRISONS: THE CASE OF COSTA RICA

This case refers to a public policy of decriminalization and reinsertion of women sentenced to imprisonment for introducing illicit drugs into penal centers; a process that began in late 2009 and culminated in the approval and implementation of a reform to the legislation on narcotics and psychotropic substances in 2013. The reform and the actions it triggered have facilitated the deinstitutionalization of a significant number of women deprived of their liberty. This case is an example of a gender-sensitive approach to the security agenda and offers alternatives to one of the most critical problems in LAC: prison overcrowding caused by crimes associated with illicit drugs, especially for women whose rates of deprivation of liberty or imprisonment have increased due to this type of crime.

1. Context

The growth of women in prison in LAC is a regional problem. The *Institute for Criminal Policy Research* notes that "the total female prison population in Latin America has increased by 51.6% between 2000 and 2015, compared to 20% for men" (WOLA, 2016). One of the main reasons for this increase is the trade in illicit drugs in small quantities; in Argentina the population of women imprisoned for drug offenses increased 271% between 1989 and 2008, and in Brazil 290% between 2005 and 2013. The same study illustrates that from the analysis of the situation in some countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica and Peru, more than 60% of the female prison population is deprived of liberty for crimes related to drug trafficking (WOLA, 2016). Another study on women deprived of liberty in Panama, confirmed that 65% of the motives originated in crimes related to the sale and trafficking of drugs (Rodríguez E. , 2015).

Despite these worrying trends, and the international recommendations and instruments that, since the 1970s, have been issued by the United Nations, the Council of Europe and other bodies in relation to women in

conflict with the law and deprived of their liberty,⁵⁴ the problem has not acquired sufficient visibility in either the literature or the prison policies of the region. As some analyses have acknowledged, "*not seeing women, or not considering them in their specificity, has justified an androcentric model of prison management, centered on the problems, needs and interests of men, and which responds as– even to the criminal profile of men.*" (Rodríguez E. , 2015)

The lack of visibility of the prison problem from a gender perspective, and the lack of knowledge of the recommendations issued, affect the adverse conditions that have characterized the imprisonment of women from aspects of housing, personal hygiene, sexual and reproductive health and compliance with maternity obligations. Furthermore, it hides the social dimensions behind the causes of female confinement.

When looking in depth at the socioeconomic profiles of women deprived of liberty for drug offenses, common characteristics are observed in all countries: women heads of household, in situations of poverty and social vulnerability, and without criminal records (Colectivo de Estudios Drogas y Derecho, 2015). This confirms the importance of addressing this problem through public policy responses that go beyond criminal sanctions, as well as analysing the benefits versus negative effects of prescribing imprisonment for this type of situation.

Despite this, there are few countries in the region where specific considerations for the prosecution of women offenders have been incorporated into criminal legislation. The only cases in which actions are registered are Costa Rica and Ecuador⁵⁵ (Sentencing of women convicted of drug-related offences, 2020).

Costa Rica has had very low crime rates for several years. Homicides remained in the single digits until the end of the first decade of this century when the rate jumped from 8.2 per 100,000 in 2008 to 11.8 in 2009; a rate that although low by regional standards, meant a growth of 44% (Figure 10). This situation, which raised the levels of citizen alarm, took place in the context of an electoral process that made citizen security the main focus of the contest and conditioned the commitment of the incoming government to an agenda in this area.

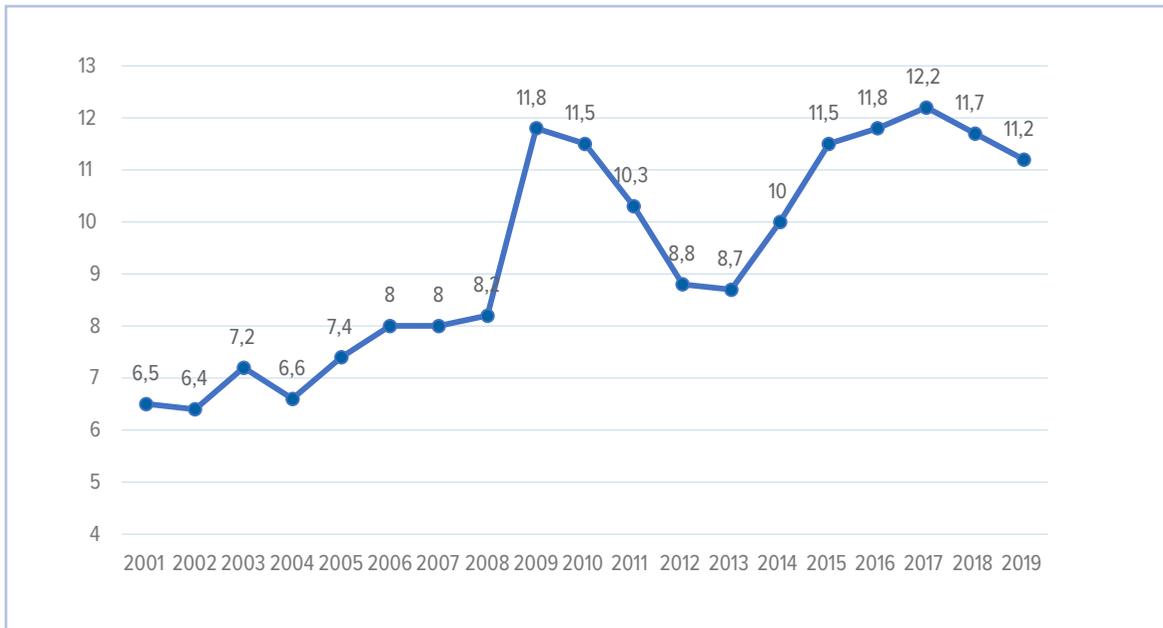
While the actions deployed were part of a comprehensive policy (PNUD Costa Rica, 2010), the intensification of control and repression responses

⁵⁴ See, among others: *Guidelines for the Treatment of Women Convicted of Imprisonment, Non-custodial Measures and Measures for Women Offenders*. Res. A/RES/65/229. December 2010, Bangkok. *Correcting gender inequity in prison health*, World Health Organization (WHO), 2009.

⁵⁵ Ecuadorian law prohibits the imprisonment of a pregnant woman for up to 90 days after birth (alternative actions such as house arrest may be used instead). Nursing mothers may also serve their sentences in low-containment facilities.

articulated through the courts,⁵⁶ produced immediate results that, while decreasing criminal incidents, had an impact on the growth of the country's prison population.

Figure 10. Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants, Costa Rica 2001-2019



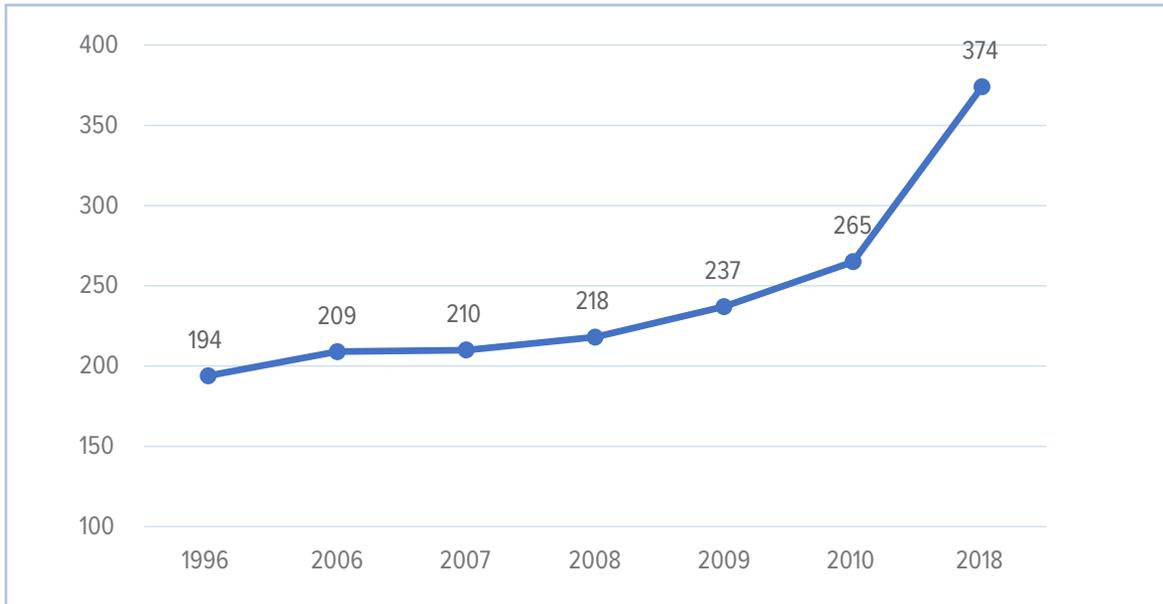
Source: Own elaboration from data of the State of La Nación, 2001-2016 and the Judicial Power, Department of Planning and Statistics. 2017 is reported based on preliminary data provided by the OIJ.

In Costa Rica, institutional alarms began to be raised by the growth of the prison population in the second decade of this century. In ten years, the rate of imprisonment increased by 71.5%, from 218 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2008 to 374 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018 (Sánchez Vega, A., 2019), which increased prison overcrowding⁵⁷ and generated a deterioration in the country's prison conditions.

⁵⁶ The flagrancy courts were created by special law in response to an unprecedented crime wave in the country between 2008 and 2010. The courts intervene when someone is arrested while a crime is being committed or immediately after and the case does not require complex evidence. The case is resolved in a few hours since the police report is presented at the time and the victim's and witnesses' testimonies are provided, without detriment to the procedural guarantees established by the laws of the country. These courts operate in extended hours from 7:30 a.m. to 11 p.m. This mechanism, among other measures, is responsible for part of the positive results obtained by Costa Rica in the reduction of violent crimes between 2010 and 2014.

⁵⁷ According to data obtained from the report of the Mechanism for the Prevention of Torture in Costa Rica 2019, for that year, there was a prison population of 16,265 and the capacity was 12,435 spaces and, therefore, an overcrowding of 3,830 (National Mechanism for the Prevention of Torture, 2019).

Figure 11. Confinement rate per 100,000 inhabitants, Costa Rica 1996-2018



Source: own elaboration based on data from Sánchez, A. (2019). Prison, human rights and confinement. *New Humanism*, VOL (7).

Of particular concern was the increase in the number of women deprived of their liberty for crimes related to illicit drugs. While in 1986, 46% of women prisoners in the country's main women's prison were held for property crimes; in 1990, when Law 7198 on Narcotics, Drugs and Psychotropic Substances came into force, the percentage of women prisoners held for property crimes fell to 25%, while the number of cases involving illicit drugs increased to 61% (Zumbado, 2013).

This concern led to studies on the profile of women held in the country's penal centers for crimes related to illicit drugs, which yielded relevant data. With regard to the socioeconomic profile, one of the analyses found that the condition of poverty or extreme poverty predominated among the women prisoners (54.9%), and a significant percentage came from families with criminal records (36.7%) (Ministerio de Justicia y Paz; ICD, 2009). Other research identified that the majority were heads of household (70%), without fixed income (35%) or with incomes below US\$100 per month (33%), mothers of minors (86%), and with low levels of schooling (35% with incomplete primary and 20% with incomplete secondary) (Rodríguez E. , 2015). In relation to the modality of introduction of drugs to penal centers, a study found that an immense proportion of those who committed this crime were women (86%), without criminal records (92%), and with predominance in young people between 18 and 30 years old (58%) (Rodríguez E. , 2015).

Predominant profile of women deprived of liberty for crimes associated with the sale and trafficking of drugs

- Young women between 18 and 35 years old
- Mothers of minor children (1 to 3 children)
- Heads of Household
- Low level of schooling
- Informal Employment
- Condition of poverty and extreme poverty
- No criminal records

Source: own elaboration

On the basis of the studies carried out, it was justified to design a policy aimed at addressing the situation of women deprived of their liberty for reasons associated with the sale and distribution of illicit drugs. Some studies have shown *"that when programs are designed for women and these are only focused on the criminogenic factors of the male population."*⁵⁸ *They are less likely to be effective in reducing recidivism of the former. This is not only because they focus on factors that are less relevant or operate differently for women, but also because they do not address those factors that are exclusive, or more relevant, to women.* (Mera & Espinoza, 2018).

2. Strategy

The process that led to the formulation and implementation of public policy was in three stages. In the first stage (2009-2010), the problem was identified and diagnosed, and the problem was placed on the public agenda. Institutional analyses and academic studies were promoted that highlighted the complex situation of women deprived of their liberty for violations of the Law on Narcotic Drugs, Psychotropic Substances, Unauthorized Drugs, Related Activities, Money Laundering and Financing of Terrorism, Law 8204.⁵⁹ The first administrative measures were also adopted to deal with the problem, through the figure of the pardon contemplated in Article

⁵⁸ Female criminality, unlike male criminality, does not constitute a major risk to society. The crimes for which women are most frequently prosecuted are theft and, in recent years, drug trafficking as micro-traffickers.

⁵⁹ The studies were conducted by the Ministry of Justice and Grace in conjunction with the Costa Rican Institute on Drugs. Likewise, the analyses carried out in the final graduation projects of the bachelor's and master's degrees in criminal law took into account the recommendations made in several sentences of Court III, in which the impossibility of granting lesser sentences was mentioned, see sentence 1999-01539.

90 of the Criminal Code. Of the pardons granted by the Government during this period, 85 percent were granted to women convicted of drug crimes.

It is important to note that the media coverage throughout this stage, was characterized by its amplitude and an adequate informative balance that deepened the individual stories, of the women who benefited from the pardon, which contributed to raising public awareness, facilitating the subsequent approval of legal reforms⁶⁰.

In the second stage (2011-2013), the processing and approval of Law 9161 *Reform of the law on narcotics, psychotropic substances, drugs of unauthorized use, related activities, money laundering and financing of terrorism and its regulations*, which is the subject of this analysis took place. Its approval in July 2013, was the result of a coordinated action between the Office of Public Defense of the Judiciary, the Directorate General of Social Adaptation of the Ministry of Justice, and congressmen from various political parties.

Law 9167 reduced the minimum sentence from 8 to 3 years for women who bring drugs into prisons and who present conditions of social vulnerability (Table 19). By lowering the minimum sentence, Judges would have the possibility of applying alternative sentences to prison. The aim of the reform was to mitigate the negative effects of imprisoning women, and to ensure proportionality in the penalty imposed. This is set out on the file on the processing of the law, which states that the reform seeks to "*contribute to correcting this structural problem that today breaks down the social fabric by dividing up households run by women, leaving their children unprotected, introducing elements of proportionality and gender specificity through the penalty, and providing judges with elements to arrange for the enforcement of the penalty in order to humanize and introduce the possibility for them to be socially reintegrated while serving their criminal sentence*" (Asamblea Legislativa de Costa Rica, 2013).

The bill was approved in July 2013, and came into force in September of the same year. The beneficiaries immediately requested a review of their cases. Figure 12 shows the impact of the entry into force of Law 9161, by interrupting the growing trend of the population deprived of liberty for crimes associated with illicit drugs. Between 2013 and 2017, the number of women in prison fell by 37%, with a surprising increase in 2018.⁶¹

⁶⁰ See La Nación, Gobierno negó 97% de pedidos de indulto en casi tres años, January 1, 2013, at www.nacion.com/2013-01-01/Sucesos/Gobierno-nego-97--de-pedidos-de-indulto-en-casi-tres-anos.aspx, [accessed March 29, 2013]; Radio Pampa, Presidenta otorga indultos con motivo del día de la madre, August 13, 2013, at www.radiolapampa.net/2013/08/presidenta-grants-pardons-on-motivation-of-mother's-day/.

⁶¹ Concerning the inquiries made as to why there was an increase in the female population deprived of liberty in 2018, two hypotheses were obtained: (i) Judges could have stopped applying Article 77 bis as they did in the past, and/or (ii) given the entry into force of a new technical regulation in the prison sector; the performance of extraordinary assessments required for these cases could have been thus negatively impacted.

Law No. 9161 "Comprehensive reform of the law on narcotics, psychotropic substances, drugs of unauthorized use, related activities, money laundering and financing of terrorism, to introduce proportionality and gender specificity".

Article 77 bis is added, the text of which will read

"Article 77 bis - The penalty provided for in the preceding article shall be from 3 to 8 years' imprisonment when a woman is the author of or participates in the introduction of toxic substances, narcotics or psychotropic substances into prison, and complies with one or more of the following conditions

- a) Is in a condition of poverty.
- b) Is a head of household in a vulnerable condition.
- c) Has under his or her care minors, older adults, or people with any type of disability that merits the dependence of the person who has it under his or her care.
- d) Be a senior citizen in a vulnerable condition.

In the event that any of the above conditions are determined, the competent judge or the judge for the execution of the sentence may order the completion of the sentence imposed, in the form of home detention, assisted freedom, trust centers, restricted freedom with non-stigmatizing electronic devices or any type of alternative measure to prison". (Asamblea Legislativa de Costa Rica, 2013)

Source: own elaboration

Figure 12. Number of women deprived of their liberty, Costa Rica 2000-2018

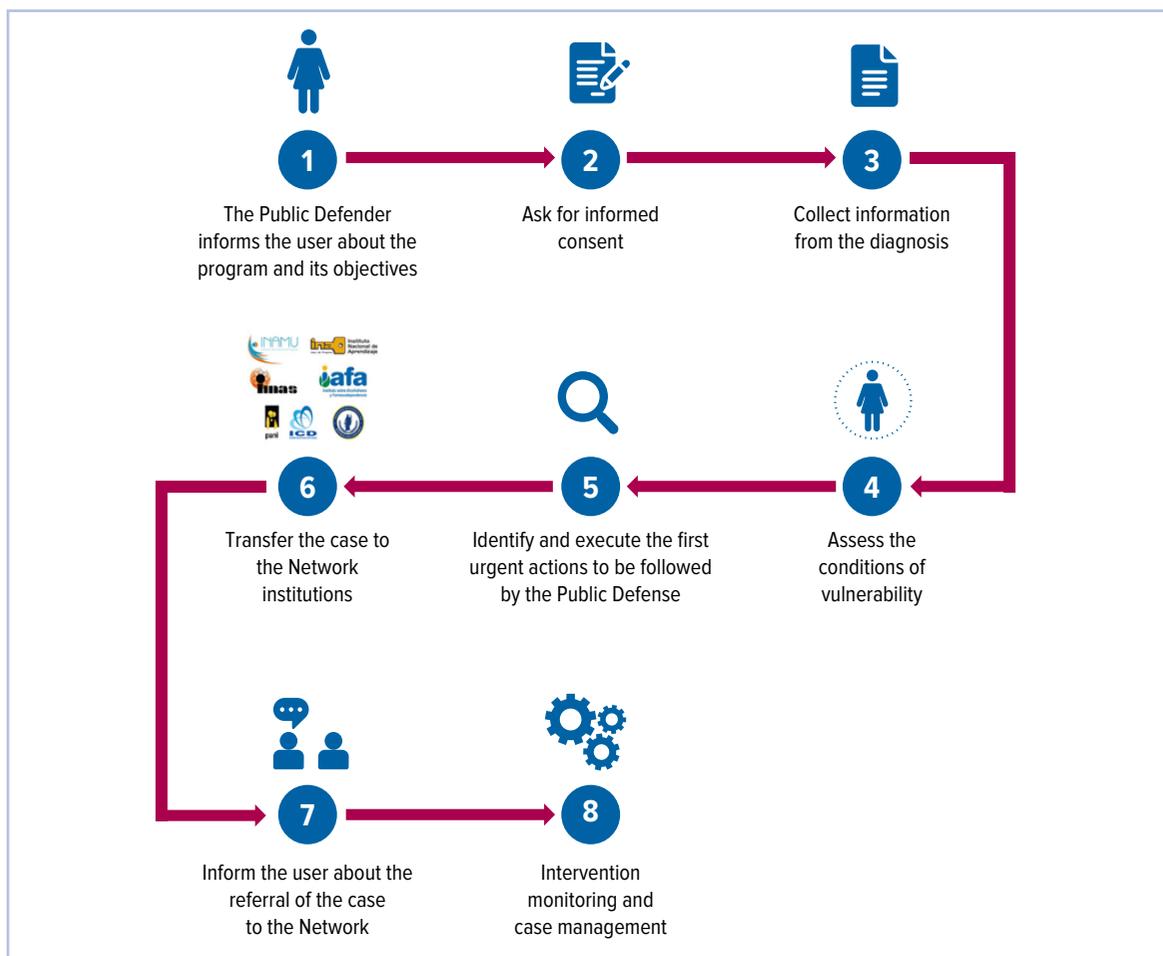


Source: own elaboration from (Unidad de Planificación Institucional, 2019)

The third stage (2014-2020) responds to the need to institutionally support women who receive the benefit provided for by law, in order to avoid their recidivism, and taking into account that they all face situations of vulnerability (Defensa Pública de Costa Rica, 2015). The *Network for the Integral Attention to Women Linked to a Criminal Process and their Dependent Relatives in Situations of Vulnerability* (RED) was created, composed of representatives of the Public Defense, INAMU, IMAS, the Ministry of Justice and Peace, the Costa Rican Institute on Drugs, the National Children's Trust, the National Learning Institute, and the Institute on Alcoholism and Drug Dependency. The private sector also participates through the Chamber of Commerce.

In 2014, the participating institutions of the network signed a Coordination Protocol that strengthens the institutional scheme, and which outlines that the Network has as a general objective: *"...to provide a comprehensive approach to women linked to criminal proceedings and their dependent relatives in situations of vulnerability, in order to mitigate the social inequality and discrimination that affect them and allow them to fully exercise their rights"* (Illustration 7) (Varias Instituciones, 2014).

Illustration 7. Flowchart of RED program actions in Costa Rica



The Network is active and has been incorporated into various planning instruments of the institutions that make up the Network. It is worth mentioning the annual evaluation reports 2019 of both the Ministry of Justice and Peace (Secretaría de Planificación Sectorial e Institucional, 2019), as well as the Costa Rican Drug Institute (Unidad de Planificación Institucional, 2019), are evidence of the follow-up given to the program.

Law 9161 inspired other reforms to the Criminal Code. In 2018, Law 9628 was passed, introducing changes in the way sentences are set, and giving Judges the possibility of including as mitigating factors the fact that *"...the person sentenced is a woman who is in a state of vulnerability, due to poverty, because she is responsible for the care and support of dependent family members, due to disability, or because she is a victim of gender violence, when that state has influenced the commission of the punishable act"* (Comisión Permanente Especial de Seguridad y Narcotráfico, 2018). This mitigation is included through the addition of paragraph g) to Article 71 of the Criminal Code, and is complemented by the addition of a paragraph to Article 72 that allows for the possibility of reducing the penalty, even below the minimum penalty, if the person sentenced is a woman who does not have a criminal record and who meets all the characteristics indicated in paragraph g).

3. Achieved results

The reform of Article 77 bis of Law 8204 and the incorporation of the gender perspective in the analysis of the causality behind the commission of crimes associated with illicit drugs represented an advance in the human rights of women deprived of their liberty. It was a response to Guideline 61 of the Guidelines for the Treatment of Women Sentenced to Prison Terms, Non-Custodial Measures for Women Offenders, which expressly states that: *"Considering the disproportionate number of women who are detained for minor drug-related crimes, often as a result of being victims of increased drug trafficking, poverty and coercion, courts should have the power to consider, when sentencing, mitigation of the sentence of women who have committed such crimes due to personal circumstances and characteristics"* (UNODC, 2009).

Decisions to deinstitutionalize women in prison for crimes associated with illicit drugs, first through a policy of pardons and later through criminal law reform, had the following positive impacts:

- the law encouraged the release of women who were not serving prison sentences at the time the law was passed. It is estimated that in the first stage, approximately 120 women graduated from the closed institutional level, with a positive impact on the problem of

overcrowding in the largest female prison in the country (Molina & Cortés, 2017). However, this result cannot be measured in light of the rates of recidivism because there are no studies on the subject, something that is peremptory in any process that involves benefits to the population deprived of liberty;

- greater proportionality was guaranteed in the application of the criminal sanction, with a predominance of alternative measures. The component of the NETWORK came to guarantee an integral accompaniment and attention to the women deprived of their liberty, especially in the stage of social reinsertion. The population was made aware of an issue with deep social roots and which response has been criminalized, with positive results in terms of social acceptance of the alternative measures that were applied; and
- successive penal reforms were inspired, as is the case with Law 9628 in which the extenuating circumstances considered in Law 9161 were used for other types of crimes committed by women.

4. Contributions and innovations

The policy of deinstitutionalization applied to women in conflict with the law in crimes associated with the sale and distribution of drugs was the result of an effort inspired by a gender-sensitive vision, based on an analysis of the situation of women in the country's prisons, duly coordinated and sustained over time. Among its main contributions and innovations, the following stand out:

- **Gender equality.** The incorporation of the gender perspective in prison matters, which was previously invisible, took on worrying proportions. The dizzying growth of the female prison population and the weight of crimes associated with illicit drugs were highlighted as the cause of this increase. Furthermore, it demonstrated the socioeconomic conditions of the women prisoners, and put into perspective their levels of danger in the absence of criminal records in most cases. All this culminated in a prison policy with a gender perspective;
- **Rigorousness.** Thanks to the studies carried out, a penal solution was designed that was adjusted to the conditions of a sector of the offending population in the country, thereby achieving less disproportionate responses that reduced the adverse effects that imprisonment had on the individual and his or her family. The reform was inspired by the analyses of the socioeconomic and criminological profiles of women prisoners and allowed for the conditions of the application of the norm;

- **Integrity.** The comprehensive approach to the problem of crime prevented the intervention process from being exhausted in the application of the sentence or in the release from prison; instead, an inter-institutional response was designed to provide support to the convicted persons and their families in their social reintegration treatment. The institutions responded to the need to provide follow-up to the women and their families and a permanent instance of inter-institutional support was created. The program, the NETWORK, was articulated and expanded its scope of action to all women leaving the country's prisons; and
- **Sustainability and scalability.** The process from the first diagnoses, the granting of pardons and the positioning of the problem in the public agenda in the years 2006 to 2008, until its culmination with Laws 9161 of 2013 and 9628 of 2018, extended throughout several administrations of different political sign, and advanced in several legislative periods counting on the confluence of diverse political forces. It became a State policy. First, it inspired a second reform of the criminal legislation that made it possible for the mitigating measures provided for in Law 9161 to be extended to other types of crimes committed by women.

CASE 3. SOCIAL PROTECTION AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE AND CRIME: THE CASE OF MEXICO

This case analyses the impact that social policy programs aimed at mitigating poverty and exclusion can have, given their indirect and delayed effects, on the containment and reduction of violence. A Conditional Cash Transfer Program (CCTP) implemented in Mexico was selected, given the relevance that these initiatives have had in LAC, becoming an important innovation in social policy with an impact on multiple social risk factors. These programs have been shown to generate externalities that positively affect variables such as homicide, domestic violence, theft and robbery. Even though the literature is scarce, the evidence so far recorded is encouraging and speaks of the need to move towards a greater and more beneficial convergence between social and citizen security policies.

1. Context

Mexico has been experiencing a deterioration in the situation of insecurity for several years, confirmed by the increase in the rates of homicide and femicide. According to Figure 13, the rate of intentional homicide began to grow in 2014, reaching a new high in 2019 with 23.4 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants. In the last five years, complaints of this crime grew by 13%, while victims increased by 17%.

A major growth recorded the killing of women on the basis of gender. Between 2015 and 2019, the rate of femicide shot up from 0.7 per 100,000 women to 1.5, equivalent to a 114% growth in that five-year period. The growth trend was also registered in robbery crimes, which rose from a rate of 341.9 robberies per 100,000 inhabitants in 2015 to a rate of 429.9 in 2019 (Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública, 2020).

There are a significant number of studies that have tried to explain the causes associated with the increase in violent crime in this country over the last few years. Some of them attribute the homicides, among other causes, to alterations in socioeconomic factors.⁶² One study identified that a 1% increase in the group of young "ninis" (those who do not study or work between the ages of 19 and 24) in a border state with the United States between 2007 and 2013 was correlated with an increase of 2.8 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants (De Hoyos, Gutiérrez Fierros, & Vargas M., 2016). Another study noted that an increase of one point in the Gini coefficient between 2007 and 2010 for Mexico's municipalities translated into an increase of more than 36% in the number of drug-related homicides per 100,000 inhabitants;⁶³ that is, it confirmed a causal effect of inequality in crime (Enamorado, López-Calva, Rodríguez-Castelán, & Winkler, 2016). These studies and others cited below justify the interest in analyzing in depth the effects that social policy programs have on violence and crime.

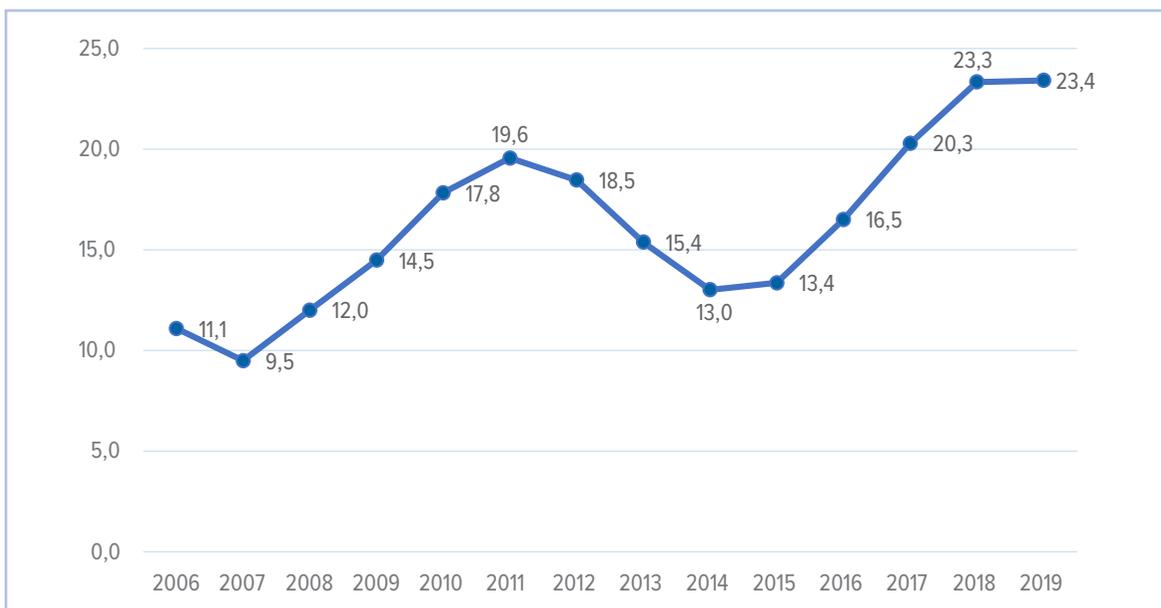
Among the most widespread social policy programs in the region are the Conditional Cash Transfer Programs (CCTP) that began to be implemented in the mid-1990s. These initiatives are aimed at families in extreme poverty, with the objective of alleviating immediate and intergenerational poverty by increasing the monthly income of the families, and on the condition that the beneficiaries observe compliance with requirements such as the adaptation of diets to nutritional criteria, permanence of children in school and college classrooms, participation of household members in job training programs, attendance at addiction treatment programs, etc. (Parker, 2019). These policies go beyond addressing income inequality by seeking to affect a set of factors that, like education or health, produce and reproduce social exclusion (PNUD, 2019).

Los CCTP became a public policy innovation in social matters throughout the region. In 2015, twenty LAC countries registered thirty active conditional transfer programs that benefited over 132 million people and more than 30 million households, with an investment equivalent to 0.33% of the regional GDP or \$153 USD per capita (Cecchini & Atuesta, 2017). Different social impact evaluation studies have shown that CCTPs have improved

⁶² The literature is dominated by (1) counter-narcotics policy; (2) exogenous dynamics such as increases in drug prices, a more enforced gun supply, and an increase in deportations of immigrants with criminal records from the United States; and (3) changes in socio-economic conditions.

⁶³ The authors assumed the following: as a result of the 2009 international financial crisis, young and relatively low-skilled male adults traditionally employed in the manufacturing sector in northern Mexico faced a significant reduction in the formal labor market in this sector. This increased the likelihood that they would join organized crime groups.

Figure 13. Homicide rate per 100,000 population, Mexico 2006-2019



Source: own elaboration (Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública, 2020) y (CONAPO, 2020)

the well-being of poor households, in aspects that include income level⁶⁴, nutrition, access to health and education services, and other (Cecchini & Atuesta, 2017). These advances have contributed to the consolidation of the same, managing to overcome the political cycles (Cecchini & Mada-riaga, 2011).

In addition to the impact of PMTCT on social variables, correlations between PMTCT and changes in crime patterns have been analyzed. Although few existing studies in LAC have addressed this perspective of analysis of PMTCT and the evidence is still limited, those that have attempted to do so confirm suggestive results. The analyses identified in this study sought to answer whether PMCTs have generated positive externalities on crime through two main avenues:⁶⁵ (i) by an increase in household income, and (ii) by a reduction in the opportunities or disqualification of young people from attending school. The analyses cited refer to programs implemented in Brazil and Colombia (BOX 20). The evidence was robust on the relationship between increased household income and decreased crime; but

⁶⁴ Lance (2016) found that extreme poverty, for example, in Brazil decreased from 20% (2004) to 7% (2009) and that the Gini coefficient had fallen by 4.7% between 1995 and 2004. The Bolsa Familia CCT contributed 21% to this reduction. In Mexico, the Progres-a-Oportunidades program recorded the greatest reduction in extreme poverty in rural areas. PTMC contributed 21% to the reduction of the Gini coefficient by 5% between 1996 and 2004.

⁶⁵ Gary Becker, in his text *Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach* (1974), laid the theoretical foundation for these studies by arguing that crime is also linked to the economic and social environment that potentially changes the incentives to commit a crime.

not between the incapacitation of youth to engage in criminal activities and the reduction of crime. Both studies suggest that the reduction in inequality produced by the programs was accompanied by a reduction in crime rates⁶⁶ (Camacho & Mejía, 2013), (Chioda, De Mello, & Soares, 2012).

Box 20. Positive Externalities of CCTPs on Crime and Violence in Brazil and Colombia

Income effect

In the case of PMTCT in **Colombia**, Families in Action (FA), it was found that the program reduced crimes against property, specifically theft from persons and theft from vehicles, by 7.2% and 1.3%, respectively, in the days following the transfers, in the face of a 10% increase in the rate of beneficiaries. Analyzing the effect of AF transfers on the incidence of crime in some urban areas of Bogotá, it was found that the rate of theft from homes in areas close to the place of payment fell by between 7.7% and 12% in the face of a 10% increase in the rate of beneficiaries (Camacho & Mejía, 2013). It was also found that when beneficiary mothers received money from PMTCT, the rate of domestic violence was reduced by 6%, particularly that generated in the couple; although the magnitude of the effect tended to vary depending on the region, poverty levels and time in the program (Rodríguez C. , 2015).

In the case of Bolsa Família (BF) in **Brazil**, there was also robust and significant evidence of a decrease in crime. Positive externalities of BF were detected in relation to patrimonial crimes such as robbery and theft, and kidnapping (Loureiro, 2012).

The effect of decrease

One study estimated that the expansion of the BF between 2006 and 2009, corresponding to approximately 59 additional students covered per school, caused a 21% decrease in crimes committed in the neighborhoods surrounding the schools (Chioda, De Mello, & Soares, 2012).

Other impacts

Another study showed that the rate of homicide and hospitalization due to homicidal violence decreased when the coverage of the PTMC in the target population increased. For each percentage increase in coverage in Bolsa Família, the homicide rate dropped by 0.3%. When the coverage of the target population was at least 70% for one year, hospitalizations due to violence fell by 8%; for two years by 14%; for three years by 20%; and for four years by 25% (Borges Machado, Rodrigues, Rasella, Lima Barreto, & Araya, 2018).

⁶⁶ The reasons behind the relationship between income inequality and violent crime, although it has been demonstrated through correlations, are the subject of debate. On the one hand, it is suggested that inequality may increase criminal violence because of the increased social tensions that are generated, or because in contexts of inequality crime may provide better economic returns than legal activities (UNODC, 2019c).

2. Strategy

The first conditional cash transfer program with national scope and one of the main references in LAC was launched in Mexico in 1997, in the context of the so-called "tequila crisis" that affected a large sector of the population excluded from the social protection system (Yaschine, 2019).

Initially PROGRESA, as the program was called in its first phase, provided cash transfers to families in rural areas living in a situation of food shortage. The co-responsibilities of the beneficiary families consisted in the attendance of all household members to scheduled medical check-ups, consumption of nutritional supplements, attendance of mothers and their adolescent children to health orientation sessions and school attendance of children and adolescents. In 2001, the program was renamed OPPORTUNITIES and the number of beneficiaries and geographical scope were expanded. Semi-urban and urban areas were included and specific benefits were offered to youth and older adults. In 2014, the program changed its name again to PROSPERA, maintaining the same benefits and incorporating into the institutional offer of social programs, others related to the promotion of entrepreneurship and financial and labor inclusion (Cecchini & Atuesta, 2017). In total, and with adjusted versions, the PTMC program PROGRESA-OPORTUNIDADES-PROSPERA (POP) remained in operation for twenty-two years and during five administrations.

The current administration, whose constitutional mandate began in December 2018, reallocated resources from the PROSPERA program to other initiatives under its new social development policy. Based on a model of development of the state's transversal welfare, the federal government has prioritized 30 programs and projects in the National Development Plan (2019-2024) among which "Jovens construyendo o Futuro"⁶⁷ and "Semeando Vida"⁶⁸ for its scope and investment amounts. Despite the progress made to date, the experiences are relatively recent and it

⁶⁷ The purpose of the "Jóvenes Construyendo el Futuro" program is to educate, train and successfully insert young people between 18 and 29 years of age who are socially and laborly excluded (neither studying nor working) into the labor market. Each young person who is trained in a job center receives a scholarship of 3,748 pesos per month and optional medical insurance for 12 months. The program had a budget of 23,915 million pesos in 2019; for 2020, it had an approved budget of 24,956 million pesos (CONEVAL, 2020b). As of August 5, 2020, there were 297,371 verified Work Centers and 497,397 linked apprentices, of which more than 58% were women (Secretaría de Trabajo y Previsión Social, 2020).

⁶⁸ The "Semeando Vida" program is aimed at farmers in rural areas whose income is below the welfare line and is present in eight states. The support has three components: 1) monthly payment of \$5,000 pesos, of which 10% goes to savings and the creation of the Welfare Fund; 2) in-kind support such as plants, inputs, tools, community nurseries and biofactories; and 3) technical accompaniment. The program had a budget of 14,793.8 million pesos in 2019; for 2020, it had a budget of 28,504.9 million pesos (Secretaría de Bienestar, Cocoa Services S.C., 2020). As of October 9, 2019, the program had more than 229,091 registered planters and worked with 25 native peoples across 575 thousand hectares, 4,400 ejidos and 362 municipalities (Presidencia de la República, 2019).

is rare to find literature that measures concrete results and impacts. For the time being, it can be seen that the implementation of these new interventions has faced multiple challenges, including: operation and coordination in a wide and heterogeneous territory; management through new operational structures; limited resources for operation; design of effective implementation strategies; as well as breaking with bureaucratic inertias accustomed to previous approaches and routines (CONEVAL, 2020a).

In relation to the POP program,⁶⁹ several studies highlight some achievements. First, the MPO achieved its central objective of raising the income of the poorest households and improving the human capital of its members. Based on a comprehensive approach, the support provided was concentrated in three areas: education, health and nutrition⁷⁰. (Parker, Susan W., 2019). The program prioritized women heads of household as direct beneficiaries (Dávila Lárraga, 2016). In addition, support was provided for pre- and post-natal care for pregnant women, and scholarships for girls at the secondary and upper-middle school levels (Parker, Susan W., 2019).

Secondly, the program, in its different versions, was characterized by inter-institutional participation and participation with national and sub-national administrations. The participation of the Ministry of Social Development, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit, and the Mexican Institute for Social Security (IMSS), all coordinated through a decentralized mechanism known as the National Coordination of the Program, stood out. In addition, 32 State Delegations and 232 Regional Attention Units were incorporated to operate the program in the states (Gobierno de la República, 2016). The organizational scheme was complemented at the local level by organizations representing the beneficiaries of the program that improved the link between the families receiving benefits and the staff of health, education and other services, as well as with the National Coordination (Dávila Lárraga, 2016).

The absence of security institutions in the implementation of this social policy is evident in the case of Mexico's PTCM. At least there is no documentary evidence that indicates formal participation at the level of support or coordination of actions between social institutions and security. This does not rule out participation of an informal or sporadic nature, considering that some of the policies to accompany the transfers were to be deployed in areas hit by violence and crime.

⁶⁹ The Progres-a-Oportunidades-Prospera (POP) program was the second with the second largest coverage in LAC, growing from 1.6 million households in its first phase (PROGRESA), to 6.1 million households in its last phase (PROSPERA), and reaching a coverage of more than 29 million people. The investment was equivalent to 0.23% of Mexico's GDP in 2015 and accounted for 2.2% of social policy spending (Cecchini & Atuesta, 2017).

⁷⁰ Support in the area of education consisted of scholarships, school materials, service and quality of education. In the area of health, access to basic public health services was provided. It also offered access to food and nutritional education.

3. Achieved results

With regard to the social aspects that were the objective of the PTMC, the available information confirms positive impacts on the immediate level, but not on the medium and long term. Some of the studies indicate that the PTMC achieved improvements in household food consumption, a reduction in extreme poverty⁷¹ and important advances in various educational, nutritional and health indicators. However, it is argued that the impacts on human capital, on the labor market insertion of young beneficiaries and on intergenerational mobility have been less than expected (Yaschine, 2019).

Even though the PMTCTs developed in Mexico for nearly two decades did not have the explicit objective of impacting the problems of violence and crime, the studies reviewed report some positive externalities that such programs may have in terms of homicide and violence against women; although in the latter cases, they also incorporate variables on the educational level of spouses and alcohol consumption. The studies for Mexico indicate the following:

- **Positive externalities of POP in relation to homicide.** Available analyses show that the rate of this crime decreases when PMTCT coverage increases. According to one analysis, when the program's coverage reaches more than 25% of the population of a municipality, the probability of zero homicides is around 50% (Lance, 2014). The same study also found that PMTCT had less effect on homicides in poorer municipalities in the period 2005-2008,⁷² compared to the effect in higher income municipalities, where PMTCT coverage positively affected the homicide rate.⁷³
- **Positive externalities of the POP on domestic violence.** There is evidence that when the spouse's income is increased by 200 Mexican pesos per month - equivalent to 35% of the spouse's income - alcohol consumption decreases by 15%, which in turn reduces the aggressive behavior induced by this factor by 21%⁷⁴ (Angelucci, 2007). This last cited study analyzes changes in aggressive beha-

⁷¹ Between 2008 and 2018, the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Rights Policy (CONEVAL) recorded a trend towards stagnation regarding the evolution of poverty in Mexico. There was a decrease in extreme poverty between 2008 and 2018, from 44.4% to 41.9% respectively. However, in absolute numbers, people in poverty increased from 49.5 to 52.4 million (CONEVAL, 2019).

⁷² For this analysis, data were collected from 3,110 municipalities in Mexico over a three-year period.

⁷³ Lance (2014) does not provide an explanation for the difference in impact between poorer and richer municipalities.

⁷⁴ Based on a sample of 10,257 poor households living in 506 rural towns in the states of Guerrero, Hidalgo, Michoacán, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí and Veracruz for quantitative analysis in the period 1997-1998.

violation in men and the amount of the transfer granted, controlling for the educational level of the spouse; while small amounts of transfers decrease the violence associated with alcohol consumption by 37%; larger transfers increase the aggressive behavior of men who have lower educational levels and greater biases against women (Angelucci, 2008). Similarly, when measuring the impact of transfers in a rural area, within two to six years, physical conjugal violence decreases by 33%; however, the probability of receiving threats and being victims of emotional violence increases by 23%, according to the Bobonis and Castro study (2010).

4. Contributions and innovations

PMTCTs have been considered an innovation in social policy in LAC over the past two decades. They have included populations that have traditionally been excluded from social protection services, have taken a comprehensive approach to addressing poverty that includes access to health, education and nutrition services, and have promoted intersectoral and inter-institutional management (Cecchini & Atuesta, 2017), and have privileged the gender approach to bring the benefits, in a preferential way, to women from vulnerable sectors.

Although there is no documented evidence, some analysis suggests that such programs, by positively impacting the multidimensional poverty index that enables the generation of concrete opportunities for socio-economic inclusion, increase social cohesion and spaces for coexistence and participation, reducing expressions of violence. What is relevant is the confirmation of the relationship between inequality and violence.

The PTMC generated important lessons that can be valuable when designing and implementing the social and welfare policy of the current federal administration, which is especially committed to an approach to security that limits confrontation and repressive action and intensifies prevention mechanisms. Among the aspects to be highlighted are the following:

- **Integrity.** One of the most complex conditions that a balanced and integral approach to citizen security poses is the design and implementation of policies that impact the multiple factors associated with violence and crime in a preventive manner. Especially those factors of a social nature. The analysis of the PMTCTs that have been implemented in Brazil, Colombia and Mexico, give important clues about the externalities and induced effects that social programs can have in the reduction of homicide rates, femicide and crimes against property, among others. It is not a question, as already mentioned, of assimilating social policy to security policy, but rather of recognizing that there are areas of intersection that make it necessary to revise

institutional designs to improve the levels of interrelation and cooperation between the social and security policy sectors. In addition, the possibility that these programs offer to incorporate various types of social interventions should lead to the incorporation of programs to control risk factors directly associated with violence such as alcohol consumption or firearms possession.

- **Inter-institutionality.** One of the main contributions of PMTCT was to conceptualize social policy not in a compartmentalized manner, through diverse programs that do not connect with each other, but as an integrated offer that maximizes the impact on the family nucleus. It is a model that can be extended not only to social sector institutions, but also to some of the institutions of the citizen security sector. As noted above, active collaboration between social development, security and justice agencies was not confirmed, but is desirable. Institutions such as the police and criminal justice have much to gain from more prosperous, healthy and inclusive communities where violence and crime are reduced, as does the prison sector in its programs of social support for the population deprived of liberty and in the processes of social reinsertion.
- **Rigorousness.** Although the program did not set out to do so, independent analyses have been produced using the information produced by the MOP, to confirm various hypotheses about the impact of the program on social and public safety variables. It is essential to consolidate the collection and management of useful data for the development of analysis models that encourage the generation of studies on the positive externalities of social policy in phenomena of violence and crime.
- **Sustainability and scalability.** The PTMC program PROGRESA-OPORTUNIDADES-PROSPERA (POP) has been operating continuously for twenty-two years and throughout five administrations of different political sign. Likewise, it managed to scale up not only in its regional and population coverage, but also to add more services to the initial offer for household care.

CASE 4. INNOVATION AND ICTs IN POLICE MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF URUGUAY

This case refers to the Program of High Operational Dedication (PADO), an intervention of the National Police of Uruguay in the Metropolitan Area of Montevideo. The program combined a model of preventive police surveillance on hot spots and a decisive incorporation of information and communication technologies (ICT) that positively impacted aspects of police management and performance. The positive results of this experience confirm the importance of the innovation and digital transformation component within the police services of the region. The case also stands out for having promoted adequate participation schemes for civil society in the co-management of citizen security.

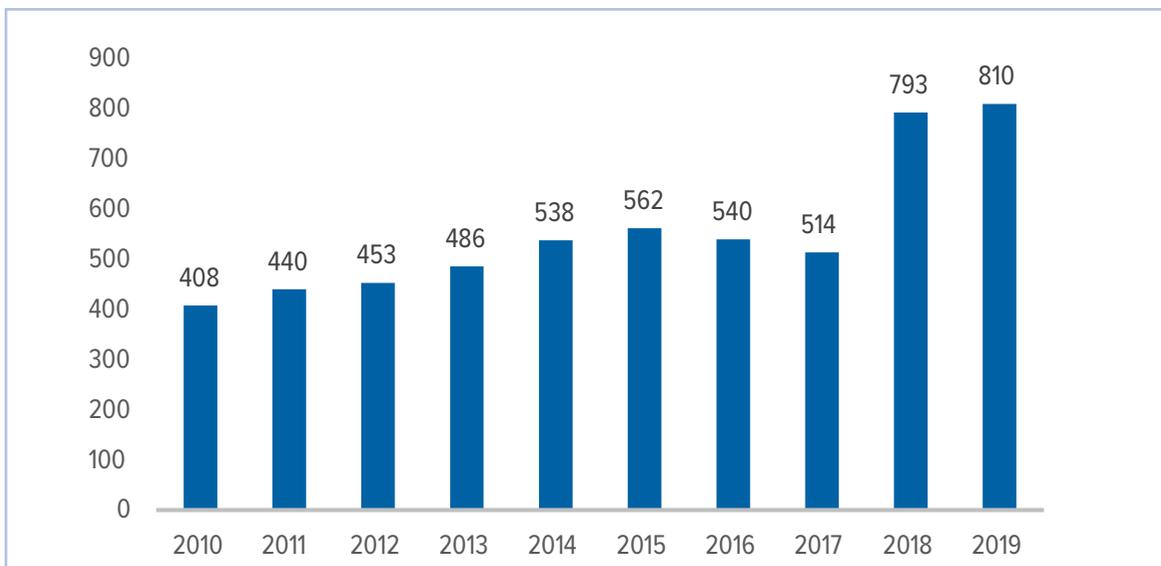
1. Context

In the last ten years, the Republic of Uruguay has become one of the regional leaders in the incorporation of ICTs in public sector management (World Wide Web Foundation, 2018). Since 2008, the Government has implemented a robust digital transformation agenda by developing infrastructure and expanding coverage and access to services (Presidencia de la República Oriental de Uruguay, 2017). This transformation has also involved the Uruguayan National Police (PNU).

The country has had one of the lowest homicide rates in the region; however, at the beginning of the new century, it began to experience a deterioration in citizen security. Intentional homicide increased by 25% between 2002 and 2015, going from a rate of 6.9 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2002 to 8.6 in 2015 (UNODC, 2020). Theft grew even more, from a rate of 408 in 2010 to 562 in 2015 per 100,000 inhabitants, an increase of 37.7% (Ministerio del Interior, 2020b). The increase in the incidence of crime also increased the sense of insecurity, to the point that, by 2015, Uruguay was among the three countries in the region, along with Guate-

mala and Nicaragua, where citizens were most afraid of being victims of crime (Latinobarómetro, 2016).

Figure 14. Rapine and theft rate per 100,000 inhabitants, Uruguay 2010-2019



Source: Own elaboration from data of (Ministerio del Interior, 2020b).

The deterioration in objective and subjective security conditions led to the initiation of a police reform process in 2010 that included actions such as (i) restructuring, training and professionalization; (ii) strengthening of scientific knowledge and evidence analysis for the design of strategies and decision-making; (iii) mechanisms to combat corruption; (iii) use of ICTs in various aspects of police management, and; (iv) patrol and prevention schemes, planned on the basis of statistical and systematized information. The process culminated in the approval of a new Organic Police Law, promulgated at the end of 2015, which sought to strengthen aspects of doctrine and deontology based on democratic principles and values and respect for human rights, and introduced mechanisms to improve standards of transparency, professionalization and working conditions (Ministerio del Interior, 2019a).

Within the framework of this reform process, the Uruguayan police promoted the High Operational Dedication Program (PADO), a successful case of management by results and use of ICT in police management, as will be analyzed below.

2. Strategy

In April 2016 the Uruguayan Ministry of the Interior (MIU) launched the PADO, a police patrol program focused on the geographic areas that concentrate the highest incidence of crime, or "hot spots",⁷⁵ and that, by means of an intensive use of the information, it also combined characteristics of the predicting policing model.⁷⁶ Since 2016, it has been applied in the departments of Montevideo, Canelones and San José.

The program was created in response to the growth of rapacious⁷⁷ crime in certain areas of the Montevideo Metropolitan Area, where more than 90% of crimes are concentrated (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017). It also sought to improve emergency response times, without affecting dissuasive patrolling in hot spots (Ministerio del Interior, 2019a).

The program set itself short- and long-term objectives. The immediate objectives were: (i) the reduction of crimes against property through patrol circuits; (ii) the strengthening of the operational discipline of the personnel assigned to the program and the improvement of their performance; and (iii) the improvement of the quality of the urban environment. In the medium term, the program was proposed: (i) to reduce the levels of criminal incidence in general; (ii) to increase police effectiveness in the clarification of criminal acts; (iii) to increase people's trust in the police, and to decrease the feeling of insecurity in the population (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017).

The PADO is based on five components: (i) dissuasive patrolling in circuits, segments and critical points with high concentration of violent crimes against property carried out by police headquarters⁷⁸ of Montevideo, Canelones and San José, and the Republican Guard; (ii) treatment of environmental and situational factors that affect levels of violence and crime; (iii) training of officials to implement the program; (iv) citizen participation and mobilization; and (v) creation of the Public Security Management System (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia

⁷⁵ The hot spot policing model is a deterrent patrolling strategy focused on small geographic units (micro-units) with a high incidence of crime. Several studies have highlighted the effectiveness of this intervention (Weisburd & Telep, 2014).

⁷⁶ The predictive policing model relies on the intensive use of information and analytical tools to predict and prevent the commission of criminal acts. It is part of the trends of proactive policing models and has been used in various forms since the 1990s in Europe and more intensively in the first decade of this century in the United States of America (Perry, McInnis, Price, Smith, & Hollywood, 2013).

⁷⁷ Term commonly used in Uruguay to refer to violent crimes against property. Approximately 27% of the residents of the Montevideo Metropolitan Area were affected by this crime at the time. (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017).

⁷⁸ It is a special security force under the MIU.

Illustration 8. Components of PADO in Uruguay



Source: own elaboration

de la República, 2017). According to information from the Office of the President of the Republic, the intervention represented less than 3% of the expenditure of the budgetary program and less than 5% of the budget of the executing units involved⁷⁹ (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017).

In relation to the approach to **situational** factors, PADO seeks to detect environmental conditions that can become criminogenic factors. Through basic standardized instruments such as forms, the characteristics of the area, the situation of existing facilities and services, the state and maintenance of the infrastructure of the area are documented. This information is contrasted with community representatives before enriching the decision matrix (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017).

Regarding preventive/dissuasive action, PADO **patrols** operate at the times and places with the highest incidence of crime, according to the particularities of each sector. Each circuit is assigned a group of police that includes officers patrolling on foot, on motorcycles and an officer in a

⁷⁹ In 2016, PADO did not have its own budget, but it had a specific budget line item of approximately 141 million pesos, allocated for the payment of the exclusive and flexible dedication of its officers. It should be noted that the bulk of its budget came from the executing units that contribute to its implementation - the Montevideo, Canelones, San José, and Republican Guard headquarters - mainly through the remunerations of the officers that were incorporated. For 2016, there was an estimated expenditure of 538 million pesos, distributed in remunerations (90%), cost of vehicles assigned to the program and fuel expenses (10%) (Management and Evaluation Directorate of the Office of Planning and Budget of the Presidency of the Republic, 2017).

radio patrol with a supervisor.⁸⁰ Approximately every 45 days, the teams of each circuit are rotated, and more frequently the rotation of the police on foot (Chainey, Serrano, & Veneri, 2018).

The third component related to the **training** of the personnel in charge of the program, has a previously defined plan, but its design is flexible, adapting it to the needs of the program and the police. PADO officers receive eight hours of training per month on topics such as physical training, weapons handling, patrol techniques, interrogation and search (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017).

In the process of training and technification, the efforts that have been made with the Criminal Analysis Unit,⁸¹ which leads the implementation of the PADO, in coordination with the police headquarters of Montevideo, Canelones and San José, and the National Directorate of Republican Guard. The Criminal Analysis Unit has developed a valuable installed capacity that allows it to coordinate and monitor the different units and design operational plans based on the analysis of georeferenced criminal data (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017). Since 2005, the National Observatory on Violence and Crime has supported criminological analysis efforts and evidence management⁸² through a rigorous methodology that monitors the main indicators on the evolution of crime and police management, updating the information quarterly. Another vital function has been to promote the modernization of computer systems, as well as the revision and expansion of the problems to be diagnosed and the production of knowledge on violence, criminality and insecurity in the country (Ministerio del Interior, 2020c).

⁸⁰ The standard composition of a patrol team is as follows: one officer (with a four-wheeled vehicle), two-to-three-foot patrolmen per segment, and two to four motorcycle patrolmen. The foot patrol team patrols the segment, staying within its boundaries. The rest of the team patrols the circuit, also within its limits. The police officers have Tetra equipment and the mobile team has a tablet with remote access to databases to control vehicles and people (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017).

⁸¹ Experts from the Criminology centers of Cambridge University (England), University College of London (University College of London) and New York City University (John Jay College) trained a significant number of police officers in data interpretation and analysis. Among this group of officers, police officers were selected to form the Criminal Analysis Unit (Ministry of the Interior, 2019a)

⁸² In detail, the Observatory has the mandate to: 1) centralize, process and analyze statistical information on violence and criminality produced by the Ministry of Interior; 2) apply standardized spatial and temporal criteria for the reliable measurement of different phenomena; 3) update data on a quarterly basis to keep the population informed about the evolution of the main indicators on violence and criminality; 4) deepen sectoral work within the National Statistical System for the exchange of information that stimulates the production of original knowledge in the social sciences; and 5) stimulate, through public dissemination, the integration of the different efforts in studies and analysis on the evolution and profiles of violence and criminality in Uruguay (Ministry of the Interior, 2020c).

Citizen participation has taken place through co-management processes of public security and is articulated in the Local Tables of Coexistence and Citizen Security. These tables constitute a space for participation, from where diverse social actors contribute to the identification of problems of coexistence and security. The tables were promoted by the Ministry of the Interior so that, from a local and citizen perspective, police management is strengthened in all its stages. They are part of an institutional design aimed at stimulating multisectoral participation, made up of the Neighborhood Councils, the Community Police and representatives of institutions and public services at the local level (Ministerio del Interior, 2020a).

These mechanisms of co-management between institutions and citizens have been reinforced by the role played by ICT, which were introduced and modernized not only to improve efficiency and transparency in institutional management, but also "for the development and strengthening of democracy with respect to the attention and participation that this ministry provides to the inhabitants" (Lima, Godinho, & Paula, 2014).

One of the most important components of the PADO is the **incorporation of ICTs** into police management. The most important technological tool is the *Public Security Management System (PSMS)*, which started its operation in 2012 and is a fundamental pillar for the planning of patrol tasks (Ministerio del Interior, 2019a). The SGSP is a computer system designed to manage public security information at the national level, implemented in all executive units of the Ministry of Interior (Gobierno de Uruguay, 2016). With the data from the reports and through the use of ICTs, this unit processes and generates information to identify schedules of criminal incidence, delimit zones and circuits for patrol and police deployment, and monitor in real time what is happening on the ground, among others. The system incorporates different internal management tools, among them, the *Digital Map* of the country for the georeferencing of events (Lima, Godinho, & Paula, 2014).

The Ministry of the Interior took steps to integrate various databases and harmonize indicators, thanks to which the SGSP was able to centralize a wide range of information; among the data it collects are the following: (i) criminal incidents including information on participants and the accused, criminal records, relevant objects or materials, location and description of the incident; (ii) complementary public security information; (iii) communications to courts and prosecutors' offices concerning crimes or misdemeanors, as well as resolutions adopted by the judges; (iv) medical diagnoses of persons injured, killed or involved in public security events; and (v) various information related to public security management (inventory and movement of weapons and police equipment, police procedures, and the daily duty roster of personnel of basic operational units) (Gobierno de Uruguay, 2016). One of the areas where the system has proven to be

effective is in recording information on domestic violence crimes.⁸³

The SGSP provides the relevant and georeferenced information to the operational and patrol units, which have the devices and communication equipment that allow them to manage the information. In addition, the system allows the geolocation of the patrol units which allows to regulate the deployment and police patrol (Valverde & Vila, 2018).

Given the amount of information it concentrates, the SGSP has become a useful tool for citizens, since it generates a wide variety of services such as reports of complaints or incidents of the ministerial service, records of incidents such as theft or loss of identity card, digital management of permits to carry weapons, etc. It has also demonstrated its value in supporting the internal management of institutions through the provision of basic legal information services, requests for police and judicial arrests of persons, firearms, migratory movements, traffic accidents, domestic violence and several more (Gobierno de Uruguay, 2016).

The system also has strict controls over procedures and the quality of data entered. The consolidation of the SGSP has provided the Uruguayan police with reliable and rigorous statistics for the design, management, monitoring and evaluation of security policies. Given the conditions described, Uruguay has received recognition from organizations such as the OCD and, more recently in 2019, the rating of excellence with respect to the reliability of statistical data on security matters, awarded by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.⁸⁴

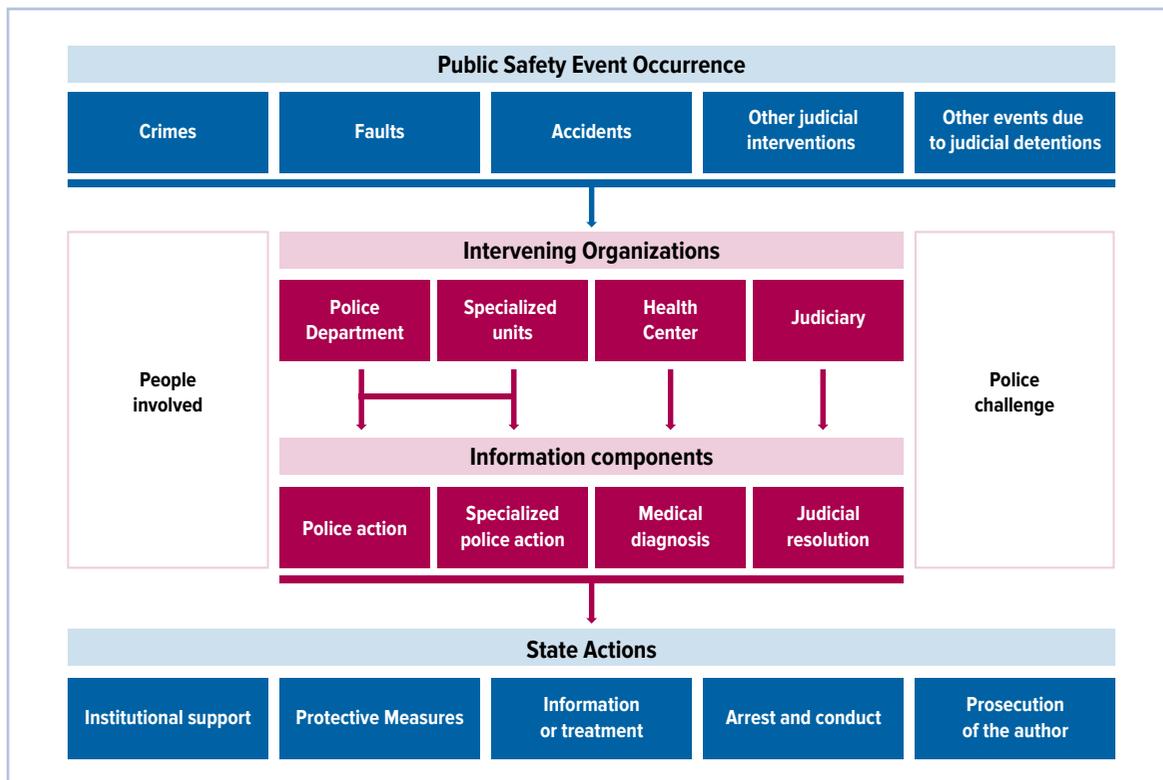
The SGSP is the most relevant of the components of the PNU innovation strategy, but it is not the only one as it can be seen in the following BOX, which summarizes the ICTs that have been adopted to date and that have been part of the good results obtained by the PADO.

The implementation of the innovation strategy led to a cumulative budget

⁸³ The management of information regarding domestic violence situations, crimes associated with domestic violence, or dangerous situations was incorporated into the SGSP. The Domestic Violence Information Management Protocol details the information components to be captured: persons involved, location of the event, targets of the event (weapons, vehicles, etc.), description of the event, medical diagnosis and judicial resolution and typification of the domestic violence event. In addition, it is mandatory to complete a specialized technical interview of each victim of domestic violence conducted by the police officer following a form whose information is recorded in SGSP. This interview provides quality information that makes it possible to assess the risk situation and determine the victim's protection strategy (Ministry of the Interior and UNFPA, 2012). It should be noted that Specialized Domestic and Gender Violence Units were created in each operational headquarters to provide special and closer attention to the citizen (Valverde & Vila, 2018).

⁸⁴ This body audited the information and statistical systems used by the different countries in the different stages of the process, from data collection, processing, security levels, and the production of information for analysis (Ministry of the Interior, 2019b). The SGSP certification process had been initiated previously with audits with reference to ISO standards in quality management (9001/2008 and 9001/2015) and the evaluation of their digital and open government strategies in collaboration with the OECD.

Illustration 9. Information management of the SGSP in Uruguay



Source: (Gobierno de Uruguay, 2016)

increase of 8.9% between 2014 and 2019 (Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la República Oriental del Uruguay, 2020). These resources were used to finance the incorporation of police personnel, the increase of their salaries, the execution of institutional changes and improvements in infrastructure through the incorporation of technology and equipment (Presidencia de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay, 2019).⁸⁵ A loan from the Inter-American Development Bank⁸⁶ of US\$1,885,000 complemented the funding required for the development of the problem-oriented policing model from 2012 to 2017 (Resolución DE-111/12, 2012).

⁸⁵ The executed budget increased from US\$19,186.6 million in 2014 to US\$ 29,252.7 million in 2019, representing a cumulative increase of 8.9%. It should be noted that, analyzing the portion of security in Uruguay's total budget, there is a decrease from 5.7% (2014) to 4.9% (2019).

⁸⁶ The "Programa de Gestión Integrada Local de Seguridad Ciudadana" had an estimated cost of US\$7,153,741 of which US\$5,000,000 was a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank. The remainder was additional resources provided by the Government of Uruguay. The objective of the Program was to contribute to the reduction of violent crime in the city of Montevideo, through focused prevention and control actions. Its specific objectives were to increase the effectiveness of the police force in preventing and solving crimes; and to increase the social reintegration of minors with high risk factors associated with violent behavior and crime in the program's areas of influence (Resolución DE-111/12, 2012).

Box 21. ICT incorporated in the National Police of Uruguay

ICT	Description
Information System	The SGSP is a unified security management information system that (i) provides information on all events in real time; (ii) allows cross-referencing variables for analysis; and (iii) incorporates different sources of information from national institutions and security agencies.
Video Surveillance	Installation and operation of a fixed video surveillance system that includes neighborhoods, commercial areas, etc. with 24-hour attention and trained personnel. There are more than 3,250 cameras in Montevideo, Canelones and San José. For 2019, the installation of 1,700 additional cameras was projected for the northern and western borders of the country. Also, more than 1,000 body cameras and drones were acquired.
Crime prediction	PredPol software is a machine learning model for crime prediction that was used by the MIU between 2014 and 2017. This information was the basis for deploying deterrent patrol resources; however, based on an evaluation conducted, the MIU decided to discontinue the use of <i>PredPol</i> . Currently, police personnel have access to DIT reports through the SGSP.
Technology in patrol cars	As of 2017, Montevideo Response Units are equipped with BOXts to take on-site reports. They have access to the license plate recognition system to identify the required license plate number. The TETRA communication system is used, which is encrypted and allows geolocation of patrol resources in vehicles or on the ground.
Crime reporting	The Emergency 9-1-1 application has been widely accepted. An online reporting system was also enabled through the MIU's web page. Complaints reported in this space are systematized and uploaded to the SGSP.
Aerial patrol	Since 2014, the PNU has incorporated drones into its operations, under the coordination of the National Unit of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UNAVANT), which provides support to headquarters and directorates that request for it. Drones provide an aerial perspective and are very effective when a difficult to access area needs to be surveyed.
Clarification of crimes	Technologies have been implemented to clarify crimes such as the DNA Bank or the Fingerprint Identification System (AFIS), among others.
Application of precautionary measures	Since 2013, electronic ankle bracelets have been used to enforce precautionary measures in cases of domestic violence; inmates during temporary releases and hospitalization.
Prison Management System	Since 2014, the Prison Management System has been implemented, which records the activity of persons deprived of liberty, such as: location, health status, visits they receive and student activity during their stay in prison. The objective is to systematize the information available to the National Rehabilitation Institute, and to standardize the administrative procedures that are executed daily at the level of each unit as well as in the ministerial, judicial and police areas.
Civil identification	A new electronic identity card and passport system was implemented in 2015.

Source: own elaboration according to information provided in (Home Office, 2019a), (World Wide Web Foundation, 2018), (Talvi, 2017), (Home Office, 2018).

3. Achieved results

Regarding the results of the PADO program, the institutional evaluations of the MIU have reported the following:

- **Increased police presence.** More than 1,000 police elements have been placed in patrol areas since its launch in April 2016. At the same time, mobility in terms of patrol deployment was improved from an average of 16 to 20 patrols per shift, to an average of 80 to 100 mobile (Ministerio del Interior, 2019a).
- **Improvement in response times and attention to incidents.** Thanks to the above aspects, the response time was reduced by an average of less than 10 minutes (Layera, 2018a). Incident response was also improved, given the combination of factors such as improvements in the quality of information provided by the SGSP, changes in patrol systems, and improvement in the quality of the human resources assigned (Ministerio del Interior, 2019a).
- **Decrease in crime.** According to the official data provided by the MIU, after the first year of operation of the PADO, there was a 60% decrease in the number of kidnappings in the areas and streets that were patrolled. For example, in Montevideo's Ciudad Vieja, an area under the PADO scheme, robberies dropped by 70% and theft by 83% between 2012 and 2017. An impact study on the PADO that analyzed the behavior of raptors between 2016 and 2017, confirmed a 23% decrease in rapids in the intervened territories of the MMA. In addition, they found that there was no displacement of these crimes to neighboring areas or other areas of the city during the period of analysis (Chainey, Serrano-Berthet, & Veneri, 2020).

It should be noted that in 2018, there was an increase in the number of crimes recorded in the MMA; however, this behavior is attributed to factors exogenous to the PADO, although there is controversy about this.⁸⁷ Although in 2019 homicides decreased, the rate remained relatively high by Uruguayan standards (Ministerio del Interior, 2019a). This stirs the need to study other variables that may have caused the decrease in crime and the reasons why other criminal phenomena, such as robberies, continued to prevail in the PADO patrol areas. This

⁸⁷ One thesis as to why this increase in crimes is attributed to the entry into force in 2017 of a new Criminal Procedure Code (CPP), given that in the first months of its implementation a decrease in the number of persons deprived of liberty was observed, which coincided with an increase in crime, especially in robbery and homicides (Ministry of the Interior, 2019a). However, other studies fail to confirm this causal relationship between the application of the new regulations and the growth of the mentioned crimes, for this see: Carlos Díaz in his article called "November Effect" published on August 24, 2019 in http://www.razonesypersonas.com/2019/08/efectonoviembre_40.html.

would make it possible to identify complementary responses to police patrols that could reduce robbery in Montevideo in the long term.

- **Professionalization of criminal investigation.** The training efforts of the police officers and the advice received by specialists from prestigious academic centers (University of Cambridge, University College of London, John Jay College of Criminal Justice) in the field of criminal analysis, have allowed to raise the quality of the criminal investigation of the PNU.
- **Strengthening the image of the police.** This was another of the positive impacts of the program, since the PNU enjoys a high level of trust among the population (Layera, Mejorar los tiempos de respuesta policial, 2018a). According to data from the Latinobarómetro, 60% of Uruguayans have had confidence in the police in recent years (Latinobarómetro, 2018; Latinobarómetro, 2016). However, and despite the outstanding effort of citizen incorporation in the management processes, some literature has mentioned the need to improve the relationship with the community in the areas patrolled by PADO (Chainey, Serrano, & Veneri, 2018).

4. Contributions and innovations

PADO is the first large-scale hot spot policing program in LAC, incorporating the intensive use of ICTs into the operational and administrative performance of the police. From its recent implementation, fundamental contributions to the design, execution and evaluation of public policies in the field of security are derived.

- **Rigorousness.** PADO is based on a conceptual framework that has given coherence to the institutional strategy. Approaches such as problem oriented policing, hot spot policing and targeted deterrence have been empirically proven strategies in other contexts, and in the case of Uruguay they have also proven to be effective. One of the main strengths was the importance given to the rigorous management of information at each stage of the public policy cycle, from the positioning of the issue on the agenda and the diagnosis, to the stages of program implementation and monitoring. The design of PADO was fed by a rigorous diagnosis of the criminal situation in the areas of interest (Ministerio del Interior, 2019a). For this purpose, more than 1,000 robberies registered by the police in the city of Montevideo were analyzed and georeferenced (Chainey, Serrano, & Veneri, 2018). The daily planning of patrols and police sites was based on reliable data and information processed for that purpose, and inputs were generated that allowed for the revision of processes and protocols to reduce response times and optimize resources. In addition,

the program is subject to permanent evaluations and adjustments.

- **Multisectorialism and inter-institutionalism.** The model of the SGSP (Figure 15) shows the various agencies involved in the system (police, health, justice), which not only provide relevant inputs, but also become recipients of the information generated. In addition to the information management system, instances were designed to allow the participation of diverse institutional and social actors, such as the Local Tables for Coexistence and Citizen Security. It is worth noting the nature of citizen participation, which was conceived as a model of co-management in which the population becomes a strategic partner in the co-production of security, with shared, although differentiated, responsibilities
- **Innovation and ICT.** Without a doubt, the main contribution of this experience is the role of ICT in the transformation processes of security management; methods that, being properly supported, designed and adapted to the needs that are being addressed, provide efficiency in solving the problem. In this sense, it is eloquent that ICTs also responded to an element sensitive to the management model as is the participation of citizens, with tools that facilitate access to information for people, through reports and publications of studies by the National Observatory on Violence and Crime of the Ministry of Interior.⁸⁸

This case contrasts with other experiences in the incorporation of ICTs into security management in the region, where technologies become an end in themselves and are acquired without first having a clear idea of what for, how and what material and human conditions are required for their successful use.

Although the analysis elaborated in this and the other cases does not include cost/benefit considerations, given the difficulties in accessing reliable inputs that allow this type of research, it is important to note that as previously reported, the PADO represented less than 3% of the budget program's expenditure and less than 5% of the budget of the executing units involved⁸⁹ (Dirección de Gestión y Evaluación de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto de la Presidencia de la República, 2017). If so, the incorporation of ICTs would also be a benefit in financial terms.

⁸⁸ Through its quarterly publications on crime incidence and the dissemination of research contributions balancing social, psychological, legal and institutional studies.

⁸⁹ In 2016, PADO did not have its own budget, but it had a specific budget line item of approximately 141 million pesos allocated for the payment of the exclusive and flexible dedication of its officers. It should be noted that the bulk of its budget came from the executing units that contribute to its implementation - the Montevideo, Canelones, San José, and Republican Guard headquarters - mainly through the remunerations of the officers that were incorporated. For 2016, there was an estimated expenditure of 538 million pesos, distributed in remunerations (90%), cost of vehicles assigned to the program and fuel expenses (10%) (Management and Evaluation Directorate of the Office of Planning and Budget of the Presidency of the Republic, 2017).

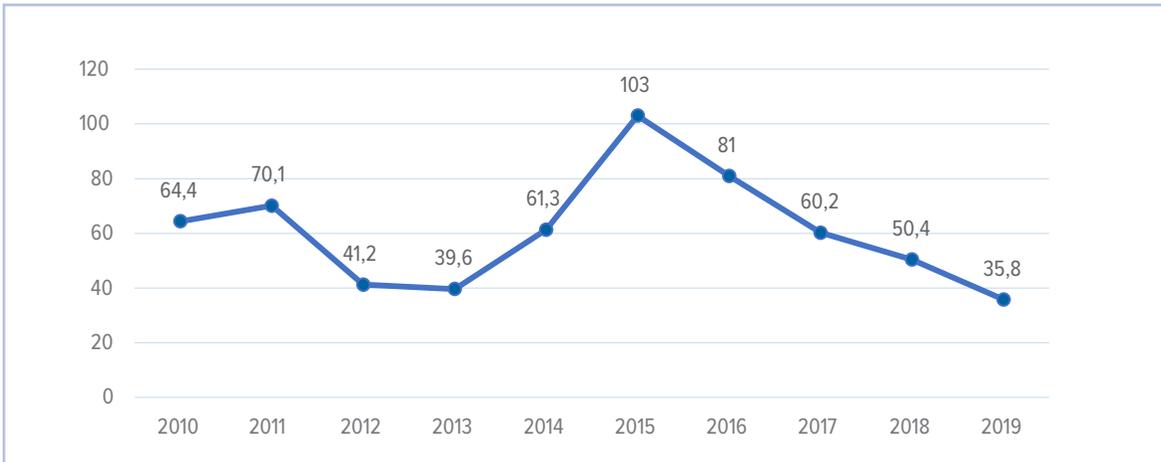
CASE 5. COMPREHENSIVE MANAGEMENT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: THE CASE OF EL SALVADOR

This case presents a set of actions that have been articulated to respond to the problem of violence against women. It presents the main instruments that have been enacted, and some actions with impact on improving the quality of information for decision making and the greater visibility that the problem has gained within society. In addition, an experience whose objective was to facilitate women's access to integrated public services, including attention to cases related to gender violence, is analyzed. The international recognition that some of these initiatives have received, resulted into their analysis to be used as a model to be replicated in other countries in the region, at least in some of their essential characteristics such as integrated management of services, training, specialization and awareness of the personnel in charge (all of whom are women).

1. Context

El Salvador has been one of the countries most affected by violence in LAC and the world. However, for some years now, there have been trends towards a decrease in violent crime, albeit with some ups and downs. As shown in the figure below, after the homicide rate was reduced to 39.6 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2013, it shot up again to historic proportions in 2015 with 103 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, an increase of 160% in just two years. Since then, and for four consecutive years, there has been a significant reduction in violent deaths.

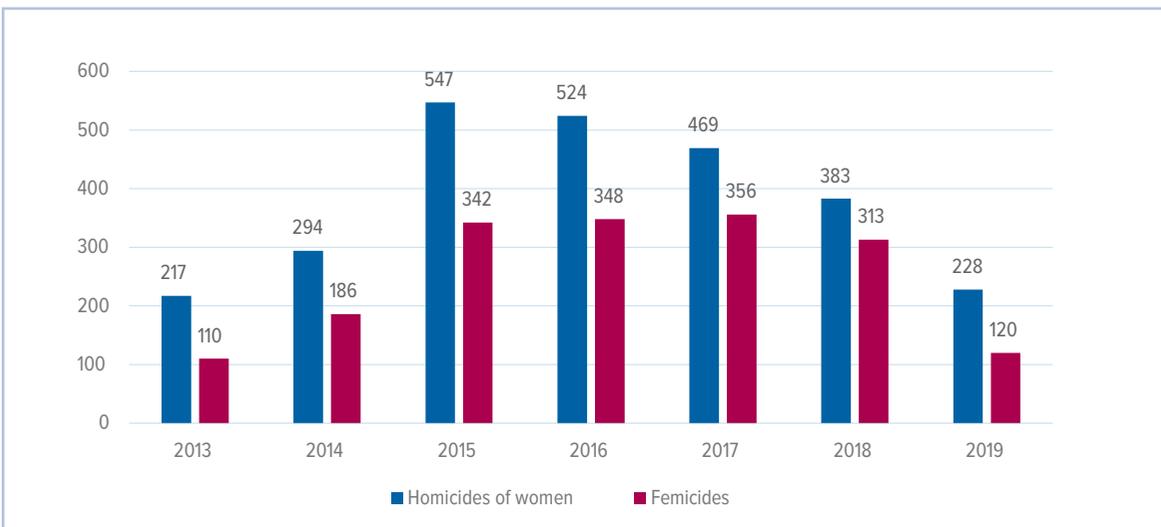
Figure 15. Homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants, El Salvador 2010-2019



Source: Own elaboration from data of (Infosegura, 2020b)

In terms of gender violence, the rate of violent deaths of women in El Salvador is 2.3 times higher than the average rate in LAC and 5 times higher than the average rate worldwide, making it the country with the highest rate of femicide in the world (Infosegura, 2019). The behavior of femicides has followed the same trajectory as that of homicides. After reaching historically low levels in 2013, between that year and 2015, the records of this crime tripled and then entered a stage of decline without yet reaching the levels of 2013 (Figure 16) (Infosegura, 2019), (Infosegura, 2020e).

Figure 16. Number of violent deaths of women and femicides, El Salvador 2013-2019



Source: (Infosegura, 2019), (Infosegura, 2020e)

Femicides are not the only expression of violence against women. The Salvadoran Institute for the Development of Women (ISDEMU) estimates that sexual assault is the one that hits Salvadoran women the most throughout their life cycle, with one out of every six women having experienced it at some point (Instituto Salvadoreño para el Desarrollo de la Mujer, 2019). Reports of sexual crimes committed against women increased fivefold between 2010 and 2019, from 1,758 to 7,895, respectively (Infosegura, 2020e).

2. Strategy

Within the framework of this complex scenario, the country has been promoting various measures that seek to improve citizen security conditions for the general population and also for women. These actions include a sustained effort to optimize data quality and traceability, better articulated decision-making processes fed by evidence and reliable information, and the strengthening of diagnostic, planning and coordination mechanisms at national and subnational levels.⁹⁰

One of the most relevant initiatives that has been promoted within the framework of the Plan El Salvador Seguro (PESS), is a comprehensive, focused and coordinated action at the territorial level, which began in 2015 with the selection of 10 municipalities and has since expanded to cover 50, representing nearly 20% of the 262 municipalities in the country. This experience of territorializing the security intervention has been designed and executed in a methodical manner. The way in which the municipalities were identified was based on a targeting index for citizen security operations that combined information on crime and victimization, with data on social vulnerability at the territorial level (Infosegura, 2017). It has also had a PESS monitoring system that incorporates 80 indicators that are fed with information from nearly 26 public institutions, which has allowed the responsible authorities grouped in the National Council for Citizen Security and Coexistence (CNSCC)⁹¹, to support the decision-making process, introduce corrective actions and be accountable to the

⁹⁰ Among the actions promoted in El Salvador, the efforts to promote evidence-based public policies, based on an improvement in the quality of information, stand out. With the participation of various agencies such as the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, the Ministry of Education, the Technical and Planning Secretariat, the General Directorate of Statistics and Census and the National Civil Police, a data production process has been initiated that has generated relevant, timely and harmonized information on citizen security and justice. This effort has received significant support from international cooperation, especially from agencies such as UNDP and USAID.

⁹¹ The CNSCC is a body composed of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, the Ministry of the Interior, the Secretariat of Governance and Communications, the Secretariat of Citizen Participation, Transparency, Anticorruption and the Technical and Planning Secretariat. Its objective is the articulation of actions and the coordination of public policies related to justice and citizen security.

population (Infosegura, 2018). According to a comparative analysis of homicide behavior at the municipal level, data suggest that between 2015 and 2018, the percentage reduction was greater in the 50 municipalities prioritized by the PESS (53.0%), than in those that were not prioritized (42.7%) (Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Ciudadana y Convivencia, s.f.).

Of the actions framed within the PESS and promoted through the CNSS, good practices stand out and are summarized in the following BOX.

Box 22. Good practices derived from the actions promoted by the CNSCC and the PES

- Participation of multiple actors in society in the construction of solutions
- Inter-institutional and inter-sectorial articulation, as well as complementation of actions by national and local administrations
- Programmatic structure that facilitates the development of instruments and mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation for process feedback
- Implementation of actions in a gradual and staggered manner
- Alignment of the programmatic agendas of international cooperation to support project financing
- Promotion of a culture of accountability
- Visibility and prioritization of the institutional strengthening needs - both technical and financial - of the institutions responsible for the implementation of the actions

In this context of multiple efforts to improve institutional management, the quality of public policies and decision-making, and whose aggregate effect could explain part of the fall that violent crime has been experiencing in the country; initiatives have been deployed that seek to articulate actions aimed at promoting a life free of violence for women.

Among the initiatives deployed in the last ten years in this area, instruments such as the Gender Transversal Policy and a Policy of Inclusion and Social Assistance (2010), the Law of Equality, Equity and Eradication of Discrimination against Women (2011), and the Special Comprehensive Law for a Life Free of Violence for Women (2012) to address violence against women stand out.

Subsequently, the PESS (2014-2019) addressed violence against women and grouped the relevant actions into three axes. The "Prevention" axis was proposed to reduce this phenomenon through the design and implementation of the Integral Plan for the Family, aimed at the households most affected by violence and in a situation of social risk. The axis "Control and Criminal Prosecution" proposed to increase the number of judicialized

cases of femicide and rape.⁹² Finally, the axis "Attention and Protection of Victims" focused on the attention of women victims of violence through a management model and a legal framework that would allow the articulation of the institutional offer oriented to the integral attention and protection of the individuals, families and communities that are victims of violence (Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Ciudadana y Convivencia, 2014, pág. 62). As a complement to the actions carried out during this period, the CNSCC installed the Gender Equality Roundtable in 2019 with the purpose of incorporating the dimension of violence in the spaces of dialogue and strengthening a vision of comprehensive public policies.

The PESS was later complemented with the Action Plan of the National Policy for Access to a Life Free of Violence (2016-2021), which has defined actions in three areas: violence prevention, attention to women victims, and the procurement and administration of justice (BOX 23). This plan of action is prepared by the Salvadoran Institute for the Development of Women (ISDEMU) as the governing body of policies for a life free of violence against women.

As noted in other components of this report, one of the greatest obstacles to ensuring the rigor of public policies and the effectiveness of decision-making processes is the quality of the information available. In the area of violence against women, this is one of the dilemmas that stand in the way of effective monitoring of progress in meeting the goals of Agenda 2030. The availability and quality of the information has been one of the best attended aspects in the case of El Salvador, through the inclusion of disaggregated statistics on violence and crime, and the incorporation of instruments such as the Survey on Violence against Women (2017) and the Survey on Sexual Violence (2019) (PNUD El Salvador, 2019).⁹³ Equally relevant are the efforts promoted by the Ministries of Justice and Public Security and the Legisla-

⁹² This objective included, among other measures: (1) the planned increase of human, material and technological resources of the National Civil Police (PNC) and the Attorney General's Office (FGR); (2) the design and execution of a plan for reorganization, distribution and improvement of these resources in both institutions based on crime investigation and prioritized territorial coverage; (3) optimization of the operation, personal equipment and technological and scientific materials of the authorities empowered to support the scientific investigation of crime; (4) development of a permanent coordination mechanism between the FGR and the PNC to improve inter-institutional coordination; (5) design of a Single Computerized Criminal Investigation System fed by the databases of the PNC and the FGR to have updated and reliable information and achieve greater effectiveness in inter-institutional coordination; (6) design of a Single Computerized Criminal Investigation System fed by the databases of the PNC and the FGR to have reliable information and achieve greater effectiveness for the improvement of inter-institutional coordination; (5) Design of a Single Criminal Investigation Computer System fed by the databases of the PN and FGR to have updated and reliable information and achieve greater effectiveness in criminal investigations (Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Ciudadana y Convivencia, 2014).

⁹³ Other initiatives to generate information were: (1) victimization and perception of insecurity surveys (2017-2019); (2) youth resilience and exclusion survey (2017); (3) design of monitoring system for Plan el Salvador Seguro (2015) and two follow-up reports: 2016 - 2017 and 2018; and (4) the National Information System on Human Trafficking (2015).

Box 23. Areas of action and institutional coordination of the National Policy for Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence (2016-2021)

Scope of Prevention

- Prevention and detection of different types of violence against women
- Early identification and targeting of associated factors
- Eradication of violence against women through the de-structuring of social and cultural practices, behaviors, norms and customs that generate and reproduce violence and discrimination
- Strategies for safe public spaces for women

Scope of attention

- Attention, protection and response - in an expeditious and effective way - of the rights of direct and indirect victims of the different types of violence against women

Scope of Access to Justice

- To guarantee a system of administration of justice that responds quickly to crimes of violence perpetrated against women, and that ensures, from the stage of the complaint, due process, protection of the victim, and measures of restitution, rehabilitation, compensation, and non-repetition.

Source: (Instituto Salvadoreño para el Desarrollo de la Mujer, 2016)

tive Assembly for the elaboration and presentation of the Report of Facts on Violence against Women, which contribute to make the problem visible and to position the issue as one of national priority.

Some other relevant actions that have been adopted in the area of violence against women as of 2018 and that have not yet been evaluated, given their recent creation, are:

- declaration of national alert that was materialized in a Strategy for the Prevention of Femicide and Sexual Violence implemented by the Salvadoran Institute for the Promotion of Women (ISDEMU);
- establishment of the National Directorate for Women, Children, Adolescents, LGBTI and Vulnerable Groups in the Attorney General's Office (FGR); and
- inter-agency program that includes UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA and ONUMJERES, with the participation of the three State bodies and civil society organizations, which together with the European Union

work for the eradication of violence against women⁹⁴.

In the context of the broad network of actions that have been promoted in the area of violence against women, as previously described, the *Women's City* (CM) program stands out, created in 2011 to provide comprehensive care for women in vulnerable situations, including victims of violence. CM proposed an integrated service management model with the mission of "*improving the living conditions of Salvadoran women through the facilitation of services offered by comprehensive care centers*". The program provides physical spaces in which they receive attention in various aspects such as gender violence, sexual and reproductive health, economic empowerment, and others. More than twenty services provided by the program are free and are offered in six centers distributed in the three most important areas of the country⁹⁵.

The initiative is coordinated by the Ministry of Local Development,⁹⁶ among the main institutions participating in the program are the National Civil Police (PNC), the Attorney General's Office (FGR), the Institute of Legal Medicine, the Attorney General's Office (PGR), and the Salvadoran Institute for the Development of Women (ISDEMU). They are not the only ones, as there is a total of eighteen entities involved.

The Module of Attention to Violence has protocols for the attention of victims of gender violence, which has guaranteed standardized processes and interdisciplinary interventions in which psychologists, social workers, lawyers, and forensic experts, among others, participate. All the personnel in charge of the attention are women who have received courses of sensitization in the matter of gender and human rights, and of handling situations of domestic violence (Bustelo, Martínez, Pérez Millard, & Rodríguez Silva, 2016).

⁹⁴ The program focuses on victims/survivors of violence and their families. It combines immediate response actions and the protection of potential victims, through long-term responses that strengthen skills and generate transformations necessary to save lives. It is implemented through six pillars: (i) legislation and public policies, (ii) institutional strengthening, (iii) violence prevention, (iv) quality, available and accessible services, (v) reliable and quality data, and (vi) support to women's movements, and territorial focus.

⁹⁵ CM is an internationally recognized program. In 2017, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) recognized the "Ciudad Mujer" model as one of the best practices in the region given the progress made in promoting the rights of women and girls, especially those who are vulnerable or have suffered serious violations of their rights. As stated by the IACHR, the implementation of "Ciudad Mujer" centers contributes to the removal of obstacles for access to health and justice services, in conditions of equality and without discrimination and with a gender perspective by specialized personnel and the promotion of women's rights, as well as instances of denunciation and care for victims and survivors of violence against women" (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2019, p. 27). UN Women, for its part, recognized the CM program as a promising experience in relation to the attention to violence against women and/or gender-based violence in its 2017 regional report (UNDP, 2017).

⁹⁶ From 2011 to 2019, the Ciudad Mujer program was implemented through the Secretariat of Social Inclusion of the Government of El Salvador. As part of the restructuring of the Government of President Nayib Bukele, this agency was dissolved and assigned to the new Ministry of Local Development.

An evaluation of the CM program aimed to identify the impacts of the program by comparing the use of public services among a group of women who visited the CM centers and another group of women who did not.⁹⁷ The results confirmed some positive effects of the model of facilitating specialized services to women. First, it was found that women who visited CM centers used public services 43% more than those who did not go to CM centers. The services in greatest demand were sexual and reproductive health and support for gender-based violence. The management of food quotas and legalization of property were in demand three times more than the control group, and the management of birth certificates was in demand almost five times more than the control group. An increase in the feeling of satisfaction with life was also confirmed in 93% of the women visitors, compared to 85% of those who did not visit the CM centers (Bustelo, Martínez, Pérez Millard, & Rodríguez Silva, 2016).

A reduction in the time taken to deal with cases of gender-based violence was also documented. While a case of this nature, dealt with through traditional channels, can take between two and four months for a court order to be issued and for the aggressor to be arrested; in CM, there are cases in which the evidence, the judicial report and the arrest warrant have been obtained in a single day, avoiding unnecessary and costly transfers of the victim (Pignato, 2015). Finally, another analysis indicated that since services are centralized in a single space, they tend to reduce post-traumatic stress for victims (PNUD, 2017b).

At the same time, some challenges that the CM program has faced have been identified, among them: (i) the need to strengthen the services related to women's economic autonomy, such as labor intermediation, labor training and education, support for entrepreneurship and access to microcredit; (ii) to encourage the increase in the demand for services related to the care of gender violence, such as psychological care, police intervention and the exercise of criminal action; (iii) to improve and expand the system for registering and monitoring CM by strengthening information management systems that include, among others, analysis of the quality and impact of the services provided in coordination with NCPs and other actors (MJSP, CAPRES, etc.).

3. Achieved results

The programs that have taken place in El Salvador in the area of citizen security, with significant support from international cooperation, have ge-

⁹⁷ 4,062 women between 18 and 60 years of age were selected from the area of influence of the CMs, and a group of them were randomly given an incentive to motivate them to visit the CM centers.

nerated positive results that are summarized below:

- although there are no impact and causality analyses, the quality of the data collected and the breadth of variables considered in the studies, lead one to assume that the efforts undertaken explain the reductions in some of the most serious crimes such as homicide and femicide. The closest evidence that this may be happening is the comparative analysis between municipalities that have received the impact of various programs, as opposed to those that have not been included in the priority attention group;
- one of the most notable results has been the increase in the production of reliable and accessible data and information through public platforms, which have stimulated the production of analysis⁹⁸ relevant to feed the decision-making process in matters of citizen security. In the area of violence against women, and since 2015, annual reports have been prepared that include, in a systematized manner, relevant facts on the subject (PNUD El Salvador, 2019). Platforms such as *InfoSegura* have become a reference point that contains and facilitates access to relevant studies of the security sector. Despite the availability of information, there is a lack of impact studies of public policies and programs in this area. For example, in the case of Plan El Salvador Seguro, reports concentrate on monitoring progress, which is repeated with respect to other policies and programs implemented on the issue of violence against women; and
- with regard to the CM program, although information on the results and impact of services is limited and evaluations of other programs on violence against women are not available, the available findings allow us to determine positive effects on the care of women who use the services of this program, as opposed to those who use other mechanisms. The reduction in the time taken to manage the services provided, including the reporting of violence against women, the increased demand for services and satisfaction with them, stand out among the results that were measured.

4. Contributions and innovations

Among the most notable contributions of the public policies that have been implemented in El Salvador on violence in general and against wo-

⁹⁸ The UNDP El Salvador report highlighted the following reports: Analysis on violence, insecurity, factors associated with violence; Violence and migration; Human development report, I'm young and now what (2018); Survey using data from the victimization and perception of insecurity survey (2018); Survey using data from the victimization and perception of insecurity survey (2018).

men, the following contributions and innovations stand out:

- **Rigorousness.** One of the greatest strengths of the measures that have been promoted in El Salvador in terms of citizen security is the rigor that is characterizing the use of inputs for decision making. Significant progress has been made in the quality of information, and in the processes of collecting and systematizing data with respect to many variables relevant to understanding criminal phenomena. Efforts tend to be regularly complemented by victimization surveys that delve into typologies of violence or sectors of the population. Likewise, it has been possible to include a territoriality approach in the collection, processing, and management of information. Based on these efforts, there are opportunities to deepen the analysis and move towards impact studies.
- **Scalability.** Some of the initiatives considered, especially the one promoted under the Plan El Salvador Seguro (PESS) at the territorial level, have been steadily scaling up and generating good results. It began in 2015 with 10 municipalities and has expanded to cover 50 municipalities in the country. This process should be sustained to avoid, among other things, the risks of displacement of criminal phenomena that sometimes tend to occur between nearby geographic region.

In relation to the CM program, the following conditions stand out:

- **Integrity.** This condition was characteristic of the approach to the problem of violence against women, and constitutes the greatest contribution and innovation of the CM program. This approach allowed the design of a network of integrated services of the one stop type (PNUD, 2017b). About fourteen institutions managed to have a presence in the CM program centers. This condition is especially critical in cases of gender violence, since it guarantees the assistance of the victim by the different services that must attend, in a single space, saving time and resources, and reducing the risks of re-victimization.
- **Accessibility.** The location of the CM centers was based on three criteria: (i) maximization of the project's population coverage; (ii) availability of land or buildings in the Salvadoran State that could be transferred to the CM project and; (iii) ease of access, by public transportation, for potential users of the CM centers (Bustelo, Martínez, Pérez Millard, & Rodríguez Silva, 2016). The services were concentrated in the same physical space, grouping up to fourteen state institutions. All of this facilitated the access of the users.
- **Quality and reliability of the services provided.** The program included the attention to the woman-mother with accompanying children,

offering a specialized module in the adequate assistance to the children who accompany their mothers (PNUD, 2017b). And with regard to helping women who are victims of violence, efforts were made to obtain reduced time and greater efficiency in handling the cases.

One of the conditions that is in question in the CM program is **sustainability**. On the one hand, the lack of more rigorous and conclusive outcome and impact studies than those identified by this study makes it difficult to illustrate the positive effects it may have had on the target population and, consequently, makes it more vulnerable to political cycles. On the other hand, the personification of the program's success, although it reflects the strong commitment its managers had with it, exposes it in an inconvenient way. Despite this, it is an initiative that should be supported, with the appropriate adjustments, and emulated in other countries.

CHAPTER IV

COVID-19 and the reconfiguration of security scenarios in the region: risks and opportunities

The COVID-19 pandemic has generated a crisis of a multidimensional nature that has also affected aspects of governance and the rule of law (Grynspar Mayufis & López-Calva, 2020), among them, citizen security. This last dimension is being impacted because of the following factors:

- the accelerated and accentuated deterioration of the economic and social conditions of the population with repercussions on variables such as violence, crime and public order;
- the reconfiguration of the scenarios of insecurity given the alterations experienced in the use of public and private spaces;
- the emergence and intensification of certain forms of organized crime;
- variations in the functions and routines of the security and police services; and
- the complexity of the management of prison spaces.

In this section, we analyze how the COVID-19 pandemic is affecting some of the variables considered in the report such as homicide, femicide, poli-

ce work and the prison sector; and we propose some reflections in terms of risks and opportunities.

In 1996, the World Health Assembly adopted a resolution declaring violence a major public health problem in the world. For its part, WHO states that a mortality rate of 10 per 100,000 people associated with a disease is an epidemic. Hence, based on the high homicide rates that have been present in LAC for many years, the UNDP has classified the problem of homicides in the region as an epidemic (PNUD, 2013a); an epidemic whose conditions of "contagiousness" could accelerate as a result of the economic and social effects caused by COVID-19. If before the pandemic, the region showed slow progress towards some of the Agenda 2030 goals related to security, from now on the greatest risk is to go backwards.

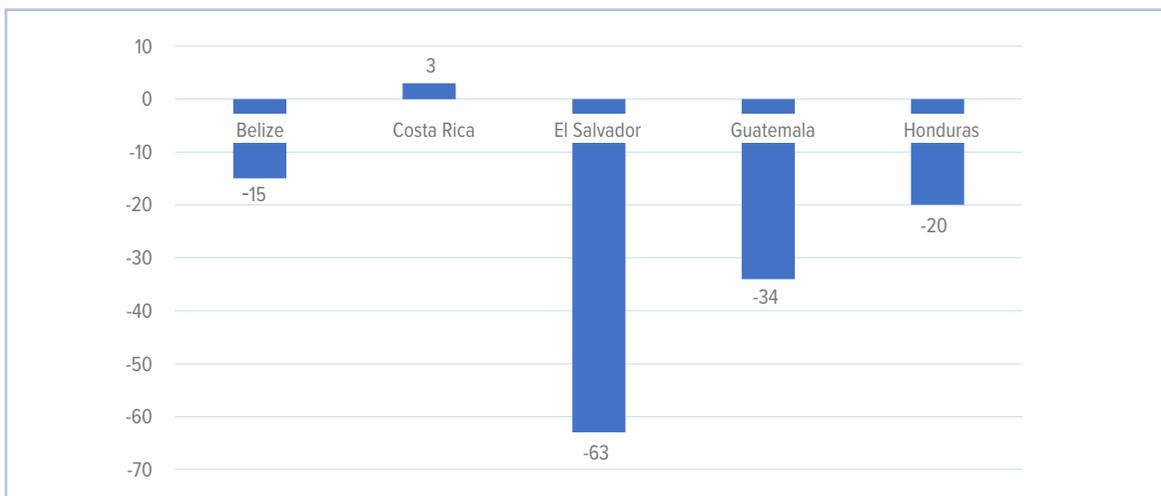
IMPACT EFFECTS ON VIOLENCE, CRIME AND PUBLIC ORDER

As a result of the impact that the health measures of confinement and social distancing have had on public and private spaces, there have been changes in security scenarios. While during the first stage of the pandemic, common crime tended to decrease as a logical result of the emptying of public spaces and the intensification of police controls over them; the risks of violence against women and child abuse grew exponentially due to the confinement and domestic confinement imposed by the health measures.

The behavior of homicides did not follow a single pattern, but tended to vary from country to country. During the first months of the pandemic, in which confinement and social distancing measures prevailed, homicides moved between growth (Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Ecuador), decrease (Uruguay) and erratic movements (Mexico and Panama) (UNODC, 2020a). Data for the Central American region over a longer time frame, including the first six months of 2020, confirm a strong downward trend in homicides in all countries, with the exception of Costa Rica (Figure 17). Although

this region has been experiencing a decrease in violent deaths, the drop in the first half of 2020 at the regional level was 35% more compared to the same period of the previous year (Infosegura, 2020f).

Figure 17. Homicide rate in Central American countries, first half of 2020



Source: (Infosegura, 2020f)

Beyond what the most immediate scenarios for social distancing and confinement measures indicate, a deterioration in crime and violence indicators is expected in the future as a result of the deterioration that the region will experience in economic and social issues. For now, and given the changes that are occurring in security scenarios, a more intense and detailed monitoring of the most relevant indicators for the adjustment of intervention strategies becomes essential.

Below are specified some of the risks and opportunities observed in relation to violent crime, with emphasis on violence against women and organized crime.

Risks

- Alarming growth in the levels of incidence of violence against women.** The available data on attacks against women during the first weeks of the health crisis confirm the dimensions that the problem acquired. The Minister of Women, Gender and Diversities of **Argentina** reported that there was a 25% increase in consultations to the hotline, due to gender-based violence (Diario, 21, 2020). In Rio de Janeiro, **Brazil**, the state's Court of Justice for Domestic Violence reported a 50% increase in reports of gender-based violence. (ONU

Mujeres, 2020). In **Mexico**, the organization Mexico Evalua reported an increase in violence against women during the month of March, according to the report "*March 2020 is the month with the most recorded sexual crimes committed since 2015, with 163 acts reported every day*" (24 Horas, 2020), and according to Mexico's National Women's Institute, "*requests for help increased by 60 percent in the National Shelter Network and there was a 5 percent increase in the number of victims*" (AFP, 2020).

The problem was not only aggravated in terms of the number of victims, but its management became more complex, as indicated below:

- **Growth in the hidden figure of violence against women.** The confinement of victims in homes, makes it difficult to denounce by telephone, interrupts support networks (family, friends, civil society and other services), and gives more opportunities and power to the aggressor. If alternative forms of reporting are not identified, the hidden figure may increase without being taken as a worrying condition by the authorities. Already, under normal circumstances, reporting of domestic violence tends to be low, "*less than 40 percent of women who experience violence seek help of any kind or report the crime. Less than 10 percent of these women who seek help go to the police*" (ONU MUJER). The hidden figure tends to be higher in the case of sex crimes. It is estimated that 77% of sexual crimes occur in homes, which augurs well for an increase in this type of violence while in confinement.
- **Reduction in the supply of care services.** The disruption of routines and the congestion of certain public services such as health, security and justice, limit the attention to cases of domestic violence, unless special guidelines are indicated and reinforced with material, financial and human resources. In some countries, shelters and sheltered housing are reported to have either limited operations or are overwhelmed by a mix of increased demand and fewer resources. Examples found in Honduras and Cuenca Ecuador include (ONU Mujeres, 2020). Court holidays affect the provision of services and the enforcement of protection orders.
- **Weakening of women's economic autonomy.** Adverse conditions to guarantee women's economic autonomy are increasing, as they are one of the sectors most affected by unemployment or the paralysis of the informal sector of the economy. The greater economic dependence, aggravates even more the possibilities of women to denounce situations of aggression or to advance towards the adoption of precautionary measures and judgments.
- **Intensification of the actions of organized crime and new criminal**

modalities. Some forms of crime, such as organized crime, have found opportunities to expand or strengthen their territorial control, or to vary their modes of operation given the explosion in the use of ICTs among the population.

The crisis caused by the pandemic in a context of weak responses by the State, becomes a force that encourages organized crime. There is concern that the growing health and economic vulnerability of the population and the limitations of government responses will make it more susceptible to accept or request support from criminal networks with a strong presence in the most violent countries in the region, which in turn will have an exceptional opportunity to strengthen territorial control. It is reported that criminal groups are "collaborating" with the implementation of health measures (El Salvador, Brazil), distributing food packages and essential items (Mexico), and even providing loans to community members (Asmann, Dalby, & Robins, 2020), (Moncada & Franco, 2020). With these actions they are capitalizing on the vulnerability of communities and weak social security systems to strengthen their influence and legitimacy (Dittmar, 2020). In addition, the crisis will cause a reduction in demand that will intensify the confrontations of criminal gangs for control of the distribution markets and with it the violence will grow (Lister & Pozzebon, 2020).

- **Militarization of public security.** Latin American governments have widely deployed the armed forces to assist police forces in surveillance tasks, enforcing roadblocks and curfews, and arresting health order violators. The increased participation of the army in public security functions under COVID-19 has been recorded in several countries in the region, such as: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. In light of this situation, the following concerns are raised: (i) the weakening of the civic-military balance that tends to lean towards the Armed Forces, considering the positive perception that citizens have of them in relation to the state's civic institutions, and; (ii) the eventual "normalization" of the Armed Forces' participation in this type of security and public order tasks, which makes it difficult for the military to return to the barracks after the COVID-19 (Isacson, 2020).

In addition to the above and motivated by the health crisis and the increased use of digital media for various types of transactions, other forms of crime have emerged or intensified, such as smuggling and counterfeiting of medicines, fraud or scams online, telephone, etc. and cybercrime in general (Interpol, 2020).

- **Deterioration of the social causes associated with violence.** Consistent with the view that has been presented in this report about the importance of social factors on violence and criminality, the scenario

created by the pandemic poses great risks to social security and peace in the region. The crisis will deepen the already high levels of inequality and poverty in LAC (CEPAL, 2020a), with the consequent negative impact on the sectors most vulnerable to violence and crime, such as the young population that is suffering high levels of exclusion from education and unemployment rates that tend to double the average rate of the population⁹⁹.

As a result, citizen demands for government support will increase, including various types of direct transfers and subsidies such as PMTCT¹⁰⁰ analyzed in this report. Social policy responses aimed at strengthening support networks for the sectors most affected by the pandemic should be the first line of containment to avoid the deterioration of factors associated with aspects of public order, violence and crime.

- **Growth of social unrest and affectations to public order.** As a consequence of the deterioration of the population's living conditions and the growth of social unrest, the region could experience the intensification of various types of citizen discontent. The first response of the State is the use of force made possible by the police presence under the traditional argument of "disturbance of public order". The impact on human rights violations has been constant. The response to citizens' demands comes from the government's economic and social policy sectors with concrete measures to recover from the effects of the crisis. In order to avoid or diminish the risks associated with police interventions in the area of public order, the processes of institutional transformation such as those mentioned in this report must be accelerated by the promotion of conflict resolution mechanisms, early warning systems, and the replacement of the use of force with tools for dialogue and consensus building.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ The COVID-19 health crisis is causing an unprecedented socioeconomic impact in LAC. ECLAC estimates an increase in poverty of at least 4.4% reaching more than 214.7 million people, equivalent to 35% of the region's population. Extreme poverty would increase by 2.6%, which means 15.9 million more people in this condition (ECLAC, 2020b). One of the most dramatic dimensions is associated with extreme food insecurity, which could reach 14 million people (ECLAC, 2020).

¹⁰⁰ It is estimated that as of May 2020, 29 countries in the region have implemented a total of 126 social protection measures for the vulnerable population, reaching nearly 90.5 million households (ECLAC, 2020c).

¹⁰¹ The IACHR has recently published a set of standards on the rights involved in social protest and the obligations that should guide the state response, which should serve as a reference to promote training activities and introduce adjustments in procedures and instruments used in this type of situations (IACHR, 2019a).

The progress that has been made in LAC in terms of security and human rights cannot be taken for granted, given the risks associated with the latent presence of positions inspired by punitive populism that still exist in the region, and which could resurface due to a combination of factors such as the worsening of the economic and social conditions generated by COVID-19, the growth of fear and social unrest, and leaderships that seek to take advantage of these circumstances in the run-up to an electoral cycle that is about to open in the region.

Opportunities

- **Improved knowledge about criminal behavior such as homicide and femicide.** The pandemic offers a unique scenario that allows for observation of homicide behavior (femicides will be discussed later), before, during and after confinement and its relationship to the measures taken. The circumstances should be used to develop diagnoses and, based on these, to adjust intervention strategies.
- **Greater visibility of the issue of violence against women and conditions for further reform.** Because violence against women has been identified as one of the most serious health and security consequences of the pandemic; conditions have been created to promote pending actions to strengthen the fight against this scourge, including legal reforms, improvements in policy and program management processes, and greater collaboration among social and security sector institutions.
- **Adoption, on an ongoing basis, of some measures that have arisen during confinement to address violence against women.** The exceptional measures that have been adopted to reinforce the complaints, to attend to the victims and to facilitate the judicial proceedings, as is the case of the automatic extension of the precautionary measures, have shown their utility and effectiveness. Consequently, it is advisable not to dismantle such measures with the passage of the pandemic; they should be considered as permanent measures. All of them together would constitute a decisive strengthening of the action to prevent and treat violence against women in the countries of the region.

In BOX 24, some of the measures that were adopted in certain countries during the pandemic are listed.

Box 24. Measures taken by some countries to address gender-based violence in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic

What is being done in the region?

In the case of **Colombia**, the Ministry of Justice issued Decree 460 to guarantee that the family police stations continue to work; the Counselor's Office for Women has prepared a memorandum to ensure that there is prevention and attention at the local level; and a hotline has been set up where the prosecutor's office places the risk of femicide as a priority.

Chile has published a Contingency Plan that reinforces the telephone service and keeps the shelters and legal advisors operational. Meanwhile, Colombia and Argentina also strengthened their telephone attention.

In **Argentina**, through the *Spotlight* initiative –supported by the European Union and ONU– helps local and national authorities to ensure a continuous service to victims of domestic violence. During the crisis, additional mechanisms have been set up to the call, to denounce, such as WhatsApp, emails and others.

In **Argentina** and **Uruguay**, the precautionary measures were automatically extended during the entire quarantine, preventing women who already had protective measures from having to go to the police stations.

In **Peru**, the Violet Mask campaign Generation of podcasts, videos and information works together with local governments on the provision of services to women in situations of violence in the context of COVID-19. A strategy for the prevention of violence against women that articulates with socio-economic recovery initiatives. It incorporates the private sector in the implementation of the campaign while strengthening services for victims. This intervention is complemented by increasing the capacity of the justice sector to take on the demand for cases. This intervention is led by the Ministry of Women's Affairs together with the Ministry of Finance and esBOXce a national inter-institutional platform for implementation. It also incorporates the territories.

In the countries of **Northern Central America**, the **INFOSEGURA** Project promoted the Regional Campaign for the Prevention of Violence against Women #Safe Women: in an effort by UNDP to support the responses of institutions and civil society during the pandemic; the regional campaign to prevent violence against women, children and the elderly was created with the purpose of informing people at risk about the institutional channels and mechanisms for making reports of domestic violence in a safe and efficient manner.

To learn more about the experience, visit the Gender Team Resource Center of the UNDP Regional Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean "America Latina Genera".

Source: own elaboration with data from: (Oquendo, 2020) and (Ministry of Women and Gender Equality, 2020).

- **Mobilization of resources at the territorial level and social participation.** The crisis has demanded an important participation of the territorial administrations in the management of the crisis. It has also stimulated the generation of citizen support networks for the care of people in vulnerable situations, the collection of funds and production of inputs for health workers, and the design of multipurpose applications, among others. This social capital should be used by local governments and police services in community crime prevention strategies in the post-pandemic phase.⁷

IMPACTS ON THE POLICE

The information that has come to light during the first months of the pandemic, shows the demands and challenges faced by the police services. The burden of enforcing health orders has fallen on the police, which has added to the attention to security and public order issues, some of which have been exacerbated as discussed above. Finally, police officers have been exposed to the risks of contagiousness and have had to intensify the use of ICTs in the performance of their duties. Given the changes resulting from the crisis caused by COVID-19, police services must adopt flexible and dynamic strategies that allow them to adjust priorities, operational plans and resources.

A recent study on the conditions in which thirteen police services have faced the pandemic in LAC countries provides relevant data on the levels of minimum protection available to personnel and on the impact of the pandemic on police routines (BOX 25) (Alvarado, Sutton, & Laborda, 2020).

Within this framework, ICTs become more relevant than in "normal" times, allowing police services to expand their margins of surveillance and control of public spaces, to more easily identify individuals involved in various types of crimes and incidents, to improve data management and analysis, to more efficiently control the use of mobile resources, to track and block mechanisms for hacking systems or conducting scams, and to improve their liaison and communication with various institutions and the population. It is expected that surveillance tasks will be automated more quickly, by monitoring public spaces and massive events, through electronic surveillance and aerial robots (Drones);¹⁰² also, the implementation of sanitary seals and filters by means of terrestrial robots will be

¹⁰² For further details, we recommend reading the article "Drones also join the fight against COVID-19" by Florencia Gómez Forti, retrieved from: www.itsitio.com/uy/los-drones-tambien-se-unen-la-lucha-covid-19/ with publication date of April 23, 2020.

Equipment and protection

- 77% of services provided training to their officers on pandemic care issues.
- 85% of agencies reported that special protective equipment (PPE) was available to staff in contact with the community.
- 62% indicated that disinfectant was available for 100% of agents.
- 54% indicated that masks were available for 100% of agents.
- 39% indicated that gloves were available for 100% of the agents.

Preventive and community actions

- 100% of the agencies indicate that they have changed their policies regarding proactive and preventive work.
- 92% reduced or limited community-oriented policing activities.
- 100% adopted measures to increase presence in certain places (supermarkets, hospitals and some public spaces).

Source: Own elaboration from data from (Alvarado, Sutton, & Laborda, 2020)

assessed, following the example of some Asian countries¹⁰³ (CAF, 2020). It also anticipates an increase in technologies that allow for digital tracking and tracing through *Corona Apps*,¹⁰⁴ which allow for the collection of geolocation data and the enforcement of quarantine.¹⁰⁵

As is happening in several areas where digitalization is being used to provide public policy responses to the problems posed by the COVID-19 crisis by LAC governments (CAF, 2020); the police need to be quick, but planned, in joining this trend.

In relation to how the COVID pandemic¹⁹ has impacted the police, their activities and the use of ICT, the following risks and opportunities are noted.

¹⁰³ Some examples of how to employ robotic machines in policing: 1) 5G based police patrol robot: www.automaticaeinstrumentacion.com/es/notices/2020/03/robots-de-patrullaje-5g-para-luchar-contra-el-coronavirus-46336.php#.XqS61517nIU; 2) another example from Mexico: www.debate.com.mx/culiacan/Crean-a-Murphy-un-robot-para-atender-sospechosos-de-Covid-19-por-WhatsApp-20200406-0205.html.

¹⁰⁴ There are examples of corona apps in several countries in the region. Uruguay manages a corona app to channel suspected cases and attend to people diagnosed without geolocation functionality. Colombia implements a CoronaApp to report on COVID-19 and its progress in the country, in addition to facilitating health monitoring through the entry of personal data.

¹⁰⁵ Announced in Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico City: www.derechosdigitales.org/14368/el-tecnoptimismo-volvio-en-forma-de-coron-apps/.

Risks

- **Excessive use of discretionary power and force by the police.** The health ordinances that the police must enforce tend to be very generic in nature, and failure to do so carries with it, drastic penalties for the population. It is a scenario that leaves police officers with wide margins of discretion, with controls by citizens diminished or totally absent, creating conditions for the intensification of authoritarian tendencies and abuses of power (Cave & Latif Dahir, 2020).

In addition, consideration should be given to the stresses of managing the pandemic, not only on health care personnel, but also on law enforcement personnel, who are exposed to higher-than-average rates of infection,¹⁰⁶ and to working days that have had to be intensified.

- **Overload of responsibilities.** One of the challenges that the authorities responsible for security tasks at the national and local level will have to face will be the balance between the tasks of surveillance and crime control, and the implementation of health provisions to contain the outbreak.¹⁰⁷ It is foreseeable, as it was shown in a previous study, that the attention to the tasks of prevention and control of crime, will be neglected in front of the management of the crisis; in view of this, it is convenient to resort to a better articulation of efforts with the community in tasks of prevention and to the ICTs to extend the scope and effectiveness of the tasks of surveillance and immediate response.
- **Return to reactive routines and practices to the detriment of proactive and preventive actions.** The information presented above (BOX 21), highlights the changes in police routines, which seem to be displacing preventive actions by more reactive ones (Alvarado, Sutton, & Laborda, 2020). Given the strong tradition of reactive policing in LAC countries, efforts should be made to change parameters soon, once the health management of the pandemic allows it. This concern also arises from the increased use of ICTs in police routines. Some of the technological revolutions that have taken place in the past in the area of policing have caused some undesirable effects, such as the case of the radio patrol that during the first stage of its introduction displaced foot patrols and distanced the police from the

¹⁰⁶ A study conducted in Mexico in the first months of the pandemic by COVID-19, reports high levels of infection and deaths among the police, as well as the lack of basic equipment for their sanitary protection such as masks and others (CIDE, 2020).

¹⁰⁷ These functions may include the implementation of measures to a) restrict mobility; b) maintain public order through the control of confinement areas and groupings of people, the arrangement of essential infrastructure, the prevention of and response to prison escapes and public disturbances or riots; c) contact trace using police investigative resources; d) ensure the provision of emergency supplies; and e) communicate to the public (Interpol, 2020).

community. The same type of effects could be caused by the use of ICTs, if they are not designed with the appropriate parameters.

- **Hasty incorporation of ICT into police activities, without clear strategies and criteria.** If the trend towards the incorporation of ICTs into police performance is accentuated, as suggested by the pandemic; investment and acquisition decisions could be rushed that do not have the necessary inputs to guarantee the effective adaptation and use of these technologies to institutional needs.
- **Vulnerability of privacy and excessive controls of public space.** The adaptation of various technologies to the tasks of surveillance and control requires important ethical and deontological considerations that, if not present in the processes of acquisition, training and use of ICT, could increase vigilance and violation of privacy spaces outside the legal and constitutional frameworks in force.

Opportunities

- **Accelerate institutional transformations in the security sector:** Increase the capacities of Ministries of Security and their violence prevention and people-centered public services, incorporating the dimensions of intersectoralism, diversity and gender. Enhance the civil service composed of specialized and highly trained government officials in the exercise of public security governance, particularly in the design and implementation of criminal and security policies, political-institutional management of the public security system as a whole and, specifically, the senior management of the police system and other agencies involved.

It is necessary to update the organizational models of police institutions, the updating of their normative framework (in legislative terms and in process instruments such as internal regulations, protocols of action) and the reformulation of their practices and organizational culture, with an intersectional, human rights approach and ensuring the inclusion of the gender perspective

- **Intensification of inter-institutional work between the social and security sectors for the co-production of healthy and safe spaces.** The health crisis, due to its complexity and the amount of institutional resources it has had to mobilize, has been an opportunity to intensify inter-institutional work and improve coordination between the levels of government (state, federal and municipal). In addition, it is generating unprecedented conditions for the co-production of healthy and safe environments, in which multiple institutional actors participate, bringing together and articulating efforts between the health sector

and the public safety sector, as well as between the latter and other sectors such as education, child protection, the elderly, and women. The situation should be taken advantage of to forge permanent mechanisms of integration and collaboration between these sectors. These conditions can give way to more cooperative management modalities and create synergies that impact more effectively on the problems of violence and crime.

- **Dynamization of innovation processes and incorporation of ICT.**

The needs associated with some applications will be intensified, which will become a stimulus for the adoption of ICT by the police services. Predictive tools will be more attractive since they allow the identification of crime patterns based on big data and the use of artificial intelligence and automated learning. The increase in workload, limited resources and lack of personnel due to the health crisis at the same time, can accelerate the acceptance of these tools in the police and their incorporation to the criminal analysis and the design of deterrence and prevention strategies of crime and violence.

IMPACT ON THE PRISON SYSTEM

The prison sector has also faced important challenges in managing the crisis created by COVID-19. A group of international organizations issued an early warning about the increased vulnerability of the prison population and other persons deprived of their liberty during the COVID-19 pandemic, and called for public health measures to be taken to care for this population and for a review of criminal prosecution and prison policies in an effort to limit the deprivation of liberty (Declaración conjunta de la UNODC, la OMS, el ONUSIDA y la ACNUDH sobre la COVID-19 en prisiones y otros centros de detención, 2020).

It was documented that the rate of COVID-19 infections in the region's prisons grew by more than 200% between March and May 2020. In early August of the same year, more than 20,000 infections and more than 150 deaths were reported in prisons in Brazil and more than 2,000 cases and more than 200 deaths in Mexico. For the Andean region, more than 17,000 infections and more than 400 deaths were reported, followed by Central America with more than 6,000 infections and more than 300 deaths, and the southern cone with more than 4,000 infections and more than 100 deaths in prisons (Bergman, 2020). It is important to note that there is significant underreporting due to the scarcity or absence of tests for the prison population. Experts estimate that despite official figures, a significant percentage of the population has been infected (Sociedad

de Criminología Latinoamericana; Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos sobre Inseguridad y Violencia de la UNTREF, 2020). The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) also issued a resolution calling on the States to *"adopt measures to address the overcrowding of detention units, including the re-evaluation of cases of pretrial detention to identify those that can be converted into alternative measures to the deprivation of liberty, giving priority to the populations at greatest risk of health from the eventual spread of COVID-19, mainly the elderly and women who are pregnant or have children. In addition, it adds that it is necessary to "Ensure that, in cases of people at risk in the context of a pandemic, applications for prison benefits and alternative measures to imprisonment are evaluated ..."* (CIDH, 2020).

In relation to the penitentiary sector, the following risks and opportunities are identified:

Risks

- **Contagiousness and mutinies.** The overcrowded and unhygienic conditions of LAC prisons make them very high-risk spaces that encourage contagion or intensify the risk of rioting. These conditions also affect the health and safety of prison staff.
- **Release without solid technical criteria.** The measures that some countries have adopted for the release of detainees, without a clear definition of the parameters for deciding on those to be released, have generated public concern and could have adverse effects on the security of the victims of crimes committed by those released, or risks to society.
- **Weakening of assistance programs for prisoners.** Faced with the collapse of social protection systems in the face of growing demand for assistance and subsidies by the population that has lost its jobs and opportunities to generate its own income, support programs for the population deprived of liberty could suffer a decline and weakening. In many cases, these programs come from public-private initiatives that are also being weakened by the crisis.

Opportunities

- **Conditions to rethink the abusive use of imprisonment and review alternative options.** The broad agreement that has emerged on the urgency of reviewing decisions relating to imprisonment in the context of the pandemic creates conditions conducive to promoting

guidelines and policies on de-institutionalization that transcend situations such as the current one and enable the region's prison systems to operate more in line with human rights standards. The case analyzed here on the experience of Costa Rica provides tools for states to reduce prison overcrowding using technical criteria and thus, reduce the risk of contagiousness in prisons, especially in the case of women prisoners and their families.

Conclusion and recommendations

LAC continues to set negative records in terms of citizen security, confirmed by high rates of violent crime and feelings of insecurity, high levels of impunity despite some of the highest incarceration rates, and persistent citizen dissatisfaction with the performance of the sector's institutions. This situation is a burden for the region in terms of human development, and is a warning of the difficulties that countries may encounter in their progress towards meeting the goals set out in the ODS. These difficulties are compounded by the devastating effects that the COVID-19 pandemic is having on LAC countries in economic and social terms, with repercussions on security.

Despite this, in recent years, there have been encouraging trends in reducing violence and crime at the district/municipal, state and national levels, which have been illustrated in this study. Some of these reductions have been associated with experiences that have been implemented in various countries in the region, five of which were selected for analysis. From this analysis and the contextual information presented in previous pages, the following conclusions are drawn:

- 1 The drops in violent crime in various regions and countries of LAC are a hopeful sign, but the associated causes must be analyzed in greater depth to adjust strategies and sustain efforts.** In some cases, these falls appear to have been consolidated (Colombia), in others they have not been sustained (Brazil) or the trajectory is erratic (Central America). The existing studies are not conclusive about the associated causes, largely because of the lack of impact studies, or the lack of rigor in the absence of baselines or reliable information from the policy and program design phases. This aspect must be addressed, trying to isolate the effect of strategies against organized crime from the effects of comprehensive interventions against common crime, in order to provide feedback to ongoing policies and adjust designs to accelerate progress and generate more immediate returns.
- 2 Violent crime continues to impact the young population, women and girls, which forces us to concentrate intervention efforts on**

these segments of the population with an intersectional approach. In the case of the young male population, the homicide rates of those who suffer tend to double the national averages. Women continue to be killed for gender-related reasons in almost 40 percent of cases, and in countries with available information, girls between the ages of 10 and 14 have high rates of sexual assault. All of these forms of violence that operate on these population groups should be a priority for interventions and programs.

- 3 There has been undeniable progress in institutional management and in the design and implementation of public policies that respond to the citizen security paradigm, but the process must be accelerated in order to protect the achievements made and avoid backsliding, given the complex conditions posed by the crisis caused by the COVID-19.** The governance of the security sector is today more influenced by approaches that advocate a human rights-based approach, and a comprehensive, multisectoral, rigorous, participatory and innovative vision in addressing the problem, as observed in the experiences analyzed. These advances, however, cannot be taken for granted in view of the risks associated with the latent presence of positions inspired by punitive populism that could resurface due to the combination of worsening economic, social and security conditions generated by the COVID19, the growth of fear and social unrest, and leaderships that seek to take advantage of these circumstances on the eve of an electoral cycle that is about to open in the region. The best way to prevent this from happening is to take action that will have a sustained impact on reducing the levels of violence, crime and the sense of insecurity, by deepening and accelerating the processes of institutional reform and public policy management.
- 4 The legal and normative framework governing the security sector in the region has been reflecting on the most important advances in international human rights doctrine, but it is insufficient to guarantee prompt, fair, and guaranteed justice; this is especially true in the area of violence against women.** Beyond some normative adjustments that are required in certain countries on issues such as gender violence, crimes associated with corruption and organized crime, or in the face of new realities such as cybercrime, the greatest challenge in the region continues to be the capacity to enforce legislation and jurisprudence, to respond to citizens' demands for greater security. The persistent levels of impunity speak more of the lack of management than of normative deficiencies; the case of violence against women is an example of this. In spite of this, the approach to these problems continues to be markedly formalistic, a new law being a problem, postponing decisions on institutional reform and

improvement of management processes.

- 5 The security sector today has higher standards of rigor in the production and management of information, as well as in the evaluation of processes and ex post evaluation of results, but there is a lack of impact analysis and cost/benefit studies.** The availability of inputs and their quality has increased, in the form of databases, multivariate analyses, documented experiences, etc. which seek to nurture decision-making processes. However, there are still difficulties in accessing data of a public nature, and an inexplicable lack of analysis of results and impact of policies and programs. This last tool is indispensable as the region moves increasingly into decision-making processes that must be able to impact more specific variables if crime reduction efforts are to be sustained.
- 6 The incorporation of innovation processes in public policies has accelerated and the presence and importance of ICTs in the security sector has grown, but their incorporation does not always generate the expected results, generating high costs and questionable benefits.** The positive effects of these trends can be seen in less routine management processes and a greater willingness to experiment with new forms of intervention, as well as improved standards of efficiency and transparency. Despite this, some innovative experiences fail to be sustained over time or to scale up, and neither are they properly documented to provide feedback to decision-making processes. In relation to the acquisition and incorporation of ICTs, there are failed or poorly performing processes, given the absence in some countries of previous criteria, standards and strategies to guide this type of decision. ICTs are conceived as an end in itself, the adoption of which will miraculously solve problems. As it was observed in the cases analyzed in Sao Paulo, Brazil and Uruguay, ICTs are a tool that allows to accelerate the achievement of the objectives and goals of security programs, provided that the intervention model, the institutional strategy and the human and material resources to implement the processes are previously defined. In addition, ICT can generate undesired effects such as invasion of privacy, data manipulation and cybercrime risks.
- 7 The territorial management of security is displacing, with good results, the generic and national induced responses, but the institutional structures and processes are weak and require additional shielding.** This is reflected in the greater role that local governments have acquired in management processes, and in the various initiatives coming from international cooperation, such as those promoted by the UNDP in some Central American countries and considered in this report. A wide range of instruments are identified for the territorial management of violence and crime, from data disaggregated by

territorial units and the elaboration of participatory local diagnostics, to the formation of local councils for the prevention of violence and the creation of municipal programs for the prevention of violence, the attention of victims, and others. The efforts coming from the territorial administrations do not always have the required resources, or they do not manage to become professional, or they run the risk of the easiest penetration of organized crime, or of displacing the crime to nearby jurisdictions. Moreover, these efforts are not always adequately responded to by institutions at the national level. For this reason, more attention should be paid to the processes of decentralization and de-concentration by entities related to social policy and citizen security.

- 8 Civil society has gained prominence and relevance in the security sector and its actions have been professionalized, but there is room to expand and improve the quality and nature of its participation.** Almost all of the experiences analyzed have involved the mobilization and participation of citizens; in some cases, participation has been limited to deliberation, in others co-management schemes have operated. The instruments that promote this participation in the region are diverse, including citizen consultations, participative diagnoses and budgets, supervision, and incorporation into prevention tasks, alternative conflict resolution, attention to victims, community sanctions, etc. This participation is increasingly sophisticated, articulated and professional, as confirmed by the various research centers dedicated to the topic, non-governmental organizations involved in various projects in the sector, and organized communities, among others. Given these conditions, it should be aspired to broaden and deepen their participation.
- 9 The gender-sensitive approach has been mainstreamed into some security strategies and citizen alert levels on the issue are increasing, but levels of violence against women remain unacceptably high and women are still under-represented in security institutions.** As confirmed by the cases analyzed in El Salvador on violence against women and in Costa Rica with the experience of a sector of women deprived of their liberty, the gender approach has gained ground in the design and management of public policies in the sector. The mainstreaming of the gender approach in the security strategies of some countries, such as El Salvador, is also observed. Opinion surveys at the regional level have also confirmed that citizens are becoming more aware of the problem of violence against women. One factor that has contributed to a greater visibility of women within this sector is the production of disaggregated statistics and studies involving security problems associated with women, as exemplified by the Infosegura project for the countries of Central America. An

important outstanding debt is the low incorporation of women in the police services.

- 10 **The security sector is not immune to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis by reconfiguring security scenarios and affecting key institutions in the sector, including the police and prisons.** The progress made could be put at risk and there could be a resurgence of trends towards punitive populism. Although updated information is not yet available for several countries, preliminary data indicate a growth in violence against women and a possible escalation in homicide rates. The crisis poses both risks and opportunities that should be considered in readjusting security sector strategies.

On the basis of the results presented in the research and the conclusions drawn, the following actions are recommended:

- 1 **Turn the efforts made so far in the development of indicators and data and information management into impact analysis and cost/benefit studies.** The progress made in the generation of data and information, allows not only to continue producing process and results analysis, but also impact analysis and cost/benefit studies. Several countries in the region are in a position to make this qualitative progress, which will enable governments and the international cooperation sector to have more reliable and relevant inputs to make better decisions on priorities and resource allocation. Consideration should be given to making it mandatory for any project involving international cooperation resources to include an analysis of impact results and cost-benefit studies.
- 2 **Concentrate support for the sector on improving results-based management processes and designing public policies with minimum standards.** As we have already mentioned, the conceptual complexity involved in the notion of citizen security and its ethical, functional and strategic implications make it difficult to make progress in the management and public policymaking processes. The cases analyzed show that transformation processes with impact require the strengthening of diverse tools in the decision-making process, from the quality of inputs and diagnoses of the problem, to strategic planning, institutional designs that promote inter-institutional and multi-sectoralism, as well as participatory management, and mechanisms for oversight, evaluation and accountability. National governments and international cooperation agencies should focus their efforts on improving management processes of sector institutions.
- 3 **Make participatory management a priority in the processes of institutional transformation of the security sector.** Successful security experiences in the region have generally benefited from relevant ci-

vil society participation. In order to encourage such participation and improve its quality, it is recommended to: (i) readjust the management processes of institutions and the training of security sector personnel to ensure the incorporation of civil society in all phases of the public policy cycle, from participatory diagnoses to evaluations; (ii) promote processes to induce and train civil society to adjust expectations, improve knowledge of the sector and have the necessary tools to enhance the quality of its participation; (iii) promote instruments to measure citizen opinion (surveys, focus groups, etc.) and (iv) strengthen civil society's participation in evaluation processes (especially in specialized centers and academia), and in the processes of oversight and reporting.

4 To better armor the processes, mechanisms and instances of security management with a territorial approach.

The cases analyzed confirm the effectiveness of the territorial approach in addressing security problems, and show the importance of adequate articulation between the bodies at different levels, national, state and municipal. However, the mechanisms designed for this purpose (councils, committees, working groups, etc.) are not always effective or sustainable over time. Beyond the efforts to provide them with diagnostic, planning and management tools, as UNDP does very well, we recommend (i) strengthening and modernizing local coordination and management instances technologically by: (i) promoting the decentralization and de-concentration of programs with an impact on security matters to guarantee the adequate counterpart required by local governments; (ii) bringing together several local jurisdictions in a single instance (i.e. network of municipalities in Sao Paulo), especially if the territorial unit is relatively small, with the aim of improving their impact on national authorities and generating economies of scale; also to neutralize the effect of displacement of crime that usually occurs between neighboring municipalities.

5 Promote a greater and more effective convergence of strategies, policies and actions between the social and public security sectors.

If there is one thing that has been duly established in the literature and in the accumulation of documented experiences, some of which are analyzed in this study, it is the multifactorial nature of the problems addressed by citizen security, some of them of a social nature. Social prevention of crime and violence should be reinforced given the risk conditions that the pandemic will generate. It is recommended to: (i) promote integrated management processes from the elaboration of diagnostics and design of policies, plans and programs; (ii) promote the incorporation of social sector institutions in the coordination instances at national and local level, and design permanent articulation mechanisms at the level of the operating units; (iii) design processes

of supervision and evaluation of results with inter-institutional participation that allow the diverse actors to deepen the knowledge of the interrelations between relevant variables and propose the pertinent adjustments.

- 6 Readjust profiles and develop capacities for security management with a comprehensive and integral vision.** The convergence of institutional efforts to integrate public policies, from their design to their implementation and evaluation, implies the readjustment of the profile of officials in strategic and planning areas of security institutions, so that they may approach process management from a comprehensive and integral, articulated and participatory vision. This kind of "managers for citizen coexistence" is especially necessary in the processes of security management at the local level. Profiles must be reviewed and adapted, and the required training and capacities must be provided, many of which may come from the international cooperation sector, from civil society centers of thought and study, and from academia.
- 7 To turn information into action, through practices that positively impact the operational level of institutional management.** The quality and availability of data, and the evidence about what works and what does not in terms of security, has grown significantly in recent years. However, the gap between academic-scientific production and decision makers remains significant. The analyzed cases of PADO in Uruguay and Lei Seca in Diadema, Sao Paulo, illustrate how information and rigorous analysis permanently feed the actions and decisions of the operational units. However, this is not the rule. The advances observed in some countries where the quality of statistics has been improved and technologies for information management have been introduced are not enough; it must be ensured that information is incorporated into the administrative and operational routines that define the results of a management. To improve these processes, we recommend to: (i) strengthen the Planning and Information Management Units, and turn them into drivers of change through the development of awareness and training days, and the production of procedures manuals; (ii) intensify the training processes of operational personnel in the use of information for decision making; (iii) provide the operational units with the necessary equipment and instruments to ensure that information flows in a timely manner.
- 8 Design an institutional architecture for innovation and strategies for change management.** The cases of incorporation of ICTs and promotion of innovative ideas that were analyzed constitute examples of successful policies because, among other things, they had an institutional design capable of executing the proposed strategy; likewise, learning processes were observed thanks to which adjust-

ments were generated in the interventions. In the case of Uruguay, the Criminal Analysis Unit of the Ministry of the Interior was responsible for the PADO, and in the case of Diadema, Sao Paulo, the so-called Social Defense Coordination was responsible. In order to guarantee the best possible management of the innovation processes, it is recommended to start: (i) the creation of "technological management innovation" units, responsible for leading the innovation and transformation processes and with the technical, administrative and financial capacity to define quality standards in the ICT acquisition and modernization processes; (ii) the training of specialized personnel who are constantly exposed to international advances and best practices; (iii) empowering and providing the necessary resources to the units that are involved in the implementation of the change processes and innovations.

- 9 **Identify mechanisms for the financial sustainability of citizen security policies that involve efforts in terms of income as well as expenditures.** Considering the financial restrictions of the governments of the region, which will intensify given the fiscal impacts that the pandemic will generate, measures should be adopted on both the revenue and expenditure sides to avoid weakening the efforts underway to address security. On the revenue side, financing mechanisms should be identified to complement public budgets, such as special funds or trusts fed by contributions from the private sector, external borrowing in case of debt capacity, or confiscation of assets from organized crime. In terms of expenditure, cost/benefit criteria should be incorporated into institutional management and into the projects and policies promoted, ICTs should be incorporated into human resource-intensive routines that generate savings while strengthening efficiency and transparency standards, and efforts should be complemented by institutions at the national and subnational levels, as well as by international cooperation agencies.
- 10 **Expand efforts to promote gender-sensitive security policies that cover the entire public policy cycle, including the composition of decision-making bodies and the operational level of the security sector.** Efforts to incorporate the gender perspective into public policies and institutional management imply the promotion of additional actions at the substantive level (content of policies and programs) and at the instrumental level (those involved in the public policy cycle or in the decision-making process). On the substantive level, we recommend: (i) to transversalize the gender perspective in the whole cycle of public policies, from the phase of diagnosis, planning and budgeting, to the execution, monitoring and evaluation; (ii) to guarantee the disaggregation by gender of the security indicators, be they data on criminal incidence, victimization, fear of crime,

perceptions of the problem, or data on institutional management such as complaints received and processed, proceedings carried out, budgetary resources allocated, administrative and operational personnel, etc.; (iii) to promote the analysis of the results and impact of policies and programs aimed at addressing violence against women. In terms of instruments, we recommend: (i) to promote a greater incorporation of women into the police and security services, in which participation continues to be, as a general rule, between 10 and 15%, while training and working conditions are adjusted accordingly, including the provision of child care services for the children of police women who require it; (ii) to ensure that the processes of institutional transformation are developed in accordance with the principles of inclusiveness and non-discrimination.

APPENDIX

Summary of measurement methodologies of the impact studies considered in the cases analysis

Tables are presented for Brazil, Uruguay, El Salvador and Mexico. In the case of Costa Rica, no methodological annex is included because, although there is systematization documentation, there is no evidence of an evaluation study.

INTEGRATED INTERVENTIONS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: THE CASE OF SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

Study	Methodological aspects
(Freire, 2018)	<p>Method: Differences-in-differences estimating effects using "Synthetic control approach".</p> <p>Variables: Homicide rate, state GDP per capita, GDP growth by state, years of schooling, natural logarithm of population, population living in extreme poverty.</p> <p>Period: 1990 to 2009</p> <p>Treatment group: 26 states and Federal District</p> <p>Control group: Sao Paulo synthetic (case)</p>
(Cerqueira de Castro, 2014)	<p>Method: Multivariate regression models for causal effect estimation.</p> <p>Period: 2003-2007</p> <p>Variables: Property crime, vehicle theft, robbery, robbery, attempted homicide, firearm apprehension, assault, homicide, homicide with firearm, suicide, suicide with firearm, records and firearm purchase.</p> <p>Treatment group: 118 cities with more than 50 thousand inhabitants between 2001 and 2003 and the State of São Paulo.</p>
(Cabral, 2016)	<p>Method: Effect estimation using Differences-in-Differences and Differences-in-Spatial-Differences methods.</p> <p>Period: 2000 and 2010</p> <p>Variables: Homicide, socio-economic data (population density, per capita income, unemployment rate, population, youth, female heads of household, race of richest 20% and poorest 40%, suicides by firearm, existence of municipal guard), beneficiaries of Bolsa Familia Program.</p> <p>Treatment group: 39 municipalities and 28 cities where Infocrim was implemented in the State of São Paulo.</p> <p>Control group: 548 municipalities</p>
(Kahn & Zanetic, 2005)	<p>Methods:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Difference-in-difference with causal approach where a general model is assumed for the a priori historical series and a dummy variable is used to test the difference in the mean and variance before and after the adoption of the Prohibition Act. 2) BOX-Jenkins "Intervention detection". <p>Variable: Homicide</p> <p>Period: 2001-2004</p> <p>Treatment group: 16 cities-municipalities implemented Lei Seca</p> <p>Control group: 3 large cities of the São Paulo metropolitan region</p>

SOCIAL POLICY AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE AND CRIME: THE CASE OF MEXICO

Study	Methodological aspects
(Camacho & Mejía, 2013)	Method: Multivariate regression models. Variables: Crime incidence data, information on beneficiary households of the Familias en Acción program. Period: 2007-2009
(Chioda, De Mello, & Soares, Spillovers from Conditional Cash Transfer Programs: Bolsa Família and Crime in Urban Brazil, 2012)	Method: Multivariate regression models. Variables: School characteristics (infrastructure, teachers, students, etc.), crime data referenced by time and place in São Paulo (over 1,473,939 crimes). Period: 2006-2009
(Loureiro, 2012)	Method: Difference-in-difference, multivariate negative binomial regression models. Variables: homicide, robbery, extortion/kidnapping, from 27 states; amount of conditional cash transfers paid, poverty, GINI, years of schooling, average labor income, unemployment rate, single-parent household, young males, level of informality in the labor market, Period: 2001-2008
(Borges Machado, Rodrigues, Rasella, Lima Barreto, & Araya, 2018)	Method: Multivariate negative binomial regression models with fixed effects for the data. Analysis models using Difference-in-Difference Variables: Bolsa Familia coverage, hospitalizations due to violence in 5,507 municipalities in Brazil. Period: 2004-2012
(Angelucci, 2007)	Method: Estimation of effects on exogenous changes through multivariate negative binomial regression models. Variables: Alcohol abuse, aggressive behavior, income. Time period: 1998-2003 Treatment group: Households in treatment in a sample of municipalities. Control group: Non-beneficiary households in sample of municipalities.
(Bobonis & Castro, 2010)	Method: Treatment effects estimation; Difference-in-difference. Variables: From the National Survey on the Dynamics of Household Relationships (ENDIREH). Period: 2003 and 2006 Treatment group: Beneficiary households in rural municipality with children. Control group: Non-beneficiary households in the same rural municipality with children.
(Lance, Conditional Cash Transfers and the Effect on Recent Murder Rates in Brazil and Mexico, 2014)	Method: Zero inflated negative binomial regression. Variables: Homicide and program beneficiaries, human development, GDP per capita, population for 3,110 municipalities in Mexico. Period: 2005-2008

INNOVATION AND TICS IN POLICE MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF URUGUAY

Study	Methodological aspects
<p>(Chainey, Serrano-Berthet, & Veneri, 2020)</p>	<p>Method: Differences in differences. Negative binomial approach</p> <p>Variables: Theft</p> <p>Period: 2013-2016</p> <p>Treatment group: 1,385 geoFigures segments covered by the PADO program.</p> <p>Control groups:</p> <p>(1) 9,476 geoFigure segments at a distance of 1 to 300 meters from the PADO program's geoFigure area.</p> <p>(2) 37,915 geoFigure segments more than 300 meters away from the PADO geoFigure area.</p>

INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: THE CASE OF EL SALVADOR

Study	Methodological aspects
<p>(Bustelo, Martínez, Pérez Millard, & Rodríguez Silva, 2016)</p>	<p>Method(s): Differences-in-differences; multivariate regression models to estimate causal effect.</p> <p>Variables: 37 demographic and socioeconomic variables and 42 indicators of health, labor market and violence.</p> <p>Time period: 8-15 months after the inauguration of the three CM centers located in the municipalities of San Martín, Santa Ana and Usulután (2013/2014-2015).</p> <p>Treatment group: 50 women between 18 and 60 years old beneficiaries of Ciudad Mujer.</p> <p>Control groups:</p> <p>(1) 50 women not beneficiaries of Ciudad Mujer - from the comparison group.</p> <p>(2) 50 women using a traditional public service - from the placebo group.</p>

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