Hierarchical governance and the failure of citizen security policies in Metropolitan District of Quito: an analysis from policy design

Gobernanza jerárquica y la falla de las políticas de seguridad ciudadana en el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito: un análisis desde el diseño de políticas

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Abstract

Latin America is one of the most violent regions in the world, and since this phenomenon occurs more frequently in urban and consolidated areas, cities are the space where urban violence is considered as one of its main urban problems. Indeed, violence and the city establish the bases to define public action regarding citizen security policies. However, despite the actions undertaken by the relevant entities in terms of citizen security, there is no evidence of variation or improvement in the results obtained from public policies. The objective of this research is to identify the factors that influence the failure of citizen security policies from the design of policies, their objectives, and instruments. A hypothesis proposed is that the hierarchical governance mode, in which there is little articulation between state and non-state actors, influences the design of public policies and their achievement. Methodologically, the analysis of the Metropolitan District of Quito is proposed as a case study, based on a nested model for analyzing the design of policies. The failure of security policies is determined through the causal determination of the hierarchical governance model.

Keywords

Public policies, policy design, governance, hierarchy, citizen security, public space, Quito.

Resumen

América Latina es una de las regiones más violentas del mundo, y en virtud de que este fenómeno sucede con mayor frecuencia en las zonas urbanas y consolidadas, las ciudades son el espacio donde se evidencia la violencia como uno de sus principales problemas urbanos. La violencia y la ciudad consolidan las bases para definir la acción pública referente a las políticas de seguridad ciudadana. Sin embargo, a pesar de las distintas acciones emprendidas por las entidades pertinentes en cuanto a seguridad ciudadana, no se evidencia variación y mejora en los resultados obtenidos de las políticas públicas. El objetivo de esta investigación es identificar los factores que influyen en la falla de las políticas de seguridad ciudadana desde el diseño de las políticas, sus objetivos e instrumentos. Se propone como hipótesis que el modo de gobernanza jerárquico, en el que se evidencia una escasa articulación entre actores estatales y no estatales, influye en el diseño de políticas públicas y su consecución. Metodológicamente se propone el análisis del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito como estudio de caso, a partir de un modelo anidado para análisis del diseño de las políticas. Se determina la falla de políticas de seguridad a través de la determinación causal del modo de gobernanza jerárquica.

Palabras clave

Políticas, diseño, gobernanza, jerarquía, seguridad, espacio, Quito, distrito.

Introduction

Latin America is one of the most violent regions in the world; 2.5 million people between 2000 and 2019 were killed violently (Lissardy, 2019). This phenomenon is most frequently in consolidated urban areas, causing changes in the ways of understanding behavior, the way people relate, the influence

on the quality of life of people, and the link of violence with urbanism (Carrión, 2008). Some authors refer to these events as urban violence.

Urban violence results from the link between violence, city and its historical and changing character, both from violence, and from the city (Briceño-León, 2002). The city can be understood as "an arena of relationships" where the number of social conflicts and, therefore, typically urban violent acts increase (Carrión, 2008). There are multiple ways of violence that are strongly related to insecurity, and which have been "normalized" in daily life by their frequency (Pecaut, 1999). These forms of violence include, but are not limited to, theft, robbery, alcohol and drug offenses, gang violence, and domestic violence (Moser and Mcllwaine, 2006).

This reality of violence and city is the basis to problematize the citizen insecurity as a social problem (Carrión, 2005). In Ecuador, insecurity and perceptions related to vulnerability to urban violence is one of the most worrying problems for the urban population (Carrión *et al.,* 2012). Violence in Ecuador over the past 30 years has concentrated in major cities. Quito, being the capital, is one of the epicenters of homicides. Although the homicide rate has fallen, as has the record of burglary at homes, businesses and others, the number of crimes in terms of theft, and interpersonal theft has increased in recent years (Carrión and Pinto, 2017).

These crimes are framed in specific spatio-temporal contexts. In Quito, violent deaths occur in most cases on weekends, unlike the thefts of vehicles and properties, which occur mostly on weekdays, i.e., they are linked to a working schedule and normally happen in public spaces (Carrión and Pinto, 2017). In this way, the importance of public spaces in the cities and in the control of public insecurity is highlighted.

"Public space" means places of free access and movement such as squares, parks, sidewalks, streets. In this context, ensuring public safety in public spaces is linked to the control, not only of crimes, but also of disorders, nuisances and "behaviors deviant from the social norm" (Brotat, 2014) so as to ensure daily safety.

After an increase in crime levels, the homicide rate, the use of firearms and the increase in reports of crimes against property (Carrión, 2008) in the region and in Quito, there was also a significant growth in the private security market, which went from a rate of 0.56 companies per hundred thousand inhabitants, with 54 private security service companies in 1990, to a rate of 6.29 in 2006 with approximately 849 companies (Pontón, 2008).

Structural problems such as insecurity, unemployment and underemployment, human mobility and informal work demand answers from public policies, under a context of multilevel governance that allows coordinating actions from the different levels of government (General Secretariat of Security and Governance, 2021). However, in general terms, the countries of the region still present a centralized state organization on security issues whose focus has been national security rather than citizen security. The topic has been limited to political debates that have focused their efforts on the increase and professionalization of the armed forces, law enforcement agencies, justice bodies and has relegated the potential action of local governments (Acero, 2005).

For citizen security, as a strategy of public action, to be effective it requires to be coordinated between local governments of different levels and the central government from comprehensive policies (Acero, 2005) with models that include social agents and collaborative interinstitutional mechanisms (Torres, 2010). Therefore, on the basis of constitutional, legal and regulatory regulations, it is a power of the Decentralized Autonomous Government of Quito "to coordinate the formulation, implementation and evaluation of local policies implemented through plans for prevention, protection, security and civic coexistence along with the National Police, the community and other agencies related to security matters" (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021).

With this background, this study aims to answer the question: What factors influence the failure of public security policies with a focus on public space security and citizen coexistence in the DMQ? It is hypothesized that the way of governance that shows little connection between state and non-state actors affects the failure of public policies of citizen security, because hierarchical forms of interaction reinforce the disengagement of society in decision-making and public action processes, leading to the disarticulation between the formulated objectives and the implemented policy instruments, i.e., the disarticulation between what is established on paper and what is executed in territory, by the disassociation of society in the process.

Public policies: design and governance

The design of public policies is a strategy of public action that starts from a construction process of the policy, and is based on pre-established objectives oriented to solve problems that have been conceived as public issues.

Design considers its objectives, instrumentation, and actions to achieve policy goals. This design addresses policy formulation from two dimensions; exploration of procedural aspects and design content, i.e., design as a noun (policy tools and instruments) (Howlett, 2019; Howlett *et al.,* 2015).

The study of public policy design allows to analyze the coherence between objectives, means and instruments, as well as the impact of the instruments with the capacity of governments (Howlett *et al.,* 2015). The process of formal construction of the policy design is structured from a set of components previously defined by certain theoretical-methodological parameters. The components, on which the development and strategy of public policies is based, are composed of elements that explain the substantive dimension of the decision-making process, as well as the instrumental dimension around which policies are developed and ended up structuring (Howlett, 2019).

According to Howlett *et al.* (2015), policy design involves "the deliberate and conscious attempt to define policy objectives and connect them with the instruments or tools expected to achieve those objectives." The analysis of policy design involves observing how the components of action (objectives, means) are structured at different levels (macro, meso, micro) as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Policy Design Analysis Matrix

Components of policies	Policy decision levels		
	Macro	**Meso**	**Micro**
Goals	**General objectives** Abstract ideas that guide the government in a certain area of politics	**Specific objectives** Aspects of policy used for achieving the objectives	**Operational adjustments** Specific policy requirements
Media	**Implementation Preferences** Types of organizational instruments formed by general long-term preferences	**Specific instruments** Types of government instruments used to meet targets NATO Instruments	**Calibration of instruments** Specific forms of adjustment/use of instruments, required to achieve the objectives

Note. Adapted from Córdova, 2018; Howlett, 2009.

McConnell (2016) identifies the ways in which policies can fail: (i) when the stated objectives are not achieved; (ii) when the interests of the particular group or target are not met; (iii) when the benefits are less than the costs; (iv) when moral, ethical or legal standards are not observed; and (v) when sufficient support is not obtained from the actors and interests that matter (Nair and Howlett, 2017).

McConnell (2016) also argues that a policy failure cannot be assessed in a dichotomous way. Policies can fail, even if there is success in some minimal respects, if they fundamentally fail to achieve the proposed goals, opposition is large, and/or support is virtually non-existent.

Methodology

Failure of public policies in relation to governance

Policy objectives vary depending on the set of political actors, ideas, and institutional rules of the political agenda. In turn, the ways of governance allow explaining the development and articulation of political objectives. Thus, ways of governance determine policy design. However, the existence of pre-established objectives — by governance — does not necessarily produce effective policy outcomes (Howlett, 2009).

For Peters (2015), governance is a political process where goals are set, program designs are formulated, designs are implemented and finally success or failure is analyzed based on design. Consequently, the designs are essentially public policies. Peters makes four hypotheses for the relationship between governance and policies: systemic failure, common failure, focused success, and systemic success.

Two situations arise in this context: (i) "governance 1", which implies the government's inability to generate systematic guidelines for society and the economy; and (ii) "governance 2", which relates to the government's inability to develop specific policies linked to social and economic interests. Indeed, the failure of type 2 governance is related to the failure of organizations within the bureaucracy to cooperate and coordinate, causing policy design to be affected by governance.

Instrumentation and nested model

Analyzing the instruments used in a public action process constitutes the basic unit for policy design analysis (Córdova, 2018). The NATO taxonomy reflects the instruments, or set of resources, available to initiate public action (Hood and Margetts, 2008). The NATO taxonomy consists of four main instruments: (i) modality, devices for generating and disseminating information; (ii) authority, laws, plans or ordinances; (iii) treasury, financial resources; and (iv) organization, which may be institutional, personnel structure (Hood and Margetts, 2008).

The nested study model suggests that design evaluation is determined by the coherence level of the instruments, but above all by the consistency degree of the combination of instruments with respect to certain specific objectives (Howlett, 2009). This research will use the nested model proposed by Howlett to analyze the design of public security policies in the DMQ.

Table 2
Policy design: relationship between objectives and means

Policy objectives	Combination of instruments	
	Consistent	**Inconsistent**
Consistent	Optimal	Ineffective
Incoherent	Misdirected	Failed

Note. Córdova, 2018; Howlett and Rayner, 2007.

This research starts from a deductive approach, from the general to the particular. The aim is to test the hypothesis formulated between the way of governance and the result of policies (failure/effectiveness), demonstrating that "there are regular and predictable results under certain conditions" (Fontaine, 2015). The hypothesis states that the way of governance that shows little level of articulation between state and non-state actors affects the failure of public policies of citizen security.

A qualitative methodology is developed to analyze the design of public policies (objectives and means) from a nested analysis, aiming to obtain information and data from i) devices to generate and disseminate information;

ii) laws, plans or ordinances; iii) financial resources; and iv) the organization and institutional structure of citizen security in the DMQ.

The use of qualitative methods is based on the analysis and review of documents obtained from secondary sources referring to working documents of the different institutions and entities, and with the aim of triangulating and validating the analysis. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the main actors involved in the design of public policies and operations in the public space. Interviews and information collection were conducted between May and July 2021.

To define the case study, this research applies one of the seven case selection systems established by Seawright and Gerring (2008) (typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, influential, more similar and more different). The typical case system, which determines a representative case of a phenomenon, is used to allow the researcher to explore the causal mechanisms in depth. For this reason, Quito has been selected as a typical case from a universe of representative cases (Ecuador capital) due to its insecurity rates, to study the failure of public security policies oriented to public space.

Results

Governance mode

Quito shows a centralized way of managing citizen security from the local government, through mechanisms that do not incorporate the participation of society in the decision-making (Córdova, 2018; Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). Security policies in Quito preceded the year 2000 with the incorporation of security problem in the competencies of the local government, in the administration of former mayor Paco Moncayo. Because Moncayo was re-elected, security policies were mostly in place in this eight-year period. Subsequently, starting from the Barrera administration, in 2009, the strengthening of the State and the "institutionality of public administration" is proposed, according to the new Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador (Córdova, 2018).

The consolidation of public security policies in the DMQ obeys the institutionality established in the Constitutions of 1998 and 2008, and is cemented from the validity of the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy

and Decentralization (COOTAD) in 2010. In addition, aspects related to financing, professionalization, control and management have been regulated, and various instruments of authority, modality, treasury and organization have been implemented (Córdova, 2018).

Within the period of analysis of this study, which covers the administration from 2019 to 2022, the situation in terms of citizen participation has been maintained with almost no involvement of non-state actors. Although one of the specific functions established for the Metropolitan Directorate of Citizen Security Management is to "promote citizen participation to achieve projects for the security and peaceful coexistence of their territories", the rate of citizen participation in 2019 reached 10.31% (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021), evidencing the low citizen participation in the design of citizen security policies.

According to the above, the participation of society has not been relevant both in the first years of the emergence of this policy and in the current situation. Few social initiatives were able to get involved at the time, as was the case of the NGO Marcha Blanca (2011), which contributed to the incorporation of insecurity in the public agenda in Quito, but has not demonstrated greater involvement in the design of policies.

The local government's attempt to promote citizen participation in neighborhood activities, such as the Quito Listo initiative, has not been able to consolidate and articulate itself in the implementation of preventive security activities (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). Thus, the low participation of citizens tends to control security-related activities; however, they do not engage in policy design in the strict sense (Kevin W. Quelal, personal communication).

Policies show a dominance of poorly coordinated state actors. For example, the administration of one of the main metropolitan parks in Quito ensures that while there is inter-institutional coordination for controlling insecurity in the public space, the development of large-scale operations depend on prior coordination with the National Police. In specific cases when incidents are recorded, coordination must be made with the head of the nearest Community Police Unit, which attends to an extensive circuit (Juan F. Landázuri, personal communication).

The little interaction between state and non-state actors comprises a governance dynamic in function of which a specific form of policy design and its implementation is defined (Howlett and Ramesh, 2009). This type of go-

vernance is identified by Kooiman (2005) as a type of hierarchical governance, in which the State makes decisions autonomously and from a *top-down* logic, i.e., unidirectional, from top to bottom, without the active participation of society. Thus, the government protects its centrality and its action is interventionist in nature.

Objectives of public policies

The approach of the objectives that guide the formulation of public policies of citizen security is governed from three levels; starting from more general objectives (macro), going through a second order with specific objectives (meso), and reaching a third order level, with a deeper and detailed analysis, through operational adjustments (micro).

At the macro level, citizen security policies are based on the paradigm of human security, taking the human being as the main element of security. From this, it is understood that the right to life and human dignity constitute the two pillars to build the notion of citizen security. The guiding principles of the paradigm of human security are governance, prevention, knowledge, comprehensiveness, democratic culture, co-responsibility and participation. Specific objectives for citizen security and peaceful coexistence have been defined under these principles (Córdova, 2018).

At the monthly level, the objectives of the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito (MDMQ), through its General Secretariat of Security and Governance (hereinafter SGSG), seek to promote citizen security in the city and cultivate peaceful coexistence between citizens. In this regard, the mission of the SGSG is to:

> Promote citizen security, peaceful social coexistence and comprehensive risk management, through the design of public policies and implementation of social and community actions and situational prevention to strengthen democratic governance (...), by preventing violence in all its forms and substantially reducing the risk of disasters, in coordination with the bodies to improve the quality of life of citizens [DMQ]. (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021)

The SGSG proposes an appropriate articulation of its goals and mission with the objectives proposed by Vision Quito 2040 developed by the Metropolitan Institute of Urban Planning (IMPU). This plan proposes that:

Quito 2040 be a modern and human city where its citizens feel part of it and live with dignity; a resilient city, facing the challenges and replenishing the threats, (...) where the full exercise of human rights is promoted in a framework of freedom and democracy (...), [where] security is promoted based on effective and sustainable citizen participation. (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021)

There are five strategic institutional objectives set by the SGSG. First, "increase citizens' trust in security institutions at the DMQ." Second, "increase citizen participation in activities of citizen security and peaceful coexistence." Third, "reduce the perception of insecurity in the Metropolitan District of Quito". Fourth, "manage DMQ disaster risk through policies and strategies for the prevention of new risks and reduction of existing risks." Fifth, "strengthen institutional capacities" (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021).

At the micro level, operational adjustments in previous administrations have been limited to the use of information tools as a resource for local government (Córdova, 2018). However, it is still evident that there is a logic of inertia after each change of administration, i.e., the operational adjustments are not necessarily functional to the general and specific objectives of the policies (Córdova, 2018). The Institutional Strategic Plan 2021-2027 is within the operational adjustments of the current administration, being the first institutional plan developed by the SGSG until now. The CANVAS AS IS service model can also be included within the operational adjustments of the current mayor's office, which seeks to represent the services provided by the SGSG to improve the quality of this institution, so that it can sustainably meet the requirements, specifications and expectations of citizens and other stakeholders of the city (SGSG, 2021).

Media

Modality instruments

The nodal instruments are mainly based on the work carried out by the Municipal Observatory of Citizen Security (OMSC), which is the official municipal entity in charge of carrying out the information gathering, managing evaluation and defining the results and impacts of projects in the field

of security in the DMQ. In addition, it is responsible for recording, monitoring, processing, and analyzing events for the decision-making and policy formulation on security and citizen coexistence (Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana, 2021).

To build the data related to Citizen Security, the OMSC through the Integrated Information System (SIOMSC) maintains the monitoring, collection and processing of quantitative and qualitative data from various sources. The information allows to develop analyses for constructing indicators that contribute to observe the phenomenon around security and civic coexistence. However, there are limitations of the information, which are related to the temporal context and the logical coherence of the data. The OMSC handles information on security and civic coexistence from primary and secondary sources, including information collected by the Integrated Security System ECU-911 where data is obtained mainly from the video surveillance camera system, whose aim is to detect conflict areas of the city (OMSC, 2021; SGSG, 2021).

OMSC has three types of information divided into: reports (semi-annual and annual), bulletins (monthly) and articles (which are related to the implementation of prevention projects). In addition, the OMSC presents raster and vector spatial information in the Exploratory System of Spatial Analysis of the Metropolitan District of Quito (SEAE-DMQ); the information it provides refers to unsafe areas and areas with a high rate of theft and assault (OMSC, 2021).

Other important instruments of nodality are: the print media, radio, television and social networks. These instruments influence the perception of insecurity on the part of society and therefore contribute to the decision-making of the local government, as well as to the construction and design of public policies of citizen security. One example is the campaign "Together we are more secure" led by an Ecuadorian media outlet. The campaign aims to encourage neighborhood organizations, together with control agencies such as the National Police, the DMQ's SGSG and the Quito Fire Brigade, to set up neighborhood security committees and create effective communication channels between civil society and the authorities.

The media presents reports that show topics such as the origin of insecurity in the city, systematic problems of the National Police, loopholes in the defense of the victims of insecurity, stories of theft and assault, criminal gangs operating in the city, unsafe neighborhoods; it also shows the sectors

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where community organization has managed to combat insecurity so that more neighborhoods are organized against insecurity in the city (Gómez, 2021).

Instruments of authority

The instruments of authority under which the SGSG is protected to fulfill its functions and competences at the macro level are the Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador (CRE) of 2008 and the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization (COOTAD). Article 3 of the Constitution states that "the primary duties of the State are to guarantee (...) the right to a culture of peace, to comprehensive security and to live in a democratic society free from corruption." Article 393 mentions that:

> The State will guarantee human security through integrated policies and actions to ensure the peaceful coexistence of people, (...) The planning and implementation of these policies will be entrusted to specialized bodies at the different levels of government. (Asamblea Nacional de Ecuador, 2008)

Similarly, article 84, paragraphs (b), (j) and (r), COOTAD incorporates the functions of the governments of the metropolitan autonomous districts in the area of comprehensive security and peaceful coexistence. It recognizes the powers of the Metropolitan Mayor, with respect to comprehensive security and peaceful coexistence (Asamblea Nacional, 2010).

At the micro level, the instruments of authority under which the MDMQ and the SGSG operate are municipal ordinances and administrative rulings. The Metropolitan Ordinance 201, issued in December 2006, establishes the functions of the Metropolitan Directorate for the Management of Citizen Security (DMGSC), now the SGSG. It is also pointed out that the DMGSC is in charge of the OMSC, and that the Metropolitan Police is a unit assigned through the powers established in the Municipal Code. With Resolution C0076 of 2007, the competencies and responsibilities set forth in the Organic Regulations were established for the Units of the MDMQ. In August 2009, through Resolution A002, the General Secretariat for Security and Governance (Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana, 2021) was created and added to the functional organizational structure of the MDMQ at the advisory level.

Consequently, in 2011, by Resolution A0010 it was incorporated in the functional organizational structure of local government of the DMQ, at the

political and strategic decision level, to the SGSG, thus assuming all the competences of the former Metropolitan Directorate of Citizen Security Management (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). Ordinance 001 of March 2019 issued the Municipal Code, repealing the former Ordinance 201. The Municipal Code, in its article IV.8.12, establishes that:

> The Secretariat responsible for security and governance is responsible for designing the security and coexistence policies of citizens and, once approved by the Metropolitan Council of Quito, implement them through its administrative units and the security headquarters of the zone administrations. (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021)

Subsequently, in August 2020, Resolution A055 was issued, which excludes the Metropolitan Directorate of Management of Support Services for Victims of Domestic, Family, Gender, Child Abuse and Sexual Violence, its organs and components of the SGSG, and incorporates it, under the same name, in the structure of the Secretariat of Social Inclusion (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). Another important resolution to consider is the A013, of May 2016, which establishes the definition and objectives of the Committees of Security and Citizen Coexistence. In addition, Resolution A86 of 2006 refers to the coordination and permanent link of the SGSG with emergency services such as Firefighters, Hospitals, Red Cross, National Police, Civil Defense, Provincial Council of Pichincha, ECU 911 and other emergency bodies.

There are also relevant laws to guide the policy and management of public safety. These are the Law on Public and State Security, which in its article 11 refers to issues of security, public order and prevention. Also, the Organic Law of Citizen Participation, which dictates the principles of participation in article 4, as well as the responsibility of participation and the legal and ethical commitment of citizens to be part of these processes, especially in this case, in matters of security and peaceful coexistence.

Treasury instruments

The economic instruments provided by the DMQ linked to the financing of public security policies are limited to two types of income. The first and most important, given the amount collected, is the security fee that comes from a proportional calculation in the collection of property tax. According

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to the SGSG, the amount collected in 2020 was USD 7 078 718.32. The collection of the security tax is managed by the Metropolitan Public Company EMSEGURIDAD, which additionally is in charge of placing 5% of the total collected in the Metropolitan Fund for Risk Management and Emergency Care, for events outside the institutional section, in 2020 this represented a total of USD 353 935.92.

The second income for financing is the municipal allocations from the general budget of the GAD of the DMQ, which amounts to approximately 2 million dollars; however, due to the health emergency due to the COVID-19 pandemic there was a budget cut. According to the interview with the SGSG, the resources of the security tax are not used solely and exclusively for citizen security. Currently, part of the work carried out by the Metropolitan Directorate for the Management of Support Services for Victims of Domestic Violence, Family Violence, Gender, Child Abuse and Sexual Violence continues to be funded, which through Resolution A055-2020 was transferred to the Secretariat for Social Inclusion. Part of the budget is eventually used under justification and requirement for improvements and security equipment in the public space as complementary efforts to other municipal and state entities; as an example of this is the lighting of spaces (parks, squares and local roads, in 2020 this item was USD 250 000 approximately), the maintenance of UPC, provision of goods and services for the National Police, acquisition of alarms and video surveillance cameras in order to prevent crimes in the case of alarms and detect the subjects who commit crimes in the case of cameras are coordinated with the ECU System 911 and the National Police (Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana, 2021).

This information is in line with the 2020 Security Tax Administration Report of the Metropolitan Public Enterprise for Security and Citizen Coexistence Logistics (EP EMSECURITY), which, within the breakdown of the destination of the collection of the security tax, indicates that out of the total budget, 20.68% was committed to logistical support to entities of the Integrated Security System (Metropolitan Control Agency, Metropolitan Police, National Police, victims of violence, among others).

Organizational instruments

The SGSG was incorporated in the Functional Organic Structure of the DMQ GAD at the political and decision level in March 2011; and took over all the functions of the previous DMGSC, such as the design of security po-

licies, which once approved by the Metropolitan Council of Quito, are executed through its administrative units and area headquarters (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). This Secretariat is subordinate to the Metropolitan Mayor's Office of Quito and the Committee on Security, Citizen Coexistence and Risk Management of the Metropolitan Council and the Security Council. Indeed, the SGSG is the most relevant substantive organization instrument in the security policies" of the DMQ (Córdova, 2018).

The functional organization of the SGSG has three directorates as instruments directly subordinated: the Risk Management, the Governance Management and the Citizen Security Management; at the same level as these directorates is the Metropolitan Observatory of Citizen Security, whose specific functions are linked to the collection and generation of security information, in addition to the management of action networks and "strategies linked with other security institutions" (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). The SGSG carries out programmatic coordination with the Metropolitan Control Agents Corps, the EMSECURITY EP, and the DMQ Fire Department (see Figure 1).
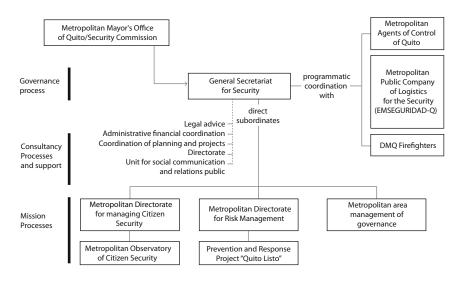
Instrument Calibration

Citizen security policies in the DMQ are created based on local prevention regarding insecurity and risk management, components that affect the human security. The DMQ begins the design and formulation of citizen security policies focused on the prevention during the government of former Mayor Moncayo; from its management, the instruments are calibrated according to the government plan proposed by the elected mayor.

During Mayor Yunda's term in office, the paradigm of citizen security is maintained. However, the means and instruments have been modified by factors related to social, economic and political situation. The main changes are made in the Annual Operational Plans and through specific plans and projects aimed at meeting policy objectives. Within Yunda government period, the instrument that has been calibrated more deeply corresponds to the organizational instrument, as the institutional structure of the SGSG has been modified by the creation of new units.

The modality instruments have not undergone significant calibrations, since the Observatory remains as the main entity for generating information from both primary and secondary sources, which has not shown significant

progress in prospective methodologies to reduce insecurity levels and the perception of insecurity. Therefore, plans, programs and projects aimed at reducing public insecurity are not being effective due to the lack of methodologies to reduce risk.

Figure 1

Structural organization of the SGSG

Note. Authors 2021, from SGSG 2021.

The instruments of authority have also not undergone substantial calibrations, since the guideline legislation on public safety has not been modified. At the local level, within the period of analysis, two changes have been made regarding the organization of the Secretariat, excluding the Metropolitan Directorate for the Management of Support Services to Victims of Domestic, Family, Gender, Child Abuse and Sexual Violence, its organs and components of the SGSG and the approval of the Municipal Code, which assigns the SGSG the creation of public policies on citizen security.

Meanwhile, the treasury instrument during Yunda´s government shows no significant changes. The Citizen Security Rate and the allocation of the general budget are the main sources of economic resources. It is evident that

all those informal properties, which are not part of the municipality, do not tax the security rate, which implies a potential loss of economic resources that could reinforce the actions derived from security policies. This shows that both security policy and regularization policy must complement each other and generate coordinated actions that benefit all citizens. Another calibration opportunity not currently applied but which is included as part of the SGSG's Corporate Strategic Plan is to manage the financing of security policies through national and international organizations and private security financing (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad 2021).

Based on the theoretical framework established and the analysis of the case study in Table 3, the summary of the coherence of security policies with respect to their objectives and means is presented; and Table 4 summarizes the hypothesis concerning the independent variable (governance mode) and the dependent variable (failure-effectiveness of public policy design).

Table 3

Policy design results (articulation between goals and means)

Policy objectives	Combination of instruments	
	Consistent	Inconsistent
Consistent	Optimal	Ineffective
Incoherent	Misdirected	Failed

Note. Authors 2021, from the case study.

Table 4

Results of the influence of governance modes on policy design

Independent variable		Dependent Variable
Governance mode	Joint	Design of public policies
DMQ Hierarchical Governance	DMQ State Actors	Failure (Ineffective)
Co-governance	State actors-Non-State actors	Optimal
Self-governance	Non-State Actors	-

Note. Authors 2021, from Córdova (2018).

Conclusions

The initial hypothesis was that the way of governance that shows little articulation level between state and non-state actors in the design stage of public policies of citizen security affects its failure, because hierarchical forms of interaction reinforce the disengagement of society in the decision-making and public action processes, leading to the disarticulation between the formulated objectives and the implemented instruments.

The case study of the DMQ reflects a hierarchical mode of governance that does not promote integration and cooperation between state and non-state actors. As such, it shows a low participation and involvement of the citizenry in terms of citizen security, so it highlights only the actions undertaken by the local government in action poorly articulated with its instruments of organization. In this context, the mode of governance has guided the design of policies that may be considered ineffective, as they set coherent objectives; however, the combination of the different instruments used as means of achievement is not consistent.

The origin of the hierarchical model that influences the design of policies and their achievement would be linked to the same competence and traditional area of security policies, which largely rest under the shadow of national security, as a state responsibility, relegating local governments to mere preventive actions that lead them to proceed as entities that limit their action to provide inputs and goods to the competent bodies and this does not represent sufficient action to placate the increasing numbers and forms of urban violence in the cities.

Finally, it is important to note that there were obstacles to obtaining information due to the health emergency caused by COVID-19, which limited the duration of meetings and contact with the people interviewed.

This study raises questions that can be addressed in future research such as: how does hierarchical governance in the field of citizen security influence the perception of security of people?, how does the failure of citizen security policies affect the development of the city? and, what is the way to address citizen security in the Metropolitan District of Quito and through what type of governance?

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Interviews

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