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Societal Responses to Crime and Insecurity: Contradictory Approaches of Civic Associations about Public Safety and Policing in Mexico

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Abstract

Democratization and civil society literature lean the impression that public mobilization has been pro democracy reform of the state, including institutions like the police. But, when we actually look at the current goals and activities of current associations working on public safety and policing, we see that many people do not want democratic institutions at all, but an iron hand.

This proposal looks at how rise in crime and insecurity in Mexico has unleashed contradictory responses on the part of civil associations. Much has been said about their proliferation and growth and their positive effect in the democratizations process in 1990s. Less has been said about the authoritarian or antidemocratic character of some of them. Civic society is not always civic. This project takes a magnifying glass to look at contradictory responses from civil society regarding issues of public safety and policing and seeks to analyze civil society participation contributes to democratize, or not, public safety and policing in Mexico.

Introduction

This research aims to study civil society participation in public safety and policing in Mexico. It seeks to explain why civil society has had very contradictory responses to issues of public safety and policing, some of them not democratic. I study the types of participation of civil society organizations in terms of their own conceptions of public security and policing and in their politics. In particular, I seek to analyze how civil society participation contributes to democratize, or not, public safety and policing in Mexico¹.

I attempt to analyze a new state and society relation, in which policing and security have become central elements of interaction between civil society and the state—police as a mediator/link between both. This research analyses state and society relationship by focusing on the way citizen organizations mobilize and affect state services in the area of public safety and policing. I see public safety as a social service responsibility of the state and society as an active recipient of that service. Although problems of policing and public safety are in great extent institutional problems, civil society can have an essential role in pushing reforms toward more democratic forms of policing. Civil society by itself cannot change policing and public safety without institutional reform. Nonetheless, I see civil society having the potential of playing a central role in: 1) supervising state policing work and serving as a social accountability mechanism²; 2) providing better information

¹ In this research I understand as a “democratic” policing, a policing that is responsive to citizens needs of security, accountable for its actions, and that respects the rights of citizens. For related works see: Stone, Christopher E. and Heather H. Ward, “Democratic Policing: A Framework for Action,” Policing and Society vol. 10 (2000): 11-45; Errol P. Mendes, Joaquin Zuckberg, Susan Lecorre, Anne Gabriel, Jeffrey A. Clark, Democratic Policing and Accountability: Global Perspectives. England: Ashgate, 1999; Rachel Neilds, “Democratic Police Reforms in War-Torn Societies,” Conflict, Security, and Development: 1-43; Rachel Neilds, “Sustaining Reform: Democratic Policing in Central America,” WOLA-Citizen Security Monitor (October 2002): 1-36.

² Accountability is defined in different manners. Nonetheless, in general terms it is possible to say that it implies answerability of state institutions, and the enforcement of the law. Significant number of research has focused on the institutional--or horizontal--and societal--or vertical--mechanism of political accountability. In general, most of the research on the rule of law centers on the state, in particular in the different mechanism of institutional or horizontal accountability. Guillermo O'Donnell in "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies" defines horizontal accountability as "the existence of state agencies that are legally enable and empowered, and factually willing and able, to take actions that span from routine oversight to criminal sanctions or impeachment in relation to actions or omissions by other agents or agencies of the state that may be qualified as unlawful (38.)" In this research, I do not argue for eliminating

about crime; 3) creating links between societal needs and perceptions and state institutions; 4) pushing for institutional reforms; 4) pushing for changes in laws and legislation; 5) expanding knowledge in the area of citizen security and policing.

Based on the findings of my pre-dissertation fieldwork, I argue that there are three major conflicting notions of understanding and approaching issues of citizen security and policing among civil society organizations in Mexico. I called these three ways of understanding security and policing: anti-crime approach, human rights approach and participatory approach. These diverse conceptions of security and policing make the politics (type of activism) of these organizations quite different too: they seek different solutions through different types of activism. My hypothesis is that these types of activism—based on these different ways of perceiving problems/solutions—shape their relationship to the state and has implications for democratizing policing.

In short, I see civil society participation having the potential of improving the quality of democracy and rule of law in Mexico by making policing more efficient and responsive to citizen needs. At the same time, this study also examines how civil society can also promote antidemocratic forms of policing when groups are not committed to the rule of law, basic human rights, and democratic principles, questioning the assumption that civil society is essentially democratic.

This research analyses civil society politics concerning public safety and policing through the light of three cases. My cases are three organized groups of civil society: México Unido contra la Delincuencia, Movimiento Pro Vecino, and the Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez.

It intends to study the ways in which citizen action does have an impact in democratizing policing. In doing so, this research aims to contribute to the democratization literature by including into the analysis of democratic governance policing and citizen security issues. This is central because despite the advances in other areas of governance, new

state policing or governmental oversight mechanisms (horizontal accountability), but I consider that both societal and state mechanisms of accountability are needed to improve the quality of the public security institutions.

democracies in Latin America have not brought security, justice, and the respect of the rule law to their citizens. Nonetheless, this research includes these issues in a very specific manner by centering in civil society not in the state institutions. It intends to illuminate the ways in which civil society can improve public safety and further democratize Mexican institutions, in particular the police.

Context: Public Insecurity Policing, and Citizen Participation in Mexico

One of the main problems that new democracies in Latin America have to face is the dramatic increment of criminality and the lack of responsive and accountable police forces to effectively answer this problem. In Mexico, democratization has not brought an equally democratic process in the area of public security and policing. Policing is still very inefficient, corrupt, and unaccountable to citizens. Studies show that the most distrusted state institution in Mexico is the police, as well the most involve in corruption³. Besides, there is a great problem with impunity since most citizens do not report crimes to the authorities⁴, because of distrust to the authorities, fear, or simple skepticism.

This is particularly worrisome when one of the first state institutions that society interacts is the police. In Mexico, the retreat of the state from welfare state has meant that the most visible arm of the state is the police. Also, the police are the closest most people will get to the justice system. Yet, despite this increasing important role, police and the public safety institutions are the ones that have been less transformed during the transition to democracy. This is part can be the result that public safety has not been

³ Transparencia Mexicana in its National Survey on Corruption and Governance (2003) shows that police are the state institution that is perceived to be most corrupt in Mexico. This tendency is true not only for perception, but also for frequency of corruption. In the same study they show that police has the highest frequency (80%) among all state institutions in Mexico. Demonstrating somewhat similar results, a Gallup study shows that just 18% of Mexican citizens trust the police. In the same study, Mexican police is not only the least trusted institution in the country, but also one of the less trusted police forces in all Latin America. See: Gallup Argentina, *Estudio de Opinión Pública Confianza en las Instituciones*. Argentina: Gallup Argentina-CIMA, Julio 2002; Transparencia Mexicana, *Encuesta Nacional de Corrupción y Buen Gobierno*. Mexico: Transparencia Mexicana, 2003.

⁴ Recent studies by Instituto Ciudadano de Estudios sobre la Inseguridad show that almost 75% of the crimes are not reported to the authorities. In the same studies show that in Mexico City the largest incidence crimes are: assaults to an individual, commerce or vehicle; sexual assault; and kidnappings and express kidnappings, ICESI, *Violencia e Impunidad en México*, Mexico, DF: ICESI, October, 2002. <http://www.icesi.org.mx/violencia.htm>

seen in Mexico as public policy, but as something apart, something that takes place with almost no public scrutiny. The increase in the levels of criminality and in turn in the increasing level of involvement of civil associations is pressing the state to reverse this tendency, although it is not very clear if the reform of the public safety institutions is moving to a more democratic form of policing.

The lack of confidence in the state institutions in charge of maintaining public security and the extended criminality contribute to the feeling of lawlessness and insecurity of Mexican citizens and in some respect to distrust of democratic institutions. As Rachel Neild argues “police conduct is a stark manifestation of the state’s relationship with its citizens.” (Neild, 2000: 22.) If this is the case, policing in Mexico needs to become responsive to citizens’ needs and demands, respectful to human rights of citizens, and accountable to other institutions of the state as well as society in order to be democratic.

Due to the dramatic increment of criminality in the late 1990s and the failure of institutions to correctly address this problem, national and local democratic governments have implemented reforms to the public security apparatus, mainly the police. In Mexico, the combination of high crime, societal wariness of the police and party politics have channeled most reform efforts into improving coordination. Police reform in Mexico has centered mainly on improving rather than curtailing police work. It has focused on transforming laws and codes; in restructuring different police agencies; and integrating them in a common public policy on public security (Macias and Castillo, 2002: 53.) Yet, despite these efforts, crime rates, public perception of insecurity, and police performance are still the main problems of the country. Mexican police forces are badly trained, lack sufficient accountability mechanism, and are highly distrusted by citizens due to their involvement in corruption and human rights abuses.

Despite common allegations of police involvement in corruption and human rights abuses and the fact that law enforcement institutions are highly distrusted by Mexican citizens, formal social mechanism of accountability and citizen involvement in policing has had a marginal character in the state driven reform. Police reform has not sought to establish a

new police-community relationship, based on the provision of security as a public service although it is included in the Mexican Constitution⁵. There have been some state efforts to involve citizens in the issue of public security in institutionalized setting through the creation of Neighborhood Committees of Public Security and the Direction of Citizen Participation in both the National and the Federal District Public Securities Secretaries. Nonetheless, the success of these efforts has gotten very questionable results and has had a limited citizen involvement on them.

Consequently, citizen participation has emerged throughout Mexican society in the form of citizen association, citizen councils, and citizen research institutions. At least a dozen such organizations exist today in Mexico. The three organizations that I planned to research have been created to give some answers to different and interrelated problems: high criminality, citizen perception of insecurity, distrust in the police, and violation of human rights by police forces, among others.

Three Civil Society Approaches to Public Security and Policing

Public insecurity and bad policing are understood in different way in Mexican society. These different conceptions of what the problems and solutions are shape what these organizations consider that they can do about them. In short, different conceptions of security and policing determine how civil society participates (their politics). In turn, these different forms of participation have different impact in democratizing public security and policing. Based on my pre-dissertation study in which I did a mapping of all organizations from civil society working in Mexico City today, I see civil society approaching issue of public security and policing in Mexico in three different ways. I have named these three approaches: the anti-crime approach, the human rights approach, and the participatory approach. (See table # 1)

Table # 1

⁵ The article 21 of the Mexican Constitution indicates that public security is a service of the state in its three levels of government: federal government, federal district and the states, and the municipalities.

Type of Approach: Perceived problem (main concern)	Perceived Solutions	Response of the state they seek or promote:
<u>Anticrime Approach:</u> -High incidence of crime -Corruption of public security institutions -Police inefficiency and lack of modernization -Inadequate legislation and laws to fight crime	-Public security policy change -More police -Modernization of police institutions -Improve training -Modification of current legislation: tougher laws	Responsiveness to citizens' security needs
<u>Human Rights Approach:</u> -Violent police behavior -Criminalization (profiling) of particular sectors of society -Inadequate legislation to defend rights -Effects of inequality in criminal justice system	-Promotion and defense of human rights -Reforms to criminal laws and procedures -Institutional reform of criminal justice system -Training police about human rights	Respect and expansion of citizen rights
<u>Participatory Approach:</u> -Disintegration social tides -Deficiency in state social services -High incidence of crime -Insufficient citizen engagement (participation in policing)	-Citizens' involvement in policing -Social accountability of policing -Creating social tides among citizens -Create trust among the	Accountability of state public security services

-Community physical appearance	community -Change physical appearance of the community (neighborhoods)	
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The anti-crime approach perceives that the main problem is the high number of crimes that take place. It alludes to the inefficient and corruption of public security institutions, mainly the police, as major problem. Moreover, it argues that current legislation and procedure have been used by criminals to carry their activities without being punished. Contrasting with state institutions, criminals, in this account, have improved the way they operate and are seen as profiting from state incapacity. Consequently, this understanding of security and policing see the solution in modernizing police institutions—increasing the number of police, equipment, training—and in reforming laws and criminal procedures and make them “tougher.”

The human rights approach see the problem of security and policing also in great extent as institutional and legal problems, but its understanding of the problem is quite different. The main concern is not with criminals, but with police and the state official administering justice. It focuses on police brutality and impunity and it considers that state governments have answered the problem of perceived insecurity with policies that tolerate or promote serious human rights violations. This approach generally sees current problem of public safety and policing as result of weak notion of citizenship, in which hierarchies matter and the life of some people seems to have different worth, depending on the social strata and race. As a result, solutions of the problem of security and policing are considered being the promotion and defense of rights, and reforms to the laws and the criminal justice system.

The participatory approach perceives the problems and the solutions in both the state and society. It considers that high criminality is the problem of institutional failure, but also

of the disintegration of social ties among urban citizens. The state is inefficient and corrupt and does not offer the services needed to guarantee the security: enough police, public lighting, cleaning and maintenance of urban environment. Citizens in this account should create tighter links among them by organizing to make the state accountable for the services it provides by constant meeting and feedback. Nonetheless, this approach conceives that citizens have to take an active role in the provision of the needed social services: participating in policing, cleaning common areas, install lighting, etc.

I intend to examine how these three approaches to public security and policing also seek and promote different responses from the state and with what consequences for democracy. In a preliminary manner, I foresee the anti-crime approach pushing for responsiveness to citizens' security needs; the human rights approach contributing to the respect citizen rights by both the police and the criminal justice system; and participatory approach promoting social accountability of the police.

Case studies

As mentioned above, this research aims to examine civil society involvement in public safety and policing through the light of three civic associations in Mexico. Based on my pre-dissertation fieldwork, I found that generally most civil society participation in public safety and policing in Mexico centers on three major types of activism: anticrime approach, human rights approach, and participatory approach⁶. I selected three organizations from a dozen of civil society organizations that are working in the issue of policing and public safety in Mexico today because they represent best these three different forms of understanding and approaching issues of citizen security and policing⁷. These organizations are: México Unido contra la Delincuencia, Movimiento Pro Vecino, and the Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez. It is important to

⁶ This active involvement and participation in public security does not mean that these organizations intend to police the streets, but that they organize and participate in improving common public areas, in deciding main security needs and preventive measures of the community, and in maintaining close contact with police and other state institutions.

⁷ This research centers solely in Mexico, but it has implications for discussions of public security, policing, and citizen participation for other new democracies in Latin America.

mention that although one organization may emphasize one specific objective-type over others—human rights advocacy, for instance—I consider that they can mobilize around other goals too. While selecting my cases, I also eliminated from my study the organizations that have been working for less than two years and the associations that do not work in Mexico City.

Mexico Unido Contra la Delincuencia/the anticrime approach

Mexico Unido contra la Delincuencia (Mexico United against Criminality) was created in 1997 in response to the high levels of criminality and unsolved cases of kidnappings and killings. Formed by upper and middle classes it began as a spontaneous movement to demonstrate against criminality and the corruption and inefficiency of police work, soon after evolved as an organized association that created the first march against criminality that counted with a million and half people⁸ and made that presidential candidates in the 2000 federal election had to present a specific program against criminality. Mexico Unido contra Delincuencia has become an important lobbying group for reform of the criminal law and the police (mainly the investigative police).

Movimiento Pro Vecino/the participatory approach

The Movimiento Pro Vecino (Pro Neighbor Movement) is a civil association formed by 7000 neighbors to improve the quality of life of the citizens of the Mexico City (both the Federal District and the Metropolitan Area in other municipalities in the Estado de Mexico). Although they are interested in improving quality of life, their program centers on improving public security of neighborhoods. They do so by organizing neighbors in forums and courses, in creating neighborhood alarms, and in working together to improve the physical appearance of the neighborhoods—by installing privately purchasing streets lamps, painting walls, and cutting trees—to discourage criminals. Besides, they have periodic meetings with state functionaries and the police chief of their neighborhood.

⁸ Rodrigo Amerlink, “Mexico Unido Contra la Delincuencia: El Combate a la Inseguridad en Mexico,” (Unpublished paper) <http://www.iadb.org/sds/doc/2145spa.pdf>

Through these formal and informal meetings, the Movimiento Pro Vecino pushes for specific policies in their neighborhood and controls police performance in the section in which they are organize.

Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez/the human rights approach

The last of the organizations that I intend to study, the Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez (Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Center PRODH), is a human rights organization created in 1988 by the Company of Jesus in Mexico to promote a culture of respect for human rights in Mexico. Although the PRODH has a large number of programs on different areas and it does not center solely on the role of police, it has worked on policing and public security issues by focusing mainly in the area of police behavior—human rights abuses by police and military personnel, in some borough (delegaciones) of Mexico City and Chiapas. The PRODH also have researched and denounced impunity and human right violations in the area of prosecution and administration of justice. They have been involved in training police and other state authorities on human rights.

Literature Review

This literature review explores how public safety and policing has been included in the studies of democratization, and in turn how civil society is seen in these studies. I also emphasize in this review research that centered on the new democracies in Latin America, in particular, on Mexico.

Until very recently, most of the works on policing in Latin America focused on the issue of political policing during authoritarian or military regimes (Huggins, 1998; Kalmanowiecki, 2000; Chevigny, 1995). Common or every day life policing was almost

ignored in Latin America until few years ago by political scientists⁹. This situation has changed in last years, and a growing number of works are focusing now on issues of citizen security and policing in Latin America.

The literature on democratic transitions and consolidation in Latin America and Eastern Europe has placed much emphasis on the construction of institutions and the establishment of governability. One common way to approach issues of citizen security and policing for democratic consolidation has come through discussions about the problems of rule of law. Most of the research on the rule of law is concerned with the conditions that guarantee or promote that laws are implemented in an effective and democratic way.

Mendez, O'Donnell, and Pinheiro, (1999) argue that illegal and arbitrary use of power, exercise mainly through the police and the security apparatus institutions, continues to be the norm in the subcontinent despite mayor advances in other areas of democratic governance. In this line of reasoning, state sponsored violence in the new democracies is not directed against political dissidents as in the past, but against the poor and marginal sectors of society and carried out mainly by the criminal and judicial systems. This negative assessment of the rule of law and the quality of democratic institutions in Latin America has an underlying argument that deep institutional reform and societal accountability is necessary to break patterns of violence. The problem of this type of analysis is that quite general and it has not contributed much to the development of a theoretical framework to research since it relies mainly on impressionistic and descriptive conclusions.

Other studies have centered on explaining the increment criminality through economic and institutional analysis. Within the economic literature a research worth noting is the one by Fajnzylber, Ledeman and Loayza (2001). They argue that economic behavior explains patterns of criminality. In this account, individual income and income inequality

⁹ Paul Chevigny (1999), an expert in police institutions in the Americas, argues that in Latin America “low” or “ordinary” policing has not been studied as much as “political policing” because the first has been a political instrument against more marginal sectors of Latin American societies.

are the variables that best explain crime, rather than social, institutional, and other non-economic variables. The focus of this research is more individual criminal behavior than institutional and social factors affecting crime and the justice system. Such studies explain only the deterrent effects of the police system on delinquency, but they do not tell us why civic associations promote certain types of policies concerning security and policing. Besides in this type of works, the improvement of public safety and policing rest on improving development and reducing the gap between rich and poor, something that those civic associations by themselves can not do.

The literature on democratization has emphasized the role of civil society for consolidating democratic governance (Linz and Stepan 1996; Diamond 1999; Keane 1988.) In this accounts, civil society is seen as promoter of democratization by containing and limiting state power, by keeping citizenry informed, and by contesting government positions and policies (Diamond, 1999.) There is a substantial body of literature that studies civil society effects in advancing socioeconomic, political, and cultural rights in Latin America—particularly through examining social movements (Escobar and Alvarez, 1998; Hershberg and Jelin, 1996; Bennett, 1995; Cornelius, Craig and Fox, 1994.) Yet, despite the recognition of the importance of civil society in checking and controlling state institutions, little has been written on how civil society can affect policing and the public safety apparatus, and how they can make it more democratic.

Works that examine civil society in policing and public safety in new democracies have come from international organizations and NGOs. They have produced an extensive descriptive literature about civil society involvement in public safety issues through civilian oversight of the police (Walker, 2001; Lewis, 1999; Goldsmith and Lewis, 2000; Phillips and Trone, 2002) and community policing (Mistry, 1996; Neilds, 1998, Zhao, 1996.) Historically, research on civilian oversight and community policing centered mainly on English speaking countries, notably the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Nonetheless, since the 1990s, the literature illustrate how other

countries such as India, South Africa, and Brazil also began to incorporate civilian oversight and community policing, as part of the police reform (Miller, 2002).

Overall, this literature consists mainly on descriptions of development, functions, and achievements of the oversight agencies and community policing programs. Formal evaluations or theories of oversight are less common, perhaps this is so because the empirical development of civilian involvement in oversight of the police and in community policing is a very recent phenomenon in the new democracies and not very common. Although police-specific civilian oversight authority and community policing do not exist in Mexico, this literature can contribute to the analysis of civil society involvement in public security issues by providing insights and comparison of specific interactions between police and society.

In the case of Mexico there was almost no research on the police or public safety policies until a decade ago. Nonetheless, the dramatic increase in the number of crimes and general perception of insecurity of citizens during the mid-1990s made political and social scientist to start researching the causes of these problems and the effects of current policing, public safety policies, and citizens' perception of insecurity for new democracies (Bailey and Chabat, 2002; Alvarado and Arzt, 2001; González Ruiz, López Portillo and Yañez, 1994).

Among these works, Alvarado and Davis (2002) explore the effects of public insecurity and bad policing for the consolidation of democracy in Mexico. They argue that state reform, decentralization process, and the end of one party rule/electoral change explain why policing and insecurity have become such big problems during the democratizing process. In a similar manner, Bailey and Chabat (2002) analyze the actual institutions in charge of public safety and examine policies and reform efforts. Yet, most of these works center on descriptions of the institutional and legal changes brought by recent reforms of the public security apparatus. Society has been brought into the analysis

mainly as “victims” in national surveys and opinion polls¹⁰, but almost no attention has been paid to the issue of civil society participation in those processes of reform or how these different perceptions shape the relation between citizens and the state.

Overall, this research can provide a link between literature on democratization and civil society, by expanding the issue of democratic governance to policing and citizen security. Besides, it can illuminate the ways in which civil society can improve policing and further democratize Mexican institutions.

Research Design and Methodology

This research aims to study civil society participation in public safety and policing in Mexico. The question that guides this research is: why despite the fact that democratization and civil society literature lean the impression that civil society has been pro democracy reform of the state, societal involvement of public safety and policing in Mexico show that civic society has had contradictory responses, some of them authoritarian or antidemocratic?

My hypothesis is that the perception of crime and insecurity have unleashed contradictory conception of public safety and policing. For that reason, this research seeks to explain variation in terms of their own conceptions of public safety and policing and how these conceptions are expressed in their politics. Mainly, I intend to analyze how societal involvement promote to democratize, or not, public safety and policing in Mexico.

As mention in the beginning of this research proposal, I argue that that there are three different way of understanding and approaching issues of public safety and policing among civil society organizations in Mexico. I have named these three ways of understanding security and policing in order to identify them: anti-crime approach,

¹⁰ The literature on criminality and victimization in Mexico were drawn from diverse official statistics and public opinion surveys. Nonetheless, information varies widely due to variation in methodology and the lack of an established analytical framework that allows a systematic comparison. One of the civil organizations created in recent years, the Instituto Ciudadano de Estudios sobre la Inseguridad, has among its goals to find out the “real” data on crime in order to challenge and impact public security policies.

human rights approach, and participatory approach. These diverse conceptions of security and policing make that the politics (type of activism) of these organizations are quite different too: they seek different solutions through different types of activism. I believe that these types activism—based on these different ways of perceiving problems/solutions—shape their relationship to the state and has implications for their impact in democratizing policing

Consequently, I see that: 1) different types of civil society participation have different impact and reception in the state institutions in charge of public security and policing; and 2) the impact of a particular type of participation in the state institutions in charge of public security and policing depends on level of organization and resources and the shared conceptions of problem/solutions between these organizations and the state.

After reconstructing the politics of these organizations and studying their impact in public safety and policing as in the above section, I will examine the ways in which these politics democratize, or not, policing. Here I will take three issues that I consider define democratic policing: police accountability, responsiveness to citizen security demands, and respect of citizen rights¹¹. I will analyze how their conceptions of security and policing and their politics integrate or not these three issues. Note that I do not intend to do an analysis of how actually democratic is public security and policing in Mexico. What I try to study is how civil society actually pushes or promotes democratic policing or not in their politics.

Based on my predissertation field work, I believe that 1) the conceptions of security and policing and the politics of these three organization consider just one of these three issues—accountability, responsiveness, and respect of citizen rights—but, none of them integrates the three of them; and 2) that the politics of these organizations often promote one issue—responsiveness and efficiency to citizen security demands, for example—while working against other—respect for rights of citizens.

¹¹ There is many understanding of what “democratic policing is. I will argue that democratic policing cannot create a democratic regime, but coexists with it.

Moreover, I argue that: 1) organizations following an anti-crime approach push for responsiveness to citizens' security needs; 2) organizations following a human rights approach promote respect citizen rights by the police and public security apparatus; 3) organizations following a participatory approach promote social accountability of the police.

Research Methods

In this research, I will use different research techniques such as document analysis, in-depth interviews, participant observation, and life stories. In addition, I will also gather secondary sources like survey data, media reports, and documents produced both by the civil organizations and the government, as well as other relevant academic research.

1. Document Analysis: I will analyze archival data and organization literature of promotional material, such as newsletters, journals, manuals. These organizations have generated an important number of printed and on-line documents, stating origin, functions, public position on certain topics, etc.
2. Personal In-depth Interviews: Research will entail conducting in-depth interviews with members of civil society organizations, police, and other public officials and experts.
3. Participant observation: I will participate in some events organize by these organizations, such as courses, public meetings or events, celebrations, etc. to gather additional information.

So far, I have done some pre-dissertation research in Mexico in January and the summer of 2003. During this time, I was able to carry out more than 25 interviews with members of the different organizations working in the topic, with Mexican scholars working on public security and the police, and with the directors of citizen participation both in national and the Federal District Public Security Secretaries. I also gathered printed

material from the organizations, and attended two training courses organized by one of these organizations.

HOW CAN I INTEGRATE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF INSECURITY??????

Outline of Dissertation Chapters

Chapter I: Introduction

- Explanation of the project (why is it important?)
- Current Literature
- Research Design

Chapter II: Emergence of Civil Society Participation in Policing and Public Security Issues

- Previous mobilization and engagement of civil society in other issues during the transition to democracy
- Distrust of the police and other public security institutions
- High levels criminality since the late 1990s

Chapter III-V: The Politics of Civil Society in Policing and Public Security

(Individual Cases: Anticrime approach: México Unido contra la Delincuencia; Human rights approach: Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez; and participatory approach Movimiento Pro Vecino)

Chapter VI: Civic Society Participation in Policing and Public Security

(concluding remarks)

- What is the effect of civil participation in policing for democratizing public security?
- Analysis of politics of individual cases by centering in three issues: accountability, responsiveness to citizen security demands, and respect of citizen rights

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