

Adjusting National Budgets to Citizen Security Needs

Considerations regarding Citizen Security Policies and Budget Allocation in the Region

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Summary

The allocated budgets clearly state the citizen security policy. It may be noted that the region invests more in controlling and combating violence and crime than in rehabilitating and preventing the structural factors that generate violence.

Case studies in Peru, Chile, and Ecuador show that the budgets allocated to security consider, at best, Police, Justice, and Rehabilitation costs. None of these studies consider investments in primary structural factors (population at large) or secondary structural factors (social groups at risk of committing crimes). This may be due to the difficulties in State intersectoral planning owing to the size of each sector.

A common factor in Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries is the high levels of inequality in income distribution; a large part of the population lives in chronic poverty. In this context, we need to visualize inequality as an act of violence of the economic system against most of the population, thus leading to all the effects of violence; death, illness, psychological trauma, development disorders, deprivation, etc. We need to approach violence and crime as manifestations of a historical context involving unequal political, cultural, social, and economic interactions.

Except for Cuba, insecurity and violence have increased in the LAC Region since the 1980s, concurrently with the main structural adjustments brought about by neoliberal economic policies that dismantled the State and its actual capacity to intervene. This economic policy proposal failed, as evidenced by its consequences, namely greater inequality and rising insecurity in the Region. The population that is most affected by violence is that suffering from exclusion. In the case of Ecuador, a study on homicide in 2008 demonstrates that 75.8% of murder victims had low educational levels. The incidence of homicide in higher educational levels is very low.

Citizen security policies should regard violence as a complex phenomenon the origins of which may be attributed to manifold psychological, biological, economic, social, and cultural factors, and which warrants a multidimensional approach. One of the most serious problems related to the high violent crime rates in the region is the tendency toward the securitization of politics and the politization of security, in addition to the citizens' willingness to accept tough policies that violate rights and freedoms, and the lack of comprehensive citizen security policies.

Policies should seek to provide solutions in the medium and long run to structural issues ranging from a development model that may reduce the levels of inequality (one of the causes of insecurity) to transforming violent socio-cultural patterns, education, health, employment, support to population at risk, strengthening of social capital. However difficult these goals may be to implement in practice, it is essential to attain them. Other aspects to be considered include the rise of international organized crime and gender inequality in social and economic policies. In sum, no improvement will occur while a large part of the population remains excluded; witness to this is the steady growth in violence and crime in the region for the last twenty years.

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1. National budgets to tackle citizen security in the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region: they neither wholly reflect the issue nor equitably serve the institutional system in charge of managing it.

"Budgets are defined according to power relations that are eventually expressed in public policies. This means that their approval is obtained based on a correlation of forces between different players and on the demands of the population. But it is also related to the institutional allocation of resources in accordance with socially-constructed priorities (political agenda), and to the prevailing institutional framework."²

The allocated budgets clearly state the citizen security policy, and it may be noted that the region invests more in controlling and combating (both factors triggering crime), next in justice, and finally in rehabilitating and preventing the structural factors that generate violence. Ecuador's case, with information on different years, attests to this situation.

Year	Allocated budgets over different years (Ecuador)	Amount in USD
2011	National Police ³	981,596,062
2010	National Police	885,627,145
2010	Judicial System	301,521,220
2006	Judicial System ⁴	132,375,800
2010	Social Rehabilitation ⁵	44,555,467
2005	Social Rehabilitation ⁶	2,848,044
2010	Modernization of National Police and Citizen Security ⁷	103,102,339
2010 and 2011	Gender violence prevention and care of the youth at risk ⁸	5,621,628

An overall analysis of the *Citizen Security Program for the Management of Development Results* (2010) of the Ministry of the Interior, which manages the Government resources allocated to security, shows that 2.83%⁹ of the total is assigned to gender violence prevention and care, while [only] 0.05% corresponds to the care of the youth at risk.

The issue of intersectoral planning for citizen security

Case studies in Peru and Chile show that the budgets allocated to security consider, at best, Police, Justice, and Rehabilitation costs. None of these studies consider investments in primary structural factors (population at large) or secondary structural factors (social groups at risk of committing crimes). This may be due to the difficulties in state intersectoral planning owing to the size of each sector.

2. A wealth-oriented economic model that generates violence and citizen insecurity in the LAC region

Violence shatters lives and imposes a high economic cost on society. According to results of the seventh report of the World Health Organization (WHO), some countries assign more than 4% of their GDP to treat violence-related injuries.

A common factor in LAC countries is the significant inequality in income distribution: A large part of the population lives in chronic poverty. Global inequality is estimated at 0.63%, with "the income of the richest 20% in the world being 28.7% times higher than the income of the poorest 20%."¹⁰

In this context, we need to see inequality as an act of violence carried out by the economic system against most of the population, thus leading to all the effects of violence: death, illness, psychological trauma, development disorders, and deprivation. We need to approach violence and crime as manifestations of a historical context (unequal political, cultural, social, and economic interactions).

² CARRIÓN, F. and DAMMERT M., Compiladores. "Economía Política de la Seguridad Ciudadana" FLACSO-Quito, 2009.

³ www.policiaecuador.gob.ec.

⁴ Judicial Statistics in Latin America: http://estadistica.tsjdf.gob.mx/portal/docs/Anuario2011/capitulo_6.pdf.

⁵ General Government Budget (2010): <http://bi.finanzas.gob.ec/ibmcognos/cgi-bin/cognos.cgi>.

⁶ http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session1/EC/CEDHU_ECU_UPR_S1_2008anx_SISTEMA%20PENITENCIARIO%20ECUATORIANO.pdf.

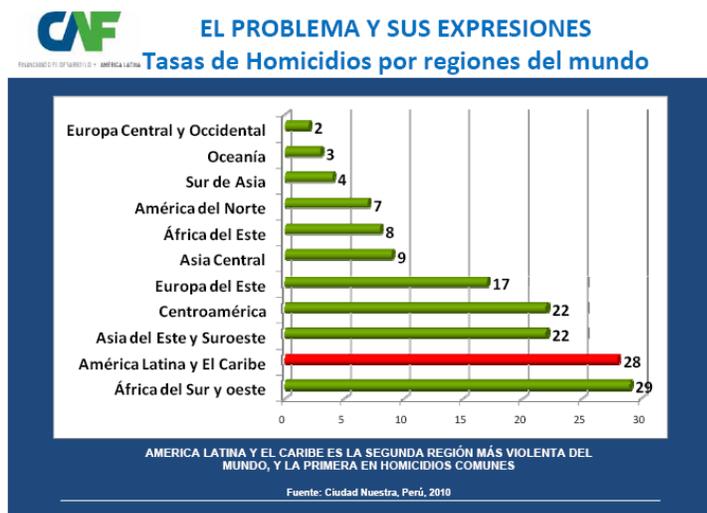
⁷ It does not include the budget allocated to the National Police.

⁸ This value is assigned in the *Programa de Seguridad Ciudadana por Gestión para resultados de desarrollo* del Ministerio del Interior (2010 /11). It does not include the budget allocated for the management of the National Gender Board or the Police Department Offices for Women and Families.

⁹ 2.83% corresponds to USD 5,512,628

¹⁰ <http://www.uv.es/asepuma/XIV/comunica/51.pdf>

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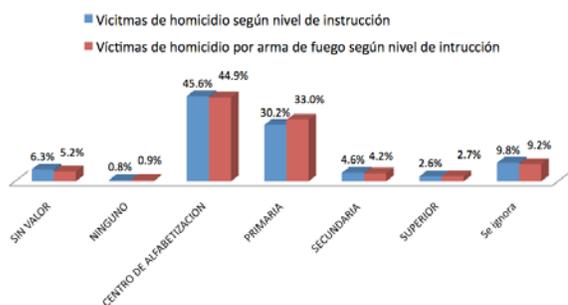


Crime and violence are related to an increase in inequality, to a growing limitation in social opportunities, and to an insufficient control by government institutions; corruption, police incapacity, impunity associated with inefficiency, limited legislation in force, non-existent (or inadequate) prevention public policy, deficiency of the penitentiary system (does not offer interns the possibility of rehabilitation/reinsertion), all of which imposes high economic, social, and political costs; erosion of social capital (violence undermines trust and cooperation among individuals and society groups), transmission of violence through generations, reduced quality of life, and a menace to the democratic system itself (San Juan, Ana María. 2010).

The Problem and Its Symptoms - Homicide Rates per Regions in the World

Latin America and the Caribbean is the second most violent region in the world and ranks first in homicidios comunes (murder of the first degree) / Source: Ciudad Nuestra, Peru, 2010

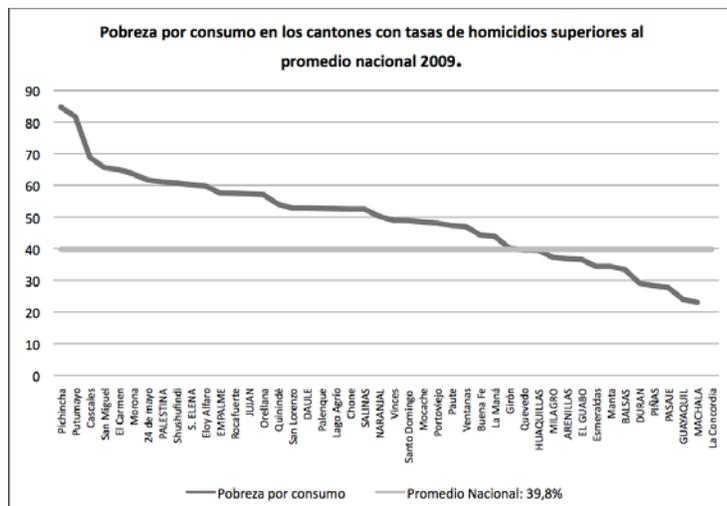
Homicidio según nivel de intrucción 2008



As shown in the next graph, the population most affected by violence is that suffering from exclusion. In the case of Ecuador, a study on homicide in 2008 demonstrates that 75.8% of murder victims had low educational levels (only pre-school and primary education). The incidence of homicide in higher educational levels is very low.¹¹

Homicide Rate Based on Educational Level 2008

Homicide victims based on educational level / Homicide victims per firearm based on educational level Negligible – None – Pre-school – Primary School – Secondary School – Advanced Education - N/A



Another indicator in this study on the relationship between exclusion and homicidal violence is the correlation found between homicide rates and the poorest districts in the country. Nearly 70% of the districts with a homicide rate higher than the national average have a CPI-based poverty rate above such average. Finally, the study reveals that 55.6% of the districts with a homicide rate over the national average are above the national extreme poverty line average.

CPI-based poverty rate in districts with a homicide rate higher than the national average 2009
CPI-based poverty - National Average: 39.8%

¹¹ Estrella, Carla. Estudio sobre el Homicidio en el Ecuador realizado para el Ministerio del Interior, 2010.

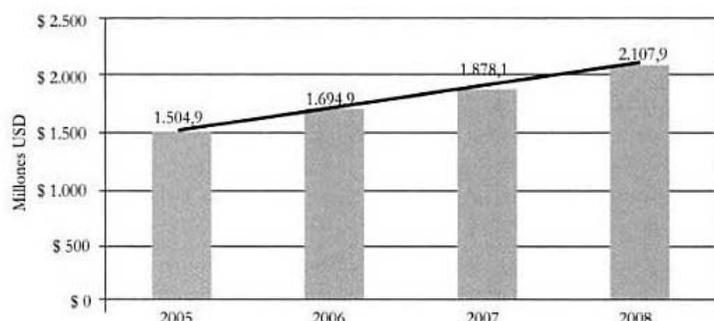
3. Budget and Citizen Security in some Countries in the Region: The cases of Chile and Peru

CHILE:

Between 1997 and 2006, the Central Government increased investment in Order and Security by 161.7% (from 727 million in 1997 to 1898 in 2007). The national GDP fluctuated between 1.1% and 1.3%¹², which resulted in a decrease in victimization [43.0% (2003), 38.3% (2005), and 34.8% (2007)].

Gráfico 8

Presupuesto total del gasto público en seguridad ciudadana (2008)



Graph 8
Overall Budget for Public Expenditure on Citizen Security
In USD Million
Source: Personal compilation based on DIPRES (2008)

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en DIPRES (2008).

PERU

“Peru is going through an extraordinary economic growth period that started in 2002. The annual growth rate of the Peruvian economy in the last 6 years has been on the order of 5%. In 2007, the GDP increased by 8.3%, the highest in the last 12 years. [...] it can be asserted that this economic bonanza, which only benefits the most privileged sectors, has not succeeded in reducing either social conflict or inequality, or the perception of insecurity...”¹³

The study analyzes the behaviour of reports filed at the National Police on crimes, offences, and murders (1999/2006), and the budget of the Ministry of the Interior to prevent and combat crime and investigate and report the crimes, offences, and murders committed in the country.¹⁴ The data for the research were obtained from the Financial Administration System of the Ministry of Economy; although the information is reliable, the organization of budget items is untidy and citizen security activities appear in a confused manner, which hampers efficient analysis.

The economic boom started in 2002, and minor offences (street robbery, theft of motor vehicles and accessories, micro trade and drug consumption, gang activity, pimping, domestic violence or sexual abuse) increased between 1999 and 2006 from 147,975 to 232,504. They occur at a steady frequency and affect all layers of society (Yépez Dávalos. 2004).

Total budget versus budget for the interior

Year	Total National Budget	Budget for the Interior	% of Total Budget
1999	9,451,865,893.49	710,565,333.14	7.5%
2000	9,755,244,425.50	795,468,043.27	8.2%
2001	10,203,356,472.57	837,360,487.71	8.2%
2002	10,393,710,831.71	753,485,849.43	7.2%
2003	12,828,820,260.81	823,037,081.56	6.4%
2004	12,937,063,710.26	866,356,809.38	6.7%
2005	15,011,295,513.07	972,510,585.11	6.5%
2006	15,506,789,539.94	1,013,769,211.59	6.5%
2007	19,879,672,790.97	1,223,592,172.58	6.2%

Source: SIAF, Ministry of Economy and Finance of Peru (MEF)¹⁵.

“From 2000 to 2004 reports of murders almost tripled, going from 5,900 to 15,168. Now and for the first time, a citizen security policy has been implemented known as National Citizen Security System, which

¹² Carrión, F. & Dammert, M. “Economía Política de la Seguridad Ciudadana”, 2009. Page 67.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Law of the Ministry of the Interior on the political economy of citizen security. Page 82.

¹⁵ Prepared by Alejandra Muñoz González (based on the Opening Institutional Budget) in “Economía Política de la Seguridad Ciudadana” by Fernando Carrión & Manuel Dammert, Compilers, 2009.

has provided more police surveillance and patrolling, thus reducing the possibilities of committing street crimes in 2005/06. [...] as the economy has improved, reports of serious offences and murders have seemingly decreased in recent years. On the other hand, minor offences have increased in the same period, which challenges the efficient implementation of the citizen security policy at all state levels.”¹⁶

4. Considerations regarding citizen security policies and budget allocation in the region

“Violence is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon rooted in numerous psychological, biological, economic, social, and cultural factors. The phenomena occurring concurrently with violent behaviour always go across the boundaries between the individual, the family, the community, and society. It is useful to categorize violence for its analysis and for designing and implementing policies aimed at preventing and controlling one or a combination of different forms of violence.”¹⁷

According to research, violence generated an aggregate cost equivalent to 14.2% of the regional GDP, and the losses of human capital caused by murder were nearly 2%.¹⁸ Related health costs (% of GDP) in Central and South American countries totalled: 1.9% in Brazil, 4.3% in Colombia, 4.3% in El Salvador, 1.3% in Mexico, 1.5% in Peru, and 0.3% in Venezuela.¹⁹

Security policies in most countries are oriented toward the strengthening of capacities of security agencies, with attempts to reform and modernize the police (which have generally remained incomplete or with questionable or unsatisfactory results), to improve the collection and classification of criminal records, to develop national prevention strategies and plans (which have been very limited, non-intersectoral, and with insufficient budget allocation), to strengthen the judicial systems (still very limited), to execute municipal development and prevention plans (with few resources assigned), to focus on domestic violence (with insufficient budget allocation and results that are difficult to assess due to non-existent baselines to help policy evaluation), and to organize citizen participation (few results and little clarity in the role of citizens regarding security).

The goals attained are mixed and limited in most cases, given the existing violence figures. In today’s scenario, in addition to the doubts concerning “success” cases, it is evident that drug consumption, as reported by all UN agencies, has increased in almost all the countries in the region (San Juan, Ana María, 2010).

A basic premise for the formulation of public policies on citizen security is the respect for human dignity, human rights, and fundamental freedoms. A serious problem related to the high violent crime rates in the region is the tendency toward securitization of politics and politization of security, in addition to the citizens’ willingness to accept tough policies that violate rights and freedoms, and the scarce number of comprehensive citizen security policies.

This lack of wholeness in security policies is due to structural factors (lack of social policies, difficult intersectoral coordination typical of the governments in the region). Owing to citizen pressure to have prompt and visible results, interventions are more context-dependent, political and non-technical, more repression-oriented (vote-catching and more visible) than geared to prevention (which requires structural interventions in the medium and long run as a development model that may reduce the levels of inequality), interventions to transform violent socio-cultural patterns, education, health, employment, support to population at risk, or to strengthen the social capital, which in practice are hard to implement.

Another key element to be considered in policies is the rise of international organized crime that permeates politics, governments, or government institutions, which due to their institutional weakness become easy preys. An example of this situation is found in the drug cartels in Mexico and Colombia.

Gender inequality in social and economic policies is another factor affecting violence, as domestic violence is predominantly against women. According to the PAHO “World Report on Violence”, “one of the most common forms of violence against women is that performed by a husband or intimate male partner”. The fact that women often have ties of affection with the man that abuses them and depend economically on him has great influence on the dynamics of abuse. In 48 population-based surveys from around the world, between 10% and 69% of women reported being physically assaulted by an intimate male partner at some point in their lives. The percentage of women who had been assaulted by a partner in the previous 12 months varied from 3% to 52% depending on the country.

¹⁶ CARRIÓN, F. & DAMMERT, M., Compilers “Economía Política de la Seguridad Ciudadana”, 2009.

¹⁷ M. Buvinic, A. Morrison & M.B. Orlando. *Violencia, crimen y desarrollo social en América Latina y el Caribe*, 2007. Page 319.

¹⁸ Cfr. Londoño, Juan Luis; Guerrero, Rodrigo, *Violencia en América Latina, Epidemiología y Costos*, Working Paper R-375, Research Network, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), 1999

¹⁹ Cfr. World Health Organization: <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2004/pr40/es/index.html>.

3% or less of women from	27% of women who occasionally had a partner in	38% of married women in	52% of married women in
Australia	León-Nicaragua	Republic of Korea	Palestine, West Bank and
Canada			
USA			

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) of the UNDP “Human Development Report” (2010), estimated for 138 countries, shows that gender inequality still causes high human losses in our region.²⁰ Additionally, there are other factors involved in citizen insecurity that should be taken into account when establishing policies²¹:

- Environmental and urban factors.
- Social and economic factors; low schooling, unemployment, overcrowding, unsatisfied basic and consumption needs, possession of arms, social fabric deterioration, consumer behaviours that create unattainable lifestyles.
- Political and institutional factors.
- Historical factors.
- Cultural factors; prevalence of a patriarchal culture with colonial traits at all levels.
- Individual factors (inherent to the person; gender, age, biological and physiological characteristics, family environment). The criminal career starts within the family at an early age.²²
- Domestic-family factors (household size and density, records of domestic violence, insufficient child control and surveillance, ineffective parenting, school dropout and unemployment, low socioeconomic level). Alcohol and drugs are identified as instigators or ‘facilitators’ of this phenomenon.²³
- School factors.

5. Success experiences in reducing violence and crime in some countries in the world

- “Misión Bogotá” Program (Bogota, Mayor Antanas Mokus): for population at risk (i.e., persons coming out of social rehabilitation centers, prostituted women). They were trained as Citizen Guides to work with the Municipality in citizen education. The program had excellent results and very low recidivism rates among these Guides.
- “Corazones Azules” (Ecuador) and “Estrellas Negras” (Bogota) Campaigns: road accidents decrease.
- Quito: decrease in homicides.
- Comprehensive Care Centers for abused women.
- United States: implementation of family prevention strategies (home visits). Early prevention of antisocial behaviour in children and youth, resulting from abuse, neglect, and inadequate parenting. The program sends trained nurses and other agents to teach pregnant women or mothers with children between 0 and 2 years old different skills to raise their children and how to deal with depression, anger, impulsiveness, and drug consumption. [The studies conducted showed a reduction of 79% in child abuse and neglect among poor mothers (Olds et al., 1997) (...) teens whose mothers had received home visits had 60% less probability of escaping; 55% less probability of being arrested, and 80% less probability of committing crimes than those teens whose mothers had no visits (Olds et al., 1998)].

Lessons complemented with weekly visits by preschool teachers are another good strategy to reduce violence among young children (similar to the home visits). Also, this approach makes parents and children aware of violence prevention; the work conducted by school staff continues at home so that the continuity of the process is somewhat ensured. It has been noted that providing services of this kind to children under 5 reduces arrests at least until the age of 15 (Lally et al., 1988) and 19 (Berrueta-Clement et al., 1985). Furthermore, family therapy and parent training on preadolescent delinquents and teens at risk help reduce aggression and hyperactivity, which are both risk factors for delinquency.²⁴

²⁰ UNDP. Human Development Report 2010. The GII indicates shortfalls in reproductive health, empowerment, and labor market participation: http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2010_EN_Chapter5_reprint.pdf.

²¹ Classification based on the presentation by Lara Blanco, San José, UNDP, 2004.

²² LOEBER, 1998. *Caminos a la delincuencia*. In *Elementos para una Criminología Local*. 2003. Page 291.

²³ World Bank, *Guía didáctica para Municipios: Prevención de la delincuencia y la violencia a nivel comunitario en las ciudades de América Latina*. 2003. Page 8.

²⁴ World Bank, *Guía didáctica para Municipios: Prevención de la delincuencia y la violencia a nivel comunitario en las ciudades de América Latina*. 2003. Page 72.