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An Evaluation of the Potential Impact of Community Oriented Policing in Latin America

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Josef Korbel School of International Studies

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the potential impact of community oriented policing in Latin America through a series of case studies from Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia and El Salvador dating from the early 1990's to the present. They are analyzed through a typology that organizes community oriented policing strategies according to costliness to the police. Costliness is defined as the amount of power that the police have to renounce to the community to implement a certain strategy. The thesis concludes that community oriented policing is an improvement over militarized policing strategies as it has the possibility to enhance both human security and state legitimacy in the region.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Every state in the world currently has a police force of some sort to, theoretically, enforce laws and regulate society. A more specific definition of the police is, according to David Bayley, that they are, “people authorized by a group to regulate interpersonal relations within the group through application of physical force.”¹ Another definition, from Diamint says that they are, “a state’s apparatus to regulate the daily acts of citizens, ensure order, and organize and implement procedures for law enforcement...They are lawfully authorized to use force to guarantee order and respect for the law.”²

As demonstrated with the definitions above, the legitimate application of the use of force is key to defining the police’s role. This remains an issue in many parts of the world where police continue to apply force illegally, for example through torture, disappearances, and extrajudicial killings. In a democratic society in particular the abuse of force is generally considered unacceptable. This may cause one to ask something which scholars have wrestled with for a long time, namely, what is a democracy and a democratic society? Although answering this question is outside the scope of this paper, one useful definition is that a democracy exists when

¹ John Bailey and Lucia Dammert eds. *Public Security and Police Reform in the Americas*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. 19

² Jorge Dominguez and Anthony Jones eds. *The Construction of Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. 149

formal institutions operate and when basic civil, political, and legal rights for the institutions' operation are extended to the general population.³ Extending these rights to the general population always includes some form of political elections (a government with elections is frequently called a "polyarchy") and freedom of expression.⁴ The definition also usually includes respect for the "rule of law," which means that every person has access to certain rights under the law, and to enforceable judicial provisions if these rights are abrogated.⁵ In addition, the state should be accountable to its citizens, which means that the people should be able to hold elected officials and government institutions responsible for transgressions they may commit.⁶

Though these rights and the definition of the role of the state have changed and evolved over time, one of the fundamental roles of the state is the provision of security. Security is the foundation for the modern state system because people initially came together in towns or villages for protection (and commerce). The security in villages also enabled the growth of trade. In current times, the police typically provide domestic security and the definition of security has expanded to

³ Enrique Desmond Arias and Daniel Goldstein. *Violent Democracies in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010., 3

⁴ Guillermo O'Donnell. "Polyarchies and the (Un)Rule of Law in Latin America." *Latin American Studies Association*. (1998). <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/LASA98/O'Donnell.pdf> (accessed June 12, 2013).

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ Marcelo Bergman and Laurence Whitehead eds. *Criminality, Public Security, and the Challenge to Democracy in Latin America*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009., 9

“human security,” which purports to explain how persons in a nation should be able to live. Human security is defined as, “the freedom of individuals and communities from threats posed by conflict and violence to their physical, social or cultural integrity or survival.”⁷ This definition clarifies that people in a state should theoretically be free from violence from both non-governmental actors and from the state itself. Therefore one could say that if a state fails to provide security for its people, and particularly if the people suffer from elevated levels of violence, then the state is not a democracy.

Because of the elevated levels of violence throughout Latin America, most scholars agree that while the majority of the region (excluding Cuba) has democratic governments they are, “far from perfect.”⁸ Guillermo O’Donnell says that most Latin American countries are, “third stage” democracies, which means that while the majority of states have competitive elections and freedom of expression, they still lack the ability to enforce the rule of law because of weak criminal justice branches and widespread corruption.⁹ Consequently, professionalizing and democratizing police forces (and other aspects of the criminal justice system such as the judiciary and the penitential system) is key to encouraging democratic growth and citizen security in the region. Because of this many reform attempts have been made thus

⁷ Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt. *Fractured Cities*. New York, NY: Zed Books, 2007., 13

⁸ Arias and Goldstein, 3

⁹ Lucia Dammert. "Reforma Policial en America Latina." *Seguridad Ciudadana*. (2005). http://dspace.uah.es/dspace/bitstream/handle/10017/7794/reforma_dammert_QUORUM_2005.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed June 12, 2013). 56

far. Democratic policing has a different definition than the earlier policing definitions, it includes, accountability to the law and not to itself, accountability to democratic structures and the community, transparency, professionalism, and being representative of the community it serves.¹⁰

This sort of policing remains elusive throughout Latin America, and indicators for state and non-state violence show “persistent human rights violations, an increase in homicides and domestic conflict...some countries also continue to use torture.”¹¹ This occurs in areas that actually have police and state presence; in some nations there are “governance voids,” where the state, and police, are virtually nonexistent. One example are the guerrilla and/or paramilitary controlled regions in Colombia. Other examples are the many shantytowns surrounding major Latin American cities that are controlled by gangs and lack government presence.¹²

When the police do enter these areas they typically enter in a heavily armed and aggressive manner, which frequently leads to human rights abuses and the murder of innocent civilians. Because of this, entire segments of the population fear the police, and in many parts of Latin America the people see them as a, “source of crime rather than guarantor of civil rights.”¹³ If the police are the only contact with the state, then the people will fear the state as well. Using the police as a proxy for

¹⁰ Sankar Sen. *Enforcing Police Accountability through Civilian Oversight*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2010., 9

¹¹ Arias and Goldstein, 236

¹² Koonings and Krujit, 13

¹³ Dominguez and Jones, 160

democracy in a country is frequently used by scholars precisely because they are the part of the state which people have most contact with on a regular basis, and so a legitimate police force is key to both crime reduction and ensuring state legitimacy.¹⁴

As discussed earlier, the police are legally permitted to use violence under certain circumstances; however, throughout Latin America the illegal use of police violence is frequent. Arias and Goldstein define the illegal use of state violence as, “disproportionate use of force to suppress opposition, create a state of fear and exercise state terror.”¹⁵ Examples of this can include extrajudicial killings, torture, and other forms of coercive violence. According to Fruhling, the poor tend to suffer “disproportionately,” from police abuses. He says that this is partially because there is an underlying acceptance of institutional violence in Latin America, because police attitudes favor the wealthy, and because there are inadequate civilian controls over the police; this last issue has led to widespread impunity because the police know that they can get away with committing crimes.¹⁶ Dammert concurs that the police in Latin America do not respond to all members of society equally and that their actions are conditioned by perceived socioeconomic differences.¹⁷

One of the most common responses by the state to the crime increase has been *Mano Dura* (strong-arm) policing. This typically entails mass arrests and increased

¹⁴ Dammert (2005), 54

¹⁵ Arias and Goldstein, 229

¹⁶ Joseph Tulchin and Meg Ruthenburg. *Toward a Society Under Law*. Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006., 19

¹⁷ Dammert (2005), 55

police abuses and is, “likely to accentuate the climate of violence and distrust.”¹⁸

These policies are usually initially supported and initiated by the community because a spike in crime often leads to the election of politicians who promise to take a strong stance against it.

One of the best examples of *Mano Dura* policing occurred in El Salvador, where the government passed laws during the 2000’s (*Mano Dura* Part I in 2003 and *Mano Dura* Part II in 2008) legitimizing the arrest of anyone who looked like they might belong to a gang while increasing the amount of time people could be incarcerated without trial. These policies led to an increase in the prison, and gang, populations, and failed to decrease violence and illicit activities. Prisons have been called, “finishing schools” for gang members precisely because imprisoned gang members have the opportunity to make contacts and learn from more experienced gang members.¹⁹ This means that all these policies created were the largest prison populations in the Americas and more gang members. These laws eventually further contributed to the lack of trust between the police and the community, as people started to see relatives, friends and neighbors arrested indiscriminately.

In addition to current police abuses, many nations in Latin America have a long history of repressive governments, frequently through either military juntas or right-wing dictatorships. Throughout the region these systems of government were dismantled during the 1980’s and 1990’s, which means that the memory of the police acting as a repressive state agent, causing disappearances, and torturing remains

¹⁸ Bergman and Whitehead, 13

¹⁹ Cynthia Arnson ed. “In the Wake of War.” Woodrow Wilson Press, 2012. pp. 317-341.

present among the population. Of the nations that will be discussed later in the case studies, Chile had a right-wing dictatorship from 1973-1990, El Salvador had one (in a long line of autocratic dictatorships) from 1979-1992 which ended after a bloody civil war and Brazil had a military junta from 1964-1985. In each of these nations the police was used as an element of repression and was frequently a military branch, in other words the domestic police was controlled by and lead by members of the military.

This history explains why the boundary between domestic security, which should be provided by the police, and international security, which should be provided by the military, is often blurred in Latin America with the military taking a wide role in areas which are considered part of the police's purview in most other nations. An excellent example of this is the military's role in the war against the TCO's (transnational criminal organizations) in Mexico. Arias and Goldstein also note that the police in many Latin American countries is still called the *policia militar* (military police). The military police was usually left untouched after the democratization process; this occurred in both Brazil and Chile.²⁰ As will be discussed further in the case study chapter, the police in these nations retained their hierarchical structure, militaristic nature, and minimal civilian government oversight.

As mentioned earlier, crime and corruption are serious issues in Latin America, and demonstrate the weakness of the state and the police. The whole region experienced a major crime wave, which began after the fall of most of the regions

²⁰ Arias and Goldstein, 238

dictatorships in the late 1980's and early 1990's. Homicides rose 41% between 1998 and 2008, and in some countries the level of violent, and non-violent crime, remains noticeably elevated to this day.²¹ In addition to crime, Bailey and Dammert identify other threats to public security in Latin America including, "violence, terrorism and domestic institutions characterized by incompetence, corruption and impunity."²²

2011 data shows that Latin America is the most violent region in the world, with homicide rates twice the world average; 25% of these homicides are believed to be TCO or gang related.²³ In addition, the region has the most "most dangerous cities," in the world, including all of the cities in the top twenty of the ranking.²⁴ When studying crime and violence in Latin America, one must bear in mind that some Latin American countries remain the main producers and transporters for plant based (and other) narcotics for the world. The financial gains from U.S. and European drug consumption has helped fuel illicit groups and consequently violence in the region.

According to Arias and Goldstein, the frequency of crime, and of violent crime especially, "concretely affect[s] lived political experience[s]"²⁵ in Latin

²¹ Bergman and Whitehead, 93-94

²² Bailey and Dammert, 11

²³ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide ." Last modified 2011. Accessed June 12, 2013. http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/statistics/Homicide/Globa_study_on_homicide_2011_web.pdf.

²⁴ Joshua Berlinger. "The 50 Most Dangerous Cities in the World." *Business Insider*, 10 9, 2012. <http://www.businessinsider.com/most-dangerous-cities-in-the-world-2012-10?op=1> (accessed June 12, 2013).

²⁵ Arias and Goldstein, 4

America, hence most voters rank crime of equal importance as the economy when polls are taken. Unger concurs with Arias and Goldstein and says that crime “corrodes,” everyday life in Latin America.²⁶ For example, he notes that in many places people are afraid to go out at night because of how common crime is, and says that this reduces the sense of community among people. He says that crime has also permeated power relations between state and society, enhanced geographic differences among regions and damaged civil society.²⁷ He finds that violence has allowed the state to take on more powers, and that it frequently uses violence and crime as justification for repressive anti-crime policies. Corruption, or at least the perception of corruption, also remains problematic throughout most nations in Latin America at all levels of government, from local police at the bottom all the way up to ministers in major federal agencies.²⁸ Like crime, this can damage the social fabric and further reduce the people’s trust in their government.

The graph below illustrates the per capita homicide rates for the nations which will be discussed later in the case study section. In all countries, excepting Brazil and Chile, a clear spike in violence is noticeable (note that there is also more limited data for these two nations). Although these two countries did not register spikes, many Brazilian cities did individually, and in Chile there was an elevated perception of insecurity during the 1990’s after the government democratized. The perception of

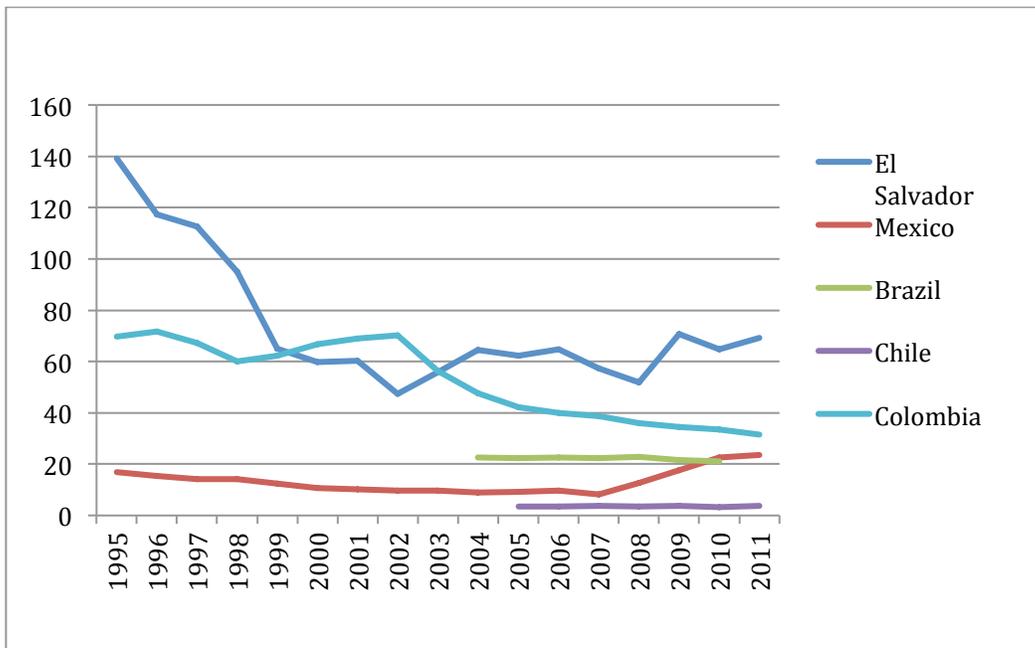
²⁶ Mark Unger. *Policing Democracy*. Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2011., 71

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ Transparency International, "Corruption Perceptions Index 2012." Last modified 2012. Accessed June 12, 2013. <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2012/results/>.

insecurity can be almost as damaging as insecurity itself, because people regardless perceive the state as having less control over crime. Likewise, the perception of increased security, even if it is not immediately apparent in data, can greatly help the state (and politicians) because the people think that the situation is improving.

Figure 1: Graph Shows per Capita Homicides in Selected Countries



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A note on data collection in Latin America, and the data used throughout this paper, should be made. Throughout Latin America there is a “dearth of data” regarding crime, although there has been an improvement in the past twenty years.³⁰ The most reliable estimate for general crime frequently comes from the homicide rate because it has been tracked most often throughout the region; the homicide rates do clearly show that the region has the world’s highest per capita homicide rates outside

²⁹ Graph shows per capita homicides, the data from the UNODC, the graph is the authors own

³⁰ Bergman and Whitehead, 3-4

of war zones.³¹ The lack of data can be attributed to many sources, including police and government corruption and incompetence.

An additional issue is that government agencies within nations, and international organizations such as the UNODC, IADB, and Interpol all report differently and show different data; Unger says that this is a problem throughout the region even in nations such as Costa Rica, Chile and Uruguay which generally have better crime statistics than the rest of Latin America.³² Within countries, homicides are also typically classified as intentional or unintentional and only the intentional homicides are reported to international agencies; this is an area where the numbers can easily be altered, and where, more innocently, countries can simply use different metrics. In Mexico specifically they have even started breaking down intentional homicides as between those thought to be caused by TCO's and those unrelated to TCO's; this has recently come under some scrutiny and led to controversy because it appears that the new Pena Nieto administration is intentionally moving some of the homicides thought to be caused by TCO's into the unrelated category.³³

Recently, some countries, and independent organizations such as the LatinoBarometro and the Latin American Public Opinion Project through Vanderbilt University, have started conducting victimization studies which conduct public

³¹ Bailey and Dammert, 7-8

³² Unger, 49

³³ Alejandro Hope. Mexico's Violent Crime Numbers Don't Add Up, "InSight Crime." Last modified 04 24, 2013. Accessed June 12, 2013. <http://www.insightcrime.org/news-analysis/mexico-violent-crime-numbers-add-up>.

opinion polls to discover how many people have experienced crime and what kind, how many have experienced corruption and by which part of the government, what crimes people are most concerned about, etc., and this has expanded the available data somewhat.³⁴ Although these polls cannot answer all the questions or cover all facets of society, one of the major findings has been that on average people in Latin America only report between 25% and 30% of crimes to the authorities because they distrust the police, and regardless do not believe that the police is capable of solving the crimes.³⁵ This unreported crime is frequently referred to as the *cifra negra* (black number) in Latin America, and the percentage of unreported crime is frequently debated in both the media and in the political arena. For example, official government numbers may give one estimate whereas independent sources will give another. This adds to the overall unreliability of data and demonstrates the great distrust with which most people view the police.

As discussed above, most of Latin America suffers from elevated crime rates and poor policing. This poor policing reflects on the state itself and on democracy in the region because a nation is not fully democratic until most of its citizens believe that they can rely on their state to provide security, and as of right now many Latin American states are not succeeding in this area. The police are clearly important to improving security because they are traditionally the main providers of domestic

³⁴ Vanderbilt University, "Latin American Public Opinion Project." Accessed June 12, 2013. <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/>.

³⁵ Bailey and Dammert, 9

security, and because their physical presence is evidence of state presence and their actions can be taken to represent the state.

Because of the police's importance to a state, and their weakness and corruption in Latin America, I thought that exploring alternative forms of policing in Latin America could be a useful study, and one of the most frequently discussed types of "good" or "democratic" policing is community oriented policing. This thesis aims to explore community oriented policing as a way to improve human security and state legitimacy in the region. In the next chapter, I will attempt to define and create a typology of community oriented policing because this form of policing lacks a formal definition and because the term is frequently used without explanation, and will discuss concerns with the model. After this I will include a chapter with case studies from Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia and El Salvador; these case studies illustrate various attempts at community oriented policing from the national to the local level. I will subsequently try to fit these cases into my typology to analyze whether or not any of them achieve community oriented policing. Lastly, I will conclude by analyzing whether or not community oriented policing is the best option for police reform given the information in this thesis.

Chapter Two: What is Community Oriented Policing?

Community oriented policing is, in the words of Hugo Fruhling, “quite popular.”³⁶ Wisler and Onwudiwe concur and say that it has, “become the almost unchallenged definition of good and democratic policing...it is the ideological and policy model espoused in mission statements, police goals, and reform programs by practically all policing forces.”³⁷ Although, as these quotes demonstrate, it is generally agreed that community oriented policing is very popular, it lacks an official definition. Instead, many scholars, governments, and police services have attempted to define community oriented policing independently. To give a sampling of the breadth of definitions a few are listed below.

Unger defines it as “a preventive approach based on making society the first line of defense against crime and insecurity,”³⁸ whereas Sen refers to it as “arrangements in policing that accord a significant role to the community in defining

³⁶ Hugo Fruhling. "A realistic look at Latin American Community Policing Programs ." *Policing and Society*. (2011). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2011.636816> (accessed June 19, 2013)., 76

³⁷ Dominique Wisler, and Ihekwoaba Onwudiwe. *Community Policing International Patterns and Comparative Perspectives*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2009. Vii

³⁸ Unger, 9-10

and guiding policing in their localities.”³⁹ Dominguez and Jones expand further and define it as, “more than merely controlling law and order and fighting crime. It responds to new management criteria in public administration (economy, efficiency and effectiveness) and legitimizes the presence of the police in the urban arena.”⁴⁰

Other authors do not define it specifically and instead explain how it has been implemented in North America and Europe, which is where the model has its roots. For example Fruhling says that it should: (1) emphasize preventive action in the neighborhood (2) promote the establishment of close ties with the community to promote feedback (3) the police should try to mobilize the community to take preventive actions and (4) police actions should reflect knowledge of about conditions and circumstances that are conducive to crime.⁴¹

Although community oriented policing (COP) lacks a consensual model, there are common themes throughout the definitions. For example, all the definitions say that it entails greater involvement with the community. This in turn should theoretically reduce police violence, because the police become familiar with the community and vice versa which means that they lose both some of their impunity and form relationships with the people. These relationships in turn should enable the police to prevent crime through better intelligence. Throughout the definitions and discussions on community oriented policing the formation of trusting bonds between the police and the community is key to success. In addition, COP is proactive instead

³⁹ Sen, 30

⁴⁰ Dominguez and Jones, 164

⁴¹ Wisler and Onwudiwe, 292

of reactive policing because it focuses on crime prevention. Preventing crime and reducing police violence and corruption, which a solid community policing program should achieve, are attractive goals for politicians in parts of the world such as Latin America where violence and corruption are key political and human security issues. This explains why there has been a growth in community policing programs since the 1990's throughout the region.

Virtually all countries now claim that their police take into consideration the needs of the community and accept that they must work with the community to solve crime successfully, partially because, as mentioned earlier, community oriented policing is now “synonymous” with good and democratic policing. In the next section I will be presenting a series of case studies from Brazil, Mexico, El Salvador, Chile and Colombia where community policing has been attempted at many levels, from the municipal or state-wide to the federal. Before presenting the case studies, I have attempted to create a typology of community oriented policing as it is found in Latin America so as to better organize the case studies and analyze why or why not the programs succeeded.

According to Frühling, police reform can be divided into two types, “Genuine efforts that seek to transform the police force versus efforts that seek to merely project a better image of the police.”⁴² However, it seems to me that one can find three types of police reform when looking specifically at community oriented policing programs. I discuss them in descending order from least to most costly for the police below, the more community involvement the program entails the more

⁴² Frühling, December 2011, 79

costly it is to the police because community involvement requires the police to voluntarily renounce a portion of their power and give it to the community (or to other government agencies, civil society groups, etc.)

The first type is when policing services supposedly implement “community policing” while barely utilizing community oriented policing strategies. In this type, police services and governments use COP as a public relations strategy to make their police services appear more democratic and open. As discussed earlier, virtually all governments and police services now say that they involve the community in their programs; however, many do not actually involve the community. I include creating community councils and then either ignoring them or dismantling them after one or two meetings in this section because they are a way for the government to claim that they are involving the community without actually doing so. Another low-cost mechanism could be installing a complaints and concerns email or box, which can then be ignored.

The second type is divided into two groups of community oriented policing programs, between programs that are more or less costly for the police.

The less costly programs generally entail programs that the police can take without actually involving the community. One example is block-by-block policing (also called “sector” and “quadrant” policing). Although this may be effective because it enables the police to get to know the area and the people, it does not usually involve the community in its design and implementation. Another example is implementing a crime-mapping program. Although this may help the police identify

crime hot spots and enable prevention, it likewise requires minimal community involvement. Many crime-mapping programs are run through universities or non-profits, and so they do require the police to interact with members of the community but only with a limited amount of people. Another example is programs at youth centers and in schools, this may allow for greater community engagement; however, if the police are just lecturing young people it does not require them to interact with them and hear their input. One excellent example of this was the DARE program in the U.S., which was widespread and eventually largely dismissed as a failed program because of how few young people it apparently influenced.

A few common programs could be ranked under either the less or more costly section depending on the specific case. For example, community councils, which are one of the most frequently and rapidly implemented community-policing like strategies, could be costly if the police genuinely take the citizens complaints and suggestions and try to act upon them, or they can be a forum for people to vent their frustration without the police having to do anything. Many are also started and then stopped because of lack of commitment from either the police or the community members sitting on the council. Another example of this could be neighborhood watch groups and phone trees because the police could help set these up, and then ignore their recommendations or fail to continue supporting them. These are also problematic because some people view them as the state trying to pass its responsibility for providing security onto the community. Another case-dependent example is creating a citizens complaint channel, as mentioned in the first section,

because this could enable greater community involvement or the complaints could be ignored. A final case-dependent example is maintaining the same police in an area during block policing. Although this decision can be taken by the police without community input it can be costly because it removes some scheduling power from higher-ranking officers in the chain of command and means that manpower is theoretically committed to a certain area, which means that they can't transfer officers or place them on temporary details.

The programs I identify as even more costly require greater community engagement and the police giving up more of their power. These may include engaging the people in strategy formation, for example the police could consult with the community about how best to tackle a specific problem, such as street level drug sales, through a community council or some other mechanism. More costly strategies also include greater social components, for example when police work with social workers, teachers etc. to develop programs. All of these should make the police more aware of the communities "needs and interests" and force them to start focusing on the concrete issues that have the greatest impact on the communities.⁴³

Another very costly step is actually developing and publishing clear indicators of police effectiveness and evaluation mechanisms because this means that the police can be judged. Interestingly, the evaluation stage is the one most frequently forgotten in Latin American police reform programs, perhaps because governments do not want to publicize that their efforts failed. This also requires community engagement

⁴³ Tulchin and Ruthenberg, 23

because it typically requires victimization surveys to be performed by unbiased outside actors. Once these are published the police can be called to account for their actions by the government, society, and the media in addition to the international community. Another costly step is municipal government and community involvement from the beginning of a programs design, because it means that outside actors have oversight and insight into the program from the start.

Other costly steps need to take place within the government and police structure. They can include, for example, giving greater autonomy to local police chiefs to enable them to make better decisions for their community. This replaces the existing hierarchical system, and is extremely costly to the central police and state, because it will probably engender resistance among higher-ranking officers. Giving greater discretion to local chiefs and lower-ranking police officers, or decentralizing the police command system, is one of the major obstacles to police reform encountered throughout Latin America. Another major obstacle is enhancing oversight over the police, this should happen at both the community and the government level, and once oversight is established mechanisms to curb abuse should be implemented.

Most nations in Latin America (excluding Chile) now have an ombudsmans office, which is supposed to investigate citizen complaints and abuses and subsequently enable perpetrators prosecution. These were largely created to help protect human and civil rights from abuse by the government, and in many cases, from the police or the military in particular. Unfortunately these offices are

frequently understaffed, overworked, and lack real power and so other mechanisms for monitoring the police should be implemented.

Another costly step for all governments is inter-agency coordination, and it is one of the most difficult obstacles to overcome. An example of how this could impact community oriented policing could be when police officers are supposed to work with social services to help bring a certain service to a dangerous area. A final, and extremely costly, step is a reduction in the use of force. As discussed earlier, the police in Latin America tend to use force frequently and sometimes unnecessarily.

Pion-Berlin and Trinkunas say that reducing police violence requires:

“applying principles of necessity (react violently only when attacked violently), proportionality (scale responses to the intensity, duration, and magnitude of the aggression), rationality (take nonlethal measures first and do not provoke an escalation of violence), and discrimination (distinguish between the violent and those who are not).”⁴⁴

Reforming the police so they follow these rules is difficult when they are used to operating with impunity, as is convincing police who are used to using violence that it is not necessarily the best strategy.

The final type is when a police department, or a nation as a whole, embraces community policing as an all-encompassing philosophy. This entails both the less and more costly community-policing programs. It should impact institutional culture, mission and evaluation. At this level it also requires intensive community participation and political will and leadership. Of the case studies that will be discussed in the next chapter none reach this point except, perhaps, in the case of

⁴⁴ David Pion-Berlin, and Harold Trinkunas. "Latin America's Growing Security Gap." *Journal of Democracy*. no. 1 (2011). 0.1353/jod.2011.0014 (accessed June 19, 2013)., 47

Santa Tecla in El Salvador. One must also note that many argue that achieving this point is not possible, even in countries such as the U.S. and Great Britain that first embraced community oriented policing.

Some authors say that what I discuss above is simply a difference in opinion about what community policing should entail. One group understands community policing as a strategy for the police to produce better intelligence through community councils, “sector policing,” and other community oriented policing strategies, whereas the other group assigns it a different role, and argues that communities are meant to have a say in how they are policed; consequently it is a philosophy not a strategy.⁴⁵ I find that the two should not be separated because the second view is the final stage that community oriented policing should eventually reach. At this stage, the police should enjoy general legitimacy, and, as discussed in the previous chapter, legitimization of the police contributes to legitimization of the state as a whole, and they should benefit from the closer police-community relationship brought on by COP.

Now that various types of community oriented policing strategies have been discussed, and that I’ve hopefully clarified what it usually entails, a discussion on implementing police reform is required. It is generally agreed that starting and continuing any sort of policing strategy has three general steps, formulation, implementation and evaluation, and that each are important for many reasons.

Formulating a COP strategy is the first step in the process, and can be difficult. It should include input from members of local government, civil society and

⁴⁵ Wisler and Onwudiwe, 5

the police. It has been found that purely top down approaches, when it is imposed by government; tend to fail because the police resist reforms imposed in that way because they believe that that bureaucrats do not understand what it means to police. Consequently the police should be involved in the programs design from the beginning. In a best case scenario members of the police from various divisions and levels would be invited to assist in formulation so that the lower ranks would not feel excluded. Lower rank exclusion can lead to their rejecting new forms of police reform, just as higher-ranking officers can reject it when they feel that the government is imposing reform. In addition to considering various parties opinions, the formulation stage also needs to take into consideration best practices, whether domestic or international, the state's financial capacity, and it should try to realistically predict how long the program will take to implement so as to avoid creating unrealistic expectations.

Police reform implementation is difficult and widely regarded as erratic throughout the region, partially because it has many obstacles to overcome. The first obstacle is gaining police acceptance for the strategy. As mentioned earlier, the police in Latin America remain hierarchic and generally against demilitarizing. Many authors also note that if higher ranks embrace reform the lower ranks won't necessarily and vice versa. Even if the state invests heavily in training police in community policing techniques, institutional resistance can prevent the training from being effective.

The second obstacle is gaining the community's trust. One reason, which Unger notes, is that due to general distrust of the police in Latin America some people view community policing as a way for the police to spy on people more efficiently.⁴⁶ This may be due to the authoritarian past in many countries in Latin America, when domestic spying was a large part of the police's mission. He and Arias argue that the best way to overcome a communities' fear of the police is to initially engage through trusted civil society actors who can mediate between the people and the police.⁴⁷ Although this does seem to be a good strategy, it does not always appear to be necessary and a trusted political actor may be able to serve this role as well.

Once police resistance is overcome, COP programs are usually started in a pilot site, but they often fail to expand beyond the initial locations, or beyond a small group of police trained in COP techniques. One reason for this may be community apathy, many people do not necessarily want to serve on police-community boards or neighborhood phone trees nor do they think they have time for it. Another problem, which Koonings and Krujit note, is that due to the existing levels of violence in some areas, communities are already fragmented and consequently finding people to serve on boards will be difficult.⁴⁸ In addition, if the community is very insecure, illicit actors may threaten people who join community boards or other organizations and

⁴⁶ Unger, 66

⁴⁷ Enrique Desmond Arias, and Mark Unger. "Community Policing and Latin America's Citizen Security Crisis." *Comparative Politics*. no. 4 (2009). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40599216> . (accessed June 19, 2013)., 410

⁴⁸ Koonings and Krujit, 7

consequently they may be too afraid to join. Other implementation issues can include general bureaucratic slowness, lack of qualified instructors, funding issues, lack of political commitment or policy changes caused by changes in administration, corruption and other problems that will be covered more specifically in the chapter on case studies.

The final step in police reform is program evaluation. Evaluation of community policing programs should include studies on the: (1) impact on the reduction of crime and violence (2) perception of citizen insecurity (3) levels of police violence and corruption (4) levels of trust/distrust between community and police (5) expansion and continuity of the programs (6) collaboration with other bureaucratic agencies.⁴⁹ In addition to these I would recommend measuring the level of community participation in community policing programs because, as will be noted later in the case studies, community policing can be implemented; however, if the community does not want to be involved with it the program will not succeed. The percentage of unreported crime could be used as a proxy for community participation because if the people do not trust the police enough to report crime then they certainly will remain uninvolved in assisting with investigations and other COP strategies. Various scholars note that evaluation seems to be the most ignored step throughout Latin America in virtually all government programs. This theme will be reiterated in the subsequent chapter on the case studies.

There are many concerns with the community-policing model. One concern is that it rarely seems to have a noticeable impact on crime in any place where it has

⁴⁹ Tulchin and Ruthenberg, 207

been implemented, including in the U.S., or that it has an uneven impact on crime.⁵⁰ For example, community policing may decrease petty crime, but not homicides, or it may have a greater impact in a higher income neighborhood than in a lower income one. Some authors, such as Pion-Berlin and Trinkunas, argue that it will be ineffective in Latin America because its emphasis on decentralization and demilitarization will leave nations open to what they call “mid-level threats” such as TCO’s and organized street gangs.⁵¹ They consequently recommend a national “hybrid force,” that has the capacity to both engage with the community, for example through block policing, but which also has a “surge capacity” to fight organized crime. Other authors note that reforms to enhance accountability are sometimes perceived in Latin America as damaging to the police’s decision-making capabilities and that it will reduce police ability to commit to decisive action.⁵² Another concern is that community oriented policing may encourage neighbors to spy and report on each other as they did during the dictatorships.

I hope that in the subsequent section my case studies will show that community oriented and other types of preventive policing remain a better alternative to the militarized policing model because they reduce police abuses and enhance the community’s feeling of security as well as their faith in the state.

⁵⁰ Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, "Community and Problem Oriented Policing." Accessed June 19, 2013. <http://www.ojjdp.gov/mpg/progTypesCommunityProblem.aspx>.

⁵¹ Pion-Berlin and Trinkunas, 40

⁵² Unger, 77

Chapter Three: Case Studies

Case I: Brazil

As discussed earlier, Brazil has many similarities with other Latin American countries such as its dictatorial history, high crime rates, and corrupt and generally distrusted police. The image of heavily armed police charging into *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo has become a frequent image on the news, particularly since the country is preparing to host both the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016. Because the *favelas* do not encourage the promotion of a new, modern, Brazil, the government has stated that they want to “pacify” the *favelas* before these events. Considering the countries high crime rate and continuing poverty (21.4 % of the population lives below the poverty line)⁵³, the governments various attempts at police and other reforms are unsurprising. Just recently Brazilians have taken to the streets to protest unfair government laws and widespread corruption at all levels of government, and in some locations the police reacted with tear gas and violence. This has led to new calls for reform and the nations President, Dilma Rousseff, has said

⁵³ Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook, Brazil." Accessed June 24, 2013. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/br.html> .

that it will be forthcoming.⁵⁴ This section will examine the police division in Brazil, followed by a discussion on general police reform plans, followed by cases from Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, and Sao Paulo.

Brazil is a decentralized federal nation with twenty-six states. Each state has a Civilian Police Service (sometimes called the Judicial Police) that investigates crimes and is in charge of administrative duties such as issuing identification cards. The states also have Military Police units; these units are responsible for criminal investigations, crime prevention and uniformed patrol. To this day they are considered a part of the Brazilian Army Reserve. This police unit will be discussed in all the cases. Brazil also has a Federal Police Department which investigates federal crimes such as drug and human smuggling. They are also the head of Brazil's immigration authority. In addition to these three large police groupings, Brazil also has a Federal Highway Police Department, a Federal Rail Police Department, a National Public Safety Force (a uniformed federal force that was created to help state governor's when the police go on strike or if a crisis occurs), and municipal guards.⁵⁵ Like in other Latin American countries, the police in Brazil are poorly paid and corruption is endemic throughout the ranks.

In Brazil, the military junta negotiated their loss of power in 1985; consequently they were initially able to retain many privileges such as six cabinet-

⁵⁴ "Brazil protests on smaller scale in Rio and Fortaleza." *BBC News*, 6 23, 2013. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-23025489> (accessed June 24, 2013).

⁵⁵ Vergueiro Thaumaturgo Luiz Fabricio. "Brazilian Security Structure." <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/brazil/fabrverg.pdf> (accessed June 24, 2013).

level positions, the intelligence agencies and a role in the management of strategic resources. Although their power has diminished considerably since then, for example they no longer hold any cabinet level positions and the Cardoso administration (1994-2002) created a civilian ministry of defense to replace the service ministers, the military continues to influence the military police.⁵⁶ Leeds argues that since the government democratized the criminal justice system is the part of the government which has made the least progress, she points to the fact that it was virtually unchanged by the 1988 Constitution, and that the police never moved from, “protecting the state...to protecting its citizenry.”⁵⁷

The lack of change is evident in the military police’s design. It retains a hierarchical command structure and an emphasis on repressive rather than preventive policing. Because the majority of policing reforms undertaken in Brazil have tried to reform it, and because it appears to bear the most responsibility for police abuses in Brazil, it will be discussed the most. Police abuse is a widespread and serious problem, and can include everything from torture and extrajudicial killings to falsified information in court and day-to-day corruption. According to official statistics, the police in Rio killed 355 people in 1998; in 2003 they reportedly killed 1,195 people.⁵⁸ These numbers continued to escalate. In 2007, at the peak of police killings, they killed 1,330 people, in 2008 1,137, in 2009, 1,048 and in 2010, 855. The Washington

⁵⁶ David Pion-Berlin. *Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 37

⁵⁷ Koonings and Krujit, 28

⁵⁸ Koonings and Krujit, 28

Office on Latin America says that if one compares this with the amount of police killed it is about a forty to one ratio, with forty citizens killed per police officer.⁵⁹ Rio is not the only city with a problem; the police in Sao Paulo apparently kill as many people every two years as the military junta killed in the whole country during its 22-year dictatorship.⁶⁰

Throughout the country, the majority of people killed by the police are young, Afro-Brazilian males, this has led to allegations of racism, and means that this population has an even greater problem integrating into society and finding work because they are stigmatized as criminals. This perpetuates the cycle of poverty and enables their potential involvement in illicit markets. Many write that the violence in Brazil will never end, and that police reform will never succeed because the police force has, “resolutely defended its right to extort and kill with impunity.”⁶¹ To some degree the perpetration of violence against civilians has been institutionalized in Brazil, and until the mid 90’s police officers were given bonuses and promotions for “bravery,” such as killing urban youth.⁶² Likewise the police are known for being

⁵⁹ "Tackling Urban Violence in Latin America." *Washington Office on Latin America*. (2011). http://www.wola.org/publications/tackling_urban_violence_in_latin_america_reversing_exclusion_through_smart_policing_and (accessed June 24, 2013).

⁶⁰ Arias and Goldstein, 2

⁶¹ Arias and Goldstein, 202-203

⁶² Arias and Goldstein, 209

corrupt and some reports claim that police recruits are taught how to extort before they start working as police.⁶³

Because of the general negativity surrounding the police, Brazilian politicians at all levels have tried to ameliorate the situation. As discussed in an earlier chapter, poor policing reflects the state and so if people lack trust in the police then they lack trust in the state, consequently politicians have a clear interest in police reform. In 2000, then president-Cardoso proposed the National Plan for Public Security (PNSP, *Plan Nacional de Seguranca Publica*). This plan was supposed to finance the restructuring and professionalization of the police and address the lack of standardization among the different police agencies.⁶⁴ It included support for training provincial police officers, incentives for community policing, and the creation of police auditors. In 2002, Luiz Inacio da Silva's administration took power and decreased funding; Bailey and Dammert write that the plan never really took off the ground, and that it was widely criticized.⁶⁵ Subsequently the da Silva administration proposed its own plan for security reform, called the Workers Party Plan; however, this plan was apparently never implemented.⁶⁶

The lack of continuation between administrations, as demonstrated in the example above, is a common theme throughout police reform in Latin America, and

⁶³ Arias and Goldstein, 211

⁶⁴ Bailey and Dammert, 29

⁶⁵ Bailey and Dammert, 34

⁶⁶ *Ibid*

is one of the many reasons why reforms fail frequently. Although these were some of the first national security plans designed to address policing in the democratic era, community policing was attempted in Brazil before these plans were proposed. The first discussions of community policing occurred in the states of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in 1982, after the first governor's were democratically elected, and although these initial discussions did not lead to any real changes they did set a precedent for future reforms.⁶⁷

I am going to begin my discussion on the different cities in this section with Rio de Janeiro, the second largest city in Brazil by population, because the city has a long history of police violence and attempted police reform. The city began in 2000 with the GPAE (Special Areas Policing Group), which was supposed to enhance positive relations between *favela* residents and the police in certain *favelas* surrounding the city, typically the ones closest to the wealthy areas. This program was supposed to provide a police presence twenty-four hours a day. To implement the program, the Military Police worked with a local NGO, Viva Rio, to provide activities for at risk teens and promote police accountability.⁶⁸ If the program succeeded it was supposed to be expanded to all of the cities (at the time) 500 *favelas*. The program initially fell under the leadership of Majors Carballo and Antunes, both

⁶⁷ Bailey and Dammert, 46-47

⁶⁸ Arias and Unger, 418

of who, according to all accounts, were serious reformers and able to develop trusting relationships with *favela* residents.⁶⁹

Two of the *favelas* where GPAE was implemented were Tubarao and Ceuzinho. These two are located near wealthier areas, and suffered a massacre in May 2000, when members of the police killed five residents after invading the *favela*.⁷⁰ The massacre provided the political impetus to attempt to solve violence in the community, particularly because it received widespread domestic and international attention. GPAE as a whole was based off of Operation Cease Fire in Boston, which was one of the original community based policing projects. Operation Cease Fire was used to bring Boston's gangs under control and is frequently cited as a precursor to other community policing projects. In the *favela* itself, the police began by initiating a social occupation, which means that the same police patrolled every day, and the police had to go through a training program that was supposed to increase their professionalism. The program did initially decrease violence dramatically, and a rapport seemed to build between the residents and the police.⁷¹ Working with the NGO and social programs also helped encourage trust, as did working with local power brokers. However, after three years violence returned after

⁶⁹ "On the Rio Beat." *BBC News*, 5 11, 2001.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/correspondent/1312855.stm> (accessed June 24, 2013).

⁷⁰ Enrique Desmond Arias. *Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006., 61

⁷¹ Arias, 88-89

financing for the project ended and after Major Antunes, the trusted reformer, moved on to work in Brasilia.

GPAE was similarly attempted in the Pavao-Pavozinho and Cantagalo *favelas* from 2000-2002 and in the Cavalao *favela* from 2002 to 2004. Like in Tubarao and Ceuzinho, the police were supposed to educate the youth about their role in the community and focus on diminishing homicides. According to Fruhling they were able to establish order and reduce shootouts through police presence and by enabling residents access to social services.⁷² Like in the other *favelas*, the plan fell through after a change of Major and Mayor. Fruhling notes that he does not consider it a form of community policing and says that it was more a form of police control blended with social assistance because it did not establish a dialogue with the community.⁷³

In all of these cases the end result was the same, after initial successes homicide rates climbed and police violence resumed. In addition, when the community was polled, some members complained that the police remained corrupt and that they did not receive sufficient funds from the state.⁷⁴ The program also only spread to six out of the cities five hundred *favelas*, and only 100 of the cities 33,000 police officers were engaged in the program.⁷⁵ GPAE formally ended in 2005.

⁷² Fruhling, December 2011, 82

⁷³ *Ibid*

⁷⁴ Arias and Unger, 419-420

⁷⁵ "On the Rio Beat."

The city started a similar program in 2008, but this one is called “Pacifying Police Units,” or UPP. These are units within the military police that are specially charged with policing the *favelas* after a special operations unit, called BOPE (short for *Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais*) takes control of the streets. Initially the BOPE unit did not warn local gangs that they were going to invade but they have since changed this practice and have started warning them, this has led to a reduction in deaths during the invasions.⁷⁶ After the police retake the streets, social programs are supposed to be introduced. Police officers in the UPP are recruited fresh out of the academy after taking special training courses; this is supposed to prevent corruption.⁷⁷ In addition, the police officers are required to perform community service in the *favelas* where they are stationed and they are better paid than the average police officer. In 2010 the program was updated with “UPP Social” in already pacified *favelas*, this is supposed to better coordinate services within the *favela* and engage the community through meetings. The community is supposed to be represented in these meetings by their Community Security Councils, and these councils are supposed to advise the police and service providers about what their community truly needs.⁷⁸ WOLA says that polls of citizens living in these *favelas* show that 83% of them think that their community is either “better” or “much better” with the UPP as opposed to before.

⁷⁶ "City of God, Guns and Gangs." Vanguard 2011. Web, <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/city-god-guns-gangs/>.

⁷⁷ “Tackling Urban Violence in Latin America.”

⁷⁸ “Tackling Urban Violence in Latin America.”

As of April 2013, UPP programs have spread to 30 *favelas*, and the program is generally praised.⁷⁹ Vanda Felbab-Brown notes that the UPP program has been more successful than the GPAB program because of political support. The Mayor, Eduardo Paes, who initiated the program, was reelected partially on the popularity of his security program, as well as his skill in preparing for the major sporting events that the city will be hosting.⁸⁰ The Mayor has also successfully drawn in members of the private sector and other NGO's; prominent among them is AfroReggae, to the pacified areas to assist in further engaging the community.⁸¹ However, the *favelas* receiving the program remain those closest to wealthy and/or tourist areas. For example, the most recent spread of the UPP was to the *favelas* near the Christ the Redeemer Statue before a visit by Pope Francis. In addition, some groups say that the initial action to "retake" the *favelas* is unnecessarily violent, because it is heavily militarized and has led to violence. The city also has continued issues with corruption, including at very high levels within the police. A recent anti-corruption sting called "Operation Guillotine," resulted in 38 arrests, including the former deputy chief of the Civil Police, on charges of (among other things) selling weapons

⁷⁹ "Police Occupy Favela's around Rio's Christ Statue." *BBC News*, 4 29, 2013.
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-22346330> (accessed June 24, 2013).

** Note that while earlier articles say that the city had 500 favelas, the estimate has now risen to 1,000 with 1.4 million people living in them. If this was a city it would be the 9th largest in Brazil.

⁸⁰ Felbab-Brown, 19

⁸¹ Ricardo Geromel. "Eduardo Paes, Rio de Janeiro's Mayor, Reveals Where The Money Is Heading To In Brazil: Favelas." *Forbes*, 1 31, 2013.
<http://www.forbes.com/sites/ricardogeromel/2013/01/31/eduardo-paes-rio-de-janeiros-mayor-reveals-where-the-money-is-heading-to-in-brazil-favelas/> (accessed June 24, 2013).

and drugs back to local traffickers, and “involvement in prostitution and illegal gambling.”⁸²

With the updated “UPP Social” program it does appear that Rio is trying to implement greater community oriented policing in the city; however, in my typology I would say that it has elements of COP at most because they started a dialogue with the community recently, and because the initial action remains extremely kinetic and so it does not have the demilitarized components COP requires. In addition, the programs slow spread means that most of the cities *favela* residents do not have access to it. Another concern about the program regards the political motives for its implementation, the UPP program has received a lot of positive press, but it has not reached far and so one could wonder whether it is a PR move combined with an attempt to better the areas near wealthy/tourist areas but not a genuine reform attempt. This means that the program is not very costly to the police because they have received positive press without engaging fully with the community while maintaining a militarized component. However, the program does seem to be improving the lives of the citizens in the *favelas* where it has been implemented, and police violence has apparently decreased so it should be further expanded to other *favelas* and greater attempts at police-community dialogue should be made. All reports indicate that the city does plan on expanding UPP further, and so, one can hope, that it will also expand to more outlying *favelas*.

⁸² Sibel Tinar. "38 Arrested for Police Corruption in Rio." *Rio Times*, 2 15, 2011.
<http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/front-page/38-arrested-for-police-corruption-in-rio/>

Although Belo Horizonte, the capitol of Minas Gerais, is not as large nor does it have as many *favelas* as either Rio de Janeiro or Sao Paulo (it is the third largest city in Brazil), the city approached COP in a unique manner and so it is worth discussing. It began when academics in the criminology program at the local university (called the Center for Studies in Criminality and Public Security, *Centro de Estudos de Criminalidad y Seguridad Pública* or CRISP) started building ties to the police through the first crime-mapping program in Brazil and by offering courses for police. These courses eventually became police requirements. The crime-mapping program was based off CompStat in the United States. Like CompStat it maps the locations and times when crimes occur frequently.⁸³ This is supposed to allow the police to identify areas and times where/when they should, for example, patrol more. Arias says that the partnership between academics and police has led to the best crime data set in all Brazil.⁸⁴

The data set was subsequently used to: evaluate the police, they called the program “Policing with Results,” and create a community-policing program where security councils were created in every precinct so community members could freely debate security policies. De Mesquita Neto says that although people generally felt safer once the program was implemented there was no noticeable reduction in crime

⁸³ John Markovic and Christopher Stone. "CRIME MAPPING AND THE POLICING OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES." *Vera Institute of Justice*, 03 2002. [http://faculty.uml.edu/jbyrne/44.203/markovic_stone_mapping_and_policing\[2\].pdf](http://faculty.uml.edu/jbyrne/44.203/markovic_stone_mapping_and_policing[2].pdf) (accessed June 24, 2013).

⁸⁴ Arias, pp. 172-174

and genuine communication with the community was lacking.⁸⁵ He adds that the poorer areas seemed to gain the least. De Mesquita Neto says that this occurred because the communities were expected to help subsidize the new policing programs, for example by funding new equipment purchases. Fruhling also notes that they had problems coordinating with other public entities such as the mayors office and the judiciary, and that many of the frequently encountered obstacles to change existed such as, lack of funding, inability to maintain the same police in the same area, and lack of identification with the program among lower ranking officers.⁸⁶

The COP component of the Plan was based off the GPAE in Rio de Janeiro called GEPAR (*Grupo Especializado de Policiamento em Areas de Risco*). Like the program in Rio, they worked with a local nonprofit called Fica Vivo which created programs for young people to prevent them from joining gangs. In addition they focused on preventative policing, and on using violence sparingly and in a controlled manner. A Professor from the University of Minas Gerais, Elenice de Souza, notes that the program is based on continuous evaluation to monitor whether or not the police are being effective.⁸⁷ In addition to taking special courses, the GEPAR police

⁸⁵ Tulchin and Ruthenberg, 178

⁸⁶ Wisler and Onwudiwe, 301-304

As of 2008 I found evidence of six *favelas*: GUEDES CASTILHO DA SILVA, Breno. "O Grupo Especializado em Policiamento de Áreas de Risco (GEPAR) como Agente Externo de controle da comunidade: o surgimento de um modelo do policiamento comunitário em aglomerado urbano." *CRISP Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais*, 2008. <http://www.fgr.org.br/admin/artigos/200848294210321551261923519Monografia.pdf> (accessed June 26, 2013).

⁸⁷ Elenice de Souza. "GRUPO ESPECIALIZADO EN ÁREAS DE RIESGO (GEPAR) LOS DILEMAS DE UNA EXPERIENCIA INNOVADORA DE PREVENCIÓN Y CONTROL DEL TRÁFICO DE DROGAS Y HOMICIDIOS EN LAS FAVELAS VIOLENTAS DE BELO

are also supposed to commit to at least two years in GEPAR, so as to further enable the community to get to know them and vice versa.

In the six *favelas* where GEPAR has been deployed it has halved homicides, and polls show that 80% or more community members say that they have noted a reduction in violence and that they feel safer.⁸⁸ The community; however, continues to support it hesitantly and two-thirds report continued corruption and half report continued abuses and so the program cannot be called a total success.⁸⁹ In addition, many people give more credit to Fica Vivo than to the police for the programs successes. De Souza also notes that youths are hesitant to join Fica Vivo's activities because it may lead to their being branded as a police informant and so they fear retaliation from local gangs if they join. She believes that this has limited the amount of youths the program can reach and weakened the Fica Vivo's youth outreach component.⁹⁰ Arias and Unger find that regardless the involvement of Fica Vivo has been necessary for the programs success because it provided a buffer between the people and the police and enabled greater trust between them.

Like Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte has elements of community oriented policing but has not achieved it fully. Similarly, the program has spread slowly and has had difficulties engaging with poor communities. However, I would say that it is

HORIZONTE, BRASIL." *Comunidade Segura* .
<http://www.comunidadesegura.org/files/grupospecializadoenareasderiesgo.pdf> (accessed June 24, 2013).

⁸⁸ Arias and Unger, 417

⁸⁹ Arias and Unger, 422

⁹⁰ de Souza, Elenice.

more advanced than that of Rio because of the intense involvement with the University which was involved from the beginning of the programs design, and which continues to evaluate the program. The evaluation stage is key to community oriented policing and it appears that in Belo Horizonte they are attempting to evaluate programs in a serious and organized manner. As discussed in my typology, evaluation is a costly step for institutions because it enables members of civil society and the government to judge them in an informed manner and it makes it harder to hide malfeasance. The intense involvement of Fica Vivo also seems to be one of the main reasons for the programs success and proves that engagement with the community is necessary for successful community oriented policing, and is costly because they are relying on an outside actor to engage successfully.

All of this explains why Belo Horizonte is frequently cited as an example in policing literature; it is one of the most innovative models tried so far, particularly in Brazil and they do seem to be on their way towards spreading community oriented policing throughout the city. As Fruhling approvingly notes, the GEPAR program, “appears to be a first step in transforming the police into a truly modern, democratic organization.”⁹¹ Taking this into consideration I would rank this program in the higher second tier of my typology because various elements of community oriented policing have been implemented, and because they appear to be trying to genuinely engage with the community. It is not in the third tier because police and community resistance to the reforms continues to exist, and because it has not spread throughout

⁹¹ Wisler and Onwudiwe, 308

the city, and so it appears that the police as a whole has not adopted COP as more than a strategy. As discussed in the typology, full community oriented policing requires a cultural shift within the institution where it guides all their policing actions.

A working group in Sao Paulo, the largest city in Brazil, first proposed a community-policing model in 1993 after 1992 was a record year for civilian homicides (1,458) perpetrated by the police.⁹² Although this led to the creation of a police ombudsman, little else happened until 1997 when there was another scandal. Following this, the new governor fired the commander general of the military police and created a community-policing commission with representatives from the military police, the civilian police and the community.⁹³ It was called the Advisory Committee for the Implementation of Community Policing and members of the community included representatives from human rights groups, community councils, business councils, the Public Prosecutors Office, the Lawyers Guild of Brazil and others. This commission established three main goals: to transform the military police into an organization that consults and collaborates with the community, to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of police services, and to improve public safety through crime reduction, greater order and increased security.⁹⁴

The police subsequently selected 41 zones to implement the project between December 1997 and July 2001. Eventually half of all posts had community policing

⁹² Bailey and Dammert, 47

⁹³ Bailey and Dammert, 48

⁹⁴ Fruhling, December 2011

programs and smaller neighborhood sub-commissaries, and 16,000 police officers were trained in COP techniques.⁹⁵ This led to increased preventive patrols, the establishment of mobile stations, efforts to increase school security and drug prevention, and the creation of neighborhood community councils. Although the community councils were intended to increase community involvement, Fruhling says that evaluations showed that the dialogue in the community councils was usually unproductive.⁹⁶

In 2000 the main business association in Sao Paulo created the Center for the Study of Violence (ISPCV) and funded the “*Disque Denuncia*,” (“Crime Stoppers”) program along with the state secretary of public security and the military and civilian police. The program runs a call center to facilitate anonymous tips to the police; de Mesquita Neto says that it has improved collaboration between the community and the police, increased police effectiveness and efficiency in detecting and apprehending criminals, and increased police responsiveness to community needs and expectations and that its success is evidenced by the fact that it helped the police solve over 9,000 crimes by 2003.⁹⁷ The ISPCV is also one of the community organizations on the community policing commission and has supported crime mapping initiatives and held forums on enhancing public security and violence

⁹⁵ *Ibid*

⁹⁶ Wisler and Onwudiwe, 294-295

⁹⁷ Bailey and Dammert, 51

reduction.⁹⁸ It exists to this day and partners frequently with the Center for the Study of Violence at the University of Sao Paulo, and publishes public data on denunciations and crime.⁹⁹

Studies have shown that the community has generally responded positively to these initiatives, even though concerns remain that it favors the wealthy and particularly the business community because they are the major funders. However, a public opinion poll showed that 56.9% of Sao Paulo's residents find the community police accessible, versus 10.5% for traditional police and that only .6% considered community police officers corrupt versus 60.2% for traditional police. Although this is very positive data, only 14.5% of persons polled said that they thought that community police officers were more effective at solving crime.¹⁰⁰

Like with Rio and Belo Horizonte, Sao Paulo shows the importance of community involvement at all levels, and the difference that one dedicated organization (in this case the business association) can make. However, it also brings up a common concern with community oriented policing, that it may not be as effective at preventing crime as a more militarized policing model. Although Sao Paulo attempted to spread community oriented policing throughout the city, it continues to experience high levels of violence and police abuse. In 2012 a gang war broke out when the *Primeiro Comando da Capital* prison gang, revolted and killed

⁹⁸ Bailey and Dammert, 53

⁹⁹ *Instituto Sao Paulo- Contra a Violencia*. <http://www.ispcv.org.br/> (accessed June 24, 2013).

¹⁰⁰ Bergman and Whitehead, 124

over 140 people in one weekend; the police response was brutal and many accusations of human rights abuses and police murders were subsequently leveled.¹⁰¹ The appropriate use of force is key to community oriented policing, and consequently this seems to indicate that the police in Sao Paulo still have a long way to go. They do not seem willing to renounce that portion of their power, this may be because they feel that the security challenges faced cannot be fought without a militarized response. Even though they maintain a militarized component, I am ranking community policing in Sao Paulo in the middle of the second tier of my typology because of the extensive partnering with civil society organizations, improvements in trustworthiness and use of other community oriented policing like strategies.

Case II: Mexico

Like Brazil, Mexico has a high crime rate and a decentralized police force that is renowned for being corrupt and abusive at all levels. It currently has police at the federal, state and municipal level, and a military that is involved in the domestic war against the TCO's and which has appropriated many characteristics and duties typically found in a police force. Human Rights Watch reported in February 2013 that during President Felipe Calderon's six-year presidency at least 250 people were "disappeared" by security forces, the security force which appears most frequently in their report is the local police. They link 95 disappearances to local police forces and

¹⁰¹ "Brazil: São Paulo Acts to Curb Police Cover-ups." *Human Rights Watch*, 19, 2013. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/01/09/brazil-sao-paulo-acts-curb-police-cover-ups> (accessed June 24, 2013).

13 to federal (the rest are either Army or Navy).¹⁰² In addition to being abusive, the police are not effective; an estimated 10% of crimes committed are prosecuted, this clearly does not include unreported crimes and, like in the rest of Latin America, the *cifra negra* is suspected to be vast.¹⁰³

Attempts at police reform began in the 1990's under President Zedillo. The majority of the reforms have attempted to improve human rights, enhance coordination between the various forces, and improve technology, discipline, recruitment and training, to name a few areas.¹⁰⁴ Various presidents have also debated federalizing the entire police force to enhance coordination and discipline. Most recently, the current president, Enrique Peña Nieto, suggested creating a 10,000 strong paramilitary police force, which he would call the *Gendarmerie*, to fight the TCO's and replace the military in its domestic duties. This is a part of his security plan called, *Pacto por Mexico*, which will also create unified state-level commands.¹⁰⁵ This is supposed to reduce corruption and increase competence; Felbab-Brown says that it should theoretically replace the old system in which local police were treated like local politicians personal, "militias."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² "Mexico's Disappeared." *Human Rights Watch*, 02 20, 2013.
<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2013/02/20/mexicos-disappeared> (accessed June 24, 2013).

¹⁰³ Bailey and Dammert, 171

¹⁰⁴ Beth Asch, Nicholas Burger, and Mary Manqing Fu. *Mitigating Corruption in Security Forces*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2011., 1

¹⁰⁵ Vanda Felbab-Brown. "Peña Nieto's Piñata: The Promise and Pitfalls of Mexico's New Security Policy against Organized Crime." *Brookings*, 02 2013.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*

President Calderon, Pena Nieto's predecessor, tried to reform the municipal police through the, "power of the purse," which means that they restricted funding for underperforming municipal police units.¹⁰⁷ Sabet notes that this was an attempt to force the police to become accountable to the federal government; however, it did not create any sort of accountability to the community. The federal government simultaneously encouraged the, "limited discretion model," which limited the police's discretion and knowledge of an area in the hopes of limiting corruption and human rights abuses.¹⁰⁸ This prevented the police from understanding how communities were permeated by crime, and reduced the opportunity for effective intelligence; in other words, this model was the opposite of community oriented policing.

Sabet argues that the community must become involved in policing in Mexico for various reasons. One reason which he notes is that the community facilitates poor policing through their day to day acceptance of corruption and bribery at all levels, for example, he says that many citizens will offer a bribe before it is requested so as to avoid trouble.¹⁰⁹ However, Sabet also notes that achieving community involvement in policing will be difficult because, according to his research; people in Mexico tend to resist the creation of citizen community councils because they immediately suspect that they are being created to serve clientelistic purposes and that they will become the pawns of local politicians, as occurred during the PRI's one-

¹⁰⁷ Daniel Sabet. *Police reform in Mexico: informal politics and the challenge of institutional change*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012., 187

¹⁰⁸ Sabet, 37

¹⁰⁹ Sabet, 149

party rule.¹¹⁰ During the PRI's rule politicians effectively doled out favors in return for votes and control over the community. After one-party rule ended this tradition continued, particularly at the local level. This needs to be overcome because, as Felbab-Brown argues, the creation of security councils is important because their creation involves the community and tends to moderate the police's use of force.¹¹¹ If one accepts Mexico's leading expert Sabet's analysis, then the creation of effective community councils will probably be extraordinarily difficult. Sabet also notes that lack of continuity between administrations at both the federal and state level can prevent reforms from having an impact, like in Brazil.

Clearly, the Mexican police needs reform. One city, which has tried to implement elements of community oriented policing, is Mexico City, also called the DF. It is the largest city in the Western Hemisphere, and while it is not necessarily a part of Mexico most affected by the rise in drug related violence, it does have a crime problem and has had problems with police abuse. The first attempt at community policing occurred in the late 1990's when Cardenas was the mayor, nothing really happened but it was resuscitated under Lopez Obrador in the early 2000's and was formally established as the "*Policia de Barrio*" (Neighborhood Police) in 2003.

This program aimed to reestablish the confidence of the people in the police by giving them a voice in policing strategies and police evaluation.¹¹² By 2006 an

¹¹⁰ Sabet, 162

¹¹¹ Felbab-Brown, 14

¹¹² Markus-Michael Muller. "Community Policing in Latin America: Lessons from Mexico City." *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 04 2010., 26

estimated 6% of the preventive police were supposedly trained as community police officers. They were assigned to specific neighborhoods and required to attend community meetings. The meetings are supposed to be run by elected members of the neighborhood; however, Muller notes that after the initial election most neighborhoods never held another one.¹¹³ The elected members are supposed to inform other members in the community about the information shared at the meetings, but Muller argues that instead the meetings were “privatized,” and that members on the committee would use the police to, for example, protect their personal businesses. In addition, he finds that the police were not trained properly and that they failed to maintain specific patrolling schedules and locations. This is counter to community policing.

Although one may think that Muller has a bias, other authors also note that this attempt was a failure. Koonings and Krujit found that few people were willing to serve on the councils, and that those who did participate typically tried to coopt the process.¹¹⁴ In addition, they note that the policing process was further militarized under Lopez Obrador, which is the opposite of what community policing should be trying to accomplish. I am inclined to agree with the above-mentioned authors; all signs point to a failed attempt at community oriented policing in the DF. Like Muller, I agree that it seems that these reforms were undertaken for cosmetic purposes, and so they would fall under the first category in my typology, which is

¹¹³ Muller, 28

¹¹⁴ Koonings and Krujit, 51

when community oriented policing is a public relations scheme and not a genuine attempt.

Other cities in Mexico have attempted some elements of community oriented policing. In Mexicali they developed a neighborhood watch program; however, after being carried over by two administrations it ended.¹¹⁵ In Tijuana a similar situation occurred when one administration created neighborhood councils, and a subsequent administration stopped supporting it. At the state level, Baja California created a state level community council in 1999. This council was initially granted access to arrest and other data; however, their access was curtailed under a subsequent administration. Sabet says that this was the most promising experiment he found in Mexico.¹¹⁶

Guanajuato also attempted to implement state-level community policing in 2001. The administrator in charge of it, Torres, writes that a pilot program was implemented in seven communities in seven districts in the central area of the state. He says that it had support at all levels of government and that initial results were successful because members of the community reported feeling safer and crime appeared to decrease. His article was written in 2003, I have found no evidence for the subsequent continuation of this program, and so it appears that, like the other Mexican attempts, it eventually fell by the wayside.¹¹⁷ Guanajuato has; however,

¹¹⁵ Sabet, 168

¹¹⁶ Sabet, 171-172

¹¹⁷ Felipe Espinosa Torres. "Una alternativa: la policía comunitaria." *Secretaria del Gobierno, Guanajuato*.

attempted to implement a new community-policing program. In January 2013, the head instructor from Israel's policing academy went to Guanajuato to discuss forming community-policing and bringing the police closer to the community; they plan on creating ten schools to start training police in the methods the instructor recommended.¹¹⁸

Recently, there has been much discussion of "community policing" in parts of Guerrero and the Costa Chica. However, these groups are not composed of community police officers, they are composed of vigilante type groups. These areas are rural and have limited policing presence so the villagers (sensibly enough) banded together to create a sort of policing, without input from the state. They adjudicate crimes through a local community council.¹¹⁹ In March 2013 a group of "community police" detained a local police chief in Guerrero on charges of corruption and collaboration with TCO's and did not release him until the state agreed to investigate. I am not arguing that their claims were baseless; however, I am arguing that they are not community police. Although community policing has many different definitions, all adhere to the basic fact that police are agents of the state; hence their legitimacy is intertwined with the legitimacy of the state. In this instance, the existence of these groups is proof that the state lacks legitimacy because it cannot police its own people.

¹¹⁸ "Asesora Policia Nacional de Israel en la Creacion de la Policia Comunitaria." *Guanajuato Informa*, 1 30, 2013. <http://www.guanajuatoinforma.com/index.php/noticias/seguridad/3052-asesora-policia-nacional-de-israel-en-la-creacion-de-la-policia-comunitaria> (accessed June 26, 2013).

¹¹⁹ Bailey and Dammert, 198

Because Mexico is currently suffering from extreme levels of violence, caused by its war against the TCO's, the nation may want to wait to implement community policing at the national level, at least until these groups are weakened. However, at the local level it should be implemented so as to reduce local police abuse and to enhance government legitimacy. Additionally, the proposed *gendarmerie* should be trained in non-violent policing techniques so they avoid relying on violence. Clearly, changes between administrations and lack of community enthusiasm and trust are major obstacles to police reform throughout the nation. Non-corrupt, efficient police must overcome the lack of trust because the community will slowly accept that the police can change if they can see the changes. Guanajuato seems to be making a large initial investment in its new COP program, which signifies political buy-in; however, it is far too early to judge the experiment. If successful it may serve as a pilot program for the rest of the nation. The other examples given above all lead to failure, and consequently fit in the first category of my typology. I did however include them because Mexico is an important state in Latin America and because the attempts show that there is some level of consensus that community input is necessary for successful policing.

Case III: Chile

Like Brazil, Chile has a recent dictatorial past and a strong military culture. Crime rose during the 1970's, and subsequently became a key political concern, this led to the "National Security Doctrine" under Pinochet's dictatorship which

emphasized a, “militaristic conception of society.”¹²⁰ After the dictatorship ended in 1990, crime and the perception of crime among the population rose again, even though statistics show that Chile has historically had one of the lowest murder rates in all of Latin America. The perception of crime is particularly strong in the cities, where 70% of the population lives, because 90% of crime is committed there.¹²¹ Unlike Brazil and Mexico, Chile has a federalized police service which is divided between the Carabineros and the Investigative Police.

The Carabineros are responsible for day-to-day and preventive policing, and will be the police organ discussed in this section. Unlike the majority of other police services discussed in this paper they are widely respected and generally perceived to be relatively non-corrupt and less violent than other Latin American police forces; 82% of the Chilean population reports trusting them.¹²² This is unexpected because they were key to repression during the military dictatorship, and, like the Military Police in Brazil, maintained many of their military characteristics because the junta was able to negotiate from a strong position during the political transition. Consequently they have retained their militaristic and hierarchical structure. The government has proposed moving the Carabineros from the Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of the Interior on multiple occasions, but this has been forcefully

¹²⁰ Bailey and Dammert, 61

¹²¹ Sydney Houston Ocaranza. "SEGURIDAD PUBLICA Y POLICIA COMUNITARIA: "CONOCER A SU POLICIA: UN DEBER CIUDADANO"." *Inter-American Development Bank*, 1998.

¹²² Bergman and Whitehead, 132-135

resisted.¹²³ Relations between the Carabineros and the government were also strained during the 1990's, because some officers were put on trial for human rights abuses during the junta. Despite these issues, various reforms have been gradually undertaken and generally well received. Chile is also the only nation in Latin America without an ombudsman who can investigate and prosecute human rights abuses. This may be because the junta negotiated from a position of power and demonstrates the strong hold that the military still has over the nations collective psyche.

During the mid 1990's Neighborhood Watch type programs were started, and the government began funding them in 1995.¹²⁴ In 1998, citizen prevention committees were formed in various neighborhoods in Santiago, but this program was rapidly terminated due to apparent issues with getting the neighbors to meet. Bailey and Dammert say that these meetings were problematic because the role of the community still lacks definition in Chile.¹²⁵

In 1999 the Carabineros implemented the Quadrant Plan (*Plan Cuadrante*) throughout the nation, after starting in Santiago. This plan certainly has elements of community oriented policing. Through it the Carabineros are organized, by decreasing size with a chief of police for a zone, then prefectures, commissariats, liutenancies, into small forward operating locations inside neighborhoods (called

¹²³ Bergman and Whitehead, 125-126

¹²⁴ Bailey and Dammert, 65

¹²⁵ Bailey and Dammert, 72-73

avanzadas).¹²⁶ These increasingly small quadrants are supposed to facilitate greater interaction with the community and enable police to “identify” with the community and enhance people’s access to the police.¹²⁷

Another community policing like element in the Plan is maintaining the same police in a given quadrant at a certain time, so the police get to know the neighborhood and the community gets to know them.¹²⁸ The police should then use the intelligence gleaned from working in the communities, and crime data sets, to determine how quadrants will be divided, and so, theoretically, high crime neighborhoods should have a higher police presence and continuous vigilance.¹²⁹ This should all lead to successful preventive policing. Additionally, they have special delegates within each unit who are supposed to respond to community members concerns and have a unit dedicated to liaising with the community and community relations.¹³⁰

In 2000 and 2005 the government developed new performance indicators for the Carabineros. The 2005 indicators were based on victimization surveys. After analyzing the responses they started emphasizing the services they provided to the community and established a new program in 2006 called the, “Quality Improvement

¹²⁶ Houston Ocaranza

¹²⁷ Houston Ocaranza

¹²⁸ *Ibid*

¹²⁹ Carabineros de Chile, "Portal Institucional." Accessed June 26, 2013. <http://www.carabineros.cl/>.

¹³⁰ Bergman and Whitehead, 128-129

Program for Police Services to the Community.” This program required the police to ask people who went to their stations to fill out a questionnaire regarding their experience. This led to a new National Strategy for Public Security (*Estrategia Nacional de Seguridad Publica*) in 2007.¹³¹ This strategy called for a victimization reduction by 10%, a reduction in home robberies by 10% and a reduction in all other major crimes by 9% between 2006 and 2010.¹³² To accomplish these reductions they are trying to reduce the amount of time it takes police to arrive to a crime scene, they are encouraging people to denounce more crimes, and are trying to strengthen police-community relations so as to solve more crimes and reduce impunity.¹³³

The Plan, and all these changes, are displayed prominently on the Carabineros website, and are frequently touted by Chileans. The website explains that the Plan was implemented to further “friendship” between the police and the community, hence their slogan is “a friend, always” (“*un amigo siempre!*”).¹³⁴ The Carabineros will also explain that they do not need community policing since they are “naturally” community based, and have always worked in the community.¹³⁵ However, they are

¹³¹ Bergman and Whitehead, 130-131

¹³² Enrique Oviedo. "Modernización policial: el caso de Carabineros de Chile." *Revista Latinoamericana de Seguridad Ciudadana*, 05 2007., 71

¹³³ Oviedo, 80

¹³⁴ Carabineros, “Portal Institucional.”

¹³⁵ Bailey and Dammert, 72-73

not a community based police force because as Oviedo phrases it, the “Carabineros have experience working *in* the community not *with* the community.”¹³⁶

Generally, support for greater community involvement in policing does not appear to exist in Chile. For example, some sectors of Chilean society want to further reduce the communities’ role in policing because they think it limits the Carabineros ability to respond in the moment.¹³⁷ However, issues, which could potentially be mitigated through increased community involvement in policing, remain. For example there are discrepancies between socio-economic groups and their perceptions of the police, typically the poor trust them the least.¹³⁸ Lack of interagency cooperation also remains a problem, and, although the Carabineros do volunteer in the community, they do not have the ties with non-profits and community groups that exist in other countries.¹³⁹ As noted earlier, these ties tend to enable trust building particularly with poorer segments of the population. Regardless, they are one of the most trusted police forces in Latin America. Pion-Berlin and Trinkunas say that they are the closest to what they think the majority of Latin American police forces should look like. They find that the Carabineros are professional, relatively non-corrupt and respectful of human rights, and embedded in neighborhoods in addition to being paramilitary and consequently capable of

¹³⁶ Oviedo, 81

¹³⁷ Oviedo, 82

¹³⁸ Bergman and Whitehead, 139

¹³⁹ Tulchin and Ruthenberg, 234

responding to crime.¹⁴⁰ Consequently they propose that the Carabineros be used as an initial model for other Latin American countries.

Although the Carabineros are not a community oriented policing force, I included this example because they have implemented elements of community oriented policing in a successful manner. For example, their Quadrant Plan and maintaining the same officers in the same location has reduced crime successfully, and this example could be (and has been) carried into other nations that want to include elements of community oriented policing. In addition, they clearly attempted to take the communities thoughts into consideration when revamping their security plan through the use of questionnaires. However, they have not built functional community councils. This may be impossible since, when councils were created, community members apparently did not commit to meetings and frequently skipped or stopped attending. Lack of commitment from the community is one of the major obstacles to community oriented policing and is consequently understandable.

Another way in which they are not a community oriented policing service is their unchanged, militarized nature. A major goal of community oriented policing is reducing the militarization of the police; however, if they can be militarized without perpetrating violence against the population then this is not as serious an issue. Because the military and the Carabineros have been able to retain substantial prestige and power, even though they were involved with the military junta, they seem unwilling to give that up to the population through greater community involvement.

¹⁴⁰ Pion-Berlin and Trinkunas

Although I think it may be helpful to involve the community more, the Carabineros overall seem to serve Chile well; however, demilitarizing them and moving them from the Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of the Interior may be recommendable so as to increase the police's autonomy from the armed forces.

Overall, I would include the Carabineros in the higher second tier of my typology because of the many community oriented policing strategies that they have implemented successfully. They clearly have not reached the third tier because community policing is not a part of the Carabineros philosophy, they explicitly deny it, and since they have kept their militarized characteristics.

Case Study IV: Colombia

Like Mexico, Colombia has suffered from extremely elevated levels of violence from non-state actors, including, but not limited to, TCO's, paramilitary organizations and an active guerrilla insurgency that controls large swaths of territory. Consequently their security environment is different than that of, for example, Chile; however, the Colombian National Police is almost as trusted as the Carabineros; their public confidence levels are between 50-65%.¹⁴¹ Like the Carabineros, the National Police are centralized under one federal command. The police had been extremely unpopular and feared, but during the 1990's and into the 2000's various reforms were undertaken.

¹⁴¹ J.C. Ruiz Vasquez. "Community police in Colombia: an idle process." *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy*, 11 2011. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2011.597855> (accessed June 26, 2013)., 53

In 1991 the nation implemented a new Constitution that aimed to make the nation more democratic. This led to police reforms in 1993, which were considered important because it was an attempt at reform; however, the reforms did not accomplish anything.¹⁴² In 2003 and 2006 a new Organic Law for Policing and Security was implemented, which subdivided the police into State headquarters, a direction of civil security, rural security, anti-kidnapping squads, traffic and transportation police; despite these changes the centralized command remains intact.¹⁴³ This has apparently assisted in making the police more effective and efficient. Because of the extreme security environment that exists in the country, I will be focusing on community oriented policing attempts in Bogota. Bogota is now relatively safe and has experimented with community oriented policing on various occasions. Because of this it is the clearest case to judge.

The first attempt at community oriented policing occurred in 1998 after the Chamber of Commerce paid for some policemen to study neighborhood policing techniques used by the police in Barcelona at the Universidad Javeriana in Barcelona. They hoped that they would learn how to encourage, “a closer relationship with the community, peaceful coexistence, crime deterrence and excellence in service.”¹⁴⁴ Upon their return, the 21 officers selected for this program, were supposed to spread

¹⁴² Ruiz Vasquez, 44

¹⁴³ Policia Nacional de Colombia, Accessed June 26, 2013.
http://oasportal.policia.gov.co/portal/page/portal/HOME/home_html5.

¹⁴⁴ Ruiz Vasquez, 45

their knowledge among the police and create a Community Action Plan for Bogota.¹⁴⁵ The Plan was supposed to enable crime prevention, dissuasion and client services.

Subsequently, in 2001, the police conducted a door-to-door survey to try to understand what risk factors existed in Bogota's communities. This led to the creation of Local Safety Fronts and Schools for Public Safety, so as to help the police accomplish their crime prevention goals. The Fronts were supposed enable self-protection among residents through alarm systems and phone trees. The Schools were supposed to educate the community on the police's role and preventive measures citizens could take.¹⁴⁶ They were also supposed to dissuade crime through conflict mediation and frequent police patrols by the same officers and were supposed to enhance client services through a complaints and suggestions system inside police stations.¹⁴⁷

This program led to immediate opposition from mid and high level commanders because they felt that it would grant the officers too much autonomy. Vasquez explains that this opposition was predicable because, like the Brazilian and Chilean police, the Colombian police had a long hierarchical and militarized history.¹⁴⁸ He says that few of the recruits trained in Barcelona remained with the police for long. However, the police did persevere with the Local Safety Fronts.

¹⁴⁵ Fruhling, 2011, 81

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁸ Ruiz Vasquez, 46

According to Vasquez, these fronts became the only measure for effectiveness and in 2006 there were 9686 Fronts that covered 15% of the cities residents.¹⁴⁹ However, meetings were apparently very irregular both because residents had problems making it to meetings and because there were more Fronts than community police officers. The Chamber of Commerce performed a study evaluating the Fronts and found that 30% of the alarm systems did not work, that 39% of the Fronts did not have telephone trees, and that in total only 81% were active.¹⁵⁰ Vasquez goes on to note that:

“paradoxically, the community police force in Colombia is one of the largest in Latin America, but it is clearly insufficient to fully establish a community model. While the total number of police officers increased 33% between 1998 and 2007, growing from 101,289 individuals to 134,775, the number of community police officers increased by a mere 3.4% between 1999 and 2007. Additionally...this personnel is not equally distributed geographically, nor in terms of the population served.”¹⁵¹

He also mentions that that community police officers were frequently used for purposes outside of their purview, such as for crowd control at large sporting events and as VIP bodyguards, and that this further weakened their role.¹⁵²

Vasquez’ piece was written before the 2010 launch of the “National Quadrant Community Surveillance Plan.” It is based off of the Carabineros Quadrant Plan, in which the police are divided into smaller quadrants, and is supposed to be

¹⁴⁹ Ruiz Vasquez, 47

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*

¹⁵¹ Ruiz Vasquez, 48

¹⁵² Ruiz Vasquez, 51

implemented throughout the nation after starting in Bogota.¹⁵³ Under this plan, the community police officers ceased to exist as an independent entity within the police and all police officers are supposed to, “act in accordance with community policing values and orientations.”¹⁵⁴ According to the Plan, police are assigned to a specific quadrant and consequently should get to know the area and the community well, thereby enabling preventive action and trust building. In addition, the police should educate citizens about their role in crime prevention and assist them with establishing communication networks.¹⁵⁵ According to the action plan for implementing the Plan, they took various factors into consideration when designing the quadrants such as danger, risk factors, and the socio-economic background of the residents and tried to meet with community leaders before implementing the quadrants so as to design them successfully.¹⁵⁶

They are also supposed to improve their services through actionable intelligence; the Plan creates a Sectoral Center for Information and Police Strategy (CIEPS, *Centro de Informacion Estrategica Policial Seccional*) which requires local police stations to funnel intelligence to the Center. This will theoretically enable better crime fighting strategies because they will be able to locate hot spots and

¹⁵³ Fruhling, 2011

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁵ Policia Nacional de Colombia, "ESTRATEGIA INSTITUCIONAL PARA LA SEGURIDAD CIUDADANA: PLAN NACIONAL DE VIGILANCIA COMUNITARIA POR CUADRANTES (PNVCC)." Last modified 05 11, 2010. Accessed June 26, 2013. http://www.policia.gov.co/portal/page/portal/INSTITUCION/Cartelera_New/doctrina/tomos/08.pdf.

¹⁵⁶ *Policia Nacional de Colombia.*

prevent crime. Throughout the action plan the authors emphasize relations with the community and working with service providers and community leaders.

This Plan is different from Chiles', because, unlike the Chilean Plan, the importance of the community and relations with it are stressed throughout and because they self-identify as a community oriented policing program. The intense community involvement would indicate that the police in Colombia is willing to renounce a portion of their power to encourage greater transparency and respect for human rights. Unfortunately, the Plan is too new to judge; however, it seems to be a large improvement over previous Colombian attempts at community policing. Even the earlier attempt, with the disorganized Fronts, indicated that people in community policing areas felt safer, and consequently one can hope that this will improve upon it.¹⁵⁷ There has been an intense financial investment in the Plan, over \$2 million on training alone in the first year. This investment apparently demonstrates that political will exists. If the Action Plan is implemented as it is described than it may be the most dedicated and comprehensive community oriented policing Plan in Latin America thus far; however, as mentioned earlier it is too early to judge. If all of the Plans goals are achieved, which is unlikely but possible, then policing in Colombia's cities would reach the highest level in my typology.

Case Study V: El Salvador

Like Brazil and Chile, El Salvador experienced a military dictatorship, unlike them, El Salvador's ended after a 13 year long civil war between the government and

¹⁵⁷ Ruiz Vasquez, 49

the left-leaning FMLN guerrillas. The Peace Accords, which were signed in 1992, created all new security institutions, including the National Civil Police (*Policia Nacional Civil* PNC). In addition to the National Civil Police, towns have a local municipal police; however, the National Police are responsible for most preventive and investigative policing. According to the Accords, the new police force was supposed to be composed of 1/5 former guerrillas, 1/5 former National Police and 3/5 civilians who were uninvolved in the conflict; this proved difficult from the start as more former National Police were allowed in than was technically permitted.¹⁵⁸ After the Accords, crime rates rose rapidly, as did allegations of police committing human rights abuses and extrajudicial killings.¹⁵⁹ Although initial public opinion polls showed that the people trusted the new police, this soon changed as crime rates and abuses skyrocketed, and to this day the police remains one of El Salvador's most distrusted institutions.¹⁶⁰

Soon after the Accords the US, the UN and other international institutions started working with the Salvadoran government to try to reform the police. Between 1999 and 2002 they implemented a CompStat like program called "*Eficacia*," after being taught by and receiving funding from the United States Department of Justice. This was supposed to enable them to find priority areas and

¹⁵⁸ Refworld, "El Salvador: Chronology of Events: November 1994 - December 1996." Accessed June 26, 2013. [http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=search&docid=3ae6a8214&skip=0&query=El Salvador](http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=search&docid=3ae6a8214&skip=0&query=El%20Salvador).

¹⁵⁹ Bailey and Dammert

¹⁶⁰ Bailey and Dammert, 160-161

prevent crime; however, “*Eficacia*” also placed a major emphasis on arrests as a measure for success.¹⁶¹ The elevated arrest levels led to El Salvador’s famously overly crowded prisons; a Salvadoran report finds that prisons are currently operating at 299% of their capacity and that many people are in pre-trial detention.¹⁶² The Police also attempted community meetings in 1999, to hear the public’s opinion on their strategies and their concerns; however, this did not lead to concrete changes even though the public viewed the meetings positively.¹⁶³

The continuing growth in crime, particularly the murder rate, led to calls for more aggressive tactics against criminals. This led to the “*Mano Dura*” (formally known as the Emergency Anti Delinquency and Organized Crime Law) laws part I and II, in 2003 and 2008.¹⁶⁴ These laws enabled the police to arrest people who looked like they may be a part of a gang; this led to more over-crowding and did not decrease violence or crime in any way. Some scholars actually believe that it may have helped increase crime because jail serves as a “finishing school” for criminals where they can make contacts and learn from others.¹⁶⁵ The overcrowded prisons led

¹⁶¹ Bailey and Dammert, 140-141

¹⁶² Steven Dudley and Elyssa Pachico. "A Look Inside El Salvador's Prison Nightmare." *InSight Crime*. (2013). <http://www.insightcrime.org/el-salvador-truce-gangs/a-look-inside-el-salvadors-prison-nightmare-video> (accessed June 30, 2013).

¹⁶³ Bailey and Dammert, 143

¹⁶⁴ Clare Ribando Seelke. "Gangs in Central America." *Congressional Research Services*. (2013). <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34112.pdf> (accessed June 26, 2013).

¹⁶⁵ Daniel Valencia Caravantes. "The Legion of the Displaced." *InSight Crime*. (2012). <http://www.insightcrime.org/displacement-in-latin-america/the-legion-of-the-displaced> (accessed June 30, 2013).

to gang wars within the prisons, so the two main gangs, the *Mara Salvatrucha* and *Barrio 18* were eventually separated by prison, this enabled the gangs to solidify their organization and hierarchy and to train newer members, thereby strengthening them.¹⁶⁶ The murder rate eventually reached such levels that the Salvadoran government brokered a truce between the two gangs last spring, and this did seem to initially diminish homicides although the truce is currently suffering and homicides have escalated in some areas.

The *Mano Dura* strategies obvious failure has led to a shift away from these tactics, and led some areas to community oriented policing. Vanderbilt University, in conjunction with USAID, performed a Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) in 2012 and part of this survey was evaluating the impact of community oriented policing in Central America. They found that 32% of Salvadorans reported seeing police talking to the community and attending meetings.¹⁶⁷ This is comparatively high next to other Central American nations. In addition, they reported that El Salvador has the most community oriented policing in Central America, for example, police are stationed in public schools, they give talks to students about illicit narcotics and the dangers incurred by joining a gang, and are involved in sports programs.

The Discipline through Sport (*Disciplina a traves del deporte*) program received particular acclaim. It was started in 2011 by the PNC. Through the program,

¹⁶⁶ Dudley and Pachico.

¹⁶⁷ "Latin American Public Opinion Project."

300 police officers were placed in 166 of the highest risk schools in and around San Salvador to engage with students. Some of the police officers became coaches to encourage the students to trust the police and eschew crime. According to a newspaper article from El Salvador, in 2011, 136 students were killed, but in 2012 none were killed from the schools which had the program.¹⁶⁸ El Salvador also has the lowest perception of corruption among Central America countries, excluding Costa Rica.¹⁶⁹ Despite these apparent successes, people polled for the LAPOP study reported that they still only denounced crimes to police officers they knew and trusted personally (which shows that corruption remains a concern) and that the police continued arbitrarily detaining young people who were standing on street corners without proof of their criminality or criminal connections.¹⁷⁰

These national level attempts at community oriented policing seem to be having some impact (if not necessarily on crime) on the level of trust a community places in the police. As discussed earlier this is important because trusting the police could be viewed as a proxy for trusting, and consequently legitimizing, the government, which is extremely important in a nation which had a relatively recent civil war and continues to suffer from widespread violence.

¹⁶⁸ Gloria Flores. "Policías brindarán seguridad en 300 centros educativos." *La Prensa Grafica*, 01 25, 2012. <http://www.laprensagrafica.com/el-salvador/social/245308-policias-brindaran-seguridad-en-300-centros-educativos> (accessed June 26, 2013).

¹⁶⁹ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Crime and Development in Central America." Last modified 05, 2007.

¹⁷⁰ "Latin American Public Opinion Project."

Some municipalities attempted elements of community oriented policing before the large-scale nationwide attempts. The town of Santa Tecla is one such example. The town is one of San Salvador's satellite towns, and was reportedly one of the most violent in the nation. In 2000, the newly elected mayor, Mayor Ortiz, engaged with the community and started, "long-term plans that prioritized human and social development, citizen security, building capacity and coordination among local government agencies...with a strong emphasis on citizens' participation."¹⁷¹ The main focus of these plans was on crime prevention and "recuperating" public spaces through innovative means.

To prevent crime they started "School Scholarships," for children from kindergarten through university. This program paid children \$15-50 a month for receiving good grades and for performing community service.¹⁷² Community service could include assisting with the "recuperation," for example by helping clean the city and green spaces, fixing roads, and installing better lighting in problem areas. Mayor Ortiz was reelected and, after many community forums, in 2004 community members started developing the Municipal Policy for the Prevention and Citizen Security. The Policy's main goal was homicide reduction and implementation began in 2005. In 2006, the Observatory for the Prevention of Crime was founded to map locations where crime occurs frequently so the police can target those areas through preventive

¹⁷¹ "Tackling Urban Violence in Latin America."

¹⁷² *Ibid*

patrolling. The patrolling was undertaken through joint patrols with both the PNC and the municipal police, which was under the Mayor's offices direct control.

Joint patrolling enabled community policing because the community already knew some of the officers, and theoretically reduced corruption because the two policing services were able to check each other. The Mayors reforms continued, and in 2008 a municipal management system was started. This system brought together all levels of government; municipal, state and federal to coordinate violence reduction and was subsequently updated in 2009.¹⁷³ Although crime has not disappeared from Santa Tecla, homicides decreased there in 2007 and 2008 while they increased dramatically throughout the rest of the country. This success enabled them to seek outside funding and donations, for example from the UN, so as to expand their program and become less reliant on unpredictable Salvadoran government funding. Various groups have highlighted the Santa Tecla example as a successful and innovative approach to policing, most recently in the OAS' "Scenarios for the Drug Problem in the Americas" report, where they also note the "significant" reduction in homicide rates.¹⁷⁴

Recently, El Salvador has undertaken some innovative steps to reduce the violence which has plagued the country since the end of the civil war, most notably the aforementioned attempts at community policing and the truce which was brokered between the two largest gangs over the past year. Although it is impossible to judge whether or not community policing has helped with the reduction of violence, the

¹⁷³ "Tackling Urban Violence in Latin America."

¹⁷⁴ "Scenarios for the Drug Problem in the Americas 2013-2025." *OAS*. pg. 32

Santa Tecla case seems to prove that community oriented policing can fight crime if the efforts are integrated at all levels of government and with the community. Other authors say that a trusted nonprofit or NGO is necessary to broker between the police and the people, but this case seems to prove that trusted members of the government can also enable change. In this example, both members of the government and members of the police gave up substantial amounts of decision-making power to the community.

In Santa Tecla they used virtually all elements of community oriented policing: community councils and input so they knew what the people cared about, foot patrols by police officers who were familiar, focusing on intelligence led policing, and working with other entities such as schools, and they appear to be succeeding. This case also proves that a high level of police, government and community commitment is necessary for community policing to succeed. Overall, Santa Tecla is the closest to example discussed to achieving community policing as explained in the third level of my typology, because it does seem that they are attempting a full cultural shift, and not a purely strategic shift.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

As discussed throughout this thesis, a nation's police service is inextricably linked with overall state legitimacy both because they are supposed to enforce the laws and because they are one of the most visible representatives of the state. Unfortunately, the police in many Latin American nations (particularly if one excludes Chile, Colombia and Costa Rica) is distrusted by the majority of the population and this generally delegitimizes the state. People do not trust their police because they are widely perceived as violent and corrupt, and, as discussed in the case

studies in the previous chapter, this perception has a strong base in reality. In addition, the police are perceived as inefficient and incompetent. Consequently many people do not report crimes, and this has led to the infamous *cifra negra* in Latin America, where the majority of crimes go unreported.

This situation has led to various attempts at police reform, from the local to the federal level. This trend began in earnest in the early 1990's after most states in the region became democratic. One of the most popular policing reforms of the past twenty years has been to adopt community oriented policing rhetoric and strategies. As discussed in the second chapter, community oriented policing is one of the most internationally popular forms of policing, and virtually all governments claim that their police work with and for the community; however, it does not have a formal definition. I argued that community oriented policing should include both strategies, such as block-by block policing and community security councils, as well as a fundamental philosophical shift where the police view themselves as an integral part of the community and vice versa.

In theory, if a nation or city achieves a high level of community-police trust, as should occur with community oriented policing, then more crimes should be solved because of better intelligence, the police are less likely to abuse people because they know them and know that they will be held accountable, and people will be more likely to report crimes. All of these are issues in Latin America, which is why community oriented policing reform has been attempted many times throughout the region and funded by various governments and donor organizations.

In my typology I tried to organize community oriented policing strategies by costliness to the police to evaluate a police department's level of commitment to community oriented policing. I defined costliness as the amount of power that the police was willing to renounce to the community. In my case study chapter I subsequently found that, as I suspected, the more costly the step, the less likely it was to succeed. For example, all the police services in the case studies attempted block-by block policing and creating community councils, which can be relatively less costly steps; however, more costly steps such as genuine evaluation performed by an outside body and reducing the use of force, were rarely implemented.

The case studies also demonstrated the many issues a government can encounter with implementing police reform, and particularly with implementing community oriented policing reform. Some of the most common issues were: lack of political commitment (as in Mexico), difficulties with reducing the use of force (as in Brazil), lack of community involvement (everywhere, but particularly notable in Chile), issues with granting greater police autonomy because higher ranking officers oppose it (everywhere, particularly notable in the initial Colombia example), and, of course, issues with evaluation. This last one was skipped or barely implemented in all cases except for in Belo Horizonte and Santa Tecla.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Santa Tecla comes closest to achieving community oriented policing as discussed in my typology because there appears to be full community, government and police involvement. This case also does not conform to the belief that community oriented policing has a minimal impact on

crime because the town registered a noticeable drop in crime while the rest of El Salvador experienced a rise in crime. Santa Tecla also demonstrates how important high-level, continuous, political support is because the impetus for the changes came from a reformist mayor. Lack of political support caused many other community oriented policing programs in other locations to collapse. In addition, the mayor successfully engaged other parts of the government and civil society members in Santa Tecla, such as the school system, and this contributed to their success. This proven success led to international attention, and funding from the UN, which both granted legitimacy and allowed them to expand the program. Because of its' success, Santa Tecla makes a strong argument for community oriented policing as a successful alternative to a heavily militarized policing strategy, which is what El Salvador had experimented with previously.

Using Santa Tecla as the ideal model could help one when creating a strategy for a government or police department that wants to implement COP. The case demonstrates how important including members of the government, the police, and civil society when creating a COP program is. Involving these various sectors from beginning enables one to create a stronger program because it gives each of these sectors a stake in the programs success, and allows for greater community involvement from the beginning so people can voice their potential concerns and suggestions. One could also hope that this would mitigate the effects of a political regime change because the other sectors could keep pressing for the ongoing reforms.

Once designed, a successful program should include various COP strategies such as maintaining the same police in the same area, granting the police on the street greater discretion, mapping crimes, hosting citizen forums to understand the community's concerns, and emphasizing crime prevention instead of repression. This requires changing the way in which police are trained, to instill respect for human rights, the law and for working with the community to solve issues. Training the police through a university, in addition to the academy, also seems to be effective because it enables police officers to learn from and interact with civilians. In addition it may require working with an outside group so as to accurately map crimes. Regarding the citizen forums, perhaps incentives could be offered so as to encourage people to join, and to continue attending.

The Santa Tecla case also shows that COP programs are more successful when police reform occurs alongside other programs, such as the incentives to keep young people in school and volunteering in the community. This both prevents youths from perpetrating crimes and gives them greater pride in their community. Utilizing financial incentives was clearly successful in encouraging young people to join the programs, and could help overcome issues with youth enrollment such as those in Minas Gerais. The early exposure to a non-abusive and corrupt police force will hopefully create a generation which is not afraid of the police and who will report crimes and assist with providing information that could solve crimes. This constitutes a cultural shift, from one of fearing the police to one of respecting and assisting the police, and such a shift will clearly take time. The successful experiment

in Santa Tecla has been ongoing for over a decade, and so perhaps this is a good metric to estimate the amount of time police reform can take.

Lastly, a successful COP program must include evaluation mechanisms to ascertain which programs work and which ones do not. As discussed earlier they should perform studies to measure the: (1) impact on the reduction of crime and violence (2) perception of citizen insecurity (3) levels of police violence and corruption (4) levels of trust/distrust between community and police (5) expansion and continuity of the programs (6) collaboration with other bureaucratic agencies and (7) the level of community participation in COP programs. These studies would preferably be performed by an outside agency that does not have a stake in the answers so as to improve their credibility and validity. The studies should allow a police department to decide which programs need to be improved, strengthened or ended.

The 2010 Colombian Plan closely mirrors the strategy outlined above, and, if it is successfully implemented, it may reach a high level of community oriented policing in the parts of the nation with state presence. However, as noticed in some of the other case studies, an excellent Plan and good intentions do not necessarily lead to reform, unless long-term commitment comes from many parties including from the community itself. Because Colombia's citizens appear to trust their police more than most other Latin Americans already, community involvement may be easier to achieve. I noted that this will only work in the parts of Colombia that already have state presence; many parts of the state still lack effective government presence

because they remain under guerrilla or paramilitary control. Once these areas are retaken, installing a functioning police force will be one of the first steps that the government will take to ensure law and order and political legitimacy. This is typical of all counterinsurgency strategies because the police are necessary for enforcing the state's laws and they are strongly identified with state presence.¹⁷⁵

Overall, I do think that implementing community policing strategies in Latin America should improve policing in the region. In all the case studies (except for in the DF), polls showed that the people did trust the community police more than the regular police, even if they did not think they had an impact on crime. Trust development and the perception of being more secure are almost as important as actual security because it legitimizes the state and means that people are more likely to report crimes to the police and assist them with investigations. As noted in the case of Santa Tecla it can also eventually contribute to greater security, instead of just the perception. Consequently I think that states should continue pursuing community oriented policing reforms and should try to spread them further geographically. Additionally, community oriented police are usually less corrupt and abusive than non-community oriented police, and this could be helpful in Latin America where police abuse remains a major issue. In addition, although community oriented police still have problems reaching poorer segments of the population they seem to have less difficulties than other police, perhaps because they are less abusive and because keeping the same police in one area forces them to interact with the community. One

¹⁷⁵ Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart. *Fixing Failed States*. Oxford. 2008

example of this might be the UPP in Sao Paulo, although their overall success cannot be judged yet, particularly because they have yet to spread to many of the cities *favelas*.

Although community oriented policing remains in usage throughout the United States and parts of Europe; in many places it has combined with “problem oriented policing,” to form yet another strategic shift. Problem oriented policing (POP) calls for an even greater emphasis on preventive policing, police discretion, and on less reliance on the criminal justice sector and more on social service and civil society agencies. According to the U.S. Department of Justice’s Problem Oriented Policing Center, problem oriented policing is compatible with community oriented policing because both require the, “systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public-safety issues such as crime.”¹⁷⁶ As this becomes a more common part of the dialogue in policing it will surely spread to Latin America as well; however, this new iteration demonstrates the general consensus that community involvement, preventive policing, and police discretion are key to good democratic policing and consequently I do not think that this shift devalues the importance of the community oriented policing fundamentals.

In conclusion, although community oriented policing may be imperfect, it is a major improvement over the militarized policing model that existed in Latin America

¹⁷⁶ Michael Scott and Kirby Stuart. Center for Problem Oriented Policing, "Implementing POP Leading, Structuring and Managing a Problem-Oriented Police Agency." Last modified 2012. Accessed June 30, 2013.
http://www.popcenter.org/library/reading/pdfs/0512154721_Implementing_POP_091112.pdf

previously. Implementing it, as with all reforms, takes time and commitment; however, when done well it does appear to enhance both human security and state legitimacy.

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