

CONFERENCE ON VIOLENCE AND POLICING IN LATIN AMERICAN AND U.S. CITIES

Program on Poverty and Governance (PovGov)
Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL)
Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI)
Stanford University

CONFERENCE REPORT

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The global cities of Latin America - Rio de Janeiro, Ciudad Juarez, Tijuana, Mexico City and Medellin - have become engines of economic growth. These cities attract remarkable talent across all levels and build extensive networks that allow for innovation and the circulation of ideas. But crime, violence and the dissolution of the social fabric threaten the main attraction of these cities and significantly undermine development prospects. The challenge of providing policing that protects citizens, especially those living in the poorest neighborhoods where gangs and other criminal organizations tend to concentrate, is daunting. The conference on violence and policing in Latin America and US cities brought together academics, policy makers, NGOs,



and citizens to reflect on how cities in Latin America are meeting the challenges of rising criminal violence.

Particular focus was given to the “policing” processes in cities that have experienced and successfully reduced civil war-like levels of violence. The goal was to reflect on the dynamics and varieties of security strategies, police reform and efforts to rebuild the social fabric of major cities. The conference was hosted by the Program on Poverty and Governance (PovGov) at Stanford's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL). Other centers and institutions at Stanford University that co-sponsored the conference include the Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS), the Bill Lane Center for the American West, the ‘Mexico Initiative’ at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), and the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC).

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Welcoming remarks

Beatriz Magaloni, Stanford University

Associate Professor, Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI) and Director of the Program on Poverty and Governance (PovGov)

Beatriz Magaloni officially opened up the conference highlighting the importance of bringing together practitioners, members of the civic society, policy makers and academics in an attempt to understand the challenges of violence and security in Latin America today. These multifaceted perspectives from different players needed to be incorporated into the world of academia in order to conduct action-oriented research that could have a real impact on the ground, acknowledged Magaloni. She called attention to the severe impact of violence upon human and social development in Latin American cities: “More people die in Latin America than in Africa as a result of violence, and the poor are the ones most affected by it. Violence makes the poor remain poor... it’s a poverty trap”,” she emphasized. Additionally, Magaloni talked about the relevance of the topics covered in the conference to U.S. cities - given that in some places such as Los Angeles and Chicago - the levels of violence and criminality are comparable to Latin American cities.

Finally, the professor restated the purpose of the meeting and reiterated her hopes for the exchange of experiences to serve as a learning tool, using the conference as a platform for the

development and strengthening of the discussion. “We need to look at experiences on the ground, what works and doesn’t work. It’s essential to bring security to people living in poor areas, not just in countries and cities represented in this conference such as Colombia, Mexico and Brazil, but also in critical places such as Central America.” said Magaloni. To conclude, Magaloni reminded the audience that even though violence is more present in urban settings and cities are the focus of the conference, it’s important not to lose sight of the fact that violence has been increasingly affecting rural areas, which makes it even more critical for these issues to continue being discussed and addressed.



Welcoming remarks

Tino Cuéllar, Stanford University

Stanley Morrison Professor of Law and Director of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI)

In his remark, Mariano-Florentino Cuéllar demonstrated his enthusiasm for the conference by recounting a specific event that took place at Encina Hall (the building that hosted the conference on its first day), relating that history to the focus of the event. Cuéllar explained that Encina hall today is the center of all international academic experiences at Stanford, but that previously, it used to be the center of police activity on campus. During the Vietnam War, students took Encina Hall in protests and demonstrations, causing hundreds of policeman to surround the building. Even the provost of the University at that time, Richard Lyman, was called to assist on a safe closure of the event, as the police were facing a direct conflict with the students. In a strategy that later proved to be effective, the police identified the classes that students participating in the protest took, located the professor they had most admiration for, and invited those docents to talk to their pupils in an effort to end the demonstration. The students were able to make their point and the protest ended peacefully.

Cuéllar shared this past event to highlight the relevance of topics around policing and criminal justice to that specific location at Stanford University, as well as to emphasize the fact that the question of security is central regardless of setting. “No matter who you are talking about, security is fundamental. How we use ideas and information involves values... possibilities to achieve goals, Cuéllar stated. He concluded his remarks shedding light to the fact that although

the U.S. has the lowest crime rates in many generations it does not mean that the country has achieved success in terms of social welfare. “For example, we have high incarceration rates, and the challenges is still enormous,” he added. Recognizing these ever present issues, the FSI director once again expressed his contentment that a conference of this sort was to take place at the institute amid such a diverse and important group of participants: “I cannot imagine a better group of people or place to talk about this topic,” he concluded.

Panel 1:

The Challenges of Violence in Latin America



Citizen Security with a Human Face: Evidence and Proposals for Latin America

Rafael Fernández de Castro, UNDP – Mexico City, Mexico

Founder and current chair of the School of International Relations at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) and Project Director of the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human development Report for Latin America (2011-2013)

In his talk, Raphael Castro discussed the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) Regional Human Development Report for Latin America (2013-2014), focusing on the issue of citizen security across 18 countries in the region. According to Castro, security is the single main obstacle to the wellbeing of citizens and human development in Latin America. “Every single country in Latin America has problems with violence... all of them. Latin America is the region in the world with more fear and insecurity,” he stated. At the beginning of his presentation, the former principal foreign affairs advisor to the President of Mexico shared his concern about the current situation in Michoacán and his fear that the state will eventually become as violent as Colombia.

The Latin American region suffers from an epidemic of violence, characterized by the UNDP as countries with more than 10 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants. Castro’s presentation pointed out the fact that some of the most violent countries in Latin America have homicide rates that go well above and beyond the 10/100,000 mark. Despite improvements, Brazil continues to face major problems with a homicide rate of 21.5 per 100,000 (2011 data), Colombia has a rate of 32 per 100,000 (2011 data) and Venezuela reaches 50 per 100,000. In 2012, Honduras - considered to be the most violent country in the world – hit a homicide rate of 90 per 100,000 inhabitants.

Castro added that there are challenges and variations within countries when it comes to those rates (for example in Colombia, the rate can vary from 68/100,000 in Cali to 55/100,000 in Medellin), but that it is very difficult for Latin American nations to drop below the 15-20/100,000 mark.

When attempting to create and develop a geography of crime in Latin American cities, Castro pointed out the difficulties in assessing the rates of robberies. “Seven million Peruvians were robbed in 2011, but the government said that it was only one million. Many robberies are not denounced... many robberies are not accounted for,” he said. According to Castro, this is the single main problem affecting the majority of citizens in Latin America in their every day lives. “Street crime and violence, not drug trafficking or homicides, is the main security threat in most Latin American countries. This is an overlooked phenomenon,” he added. According to the UNDP report presented by Castro, the insecurity levels experienced by citizens and their perceptions of fear is extremely high in Latin America: three out of 10 people feel insecure in their neighborhoods, half think overall security in their country has deteriorated, between 45-65 percent have stopped going out at night, and almost 70 million people wished they could move to a different place to run from the violence in their communities.

Castro continued to highlight some of the most important statistics coming out from the UNDP report he directed. “In the last decade, Latin America has lost over one million people because of homicides. Every year we lose 100,000 because of crime,” he stressed. When it comes to shedding light to some of the causes that may lead to these high levels of violence, Castro pointed out economic, social, situational and institutional drivers. He also brought attention to the need of paying close attention to the crisis in the prison system throughout Latin America: “a penitentiary crisis”, he called it.

Additionally, Castro presented an important paradox to the participants of the conference. He pointed out that even though Latin America has done well economically in recent years, countries still suffer with high rates of crime. “We were able to take millions of people out of poverty, but crime has remained. We have done well, but it isn’t good enough,” stated Castro. “We have many problems with social fabric – too many broken families... we have disorganized urban growth, and more urban growth means more violence. We have 80 percent of people in

Latin America living in cities; this is something that has a great impact in the majority of the population,” he explained.

Castro believes that international collaboration is at the center of developments moving forward and that, if done right, it can serve as a window of opportunity. “This is going to take time; the state needs to come together with academia, organizations and the civic society. We need to have sustained commitment about these issues, cooperation is important, but they need to be aligned with the goals of the Latin American region,” he concluded.



Laura Chioda, The World Bank – Washington, DC

Senior Economist in the Office of the Chief Economist of the Latin America and Caribbean Region

In her talk, Laura Chioda - an economist with extensive research on crime and violence prevention in Latin America and the Caribbean - talked about the importance of presenting and studying violence as a local phenomenon. “Violence and crime happens in the street, municipal and state levels. For example, U.S. crime rates are low overall, but in Chicago, the rates are closer to those found in Latin American countries,” she explained. For her, focusing on data at the local level is very important in order to create nuances with wider data sets. She talked about a road map of representation in the demographic structure of crime and violence, and that there is a need to learn as much as possible about the criminals and the victims in order to move forward on the assessment of possible implications for policy.

When it comes to the relationship amongst crime, education and the labor market, Chioda highlighted the intricacies around the issue. “Education acts as a protective factor, but not all education is equal,” she said. A similar rationality follows for violence and unemployment. “Is violence only related to the labor market? This is much more complex, and much of it is related to the quality of work,” she affirmed. Chioda called attention to the fact that not all jobs are created equally, and that often times, specific subgroups of the population – including youth already at high risk of engaging in criminal activities – end up involved in low-level labor that limits their window of opportunities. She exemplified how having a job does not act as a strong

protection against criminality; many violence perpetrators in Mexico are attached to the labor market in low-quality level jobs.

Chioda also expanded on the importance of understanding crime and violence as it relates to the age of victims as well as perpetrators. According to her research, the likelihood of youth (especially males) to conduct crimes – or become victims of them – begins to rise drastically even before they reach the age of 15. The distribution of homicide rates shows that there must be a focus on this specific group of people if policies are to make an impact on violence levels moving forward. “We cannot attempt to reduce violence if we don’t target the youth,” she affirmed.

The specialist pointed out that violence is not set to early in life, and that there are elements that make youth vulnerable and acceptable to engage in violent behavior. Bringing in examples from the field of neuroscience, Chioda explained that during the age of 15 and 22, youth undergo the most dramatic changes in their brains since this is the period when there is more plasticity. She pointed out that this factor is extremely important because it gives room for change to take place. “It’s not too late to change the situation. This is the prime time to engage... some of these behaviors are plastic and changeable,” she asserted.

Furthermore, Chioda talked about educational attainment rates and its association to the reduction or rise of violence in Latin American cities. She stated that in Brazil, a 10 percent increase in dropout rates is associated with a five percent increase in homicide rates. According to the World Bank senior economist, incomplete primary and secondary education is not enough to act as a protective factor for involvement with criminal activities, just as it’s the case for low employment. Contrarily, completing secondary education appears as a critical turning point in the rise of criminal rates. “Secondary education matters,” stated Chioda, highlighting the importance of developing educational strategies beyond basic levels. She also expanded on statistics related to the geographical concentration of violence. “Two municipalities in the state of Chihuahua account for 50 percent of all homicides committed in the state,” she presented.

Since crime and violence is extremely concentrated and persistent, Chioda pointed out that it is also important to note probabilities around the occurrence of homicides in certain places as a

result of their proximity to crime scenes. “The history of municipalities that surround you already put you at risk. There are spillover effects, but they are not always negative,” she added. Chioda believes that understanding the externalities of violence can have important and positive implications in security policies, “actions can be generated in coordination... this is a way to get the best for your buck,” she concluded.



Prosperous Cities: The Key to Latin America's Success

Jaana Remes, McKinsey Global Institute

Partner at the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI), Business and Economics
Research Division

Jaana Remes began her talk by discussing the importance of looking at Latin American cities and their economic context as we study issues of violence. “Latin American cities are the key to Latin American success,” she asserted. The challenges cities are facing are enormous, and people’s expectations are rising; the bar cities need to meet are set higher and higher as time goes by. Dr. Remes talked about some of the developments that took place in Latin America in the second half of the 20th century that drove economic growth- such as industrialization and mass movement of people from urban to rural areas - engaging in more manufacture jobs and driving a mass urbanization process. “In Latin America today, eight out of 10 people live in cities. Industrialization has already happened.

The levels of urbanization are pretty close to North America and above Western Europe,” she explained. Latin America is very urban, hence the need to focus on cities. Remes explained the economic patterns in the region, where large cities dominate the economic landscape. 280 large cities – with populations of over 200,000 – represent 75% of the region’s economy, or a 3.7 trillion GDP. Furthermore, the top 10 cities in the region - including São Paulo, Lima, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Bogotá, and Monterrey – represent one third of the region’s economy.

The specialist explained that the reason for this economic concentration is closely related to politics: “Businessmen and workers relocated close to the political power, politics drove geographics of growth and urbanization,” she remarked. Within this scenario, she also brought

attention to the fact that cities were unable to meet the needs of the mass urbanization that was taking place. “Cities couldn’t do the key thing they needed to do as they were growing, such as invest in utilities and infrastructure. There wasn’t enough time to do these things well, and cities ran into growth challenges,” she continued. Remes highlighted that growing cities place increasingly more pressure on the cities’ services and infrastructure, hence the need to build foundations to meet the needs of the growing population in Latin America. She also pointed out that families’ dynamics are changing now – such as single parents, less people living in homes, etc. – and this adds more pressure to cities.

In addition to infrastructure demands, there are also potential risks related to the environment and climate. “Many cities face environmental challenges, including natural hazards. This has always been an issue, but expectations are higher now,” she explained. Remes introduced Brazil as an example to talk about some of these growing pressures on cities to provide more services to citizens. “There has been a reduction in poverty levels in Brazil, introducing new opportunities and expectations for folks. Cities need to meet that development so they can sustain the momentum. Productivity is the key for sustainable growth,” she stated.

To conclude, Remes echoed some of her earlier points and emphasized the need for cities to continue investing in economic opportunities for citizens, infrastructure development and in creating advanced solutions to deal with natural challenges, as expectation increase moving forward. “Latin America has proven its capacity to solve problems with innovative solutions. There is hope for region cities to meet these challenges.”



Lethal Violence in Rio de Janeiro: A Historical Perspective

Ignacio Cano, UERJ - Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Associate Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) and Coordinator of the Laboratory for the Analysis of Violence (LAV)

In his presentation, Ignacio Cano presented an overview of police violence in Rio and highlighted statistics related to the growth of criminal activities in the city in the past 30 years. In a city of almost 16 million inhabitants, one in four people live in *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro. The lack of property to land and basic access to infrastructure plunged large sections of the

population into poverty. “Although things are changing, we have programs such as *Bolsa Familia* to help address the high levels of inequality in Brazil,” he explained. Cano pointed out a special feature of the geographical landscape in Rio, which he called “micro segregation” meaning the rich live very close to the poor. Within this scenario, Cano moved on to talk about the rise of violence in Rio de Janeiro where he explained that during the 1980’s homicide rates in the city increased drastically due to dispute for territorial control among armed groups in favelas. “At a certain point, the homicide rate was 80 per 10,000 inhabitants,” he revealed.

Those criminal groups control the drug market in *favelas*, while establishing the social order and using weaponry to maintain their position. Violence has a major impact in the lives of people in Rio, especially the black youth. Cano pointed out that a 1998 study concluded that the average male loses 2.5 years in life expectancy in Rio because of violence. There has also been a huge increase in violence among non-black young males throughout the years, especially among those who are single. The professor cleverly joked that an effective way to contain violence would be to create a law that obliged youth to get married.

Cano moved on to talk about the different types of armed groups that control territories in Rio de Janeiro: the criminal groups (loose network with people in formal jails); the death squads (groups specialized in social cleansing); and the militia (groups formed by armed state agents including policeman, prison guards, fireman, etc.). Criminal groups and militias are specially involved in controlling criminal activities and life in the communities, using heavy weaponry to dispute spaces and power. “Economic motivation is central in disputes for territorial control,” he said. Cano pointed out that militias even impose “protection taxes” on citizens and businesses. “We are here to “liberate” you, now you have to pay for our services,” he quotes, expanding on the rationale behind the system.

When it comes to criminal groups, Cano highlighted the “tyrannical” controlling methods used by these groups - often subjected to the rule of one person - such as regulation of movements, slangs, and even the colors of clothing that can be used. “If you disobey these rules, you can be told off, beaten up, expelled from the community or even killed,” he explained. “People don’t have formal rights and there is a loss of communal trust, then groups come in offering to pay for

activities, funerals, medicine. This creates a close linkage between coercion versus support. Victims have been socialized in this way; The rule of law has never been present,” he continued.

How does the police respond to those major issues? Cano explained that police work is carried out in a repressive, and even militarized, manner. The army is also often called in to assist the police in Rio *favelas*. State intervention is extremely violent in those territories and homicides are “normal” outcomes of police work. “In Rio de Janeiro, three people are killed for every person wounded by the police or by the army in interventions. More than 10% of all homicides in Rio and São Paulo originate from police intervention; There is a war on crime, and the state response end up being part of the problem, and not the solution,” he denounced. According to Cano, there is a major crisis related to the systematic violation of human rights committed by the police in Rio. The scenario in Rio *favelas* might not be one of a war in its concept, but certainly in its consequences with populations displaced, high levels of homicides, high victimization, etc. “And in war, conducting human rights violations is often justified,” he lamented.

In efforts to try and move away from this troubled history of police violence, Cano mentioned the creation of the pacification policy in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro. He believes the initiative was a chance to change the police in Rio, but that it also fits well with the government projects to transform the city in a touristic place. Cano called attention to the fact that the regions that have been “pacified” are central to the demands of major sports events that are coming up where as regions in the north and west of the city, which have been suffering from growing rates of violence, have not benefited from the project and are in fact facing a moment of security crisis. On the other hand, recognizing some of the benefits, Cano said the initiative has been instrumental in reducing homicides and police deaths in occupied territories. “A 2012 evaluation estimated violent deaths have dropped by 48% in communities where Police Pacification Units (UPPs) have been implemented. Every year six lives are being saved in every community because of this project,” he acknowledged.

Cano concluded his talk calling attention to the importance of evaluating and adjusting the policy to meet the demands of the communities and to restore some of the legitimacy that has been lost in recent months; The torture and death of a construction worker in Rocinha in June of 2013 marked a set-back for the pacification process. “The protests happening all over the city two

months before the world cup – including in elite areas such as Copacabana – pressure authorities to move forward in the right direction,” he concluded, emphasizing the immense challenges the police and the state are now forced to confront.



Discussion panelist

Alejandro Toledo, Stanford University

Former President of Peru (2001-2006) and Consulting Professor at Stanford Center of Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL)

In his address, President Toledo remarked some of the victories Latin America was able to achieve, amidst social and economic challenges faced in the region as well as in other parts of the world: “We made mistakes, but we learned how to put our house together. We came out from the crisis faster than Europe and the United States and we have made a considerable progress in terms of improving democracy in the region,” he asserted. Although poverty levels have decreased in the past decades, he pointed out that Latin America remains one of the most unequal regions in the world. “We are not the poorest region, but we are the most unequal. Something happened with the distribution of income and social services,” he analyzed.

President Toledo highlighted that optimistic views about Latin America today are contrasted with challenges that need to be faced jointly. He mentioned that poverty and inequality are measured in terms of income, and not in an approach that accounts for other major effects caused by poverty: “what we need is a multidimensional approach to poverty and inequality,” he advised. Additionally, he called attention to the importance of enrooting democracy in the Latin American region, but a democracy that goes beyond having elections: “It isn’t sufficient to have elections... the challenge is to conquer democratically. We need sustainable economic growth and sustainable development,” emphasized the former President.

Dr. Toledo concluded his talk talking about some of the developments that have taken place in Latin America (including social, economic and technological innovations) and how that has encouraged the poorest segments of the population to demand more from their governments. “Poor people are now much more aware of what is going on for other people. They want more... access to water, infrastructure, a quality education,” he expressed. This highlights the importance

of bringing improvements to the city, especially the young population who is out of work: “the temptations are very high for this specific group and this leads to issues of organized crime,” he said, connecting the focus of the conference to one of the most pressing issues related to violence in Latin American countries. “This is an enormous challenge that this conference has brought up today. Thank you Beatriz and Alberto for bringing this issue to the table,” he concluded.

Panel 2:

Dynamics of Violence: Victims and Perpetrators



Rutas del Conflicto: The First Journalistic Database with Information of the Colombian War

Oscar Parra Castellanos, Rutas del Conflicto - Bogotá, Colombia

Journalist specialized in digital media and Professor of Journalism at the Universidad of Rosario, Bogotá

In his presentation, Oscar Castellanos presented an innovative online platform that is used to document armed conflicts throughout Colombia, shedding light to the relationship of these violent events to corrupt politicians in the country and to the paramilitaries. The idea to use new technology to account for these conflicts emerged two years ago, when the results of a publication that covered the armed conflicts highlighted the necessity to create an online space where the reasons, consequences and histories behind those events could be discussed and accounted for at the micro level.

Seven hundred and thirty massacres that occurred since 1982 were entered in the online platform, in a more compact and accessible documentation of those incidents. “Our platform is not very traditional, it isn't very academic. It's something that can account for more than what is covered by the newspapers. We show where the conflicts took place and we try to understand the causes,” explained Castellanos. The data gathered for the project includes 530 crimes committed by the paramilitaries, 99 by *guerilleros*, as well as 33 events involving emerging criminal gangs. “The premise is to take those events and make efforts to shed light to the truth behind conflicts that happened in the country in the past 30 years,” he added.

Making use of this body of information, through a statistical tool that uses geo-referencing techniques in both web and mobile formats, it is possible to search for every record of a

massacre, and often times those records offer details about the event; locality; method; number of victims involved – including the group who carried out the killings; and motives. Highlighting the importance of a project of this kind, Castellanos said, “The possibility to geo-reference history through this platform is enormous. It allows us to see the horror that was distributed throughout the country.” In addition, Castellanos pointed out that the platform allows users to revise the historical context and tell their own stories in relation to those events, and that is what makes this project so innovative. “Up until now, the main platforms had been written by the paramilitaries. The system we created allows people to tell their own version of the story, to confront those testimonies given by the paramilitaries,” declared Castellanos. “In some testimonies, the paramilitaries said that victims were connected to guerilla groups, when they were farmers. Our platform allows families and communities to contest those versions of the story,” he added.

Castellanos concluded his presentation acknowledging some of the issues related to the project, stating, “We know farmers don’t have tablets in order to reconstruct their story, but this is an additional element so that can be done. Increasingly more people have access to the Internet; Our hope is that more and more people will be able to benefit from telling their versions in the future,” he said, expressing his wish for the strengthening and expansion of the platform. “The massacres have diminished, but we are in a moment of post-conflict, we look at others to try and convince ourselves that we are not doing so bad. But violence is becoming more and more “Mexicanized”, and our platform can serve as a “reading” of what we have – experiences I wish not to continue to encounter,” he concluded.



First Step Towards a Macro Theory of Urban Violence in Mexico: Testing and Addressing the Spatial Interdependence of Social Disorganization and Institutional Anomie Theories

Carlos Vilalta, CIDE, Mexico City, Mexico

Professor at the Center for Economic Research and Education (CIDE)

Carlos Vilalta began his talk by noting the rise of violence in Mexican cities related to organized crime. “We are experiencing high violent crime rates, including decapitations, mass executions. We are trying to understand and at the same time fearing the Ciudad Juarez, Acapulco and Tijuana phenomenon,” he declared. According to the professor, this is the time to begin thinking

thoroughly about social crime prevention and effective ways to promote it. “Crime rates are clustered and heavily dependent; what happens in one municipality impacts what happens in other,” he asserted, emphasizing the importance of macro analyzes. In efforts to present ways in which this task can be carried out, in his presentation, Vilalta expanded on the results of two macro theories used to understand the dimensions of all crime. In this process, he emphasized the importance of developing a spatial analysis – as they are more geographically clustered and mitigate the chances of overlooking important factors in the analysis – as well as encoding data properly.

The first theory presented was social disorganization, which focused on the processes of crime operating over local social structures. “As a result of low social economic status, family disruption, etc., we can have low civic participation, creating a sense of social disorganizations and collective power,” he explained. Ultimately, if individuals in the communities don’t protect themselves, the police won’t be able to protect them either and deterrence of anti-social behavior can help prevent crime. The second theory Vilalta introduced in his talk was institutional anomie theory, which expands on the assumption that anomic pressures act upon the individual leading them to get involved in illegal activities and crime. “Society is driven by monetary success. No economic opportunities, family disruption and weak social institutions make it so there isn’t enough legal means to get monetary success; These pressures create crime,” he explained.

Vilalta then mixed those two theoretical frameworks; combined some of the literature around them; and selected different variables to shed light to the spatial concentrations and temporality in trying to predict dimensions of crime in Mexico and other countries. For example, criminal rates can be explored alongside important factors such as migration; presence of female head of households in certain areas; and number of bars and restaurants in the locality, among others. Given that behaviors are multivariate, being able to understand the dynamics of these varied variables is important in trying to predict crime in different municipalities. “In Mexico City metro area, there is a strong correlation between female heads of households and rates of crime,” he illustrated.

Vilalta also talked about the hot spot analysis, which can be used to identify differences and similarities in crime across neighborhoods. He emphasized this type of investigation as an

important tool - mainly because of its potential to have major policy implications: “Crime is not spatially uniform. If you want to reduce crime rates, you need to focus crime resources on specific areas. You will have higher effects this way. Focus on areas on areas with most important variables to reduce crime,” he advised. Vilalta also pointed out that although places might seem similar, they behave differently, especially because of the different institutions that govern those spaces: “We will not have the same effect in all places. Advancements in some areas might translate to no effect at all in others,” he explained.

Although a variable’s relationships are not as strong in different areas and at the individual level, we should move forward and try to find special fits for the theory. Vilalta finished his presentation calling attention to the fact that not all theories can predict things everywhere, but that theories are important for policy in terms of helping identify what can be done next, where programs are going to take place, and what kind of resources are to be applied. Most importantly, these theories need to be aligned with efforts to move the country forward: “We need to bring this to the policy level and not only talk about it in conferences. Mexico needs to prioritize its investments for crime prevention,” Vilalta concluded.



Recent Trends of Organized Crime-Related Violence in Mexico
Eduardo Guerrero, Consultant - Mexico City, Mexico
Founding Partner at Lantia Consultores

In his presentation, Eduardo Guerrero expanded on recent trends related to organized crime and the rise of violence in Mexico. The consultant pointed out that, in his work he is expected to come up with short-term solutions for some of these issues, which can be a daunting task. In contextual terms, President Calderon’s security strategy is one of the ramifications of the problem of violence that Mexico faces today. It caused cartel fragmentation, geographical dispersion of violence and the emergence of the new phenomenon of self-defense groups, such as vigilantism. According to Guerrero, Calderon engaged in a frontal combat against criminal organizations but prevalent corruption remained. “He didn’t tackle other issues related to organized crime in Mexico,” Guerrero explained.

He identified three main reasons why a hard- hand approach to crime in Mexico failed. First, systematic capture of kingpins create problems within criminal organizations. Second, violence fosters extortion and other criminal activities. And third, violence behaves like an epidemic. To illustrate, Guerrero shared statistics on the rise of Mexican cartels during the past years. In 2007 there were six cartels, this number has jumped to 22 in 2010 and 16 in 2011. “Kingpin captures lead to cartel fragmentation, the previous landscape is replaced by small regional organizations,” he explained.

In efforts to give a glimpse of the current situation of violence in Mexico, the consultant also shared data on municipalities with high levels of organized crime-related deaths. In 2011, 2012, and 2013, respectively, 208, 178, and 172 municipalities throughout Mexico reported 12 or more deaths in one year related to cartel violence. Rates between homicide and extortion are also high, “organized crime related violence precedes and fosters the increase of extortion rates,” he explained. Furthermore, Guerrero called attention to the endemic nature of criminality. “Once you have one violent epidemic, it will take a long time to get rid of it. The Tijuana violence epidemic has been controlled in some ways, mainly because they had the collaboration of the San Diego police. But generally, once an epidemic begins it’s very hard to contain it,” he added.

Guerrero pointed out that, since Peña Neto took office, there has been a reduction of over 20 percent in crime-related deaths, but much work still needs to be done. He highlighted the problems around the spreading of crime, with violence now moving from metro to rural areas in Mexico. Additionally, he also talked about the rise in vigilantism in the country (especially within the past few months) and brought up the fact that although some do want to just protect the population, others have ties with criminal organizations. Today, self-defense groups are present in over 100 municipalities in Mexico, and an additional 103 municipalities have reported rumors about the creation of those groups. “There is a huge potential for violence when there is a decay of legitimacy,” Guerrero added.

Guerrero highlighted the difficulties in finding solution for this current scenario, especially because as a result of the fluctuation of organized crime, measures that may have an impact in some regions, may not work as well in other areas. “In cities its seems viable to attack the problem and have results in a short period, but in places like Acapulco and Morelias this

approach would be very difficult,” he explained. According to Guerrero, a possible key to the problem would be to invest in developing a high social base for high social development, implementing programs to weaken individual’s participation in organized crime.



Juarez: From the most dangerous city in the world to a city of unpunishable pain

Judith Torrea, Journalist - Ciudad Juarez, Mexico

Main blogger, Ciudad Juarez: In the Shadows of Drug Trafficking

Winner of the Ortega y Gasset prize in Journalism in 2010 and the BOBs award for best online activism in 2011

In her talk, Judith Torrea, an award-winning independent investigator blogger, journalist and author based in Ciudad Juarez, shed light to some of the horror and violence citizens in the city still face today. Torrea refers to Ciudad Juarez not as the most dangerous city in the world, but the city of pain. “Nothing has changed in Ciudad Juarez. They have changed the image but not reality. There isn’t any more young people to kill,” she denounced. Through her work, Torrea provides realistic views of what is taking place in Ciudad Juarez. She strongly believes that those who don’t make efforts to propagate the truth become mere accomplices of genocide and corruption.

According to the journalist, the current situation in the city is far more troublesome than the media portrays. “98% of crimes in Ciudad Juarez go unpunished. The authorities and the media keep saying that everything is amazing and this is simply not true. The bodies that get thrown in the desert do not show up in the statistics,” she challenged. Torrea highlighted the rise in criminality and violence in Ciudad Juarez once the war on crime led by Calderón began taking place. “Calderón forgot to fight money laundering and corrupt politicians. He sent in the army, and the army can’t seem to be able to distinguish good people from bad people, and that’s why we have lost 11,000 lives since 2008,” she explained.

Expanding on the federal government program *Todos Somos Juarez*, the journalist claimed that politicians behind the initiative are only focusing on politics and short-term goals. She highlighted some of the problems people living in some of the poorest communities still have to face, such as lack of access to education and substandard levels of living. “Only 20 percent of

people do not live in poverty in Ciudad Juarez. This is an example of the exploitation of human being and capitalism.” Torrea said. “The social injustices and inequalities found in Mexico today come from the conquerors. The system today is the same. Imperialism still lives.” Torrea finished her talk pledging the audience to pay attention to the stories of victims – to try and understand that not everyone who is dying is tied to the drug trafficking world. “Politicians think that other people are not like them. If they did, they would do their work differently. We need to remember that people affected by drug trafficking are just like us,” she concluded.

PANEL 3

Entrepreneurship, Violence, and Social Fabric



Tijuana Innovadora

Jose Galicot, Tijuana Innovadora – Tijuana, Mexico

Entrepreneur, philanthropist and active leader

Co-founder and President of Tijuana Innovadora

Advisor and Owner of the “El Trompo” Museum and the “Sala Anguiano” Art Gallery

Jose Galicot, the driving force behind Tijuana Inovadora - a movement that has helped the city recover from devastating criminal activity and violence in the past four years - shared some of the motivations behind the initiative, expanding on some of the events that took place with the organization’s help and the strong participation of the civic society. “We have thousands of volunteers doing things. People in Tijuana wanted to change, they wanted to differentiate themselves...this is a city of immigrants, of people looking for work.

We wanted to help reinvent the self-esteem of the city,” he declared. Galicot explained that in the past nobody would say good things about Tijuana. The project came in to try and change that sole negative perception of the city, starting from strengthening the mission of the people behind it. “There are two types of people in this world: the thinkers and the doers. We are not party makers, we are educators,” he explained. Expanding on the need for the development of programs that allow people to become more connected to themselves and their communities, Galicot added, “We educate the ‘feeling of the city’, so people can believe in the city where they grew up and the place where they work.”

The first event supported by the initiative took place in October 2010, and was set out to help raise the self-esteem of people living in the Tijuana. “At that time, 25 people were dying on a daily basis...everyone was scared. So we created a *baile* that attracted over 120 people – everyone was dancing on the streets,” said Galicot in an effort to highlight the importance of proposals of this kind in helping rebuild the city’s identity amidst violence and fear.

Galicot explained that further events and many other initiatives followed this first action, including the opening of industries that were closed, talks by world-renowned speakers, large exhibitions, gala dinners, etc. Proud of all these important achievements, the philanthropist said, “For the first time, people started to say good things about Tijuana. San Diego said good things about Tijuana. People began to see what was ‘underneath’, what was produced, and what was manufactured.” In efforts to create a “new dimension” in Tijuana where the “third world met the first world”, the major events that followed continued focusing on self-development opportunities for people and culture strengthening. For example, there were 74 workshops – including music workshops for youth; 54 exhibitions attracting over one million people; sports and cultural events; etc., all aimed to encourage different vocations within the community.

Galicot finished his talk expressing his excitement for a new year of activities with Tijuana Innovadora and his wish to continue doing groundbreaking work. “We want to create something new and find out something that nobody has done yet,” he shared. Highlighting the importance of continuing work toward building a strong bilateral relationship and cooperation between Mexico and the U.S., Galicot said, “One out of every three Mexicans live in the United States. We need to rediscover the universe of characters. There is a new force: self-esteem, nationality, where we find both Mexicans and Americans.”



Towards a New Paradigm of Public Policy in Rio’s Favelas
Jailson de Souza e Silva, Observatory of Favelas – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Geographer, Educator and Social Activist
Co-founder of Observatroy of Favelas (Maré favela complex)

Jailson Silva began his presentation proudly stating, “I am from the *favela* of Maré.” According to the activist, there is a traditional perception of what a *favela* is and how the people are

characterized. But in his personal case, Silva is a university professor and an intellectual, and does not fit the perceived categorization. “The *favelas* are presented as lacking, and this is mainly due to the shortage of state investment. The state didn’t invest in education or social policies to benefit residents,” he explained.

Today in Rio de Janeiro, over 1.5 million people live in *favelas*. These communities are essentially formed by blacks and North-Eastern people who perform manual labor; study in public schools; are undervalued; and receive low salaries. Many are dying every year due to violence. “But we are not only deficiency, we are also potency. And that’s what isn’t understood. We present a high degree of collective organization, cultural and artistic activities, and capacity to produce solutions for the city. We resist against the authoritarian state,” asserted the activist, highlighting the importance of understanding *favela* residents as creators of change.

Silva acknowledged the growth Brazil has experienced in the past decade, but called attention to the fact that violence is still prominent. “Every year, 50,000 lives are lost in this country, mainly youth, blacks, and poor people living in *favelas* and peripheries. The Brazilian society accepts the violence, not only the state. Violence is naturalized in Brazil,” he lamented. Silva believes the police institution is a major problem when it comes to violence in Rio. “Up until 2008, the police in Rio killed more people than the entire police in the United States. The absent state does not guarantee security to citizens. They combat criminality with public security,” he added, asserting that violence is the main instrument of action used by the state.

For Silva, the right to life is far more important than the criminalization of drugs, but public security in Rio prioritizes the combat against drug trafficking; This is one of the reasons why incarceration rates have been rising dramatically in Brazil. Silva recognized the pacification project as an advancement of *favelas*, but stated the state failed in allowing the situation to reach such an unbearable point. “It’s a shame the state allowed drug traffickers to control these territories for so long. If a criminal/militia told me I needed to leave the *favela*, I simply had to go the next day,” he explained.

Moving forward, the activist highlighted the need for the politics of public security in the city to recognize all citizens as equals before the law. “It’s 90 times easier to get killed in Maré than in

Leblon, especially if you are black. There isn't democracy in *favelas*; They are an arena of police war," he denounced. According to Silva, public security efforts need to walk hand in hand with the community and with social and economic investments for the territory. The pacification in itself cannot account for those needs. "The drug lord leaves, just to be replaced for the chief police. We need to have control over police action through community ombudsman and local forums. The rules cannot be privatized; They need to take into account the historical experiences built by the residents," he emphasized. Silva also talked about the challenge in breaking with the negative representation of the *favela* resident. "The self-esteem of the *favelado* is too low, they need to be proud of their background. The youth cannot be treated inferiorly because they live in a *favela*...we need projects that take into account the local culture for social and human development."

Silva finished his presentation highlighting the possibilities that can emerge when working with a social legacy: building integrated projects alongside the state, the private sector, and the civic society, in a democratic project for the favelas as the city as a whole. For him, the police is part of the solution, but only if it is operating closely with the community and the youth population. There needs to be mobility –but not the right to come and go solely. The creation of a new paradigm requires much more. "Mobility is also economic, educational and work-related," he added. "Rio is still dominated by a social block; We need to break with the intolerance of differences. We need to create entry spaces and destroy all symbolic frontiers," concluded Silva. Silva asserted that Rio needs to create unity through the meeting of differences in order to move forward.



SEBRAE/RJ's Projects to Support Entrepreneurs in Favelas of Rio de Janeiro: From 1996 to 2013

José Luiz Lima, SEBRAE/RJ – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Analyst in the Management of Solutions and Innovations at SEBRAE/RJ – Education and Innovation Area for Micro Entrepreneurs

Following Jailson Silva's, José Lima also began his presentation sharing his background. As a resident of Rocinha for over 38 years, the specialist in small business development affirmed that his experiences growing up have helped shape the work he carries out today. SEBRAE is an institution of national scope, the largest and most important of its kind, that encourages business

development in Brazil. SEBRAE has been present in Rio *favelas* since 1996, with the first unit opening in Rocinha with José's assistance. "They wanted someone who had a good relationship with the community, someone who could help spread the word about the institution," he said, explaining how he first got involved with the organization.

Once set up, SEBRAE began to carry out its mission in the community being careful to take into consideration the capacity of articulation that the community already possessed. In 2007, the work was extended to other *favelas* (with a total of 28 businesses at that time) where the groups were mainly comprised of women – heads of households – who produced handcraft products. In all these initiatives in *favelas*, Lima highlighted SEBRAE's effort to adapt as an institution to carry out the work according to the needs of the community. "How could we act with these women, developing entrepreneurship, but keeping true to their realities? SEBRAE had to adapt its work and processes. We had to do things the way the community did them," he explained.

In 2011, SEBRAE made the decision to join forces with the pacification policy, taking the entrepreneurship development program to all communities impacted by the security program. "The pacification opened the market; It allowed people from the outside to enter the *favelas* and participate in the commerce activities. It brought the entrepreneur closer to the market around the *favela*," he explained. Yet, Lima also called attention to the negative outcomes of this sudden market opening. He explained that, "external companies are opening businesses inside these *favelas*. This hurts the local entrepreneur because he is forced to compete with larger companies."

Nonetheless, SEBRAE was able to help qualify this entrepreneur, stimulating social and economic development in these territories. "Today, every 'pacified' *favela* has a SEBRAE spot. We try to give the entrepreneur chances to prosper, bringing him closer to the market, capacitating this business owner," affirmed Lima. He also called attention to the distinction between informality and illegality, highlighting the need of the *favela* entrepreneur to operate within the "business informality" scope. "Eighty to ninety percent of the market in *favelas* is illegal: The resident might not have the property documentation, but he has other documents that recognize his right to use that space," Lima explained, exposing the need to acknowledge these particularities when working with entrepreneurs in *favelas*.

Lima finished his talk echoing some of the same points made by Jailson Silva. According to him, police work in itself cannot account for the demands of those communities. Every community has its own history, reality, and function, and that needs to be central to development work. “*Favela* is not only a place of shortages, but of potency. And this is what SEBRAE supports... this entrepreneurship, innovation and creativity present in Rio favelas,” he concluded, shedding light to the social and culture richness present in disenfranchised spaces.



Keynote Speaker

José Mariano Benincá Beltrame

Secretary of Security – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Recognizing the intrinsic difficulties embedded in this specific theme, Secretary José Beltrame began his talk by exposing his willingness to talk about security in Rio. “Our partnership with the Program on Poverty and Governance aimed to study and examine the use of force by the police. We are looking for practices that can lead us to a solution, and that’s why we come to the University,” he stated. “This is a very difficult legacy to carry out...the ‘thornier’ role of the Brazilian public system. We cannot mix political with technical questions. That’s why I don’t want to get involved in politics,” he added. Before moving on to discuss the pacification and issues of violence in Rio, Beltrame made sure to place the subject of the matter into context by giving a brief overview of the emergence of the police force in Rio. “We lived serious problems in our origins, which is reflected on the Rio de Janeiro that we have today. During 150 years, Rio was the capital of the republic. The emperor brought the royal guard with him, which would later become the civil and military police. The police came to protect the king and not the society,” he explained.

Beltrame pointed out that the democratic process in Brazil is something fairly new, and that the country is delayed in terms of development. “We were the last city to abolish slavery, the court watched while other people did the work. Then Rio became the capital, and the city was widowed of economic vocation.” Within this scenario, Rio began to gain large numbers of people seeking work opportunities and according to the Secretary, that’s when some of the main

problems the city faces today emerged. “People began to build homes anywhere they could, in a complete public disorder. Then in the 1970’s, drugs arrived in Brazil.” Beltrame explained the profitability of the business, and how that led to the creation of different drug factions that fought over control of selling points, with criminals finding refuge in territories where the state wasn’t present and changing the city dynamics. “The drug trafficker entered the *favela*, then they stepped down to the city and corrupted others. They corrupted not only the police, but an entire system of surveillance, control and planning of a city, of politics in a state,” he disclosed.

As criminal groups established themselves in these territories, Beltrame explained that ideological differences – as well as the arrival of firearms in the city - led to massive conflicts amongst those factions. “The war for the market that the entire world saw lasted for 40 years. The society tolerated it, the state was lenient, and the police – with its serious problems of corruption – was part of the problem,” he stated. The Secretary confessed that when he took office in 2007, he literally found a “broken city”. “Pavãozinho, located a few blocks away from one of the most expensive real state locations in Latin America, was a true island of violence. The state didn’t have any power over that territory, it was controlled by a tyrant, an emperor, who exercised the rule of law, arresting, torturing, and killing people. You have an informal world next door to the formal one,” Beltrame described. To try and give a sense of the dimension of the conflict, Beltrame explained that not long ago, in a single neighborhood (Tijuca), there were 12 favelas with three different drug factions fighting for control over the territory. “Because of all the drug faction wars, police corruption... Rio was degenerated. It was a war; police died; criminals died; and innocent people died too,” he acknowledged.

Introducing some of the serious corruption problems embedded in the organization and the challenges moving forward, Beltrame noted, “The police commanders and police chiefs were selected by state representatives, and there was no system of meritocracy whatsoever. That is how things used to be, and still are, in some places in Rio. There used to be a system of gratification for the greatest number of police killings... this is the ‘Western-like’ context we are talking about.” Because of all the marks infused throughout this dark past, Beltrame recognizes and understands the skepticism and discredit from part of the society. “I agree with the society for not believing in the police...Rio became a closed up place: people living in condominiums, with private guards and armored cars. The society departed from the police, and the police

departed from the society,” he lamented. Explaining his rationale behind the creation of the Pacifying Police Units (UPPs), Beltrame mentioned a very famous Brazilian samba song that questions, ‘What am I going to wear to the samba you invited me to?’ The Secretary explained Rio needed to have two police forces with varying and distinct uniforms for one single society: one for the formal world and another one for the informal.

As he began the discussion about the pacification policy, Beltrame called attention to the fact that this program is the very first of its kind with this scope and level of governmental support. “People talk about the inefficiency of the Pacification, but what can we compare it to? Things are good or bad in comparison to the tyranny,” he affirmed. With 9,000 policeman spread across 162 different communities, the program is in constant change and development. The Secretary called special attention to the difficulties in developing a security policy that is aligned with the needs of the community, especially because the police in Rio is still working with its own issues and facing its own past. “The idea of the UPP isn’t a brilliant one. It was clear that the state needed to go and look at those places, remove the tyrant, and develop the territory alongside the community. But, the police didn’t have any vision for the future. The salary was low, and the state didn’t show any interest in them. And now, the same policeman who has always ‘kicked my door’ wants to be my friend? Of course things don’t work like that...This is a work in progress. The daily police present in those communities might help break this paradigm,” he said, expressing his hope for the continuous development of the policy.

Beltrame admitted that the pacification project was built in a short time frame, but he defended the approach in light of the social and political reality in Rio de Janeiro. “Perhaps we could have proposed a better project. But when we arrived at the secretariat, we had a homicide rate of 41 per 100,000 inhabitants. We simply could not take the time to just sit down to study and write the project,” Beltrame explained. “The logic is to change the train wheel while the train is moving. Brazil has a strong crisis of attitude. There are many projects, but when we get to the action stage, the politicians leave the scene and the project isn’t developed.” Shedding light on some of the issues around the policy - such as the expansion of the subsequent development phase that need to take place in the communities after the arrival of the UPPs - Beltrame explained, “The UPPs represent an initial state arrival, and only that. Now the community needs to figure out what they want. We have taken away a huge part of the ‘inflammation’, but we will never have

any guarantees that nothing will ever happen in those communities again. This is a very long history we are dealing with.”

Offering personal feedback to some of the public criticism around the militarization of pacified territories, Beltrame said, “Those places were militarized before, not now. Back then, all problems were resolved by means of the rifle... People usually make this connection because the police arrives, but the other services are still lacking.” As a former police officer himself, Beltrame made an attempt to humanize the police, shedding light to some of the intrinsic difficulties in the work they need to carry out. “The police officer needs to go from a tear to a smile in one second. There is a strong war legacy... and this is the worst legacy there can be,” he said. “For me, the UPPs made a lot of progress on this point. Today, the BOPE (special police battalion) works less and less. But how many Amarildos weren’t produced by the traffic? How many people weren’t burnt alive in the *microwaves*?” he added . Nonetheless, Beltrame acknowledged the fact that the police has also committed those crimes, but making it clear that now there is a real effort to fight corruption and police violence inside the institution. “2,000 policeman have been expelled, but we still have a lot of work to do,” he added.

To conclude, Beltrame pointed out the need for integrated policies to gather a variety of local players and stakeholders interested in bringing sustainable development to Rio favelas. “The police alone cannot carry out the work. We have opened up a window of opportunities so other sectors can come in and do their job. Before, there weren’t investments because it was hard to get in. I can’t put a teacher there because the traffic doesn’t want it. Now, they – state institutions, stakeholders – can enter those places and fulfill their role. They have to pay their debt to those communities, if that’s even possible,” he declared. Furthermore, Beltrame denounced some serious problems involving the judicial system and exposed the need to bring in taboo topics into the discussion: “The discussion is much wider than just the criminal and the police, nobody touches the legal system... It took me two years and eight months to expel a police commander,” he revealed. “We need to discuss the situation inside the prisons... nothing happens in Rio without passing through the prisons first. We need to involve a penal reform,” he added, giving the audience a glimpse of the real dimension involving crime and violence issues in Rio.

Beltrame concluded his talk emphasizing the difficulty of conducting this kind of work, especially in communities that, for so many decades, were completely neglected by the police and the state. “We carry a very hard legacy. The police have taken a huge step, but we acknowledge that we have oceanic dimensions to travel. If we do it right, we did nothing but our job. If we do it wrong, we are lost,” he shared. “Events of this kind need to keep taking place so we can expand our horizons,” concluded Beltrame, expressing his appreciation for the chance to share some of these issues with a wider audience at a university setting.

PANEL 4
Pacification Strategies and Policing



Stockton’s Violence Reduction Initiative and Marshall Plan
Eric Jones, Stockton Police - Stockton, CA
Police Chief, Safe Community Partnership / Operation Ceasefire in the City of Stockton, CA

According to Eric Jones, the climate experienced by a community is defined by whomever group holds the public space. “If the criminals own the public space, then there is a real climate of fear. If the police come in and occupy that space, they are perceived as a military operation,” shared Jones. The comparison served to emphasize the point that communities are the ones who need to be in control of the territories, and it’s essential that they receive law enforcement support to uphold that management. “The community needs to feel safe coming and going in their spaces. This is truly a partnership. When it comes to community trust, we have to earn our trust. This begins with mutual understandings and relationships,” he asserted. Within this scenario, the police chief called attention to the many layers of distrust from the part of the police that can affect the process of building a relationship with the community, especially with youth. “Sometimes officers only view the community through their crime rates. Sometimes officers become cynical and the community views the police as occupiers,” explained Jones, expanding on the need for the police to continue making efforts to approach the community in a well-thought-of manner.

Jones briefly introduced the gang scenario in Stockton, a city just behind Oakland in terms of violence rates caused by gangs. "We have Sureño gangs in Stockton: generational gangs, some

being more organized than others. There are several hundred gangs amounting to thousands of participants,” he estimated. Major issues that took place in the city in 2009 forced the police force to try a different approach in combating crime and violence in Stockton. Jones explained, “the whole city went bankrupt. We lost 100 police officers, and we began seeing some of the same homicide rates as in Los Angeles: above 20 per 100,000 inhabitants.” Faced with the lowest police staff per size of the population in the entire country, Jones began looking at the impact of homicide in Stockton and possibilities to improve it through a practical lens. “Every homicide costs citizens millions of dollars (e.g. incarceration, judicial system). Policies to combat crime in a short time do not work; They only create a greater divide between the police and the community, and without the community we cannot fight crime properly,” he recognized.

In efforts to take on a more progressive approach to police work, Jones and the Stockton police force created partnerships with the community and other important actors in law enforcement (e.g. highway state patrols, sheriffs). “We didn’t turn the problem to the federal system; We just kept it more strategic,” he explained. “We have much better data now: We know that only 3.6 percent of the population is causing the violent crimes. There is a change in culture... everyone is in the same page in relation to the mission now,” he added. Jones expanded on the four Ps - partnership, pursuit, prevention, and prediction – that are central to the work carried out by Stockton’s police force and shared some of the positive results and initiatives that reflected on the effectiveness of this new approach. Some of these efforts included community response teams; violence reduction initiatives (with uniformed police officers going to the neighborhoods to learn about the community’s expectations before starting the patrol); and development work with the support of former gang members who turned their lives around.

Operation *Ceasefire* is an important example of the progressive and innovative work carried out by the police in Stockton. In 2013, the initiative was responsible for a reduction of 60 percent in homicide rates; 30 percent of robberies; and a 22 percent reduction in violent crimes. The program is a violence reduction strategy based on a partnership with youth and young adults involved in criminal activities aimed to reduce shootings and homicides. “We identify the three percent committing the violence. We bring the gang members to a room, sitting side by side with police officers and the police chief...Our message is to stop violence and shootings, not to demand those youth to leave the gangs, though they do offer support mechanisms for those who

do want to get out. They then go back and communicate with the rest of the gang. This is a way to send a strong enforcement message to the group,” Jones explained, emphasizing the need for law enforcement strategies to open a dialogue with those committing the crimes.

Jones finished his presentation exposing his wish for the continuous expansion of the *Ceasefire* program. “We are in the process of institutionalizing cease fire in Stockton. We want it to spread throughout the entire city. We want to create an office of violence prevention, working with stakeholders to expand that philosophy to the entire city,” he declared. With the support of technological innovations, Jones hopes data sources can continue helping the police carry out effective work that can have even more impact on violence prevention moving forward. “We were given one million dollars in technology to help us pin point where shootouts take place. There still a lot to do, but we are on the right path. We can make it all about the data now and show where we need to put our resources –nobody can question that. Officials come and go, but the data doesn’t lie,” he concluded, highlighting the importance of having strategic data to carry out strategic law enforcement.



The Pacification Challenge: What can be done?

Colonel Paulo Henrique Moraes, PMERJ – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
General Commander of Operations, Military Police of Rio de Janeiro
(PMERJ)

Following Secretary of Security José Beltrame’s address on the first day of the conference, Paulo Henrique began his talk by contextualizing the city of Rio de Janeiro. “Rio has a very unique configuration. The problem is spread all over the city: the same problem that we encounter in the north zone, it’s also found in the south zone. This isn’t just local, this is an issue of an entire city,” he said. Within Rio’s scenario - where heavily armed criminal organizations controlled territories for decades with no state intervention - the problem around violence and criminality called for an operation aimed to retake those territories.

According to Henrique, in strategic terms, the work has just began. “The government census accounts for the existence of over 1,000 *favelas* in Rio. Our ‘apple’ is quite big, and we have just taken the first few bites,” he said. As the pacification operation is carried out, the Colonel spoke of the preoccupation to retake territories with no war, avoiding conflicts and opening the way for

further steps to be taken. “In our strategy, we wanted to show that this wasn’t a police action solely. Others institutions that can and should take services to the communities also got in. Unfortunately, these actions are not developing as they should,” lamented Henrique.

In efforts to give a glimpse of the pacification operation to the audience, Henrique explained step-by-step the work carried out by the police before and after the main occupation. “The first action is carried out by the special police units. This is a symbolic move, to reaffirm the state’s decision to retake that space. Within this strategy, we worked on a tactic plan: We announce our arrival, but we do intelligence work, mapping out possible escape routes in order to arrest criminals,” he began. As a result of the work carried out previous to the first police action in those territories, according to Henrique, the retake of the community takes place with no major conflicts. “Yes, we announce our operation, but the strategy is about much more than that. In our last occupation (*Complexo de favelas da Maré*, comprised of 15 communities with 120 inhabitants) 162 criminals were arrested, and that includes the leader of the faction that controlled that region,” he said, highlighting the operation’s potential for initial effectiveness.

Once the initial police forces – and sometimes, national troops – enter the territory, the pacification process begins. “After the intervention, we have the implementation of the UPPs. Today, we have 37 UPP units installed, some of them with 100 policemen and others with 700 – depending on the size of the population. Next, we come in with the evaluation and the monitoring of results,” Henrique explained. He pointed out the need to establish a relationship with the community right from the beginning of the process, building rapport and communicating what is to take place in operational terms. “The first thing we do is to have a meeting with the community. We need to break the ice and open a dialogue. It’s ideal that we sit to discuss with and listen to the community. The citizens have a ‘scream trapped inside’, and this is something notable in this process,” he shared.

Expanding on the follow-up work carried out the UPPs, Henrique believes they bring in a new philosophy, opening up the possibility for the beginning of something new. “We remove the special forces and introduce the proximity police, that are trained to do this work. We work with young police officers, avoiding those who have already been through too many conflicts,” he explained. To strengthen the work moving forward, the Colonel supports the development of

indicators and evaluation processes beyond criminal indicators, bringing in more participation from the community, and allowing possibilities for project improvement to ensue from this engagement. “What’s the quality of the services? Are they even being fully provided? The project isn’t complete. It has to be constantly questioned, constantly enhanced. Community participation is fundamental for this development to take place,” acknowledge the Colonel, highlighting the importance of promoting public security through communication and local input from part of the community.



USAID Experience in Community-based Crime and Violence Prevention
Enrique Roig, USAID – Washington, DC
Coordinator of the Central America Regional Security Initiative, Latin American and Caribbean Bureau, at the U.S. Agency for International Development

“We need to fuel the social and economic forces that drive criminality. We invest in social prevention because we see its impact on the youth... on why they get involved with criminal gangs in the first place,” asserted Enrique Roig in the beginning of his presentation. He begun by highlighting the importance of carrying out law enforcement work with a strong social component such as capacity building and community based policing.

According to the USAID specialist, an effective way to combat violence and criminality in Latin American and the Caribbean is to work closely with the youth. “In a lot of the work we do, we offer alternative opportunities for the youth, supporting community centers (e.g. Tijuana, Monterrey, Ciudad Juarez) and involving more youth in development programs. We focus on kids most susceptible to gang recruitment. But we need to focus on changing behaviors and less on changing gang identity,” added Roig, expanding on the need to conduct culturally sensitive preventive work, especially when dealing with this specific segment of the population. Roig also noted that USAID is always looking abroad for initiatives that achieved success, learning from what has worked and sharing best practices for the work moving forward.

In order for efforts to be sustainable, Roig emphasized cooperation with local governments and other stakeholders in order for efforts to be sustainable. “We coordinate with the local and the national government. It’s very important for the political will to invest in these programs to be

present. In one of our programs, Bus Against Violence, politicians take bus rides to impoverished and violent communities,” he said. Bus Against Violence exemplifies an initiative that aims to bring decision makers closer to the reality they are seeking to change. When talking about community policing programs - with prominent examples in countries with high levels of violence such as Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras - Roig emphasized the focus on building a relationship between the community and the police. Through an evaluation carried out by USAID in 100 different communities in various countries, for example, it was possible to note that Guatemala benefited from a reduction in homicide rates and an improvement in the community-police relationship. Roig also noted that USAID is still the only organization carrying out this type of evaluation.

To finalize his presentation, Roig expanded on some of the accomplishments the organization was able to achieve, including private sector alliances on crime prevention; the development of integrated strategies; strengthening in intervention and law enforcement; greater geographical focus; and a more focused target on youth at risk of committing crimes. “We were able to improve coordination at the country level to oversee and manage various initiatives,” he concluded.



Keynote Speaker

Hector Robles Peiro

Mayor of Zapopan, Mexico

Before expanding on the educational initiative *Jovenes con Porvenir* – Youth with a Promising Future, a program in Zapopan that offers youth out of work and school the opportunity to carry out free courses – Mayor Hector Robles Peiro introduced the city he now governs, highlighting some of the issues effecting social and economic development in the region. Zapopan is one of eight municipalities comprising the Guadalajara metropolitan area. In addition to problems with inequality, public services and sustainability, the municipality suffers with major issues related to public security. “We have problems with security at the local level (e.g. vandalism and fights) particularly with the presence of gangs (over 400 in Zapopan alone), we have the common and main crimes (e.g. burglaries, homicides), which are faced by the local and the state level and we

also have drug-related issues,” Peiro explained. “Additionally, we have issues related to kidnapping and security in roads.” To make matters worse, the population in Zapopan has a hard time trusting the police. The mayor noted that in an evaluation to examine the level of reliance in police officers, 400 out of 600 failed the test. “My main concern now is to increase the number of police officers in Zapopan,” he revealed, exposing one of the many issues he faces as mayor.

Peiro explained that in Zapopan, a large portion of the young population between the ages of 15-30 years is not engaged in work-related or educational activities, otherwise referred to as the infamous “ninis” (*ni estudian, ni trabajan*). It’s estimated that 150,000 out of 400,000 youth are now in this situation. “The youth are depressed. They are not studying in the public educational system, and they can’t find a job. Some of them are working with their parents, and many of them end up getting involved with criminal activities,” he lamented. Limited by lack of funding and resources, Peiro expanded on the challenges of developing a program that can improve this scenario, amidst shifting politics that are still trying to move away from an old model of crime prevention: “People between the ages of 15-30 years old are perpetrators and victims of violence. What’s the way to go from here? Should we repress them? Should we ignore them? Should we react?” he inquired. “We can’t just increase the number of police officers to deal with this dilemma...and that’s why we are focusing on basic education first,” he added, highlighting the importance of social prevention to combat criminality, a point shared by many of the speakers participating in the conference.

“We have signed agreements with more than 40 educational centers to capacitate people. The most relevant element of this program is that we are driving from the most valuable thing these individuals possess... their values and hopes for the future,” asserted the Peiro, revealing that many of the youth and young adults involved in the program are young moms and adolescents coming from gangs. The program focuses its presence in 29 neighborhoods and colonies presenting the higher rates of crime in Zapopan. “There are no public spaces in these neighborhoods. There is very limited infrastructure and no public services,” he explained.

Expressing his excitement for the work carried out by the program, Peiro noted that people from other colonies and neighborhoods now also want to take part in the program, even youth from

more developed areas. “Some students travel for four-five hours to reach the places where the educational program is taking place. We have to be doing something right,” he proudly said.

To conclude his keynote, Peiro remarked on future plans aimed to further develop the initiative, including analysis of impact and opportunities for job placement. “We want to follow students for three years to see how the program is affecting their lives. We are also trying to make connections with enterprises so students can leave the program and get a job,” he described. Peiro believes that repression isn’t the answer when working with the youth population. “The more violence we use to fight violence, the more violent the whole place becomes,” he added.

By this token, he stressed the irreplaceable position of education in development efforts and crime prevention programs directed at the youth population. “Small intervention can really change things and become relevant for people. We need to provide educational opportunities for the youth beyond the formal sector. We need to provide them with tools for hope so they can act in different ways,” he concluded.

Panel 5

Creating Opportunities for the Youth



Cauce Ciudadano

Carlos Cruz, Cauce Ciudadano - Mexico

Founder, Cauce Ciudadano

Carlos Cruz began his presentation by sharing his background and personal experience with the world of crime. “From when I was six years old all the way until I reached 23, I was involved with drug trafficking and gangs,” he revealed, introducing the reasons behind his passionate involvement in his line of work. Right from the start, he emphasized his wish to connect academic work with the projects carried out on the ground. Inspired by earlier talks in the conference, Cruz compared the situation in Mexican neighborhoods to the reality of Rio’s favelas. “We have high levels of poverty and criminality, like in Brazil.

In Mexico, homicide is the first cause of death amongst the youth population; this is a waste of social capital,” he lamented. As part of a data set derived from a larger research project, Carlos followed to share a list of common offenses committed by students inside Mexican secondary schools. The list amounts to 620 different crimes, including - but not limited to – drug trafficking, acts of extortion, acts of terrorism, and homicides.

Cauce Ciudadano is an organization aimed at reducing levels of crime and violence, rebuilding the social fabric through education and alternatives for youth development. It has carried out its mission in 12 different states throughout Mexico, including in places with the highest levels of organized criminality in the country. For Cruz, developing prevention and development programs that emphasize a participatory diagnosis approach with the youth at risk is essential for the program’s success. “We want to find protective factors rather than risk factors, and we do this by empowering and enhancing what the youth already possess,” he said.

Cruz highlighted some of the intrinsic difficulties in carrying out this kind of work, especially when dealing with youth displaying strong ties to violent criminal gangs. “We work with 13 youth from the Sureños – youth in situation of high risk. We encourage our team to be careful. Even when we can intervene, we are exposed to the violence,” he revealed. Cruz also shed light to the importance of community work in these efforts, and the need to expand the work to many different settings and not just the neighborhood. “Fifty percent of interventions are the result of a community process. We are breaking with the paradigm of citizen’s security; We work with human security. We like to trigger development on individuals, and to do this, we work in schools, neighborhoods, communities, and prisons,” he explained. He later went on to elaborate that prisons are an important platform for change, given that many of the mediations inside the prisons reflect mediations outside on the streets.

Cauce Ciudadano works around basic principles of peace, human rights, and citizen security. The initiative has interventions in a variety of settings and focuses on different groups of people including youth in public schools and public spaces, victims of violence, orphans, etc. “We work to identify risk factors, and try to make it so these factors don’t interact amongst themselves,” he said. For example, in terms of results, after taking place in one of the projects developed by *Cauce* that focused on a group of youth in criminal gangs, 29 percent of participants went back

to school; two percent gained full employment; and 22.5 percent engaged both in work and school activities. “We are creating a change in paradigm. We are moving from a model of vulnerability to a model of resilience,” said Cruz, highlighting the real transformation that took place in the lives of youth thanks to the work carried out.

Summing up *Cauce*’s essence, Cruz stated, “We assume our position as popular educators, and we recognize that all actors have something to change. We work in the transformation of the youth involved in the project...in the transformation of their lives and the communities in which they live.” To conclude his presentation, Cruz called attention to corruption problems embedded in the Mexican government and emphasized the need for more accountability and transparency moving forward. “We want the government to understand that reforms are useless when they come with so much blood. Citizens can no longer face criminality alone. These efforts are hopeless as long as criminals are still linked with political and business powers,” he concluded.



Violence and Crime Social Prevention in Mexico: Ciudad Juarez Strategy

Eunice Rendón, Ministry of Home Affairs, Mexico

General Director, Interministerial Commission for Violence and Crime Social Prevention, Mexico

Eunice Rendón began her presentation by noting the recent development in national policies for violence and crime social prevention in Mexico. “Social prevention is something new in Mexico.... The government had strategies focused on specific places, not a national policy for all states. Now we have a social prevention of violence at the national level,” she explained. Rendón presented data reflecting a sharp reduction in homicide rates in Ciudad Juarez. “Something is changing and the data reflects that.... There has been a decrease of 82 percent in homicides in Ciudad Juarez in homicides,” she pointed out.

Expanding on the work she carries out at the Interministerial Commission for Violence and Crime Social Prevention, Rendón explained that violence prevention is not just related to homicide and crime rates: “We are working on gathering other types of information now to measure social dynamics, coercion, etc. This is multidimensional issue,” she said, highlighting the intrinsic difficulties related to the work.

Rendón introduced the government *Todos Somos Juarez* and talked about some of the logistics behind the work carried out. 46 million in investments were devoted to projects in security, economy, employment, health services, education, as well as cultural and social development to over 294 communities. For her, one of the most important developments resulting from these efforts was an increase in citizen's participation through the creation of councils (e.g. security and youth councils). "In 2011, Ciudad Juarez was the worst city in homicide rates in Mexico, in 2012 it was the second worst... and in 2013, Ciudad Juarez didn't make it to the top 10. This is also related to citizen's participation," she said explaining that a system of creating graphs and analyzing indicators of violence alongside the community allows for the success of the strategy.

Reiterating an important point made by several speakers in the conference, Rendón also called attention to the importance of focusing on the youth population in crime prevention efforts. "We have 38 million youth in Mexico.... They are the problem but also the solution. Homicide is the number one cause of death for men... We need to concentrate strategies on this factor," she emphasized.

According to Rendón, youth aged 15-19 years old are the ones exposed to the greatest level of risk. They face problems in education with high risk of dropping out, as well as employment. "There are no jobs designed for young people," she said, pointing out that Mexico took home the worst position amongst Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development countries for youth who are not employed nor go to school at 24.7 percent. "We need tailored-made policies for different kinds of people.... Youth are the main actors of these policies. Prevention is a process, not just an action," she affirmed, highlighting the need for public policies to consider youth as beneficiaries of action while focusing on developing programs that empowers them.

Reflecting on the work moving forward, Rendón said, "We now have a national program. We have learned from the lessons of the past. But we also have more challenges because we need to work with local authorities." Rendón concluded her presentation talking about the importance of continuing developing tools for crime prevention alongside the community with technology as an ally. "We are using community intelligence and technology... doing a special survey to get more information on risk factors including people's opinions. This is a communitarian diagnosis... we are systematizing everything," concluded Rendón, emphasizing the essential place of technology

and online social platforms in developing preventive models as well as making more informed decisions for future work.



Youth and Territorial Cultural Action to Reduce Social Inequalities

Marcus Faustino, Agência de Redes para Juventude, Rio de Janeiro – Brazil

Founder, Agency Network for the Youth

Director, Filmmaker and Writer

“I come from a family of popular origins. Growing up poor in Cesarão, I circulated the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro and the city,” said ‘Faustini, introducing his background. “I was punk, *funkeiro*, from the student movement. I followed the theology of liberation... My family thought I had mental problems. That’s how it goes when you are poor... the family concentrates in God and at work... they can’t understand that their kid wants to become an artist.” Faustini recounted a small portion of the rich life story that led him to work with youth education in Rio *favelas*. “The favela youth is viewed as lacking and not having anything... he is either ‘pure folklore’, or extremely talented. The youth in favela can be used by the government as a commodity... everyone looks at the *favela* youth and builds an image of this individual,” he asserted, highlighting the importance of constituting a change in relationship with the youth from popular origins.

Through his work at Agency Network for the Youth, Faustino helps the *favela* youth enter the social space of the city as a main character. “We knock on people’s doors asking: ‘How are you doing? What’s your idea?’ We go to the streets, to the churches, to the NGOs... we want to know if your idea can intervene in the territory,” he said, explaining the program’s focus on inviting the youth to take action in their communities.

The methodology is directed at youth aged 15-29. With the assistance of university students the youth develop their ideas in study programs, helping expand their network and their repertory. They are then invited to work with artists in the actual construction of the projects, which allows for strategies of creation to emerge. “The youth start thinking of themselves as a creator, and not just as mere recipients of knowledge; We are not ‘conscientizing’ the youth – they are conscious beings already. We only need a ‘potencialization’,” he explained.

Faustino explained that the Agency Network for the Youth works with diversity in the *favelas* and they are not focused solely on the “extraordinary” youth. “It’s impossible to work with the youth in ‘choir’... we need to customize this relationship,” he asserted. Expanding on some of the logistics of the methodology, Faustino pointed out that organization’s working-team participate in a permanent training every Tuesday, and that today, the program is comprised of over 132 staff members (80% resulting from projects developed within the program). Over 2,100 youth from 17 different Rio *favelas* have participated in the Agency Network for the Youth, including 600 that went through the entire experience. “We are helping produce another representation of the *favela* youth.... We are encouraging the youth to have institutional dialogue... to find the space for their voices to be heard,” he said, expanding on the individual and wider social transformation the project seeks to foster.

To conclude, Faustino shared some examples of projects developed by participant youth in the methodology, including a clothing brand that sells through the Internet; a community newspaper, including delivery of a free copy to every household; an online radio station; and a project that mapped out all pregnant youth in an entire community, developing a data set not even the government could produce. Eleven projects created at the organization have been formalized and have become NGOs. “A methodology of eight months has the power to reposition the youth within the social fabric of the city. The *favela* youth is the subject of the project, even though many still think they are only objects,” he said. “We need to keep building pedagogical tools.... It isn’t just about offering opportunities. The exchange of practices is important... higher education can help think of this cultural mediation as a space for collective creation,” he concluded, emphasizing the importance of keeping a linkage between academia and the development of educational work on the ground.



Keynote Speaker
Sergio Fajardo
Governor of Antioquia, Colombia

Governor Sergio Fajardo is known for having led a huge transformation in Medellin, bringing in educational and cultural centers to communities historically overshadowed by crime. In 2009, the

math professor turned politician, was named the best mayor in Latin America for the work he carried out in the city. In his talk, Fajardo, the current governor of Antioquia, expanded on some of the developments that took place in Medellin after he took office and now for Antioquia. Fajardo highlighted the rationality behind the political decisions he made alongside his colleagues.

According to the governor, politicians are at the core of development and change, because they are the ones who hold the power - the reason why he decided to join. Recounting the history of how he first got involved in politics, Fajardo explained that a little more than 15 years ago, around 50 people got together and recognized two things. First, that they had spent their lives only talking about how things should be done and second, that politicians are the ones who make the most important decisions in society, whether they liked it or not. “Most of the things in the sense we dream them, is in the power of politicians to carry them out... so we decided to enter politics... to win Medellin and change it!” he shared.

Fajardo shared how alongside his group of advisors and colleagues they were able to develop a plan of action for the city. “We got together these 50 people and wrote the concepts down carefully, then we took action. We showed how things can be done,” he said. “Every step that we take does not contradict the steps we took previously.... We don’t change principles depending on who we are talking to. We have been coherent and consistent so we can build trust,” he added, shedding light to some of the principles that are at the core of the work he seeks to carry out as a politician.

As for the development of the work on the ground, Fajardo described, “The way we did politics in Medellin was through walking. We went directly to the community; We smelled the city; We saw it; We touched it.... We did this for years and years,” he asserted explaining how he studied the community carefully with his group before deciding what actions to take and what the best approach would be.

From the collected experiences on the streets, Fajardo then introduced the three main issues that his administration decided to tackle: inequality, violence, and the culture of illegality. He continued to explain the steep rise of narco-trafficking-related activities in Colombia since the

1980's, and how that experience has led to an aggravation of the issue of violence along with the complexity of its causes. "The roots of the problem are entangled in such a way that you don't know what root belongs to what tree anymore. We can't solve the problem by doing a little bit here and a little bit there.... That is crucial in understanding the problems that we have in Latin America today," emphasized Fajardo, highlighting the need for problems related to violence and criminality to be tackled simultaneously.

Fajardo sees education as the engine for social transformation, a multifaceted sector that includes science, innovation, entrepreneurship and culture. For him, every single human being can learn and engage with knowledge, as long as they have good teachers and a platform in which education can take place. He believes society needs to move from fear to hope; changing public spaces so more opportunities for education are available are at the core of this change. "If we are all divided, fragmented, and scared... how can we get together?" he inquired.

The answer introduced by Fajardo lied in the creation of public spaces. "We have to change the skin of the city: We are going to change it with the public space," he said, explaining the rationale behind the development projects that, in addition to providing education, also sought to build a community amidst violence. "Building is associated with changing the skin of people. It means dignity for people. We needed to change the skin where violence had done what it had done. We have to connect.... If we are fragmented we have to put the pieces together," he added. Through an "inequality wall" exercise, Fajardo highlighted the many layers of obstacles that hinder social and economic development for millions of Latin Americans, reducing their chances for a successful life and driving some of them to the world of crime and illegality. Basically, the individual sees a wall. Opportunities are placed right behind it, but the individual doesn't see a way to get through the wall and reach them. Right on the side of the wall, there is a door that leads to the illegal and violent world.

Fajardo explained that, within this scenario, the individual then faces a dilemma: he/she can go through the side door and reach opportunities easily or just stare at the wall. Unfortunately, in the world of criminality, many decide to go through the side door then to spend their whole life trying to climb the high wall that might lead to a better life. "We have to narrow the (illegality) door as much as we can.... This door reflects on the society that we have. If the door is narrow, it

will be more difficult to get in. Then, we have to open doors in the wall (of opportunities) so people can see through them, and make sure whoever gets out from illegality don't get back," Fajardo said. Echoing some of the points made at the beginning of the presentation and tying it to possibilities for people to keep distant from the door of illegality, once again, Fajardo called attention to the importance of considering all variables when creating a government development project. "You have to understand the whole thing. Many good practices don't make much impact because they don't take everything into account," he said.

Fajardo also talked about the need to make policies real for people, to encourage participation through building trust. "When you put all development tools in a place and people can see and believe it, then they follow the path. When people see a path, they recognize their capabilities... they go and take the chance," he asserted. Preventive and educational programs are at the core of this new direction. Fajardo shared with the audience impressive pictures that illustrated the development of public educational centers promoted by his government in Medellin, including plans now for Antioquia. "We get into power to transform society and talk about human development," he said emphasizing the main element guiding his administration's work.

Fajardo highlighted his continuous goal to get communities to move around education, including incentives built around getting people excited about the possibility to get an educational center, as well as the transformation that can take in those spaces. "Communities have to compete for the project... this is a way to mobilize the community around education, like the Olympics. It's a contest, and a contest makes people react," he said explaining how communities have to come together and make a united effort in order to benefit from the facility. "We have to get people to dream about education.... We have to show that education can build things," he added.

To conclude his presentation, Fajardo once again recounted some of the dreams and hopes he shared with his colleagues at the beginning of this journey outside academia: "Fourteen years ago a group of people decided that they would transform society – the *indignados*. We said we would get into power... and we did! We gave ourselves the opportunity to dream, we changed our lives," he said. "We have obstacles every single day, but we strongly believe that we can build hope," he concluded, stressing his motivation and passion to keep moving forward.

Panel 6**Police Accountability and Gang Violence: Experiences in Western United States**

The Rialto Police Department Body-Worn Camera Experiment
Tony Farrar, Rialto Police – Rialto, CA
Police Chief, City of Rialto, CA

Chief Tony Farrar – one of the main players behind the first studies with cameras and policemen in the U.S. – began his presentation by expanding on the motives that led to the development of such an initiative. “There have been too many instances in which officer’s resort to the use of force. We decided to transform policing and accountability trust,” he explained. Farrar shared with the audience a drawing that a sixth grader sent him in which a police officer was tasing a person laying down on the ground.

He confessed the image in that little piece of paper made him question and think deeply about the way police officers were being portrayed, especially amongst the younger generation. He then decided to introduce cameras to officer’s uniforms to determine whether the two could mix. Expanding on some of the issues that led him to think seriously about making all possible efforts to carry out a work of this kind, Farrar said, “40-45 percent of cops are being sued annually, most for use of force. This cost millions to citizens... we also looked at public’s perception of the police. The media is not always our best friend either,” he confessed.

Chief Farrar moved on to explain the logistics behind the program – which went live on February 13th, 2012, and lasted for a year, made possible through a partnership with TASER International. The research design was based on random assignments, meaning that officers were chosen on specific days to wear the cameras, while others went out to the streets without the device. In 12 months, 988 shifts were separated into experiment and control, translating the work of 54 uniformed police officers on patrol. For the measurements, the work responsibilities were divided into teams: one accountable for tracking internal affairs investigations and the other for overseeing the software that records all incidents and use of force. Throughout the study, over

105,000 hours of police work were collected including 50,000 hours worth of data/video – available on evidence.com. “Cops can play it back and watch themselves,” added Farrar.

Farrar shared some of the questions that him and his team grappled with at the beginning of the experiment. “If we wear these cameras, are we going to be proactive? Can body-worn cameras reduce the number of complaints? What about the amount in the use of force?” he asked. The results from a year of experiment certainly provided rich evidence to answers some of those questions. In the year-long trial period ending in February of 2013 and the program was responsible for a drop of 88 percent in complaints against the police and a 60 percent drop in the use of force against civilians. Additionally, Farrar explains that because cops are now on camera and because civilians often times know they are being recorded, behavioral dynamics are also impacted. “Having a camera has something to do with the mindset of police and civilians... There were twice as many complaints when there was no camera... and cops did more when there were cameras,” he added.

To conclude his presentation, Farrar talked about some of the financial benefits brought about by the initiative including the fact that the program was also responsible for a huge reduction in court time for officers, saving significant amounts of money for the city and for civilians. “There is a huge cost savings on investigations and use of force.... That puts cops on the streets where they need to be,” he concluded, highlighting the importance of considering the major impact a system of this kind can have in security, the police-community relationship and the saving of costs.



Community Policing Tools to Combat Gangs and Violent Crime - COPS
Robert Chapman, U.S. Department of Justice
 Acting Deputy Director at the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of
 Community Oriented Policing Services – COPS

Robert Chapman, an important player behind the work carried out by the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) from the U.S. Department of Justice, began his talk by recapitulating some of the most important points highlighted throughout the two days of conference. “The necessity for transparency and openness when talking about issues of police legitimacy and

security became clear in these discussions. There are a number of parallels between what is happening in Latin America and what we face here in the United States,” he said, connecting the larger issues of the conference of Latin American countries to the difficult reality of many US cities. Chapman went over the history of COPS’ creation and expanded on some of the work carried out by the US Department of Justice Component. “The COPS office was created as part of the 1994 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act. It supports police officer hiring, applied research, demonstration projects, training and technical assistance, and regional and national discussions around critical issues,” he explained. Expanding on the police function within the broader society, and on the importance of building an effective model for community policing, Chapman said, “the very ability for police to perform their duty depends on community trust... and this holds a lot of relevance for me. We have differences, but we shared our vision about the role of the police in our society. Our emphasis is about advancing community policing,” he added. Chapman explained that COPS is a federal agency, not a law enforcement one.

In 1994, 10,000 additional police officers were sent out to patrol, but according to the deputy director, quantity does not translate to quality: “It isn’t just about more offices on the streets. It’s about what they do once they go out on the streets,” he said. In the 20 years since the program was established, many benefits have been identified related to its design, including support training of technical systems, and positive results that can be reached when innovation is promoted at the local without being dependent on federal support. Chapman hopes the model will continue influencing the way things are carried out moving forward and that police will engage in becoming even more responsive to the community they serve.

Chapman finished his presentation talking about the recent evolution within the concept of community policing in the U.S. According to him, the Department of Justice didn’t have a definition of community policing. There was a direction towards a common vision that didn’t exist and what existed was a shared understanding. In this sense, community policing in the U.S. has evolved and it’s now practiced in different ways. Chapman explained that with federal funding support, local agencies identify what crime issues they want to focus on and make use of different metrics to assess effectiveness. “The federal system wants to incentivize change,” he added.

COPS offer the largest library resource for practitioners, expanding in all crimes. An example of the work they carry out include a large-scale survey at the national level examining police practices involving 500 agencies and over 60,000 police officers. Explaining the rationale behind this initiative, Chapman asserted, “there hasn’t been a way for chiefs to understand what their police officers actually do.” Highlighting the impact this kind of research can have on improving the work carried out by the police in all fronts, he concluded stating, “The idea is that you can’t go to where you want to go unless you understand where you are.”



Preventing Youth Gang Violence: Evidence from Chicago
Aurelie Ouss, Chicago Crime Lab
Postdoctoral Researcher, Crime Lab, University of Chicago

“Many of the questions that we ask in Chicago are the same questions being asked in these different contexts,” said Aurelie Ouss. She connected the issues brought about by Latin American specialists in the conference to the U.S. For her, each incremental change matters, even though some of the policies and programs uncovered may only reduce violence by a few percentages. “There is no silver bullet and no solution to fix everything, but we are making progress,” she added. In her presentation, Ouss touched upon three main themes: Chicago crime lab’s work around policy; the bridge between academics and policy; and efforts to sync questions that are asked at the local/national level to research and academic work. Ouss explained that homicides in Chicago are geographically concentrated and highly related to gang violence. “Seventy percent of all homicides are gang-related... 45 percent of people that area arrested are or have been part of gangs,” she explained. Within this context, the Crime Lab works to generate rigorous evidence about what works, using data differently and effectively to talk about crime.

Echoing a point made earlier in the conference, Ouss stated, “Trying to fight gang culture is not effective – we need to tackle violence.” The researcher highlighted the need to address the factors that are directly impacting the escalation of violence. “Most homicides are gang-related, but when you look at what’s really going on, you see that those are based on street altercations – on people picking up on small things that can lead to death,” she explained as she was introducing work carried out in behavioral science and psychology that help address those issues.

According to Ouss, an effective approach to violence includes helping people deal with issues before resorting to violence. “The idea is to teach a young man at risk to reflect and wait before they take action,” she said, expanding on the results of a program evaluated in partnership with the lab’s *Becoming a Man Project*, which saw a reduction of 44 percent in violent crimes arrests amongst participants in a year. “The research side has the leverage to understand how programs can be continued and offer models that can be taken to other places,” she added.

Bringing in insights from behavioral sciences is particularly important because individuals tend to make systematic mistakes. “Knowing how people think will have more impact on the ground,” Ouss explained. Those psychological insights can help create institutions and contexts where people are less likely to commit felonies and resort to violence. “How can we get people to participate in those efforts,” she asked. “We need to learn how we can get people from where they are to where they want to be. If people see the way they behave, this might be useful such as in the Rialto project. The community doesn’t have feedback about positive things that happen.... Just thinking about ways to build this feedback more systematically can be helpful too,” added Ouss, expanding on measures and initiatives that can help make a difference in the work carried out.

Ouss finished her presentation with some remarks about predictive analytics and the use of reliable data in crime prevention and accountability. She mentioned the Chicago Data Portal and its wide availability of statistics and almost to-the-date figures about crimes in addition to many other government data open to the public. “Microdata enables us to take other metrics into account, and to also understand what might mediate other resorts,” she said. “Changes are small, but when they add up we can have big effects. We need to learn how to use resources. This, down the road, will lead to the crime reduction we all hope to get,” she concluded.

**This conference report was written by Veriene Melo, Research Assistant at the Program on Poverty and Governance (PovGov).*

***This document is based on a written record drafted during the conference and not on the official voice recordings from the event (the videos are available on the program’s website). Some quotes were slightly modified to assist with clarity in the writing process and coherence of the final document. Though not verbatim at times, the main ideas/meanings conveyed in the presentations and discussions were kept unchanged at all instances for all participants.*