



**Contributions of the
Academia Nacional de
Seguridad Pública ANSP
(National Academy of
Public Security) to the
process of police reform
in El Salvador**

Edgar Baltazar Landeros
Sergio Padilla Oñate
Luis Villalobos García

Centro de Investigación para la
Prevención de la Violencia en
Centroamérica -CIPREVICA-/
Guatemala
edgarlanderos2003@yahoo.com.mx

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Abstract:

Reforming a Police department to adapt it to the demands of a democratic context, is a complex process: The international experiences of a police reform demonstrate that these processes are not unidirectional, but they present advances and setbacks.

It is in this sense that the present article presents the results of the investigation that had as object of study the analysis of the work processes of the ANSP, with the purpose to determine if the policies and programs implemented by the Academy in the period 2009- 2015, have contributed to the process of democratic police reform in El Salvador, in line with the approaches and commitments established in the 1992 Peace Agreements.

Key words:

Police Reform, police professionalization, National Academy of Public Security, citizen security, El Salvador.

1. Introduction

This document is the result of an investigation conducted by the Centro de Investigación para la Prevención de la Violencia en Centroamérica (CIPREVICA – Research Center for the Prevention of Violence in Central America) by the authors of the article, as external consultants, with an aim to support the National Academy of Public Security (El Salvador, C.A.) to conduct an investigation on the process of police reform. It was financed by DANIDA¹, with DIGNITY²'s technical assistance.

Between 2012 and 2015, CIPREVICA visited 33 police stations in El Salvador, in the framework of the World Week of Visits to Police Stations, organized by Altus Global Alliance – in collaboration with CESC³, to improve citizens' security and justice. Between 2013 and 2015, more than 600 police agents and officers of the ANSP were reached through training processes on police models for the prevention of crime and violence, and to build police capacities for leadership and conflict-solving, facilitated by CIPREVICA and DIGNITY. As a result of these processes, the interest to conduct the investigation addressed in this article, arose.

Hence, this article analyzes the process of implementation of the police reform in El Salvador, with a priority approach on influencing significant functions of the National Academy of Public Security (ANSP – for its name in Spanish), which are cross-cutting issues of the analysis of the reference points signed in the Peace Agreements.

First, the article states the historical background of the process of police reform in El Salvador, which set forth the creation of the ANSP. The theoretical-methodological reference points of the analysis are also stated (analytical categories) based on the approach of the democratic police reform, to, consequently, show the results of the investigation in regard to fundamental processes of the Academy; i.e., organizational structure, professionalization, police career, disciplinary regime, education system and training on priority issues for the Police in El Salvador (police intelligence and community police).

The objective of the article is to identify the contributions of the Academy to significant processes for police actions conducted in democratic contexts. Information collected on analysis processes belongs mainly to the 2009-2015 period, since it is in this period that more public information is available. Thus, the analysis focuses on ANSP's recent efforts to consolidate the processes observed in the study.

¹ Danish International Development Agency, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark.

² Danish Institute Against Torture

³ Center of Studies in Citizens' Security of the University of Chile

2. Methodology

The methodology used to collect information comprised in this article entailed the integration of several techniques: in-depth interviews were conducted with sixteen officers of the Academy and four officers of the PNC (National Civil Police- PNC for its name in Spanish)⁴; three focus groups were conducted, comprised by students, members of the Academic Council and graduates from the organization. A survey was conducted with 410 graduates, employees and students of the ANSP. Altogether, through these techniques, the opinions of diverse actors linked to the ANSP were analyzed.

Finally, an organizational analysis of the ANSP was conducted to determine to what degree the processes designed and implemented by the Academy influence the process of democratic police reform in El Salvador.

The guides for individual and group interviews were prepared according to the ANSP's significant cross-cutting issues, which refer to strengthening the process of police reform with an emphasis on its organizational structure, doctrine, education model, and contribution to training of the PNC, in areas of current priority such as police intelligence and the philosophy of community police.

The years from 2009 thru 2015 were defined as the period for the study, since there were previous investigations that had documented and evidenced what happened with the ANSP and the PNC in previous years. Nevertheless, there were no recent analytical papers that described the situation of the ANSP in the last years, and to which degree had these advances contributed to the democratic police reform.

Based on the theoretical reference points of the democratic police reform, this article analyzes the duties and strategies implemented by the National Academy of Public Security (ANSP – for its name in Spanish), as the government entity that emerged and was created as a result of the Peace Agreements, which is responsible for generating the mechanisms and programs required for training and updating the staff of the National Civil Police (PNC – for its name in Spanish).

⁴ The ANSP officers that were interviewed on 30 September, 2 October, 18 and 19 November 2015 were: General Director, Executive Deputy Director, General Secretary, Heads of the Divisions of Studies and Management; Heads of the Subdivisions Academic Training and Academic Management, Heads of the following Units: Legal, Disciplinary Files, Background Checks, and Internal Regime; as well as heads of the Departments of Promotion, Initial Training, Summons and Selection; Extracurricular Training, Update and Specialties.

On 19 November 2015 the following officers were interviewed: Chairperson of the Entry and Promotion Tribunal; Head of the Police Records Department; and Head of the Institutional Training Center. In addition, the General Inspector of Public Security was interviewed.

The article focuses on identifying, defining characteristics, and analyzing the components and the functionality of seven fundamental processes, to enable understanding the responsibility and influence of actions implemented by the ANSP in the consolidation of the democratic police reform in El Salvador, namely:

1. *Organizational structure*: How the entity divides necessary actions to fulfill its goals; includes formal and informal rules for decision making, which can be centralized or decentralized. An organizational analysis entails the revision of regulations, significant functions of staff, priority processes of the organization and oversight and control mechanisms implemented under a hierarchical structure that adapts to the demands of the surroundings.
2. *Police career*: Articulated set of processes that determine the career path of police staff, including entry, conditions for permanence, possibility of promotions within the established hierarchy, as well as conditions of service termination.
3. *Professionalization*: Training required to build useful competences for effective compliance with police functions, pursuant to democratic performance standards, service calling and unrestricted protection of human rights.
4. *Community police philosophy as police doctrine*: “One conception of the what a Police must be in a democratic country, in which an effective relation with the population is developed, potentiating community participation in the identification, prioritization, prevention and solving issues that affect them, contributing to improving the quality of their lives” (ANSP and PNC, 2013, p.16).
5. *Education model*: Overall pedagogical guidelines that direct the curricular design and the teaching-learning process. In police training, the model provides conceptual patterns to elaborate and review study plans, as well as provides guidance to teaching, research and social linkage functions conducted by the training entity.
6. *Disciplinary regime*: Legal and administrative structure for supervision of police functions; including investigation and sanction of disciplinary faults categorized in internal regulations.
The disciplinary process conducted for sanctioning faults must always adhere to the due process, giving the possibility of appealing implemented sanctions by the bodies created for that purpose.
7. *Police intelligence*: Process of analysis of pertinent information for the prevention and prosecution of crimes, as well as for strategic direction

of police functions. The intelligence cycle entails an information meeting, its evaluation, comparison, analysis and dissemination with staff empowered for decision making (UNODC, 2010, p.2).

Even though these processes are part of the cross-cutting issues and duties of the PNC, this study focuses on its analysis within the ANSP, due to its responsibility in training new police officers, as well as providing ongoing training to officers, positioning the ANSP as the suitable entity to assess significant processes that enable a democratic police reform.

3. Theoretical References

The National Civil Police in El Salvador, created as a result of the Peace Agreements signed in 1992, was set up as a new police corporation, with different officers and doctrine in relation to the designs implemented before the Agreements. From its origin, it is designed as a civil, professional entity, unaffiliated to any partisan activity, and its members are subjected to the regulations of the main instruments of the United Nations in regard to protection and respect for human rights (Arévalo, 2011). This is clearly coherent with the parameters of the democratic police reform.

In Latin America, people started talking about police reform as a result of democratization processes implemented in the 80s and 90s, coinciding with an increase in crime and violence in the region, as well as with policies for structural adjustments and reforms of the State. In this context, the concepts of human and citizens' security arise as new security paradigms, replacing the conventional notions of public safety and national security.

The democratic police reform entails doctrinal changes in doctrine in the concepts of security policies, as well as a transformation of police culture, Police operational processes, and its own institutional arrangements (Carrión, 2007; Villalobos, 2007).

A democratic Police requires functional transparency and accountability systems, demilitarization of the public security policy, bestowing police functions on citizens, civil control and oversight of their actions, as well as performance aimed at achieving impact: not to the fulfillment of goals. According to the doctrine of Police in democracy, its objective is the unrestricted and non-negotiable protection and safeguard of human rights, emphasizing on the design and implementation of prevention programs as a priority measure rather than repression and reaction.

Police work in democracy is always conducted according to the availability of performance controls, such as regulations on the rational and proportional use of force, decrease of operational discretionality, decentralization of decision making in the entity upon incorporating civil mechanisms for internal and external operational control; availability of performance protocols and standards, as well as professionalization and specialization

processes. Police in democracy is kindred to proximity approaches, such as the philosophy of community police.

The new institutional arrangements and transformations that such a reform entails do not only require changes in regulations, or in the re-design of organizational-operational structure. A comprehensive reform requires changes to the police culture, as well as in power relations that exist in any organization; a new way in which both officers and operational staff understand and implement their police duties. One of the great challenges for the consolidation of the police reform in El Salvador is overcoming resistance to change from diverse stakeholders.

The philosophy of community police in El Salvador means placing democracy in action upon enabling everybody's participation in problem-solving. It is a philosophy that sets forth that Police is at the service of the community, it is a public service (Arévalo, 2011).

Community police is a doctrinaire and operational approach, coherent with the characteristics of the human and citizens' security approach, which sets forth the terms of reference of a democratic police function. A democratic police model must comply with the following characteristics (INSYDE, 2013; ANSP and PNC, 2013):

- Identifies and eliminates barriers between the Police and the community, fostering a positive and constructive interaction. Restores the distorted Police-society relation.
- The police function is based on and emphasizes the implementation of preventive actions, as well as on the analysis of community issues linked to insecurity and violence, prioritizing peaceful solutions.
- Community police is contextualized in the citizens' security model, paradigm that places priorities of security policies, citizens' assistance and protection of citizens' rights in the center.
- Protection and respect for human rights as operational principles of police functions.
- The operation of functional transparency and accountability police systems is assumed as an institutional imperative.
- Decentralization of security bodies, which entails priority assistance in the local and community levels, subsidiarity in addressing insecurity and violence issues.
- Solution of community problems linked to security through this approach seeks to improve the quality of life of citizens.
- To dignify police functions.

- The community is not only the receiving, passive subject of police service, but also a strategic partner: it entails co-responsibility between the community and the government in the processes for the formulation, implementation and evaluation of citizens' security policies.
- Mechanisms for dialogue between government security bodies is are enabled and extended, including police and the society it serves: police and citizens acknowledge each other as valid interlocutors, where both of them have something to say and contribute to the generation of alternatives to solve issues linked to insecurity and violence.
- The following sections analyze and determine the degree of adoption of the democratic police doctrine in El Salvador, with emphasis on ANSP's contributions to this process.

4. Background of ANSP's participation in the process of police reform

The Republic of El Salvador was affected by an internal armed conflict for 12 years, from 1980 thru 1992. The main parties of the conflict were the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation (FMLN – for its name in Spanish) and the forces of the government of El Salvador, comprised then by the Army, para-military groups and three police bodies: the National Police, the National Guard, and the Fiscal Police. According to the Truth Commission created by the United Nations for investigating Human Rights violations during the conflict, (United Nations, 1993), the State of El Salvador was responsible for 90% of human rights violations, with practices such as extra-judicial executions, forced disappearances, and torture. The executors of such violations were largely members of security bodies.

The FMLN and the Government of El Salvador signed the Peace Agreements in 1992. As part of the agreements, the dissolution of the three existing security bodies was approved, as well as its replacement and integration into a new and only entity, the National Civil Police (PNC – for its name in Spanish), and the creation of the National Academy of Public Security (ANSP – for its name in Spanish). This led to the disappearance of the security bodies responsible for the greatest human rights violations in the country. As a result of the agreements, not only were the parties in conflict demobilized, but also they set the basis for demilitarization and democratization in El Salvador (Costa, 199, p.17).

The aforementioned security bodies were of an authoritarian and military nature, working under the doctrine and paradigm of national security, where emphasis was made on preservation and protection of government entities rather than on assisting the population. In this logic, its main functions were repressive (Costa, 1999, p. 27). In order to replace them, the new Police was designed and planned as a civil entity, to provide services to the population. A special technical United Nations' mission participated in its design, led by Jesús Rodés (Catalan). The mission conceived the PNC as

an entity separate from the Ministry of Defense, with a doctrine kindred to democratic principles and respect for human rights. In this logic, the need to create different entities was evident – so the PNC and the ANSP were to be separate, independent bodies, and both were assigned to a Ministry of Security.

Most of the recommendations of the Rodés Mission were implemented, through the enforcement of the Organic Laws of the PNC and the ANSP. As part of a complementary agreement, it was set forth that the new Police was to be integrated by 20% of FMLN members, 20% of members of the former security bodies, and 60% of civilians who had not participated in the conflicts. These figures were not fully complied with, since the influence of military doctrine prevailed in holding key positions of the new entity, and the FMLN did not complete the corresponding quota. In the creation of the new entity, there was resistance from military elites to comply with the agreement that entailed the elimination of old security bodies and the creation of a Police force with a civilian nature (Costa, 1999).

Two important units of the former security bodies were transferred to the PNC: the Commission of Investigation of Crimes (CIHD – for its name in Spanish) and the Executive Anti-Drug Trafficking Unit; both with a military profile and trained by the Government of the United States. This fact has been considered by specialists on the issues as one of the most serious violations to the Peace Agreements, which translated into military domain of the new Police body (Amaya, 2007; Córdova, 2001; Costa, 1999; Dogget, 2001; Silva, 2014). The Mission of United Nations' Observers in El Salvador (ONUSAL – for its name in Spanish), international entity in charge of verifying compliance with the agreements, expressed its disagreement with such transfer (Amaya, 2007). For example, the CIDH had poor results in its investigation of the Jesuits case (Dogget, 2001, pp. 127-160). The Truth Commission recommended the dissolution of the CIHD, but it was not eliminated due to its incorporation to the new Police (United Nations, 1993, p.195).

In the Chapultepec Agreements in 1992, it was set forth that the PNC would be governed by civil authorities, setting up as “a new body, with new organization, new officers, new training mechanisms and a new doctrine”. For the ANSP, the agreements set forth that part of its mission and duties were:

1. Basic training, training of middle and high-ranked officers, and specialized training of Civil Police.
2. Select National Civil Police staff.
3. Investigate, study and disseminate issues linked to the National Civil Police and Public Security.

4. Annual assessment of all the Civil Police staff.

With an aim to deploy the new police force as soon as possible, during the first years of the ANSP, quantity prevailed over quality, training new police officers with the support from instructors from cooperating countries. The ANSP started to work in August 1992, with the support from the governments of Spain and Norway. The first promotion of agents graduated in February 1993, and by the end of that year, the first group of Executive and High rank officers graduated as well.

Throughout the years, the PNC has consolidated as a civil entity, but still with some issues linked to professionalization, especially in regard to the consolidation of its supervision mechanisms, given the failed attempts for police purging (Silva, 2014). Nowadays, the entity has approximately 23,000 officers. As at 2014, approximately 33,551 students had graduated as police officers from the ANSP (ANSP, 2015).

In January 2015, the National Council of Citizens' Security and Coexistence (CNSCC – for its name in Spanish)⁵ shared the Plan – Safe El Salvador “which is only a plan, of an integral and flexible nature that comprises five core ideas and one hundred and twenty-four urgent priority actions, in the short-, medium- and long-term; to face violence and crime, ensuring access to justice and assistance and protection for victims”.⁶ This Plan comprises five strategic issues: 1) prevention of violence, 2) strengthening the justice system, 3) rehabilitation and social re-insertion, 4) assistance and protection for victims, and 5) institutional strengthening. The Plan is a proposal of security and justice policies for the next ten years in El Salvador. According to Damien Wolff (2015), this Plan is a political opportunity for the implementation of actions that consolidate the democratic police reform in the country.

Despite the fact that the Plan Safe El Salvador does not set forth specific actions for the ANSP, it is clear that the functions of the Academy are fundamental for the consolidation of the process of police reform. The ANSP can be linked to actions proposed in the Plan, such as its participation in the improvement of promotion courses in the Police, the consolidation of human capacities, and infrastructure to achieve police training goals, the evaluation of training and implementation of the Community Police philosophy, training police staff on intelligence and investigation, as well as effective coordination with the PNC on common issues for both entities.

⁵ Created in September 2014. It is made up by State entities, the Corporation of Municipalities of the Republic of El Salvador (COMURES), churches, mass media, private companies, political parties, several representatives of the civil society, and the international community. Some of its objectives include formulating proposals in regard to security and justice, to follow them up, and enable dialogue among sectors of the society.

⁶ Executive Summary of the Plan – Safe El Salvador available in: <http://www.seguridad.gob.sv/index.php/component/phocadownload/category/1-documentos?download=830%3Aplan-el-salvador-seguro>

The police reform in El Salvador will not be achieved if the participation of the ANSP is omitted, as the duty bearer entity, responsible for police training.

Since 2009, it has been observed that there are more institutional efforts to consolidate the ANSP as an entity adjusted to the mission and commitments set forth in the Peace Agreements. As stated by the current General Director of the ANSP:⁷ “The Peace Agreements have set our horizon. That the entities implement actions for what has been set forth in them. That they be effective.” The students of the Academy consider there are two main moments in the process of police reform in El Salvador: 1) the creation of a new institutional apparatus: “That was a drastic reform, rights used to be violated... now they protected.”; and 2) the adoption of the Community Police philosophy as an institutional doctrine: “New bodies have emerged⁸ within [...] the Police, such as the Community Police. Working from the community for the community. That was a reform for improvement”. (Focus group with ANSP students, 1 October 2015).

5. Analysis of the ANSP's organizational structure

5.1 Comparative analysis of the Organization and Functions Handbook of 2011, in relation to the 2015-2019 Institutional Strategic Plan

From a public policies approach, the organic-functional structure of any government entity must be coherent with the purposes, objectives and functions set forth in regulation frameworks and in planning exercises. The organizational structure is the reference point and the administrative tool that enables implementation of work schedules, so that every function assigned to the areas must match the strategic lines defined in planning exercises. In this regard, as a result of the analysis of the linkage between the Organization and Functions Handbook of 2011 (MOF – for its name in Spanish), in relation to the planning commitments set forth in the 2015 – 2019 Institutional Strategic Plan, the following is stated:

- The 2015 -2019 Institutional Strategic Plan (PEI – for its name in Spanish) sets forth that the ANSP is to be considered as a higher education body, which was not yet included in the 2011 Organization and Functions Handbook (MOF).
- In the perspective set forth in the MOF, it is sought to consolidate the ANSP as an international high-prestige entity, which is not included in the PEI.

⁷ 2 October 2015

⁸ Although it needs to be made clear that the Community Police philosophy is not born as a body, but rather as a police model.

- The organization handbooks, and correspondingly, those of ANSP procedures, require a revision, update and comprehensive adjustment in relation to the purposes set forth in the 2015-2019 PEI, since the visions, missions and procedures comprised in both documents are different.
- The mission set forth in the 2015-2019 PEI are significantly limited in relation to the prospective objectives set forth in its vision: it posits that the ANSP is to be created as a higher education body, with functions and powers for teaching and research, corresponding to any higher education academic body; whereas the mission only states that it is the body in charge of comprehensive police training. It is necessary to adjust it so the functions derived from the mission are coherent with the objectives of the vision.

5.2 Analysis of the link with the Plan – Safe El Salvador

It was mentioned above that the Plan –Safe El Salvador proposed by the CNSCC sets forth a work agenda for the next ten years. The duties of the ANSP are not defined explicitly in the Plan, nor the implementation of the core ideas of the national policy, nor its influence for achieving expected results. Thus, the ANSP, through the PEI, must recover these elements of national planning, modifying its organic, functional and operational structure defined in the MOF, to match it to what is proposed in the Plan.

The lack of requirements to link ANSP actions in relation to its influence in building a safe El Salvador is evident, an omission that is amplified upon considering the process of transit and consolidation of the Academy to the Specialized Institute for Higher Education (IEES – for its name in Spanish), an institute that can influence, in a decisive manner, each one of its cross-cutting issues and actions set forth in the Plan, and it is even possible to state that, without the work implemented by the ANSP, the achievement of objectives would be seriously conditioned, since it will not be possible to achieve the objectives if the operational base of adequately-trained police and officers is not set.

Likewise, in planning the process for transit and consolidation of the ANSP to the IEES, it is necessary to recover these national planning commitments, to make them evident in the scheduling of tasks and defining a new organizational structure based on the agreed on objectives.

5.3 Transition to the IEES

The ANSP-IEES seeks to establish as an entity in charge of institutionalizing the education offer and investigation of issues linked to insecurity, dedicated to training officers specialized in this phenomenon; as well as in the articulation of investigation lines of work aimed at generating knowledge required for enhanced understanding of delinquency and

violence dynamics, supported by scientific approximations, as well as to influence the basis of the definition of public policies and work programs for assistance.

If the ANSP- IEES is considered an academic and investigation entity, its functions shall be similar to those traditionally implemented by every university. Hence, its education officer must consider the incorporation of pre-established stages, schooling levels and academic degrees, having official acknowledgement guaranteed by the Ministry of Education.

The study plans and the corresponding curricular maps must comprise a set of contents structured in teaching and learning units, proposed for training students enrolled in the different programs offered by the IEES, seeking to ensure balance between theoretical learning and their practical application, based on the needs of the police force.

Since the functions and the responsibilities of the ANSP are not explicitly set forth in the Plan Safe El Salvador (2015), it is necessary to agree on them with the Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

Upon considering that the organizational structure of a governmental entity proceeds as defined in the planning exercises, it is necessary to modify the Organization and Functions Handbook of the ANSP and the Procedures Handbook, to be coherent with the organic-functional and procedures structure of the ANSP with the objectives set forth both in the Plan – Safe El Salvador (2015) and the 2015-2019 Strategic Institutional Plan (PEI).

It is planned that the process of transit and consolidation of the Specialized Institute of Higher Education considers the three functions that traditionally higher education entities have: 1) Teaching; 2) Research; and 3) Social Projection.

The Comprehensive Police Education System (SEPI – for its name in Spanish)⁹, defines the fundamental characteristics of the Specialized Institute of Higher Education (IEES). On 23 August 2013, through Executive Decree 151, the IEES was created, established as a different entity of the ANSP; adhered to the Ministry of Justice and Public Security. This decree was reformed on 3 November 2014, setting forth that the IEES budget would be included in budget allocations of the ANSP. The director of the ANSP mentions that the Institute was created to comply with the mandate of training police staff at a professional level, and that will adopt the same institutional policies of the ANSP: Policy of Quality Education, Equality and Gender Equity and Transparency.¹⁰

⁹ Described in Section 4.

¹⁰ Interview on 2 October 2015.

6- The relation between the ANSP and the professionalization and police career processes

This section describes the processes where the ANSP has direct inference on professionalization and police career, analyzing the processes for entry, initial and ongoing training. The mechanisms linked to promotion (beyond teaching courses) as well as service termination, are not part of this analysis, since their implementation depends to a greater degree on the PNC.

6.1 Entry procedure

The ANSP plans to increase the force status based on the requirements and needs of service of the PNC. According to the data provided by the head of the Administration Division in 2009 (at the beginning of the administration), the force status of the Police reached approximately 18,500 members. The estimate in regard to the number of police officers required by service needs determined a goal of 23,400 police officers. This entails that the ANSP will have to select, recruit and train approximately 5,000 police officers in the current five-year period until reaching the goal.

According to the aforementioned, entry and training of new police officers is the main challenge of the ANSP. The entry processes described in the regulations rule that the Academy is articulated in four stages: 1) Convoking; 2) Implementation of tests; 3) Selection; and 4) Entry and registration. Overall, the ANSP's selection and recruitment process has the necessary mechanisms for persons who have an adequate profile to become police officers to enter the PNC. Nevertheless, two important problems are identified upon implementing those mechanisms.

First, it is necessary to implement a consistent registry, shared by the ANSP and the PNC. This issue affects the development of the police officers' careers, since once they enter the entity, there are deficiencies in the compilation of files. Second, a gap between research conducted by the Unit of Background Checks and the Police Intelligence Center was identified; that is to say, some applicants enter the ANSP without knowing, in a precise manner, whether they are linked to gangs, organized crime, or if there are any records in their background that would hinder their entry into the PNC.

6.2 Initial training

The Initial Training Department is in charge of training new police officers. The basic course lasts eleven months, which are divided into eight months of theoretical teaching, and three months of practical training. The interviewed officers mentioned that the course considers the Community Police model as a cross-cutting issue in training.

During initial training, students are granted a scholarship of USD 91.43 per month, as well as benefits that include food, accommodations, uniforms and medical and dental services. According to the head of the Division of Academic Administration, the approximate average of investment for training one student amounts to USD 13,000.

According to collected testimonies, the number of students per promotion that enter the Academy varies, but, in average, these are comprised by 275 students. Desertion during the course was not considered as an issue, since it is estimated that only ten or twelve students per module leave the Academy, which means an efficiency of promotion of 97%.

Between 2009 and 2014, 6,035 new police officers graduated from the ANSP (ANSP, 2014). Thus, since 2009, the academy trained 1,000 new students per year. In order to have 23,500 police officers in the current administration, the ANSP would have to keep working at this pace.

Even though the Academy has premises to implement courses for 1,800 students, by not only providing initial training, but also enabling courses for promotion, update and specialization; reaching the goal of training 1,000 new police officers every year, entails that the ANSP has to work at its maximum capacity for several years, which could have an effect in weakening other processes, such as the direct entry course at executive level, to which no students have been convoked since 2009, if the courses aimed at staff from private security bodies show irregularities in their design and implementation.

6.3 Ongoing training: update and specialization

The ANSP is responsible for teaching update and specialization courses to PNC staff. The entity responsible for scheduling and implementing those courses is the Department of Update and Specialization. Update courses, according to the definition of the Comprehensive Police Education System (SEPI), these are “the programs through which PNC members, update their knowledge and skills required for performing their functions and activities according to their service area.” (ANSP, s/f, p. 42). Likewise, it is stated that specialization comprises “programs through which PNC members gain in-depth knowledge in one specific branch of police and public security, to perform the functions and activities that require more complex knowledge, skills and attitudes” (ANSP, s/f, p. 42).

Update courses are designed and taught based on PNC requirements, which are compiled in a diagnostic of needs. Currently, three priority themes were identified: investigation, police intelligence and Community police. Specialization courses last between one to two months, i.e., an average of four to eight weeks.

According to the last annual report of the Academic Council (ANSP, 2014), the ANSP implemented 292 specialty courses from June 2009 thru December 2014, where 10,480 police officers were trained; as well as 974 update courses for police officers. In turn, they implemented 1,048 courses on Community police philosophy, with the participation of 21,783 police officers.

According to the above-mentioned report, in 2014, forty eight specialization courses were taught, training 1,827 police officers on issues such as investigation on human trafficking, violence against women, investigation of gender-based violence crimes, protection operations, and special anti-gangs' investigation, among others.

Most of police staff has received at least one update and/or specialization course in past years; despite of this, this is not part of a consolidated plan for ongoing training nor does it have implications in the assessment of police competences. In addition, for police officers, the criteria to take a course are not clear; according to the conducted survey, 42% state that they have learned about them, while 40% does not know about them.

In the focus group with members of the Academic Council¹¹, several comments that highlighted those issues were stated:

"In our period, 70% of police officers has received at least one update course, but there are no accurate records of the number of hours. I have signed about 60,000 diplomas of courses that last less than a week. Some courses last one week and others last up to six months, such as the criminal investigation course (...) There is a lot of dispersion, there is an imbalance. Staff from special units has been trained, but police officers in the streets have fewer opportunities. (...) There are no regulations that require a specific number of hours of update courses. The PNC is the entity that decides how many police officers will be trained".

As stated above, rather than the design, content and implementation, the inadequate registry of courses that are taught and the lack of an information system shared by the PNC and the ANSP, are the issues that affect ongoing and specialization training processes for PNC members.

6.4 Promotions

Pursuant to the Regulations on Promotions and the Law of the Career of the National Civil Police, the promotion process comprises three stages: convoking, theoretical-practical tests, and passing the ANSP promotion course.

The Ministry of Security and Justice is responsible for convoking students for the courses; which, as proposed by the PNC Director, convokes police

¹¹ 2 October 2015

officers to the promotion process. In order for police officers to be able to participate, they must fulfill three requirements: 1) Seniority. The Police Career Law sets forth the time that the police officer must have been in his/her category to be entitled to be promoted to a higher category. 2) Scale¹². Mechanism through which the Promotions Tribunal grants a score that determines who has the required conditions for the promotion course; and 3) Lack of sanctions due to serious faults.

There have been exceptions to the rules through Legislative Decrees, accepting police officers who do not comply with the requirements for specific promotion courses. For example, it has been approved that sergeants without a university degree and corporals with degrees to be promoted to the executive level in the category of deputy inspectors.¹³

After the competition stage, police officers must take a theoretical-practical test, which is divided in two parts: 1) personal interview to determine whether he/she has the profile and skills required for performing the functions of the category for which he/she is applying to; and 2) theoretical-practical test, which assesses legal and operational aspects, as well as administration and police management issues.

Applicants who have passed both stages and who have the highest scores are entitled to attend the promotion course that corresponds to their category, which are approved by the Academic Council of the ANSP and managed by the Promotions Department.

Overall, the promotion process posited by the PNC has several elements that enable promoted police officers to gain the knowledge and skills required to perform the functions of the position to which they aspire. Nevertheless, according to the opinions collected in the interviews, there are several issues that have complicated the implementation of promotions and which have created unconformities among PNC members.

In regard to the design of the promotions process, there are two main inconsistencies: 1) the lack of an adequate register of staff training that enables determining their career status accurately, and 2) the inadequate weighing of the aspects that are considered in the scale has caused that an excessive value has been granted to the positions police officers have occupied. According to the interviewees, positions are granted in a discretionary manner. Police officers who are close to higher-ranking officers are the ones who hold the most important positions. Consequently, not all

¹² The definition of scale is set forth in the PNC Career Law, in article 29, stating that: "The Ministry of Public Security, as proposed by the General Director of the PNC, will determine the scale of professional, cultural, and seniority merits; as well as the minimum scores, in order to promote encouragement for officers' ongoing improvement and professionalization, preventing any type of discrimination."

¹³ Interview to the Chairman of the Entry and Promotion Tribunal (TIA – for its name in Spanish), 19 November 2015.

police officers have the same opportunities for promotion. This is a critical issues to be considered, since the PNC was made up by several entities (military, guerrilla, and civil society): the prevalence of these discretionary processes can be explained as a consequence of the struggles between these groups to control the entity.

In order to determine promotions, ANSP authorities agree that there is a “historical debt”. Even though they were considered in regulatory instruments that rule the PNC and the ANSP since their creation, these were not implemented for several years.

“Since the creation of the PNC in 1992-1993, it was set forth that there would be a police career, but it was not fulfilled. A “bottle neck” started to form. Even though there were promotion processes in the past, these were insufficient, causing lack of motivation among staff.” (Sub-division of Academic Training, 30 September 2015).

“The administration that started in 2009 has focused on the promotion of promotions to palliate the historical accumulated problems, especially those of executive staff. In this regard, there were recent promotions of sergeants to the executive level, even to deputy inspectors, in those cases in which it was proven that the officers had university degrees. There have also been promotions from the executive level to a higher level”. (Executive Deputy Director, 2 October 2015).

Between 2009 and 2014, the ANSP implemented twenty-three promotion courses in different levels, where 1,846 members of the PNC participated (ANSP, 2014). For 2016, according to the Chairman of the TIA,¹⁴ five invitations to apply will be held for promotion courses in different levels. Nevertheless, 86% of officers consulted through the survey state that they have not heard about any convoking processes in the past year.

Despite the efforts to revert this situation, deficits in promotion processes that have accumulated historically, have generated diverse problems such as lack of motivation of staff and reduction of the duration of the courses. “The regulations for promotions sets forth that the promotion courses must last at least seven months. But there have been shorter courses, due to decrees from the Legislative Assembly”¹⁵.

Most staff at the basic level has been left out of promotion processes. The Chairman of the TIA¹⁶ quotes the case of the contest of 700 positions for corporals where about 7,000 agents applied for these positions.

According to the conducted survey, it was observed that half of the police officers consider that their efforts in their work enables them to have good

¹⁴ 19 November 2015.

¹⁵ Sub-division of Academic Training, 30 September 2015.

¹⁶ 1 November 2015.

opportunities for promotion, that they are certain about the link between their work and their possibilities of having access to promotions, but that, in their opinion, there are no clear rules to get promotions: 53% state that promotion processes do not abide by pre-determined regulations.

Promotion courses last seven months, but there have been shorter courses as set forth by the Legislative Assembly, which has also enforced decrees so staff that has been rejected for these courses is admitted. The course for General Commissioner has higher requirements, since it lasts five months, at the end of which students must conduct an unprecedented investigation for one year.

In addition to the change in the duration of the courses, ANSP authorities acknowledge that there are gaps between implemented contents and the operational needs of police officers in service in the streets. Several previous investigations (ANSP and IUDOP-UCA, 2012, p. 121) have identified these issues, highlighting that staff in executive and higher levels considers that the approach of the courses is too theoretical and that, in many cases, the contents implemented at different levels cannot be differentiated. In turn, the authorities of the Academy mentioned that, in order to improve the contents and implementation of courses, internships have been set up for the instructors¹⁷, as well as new promotion processes. The General Director of the ANSP stated that they are working in the design of new study models, which can contribute to speeding up promotion processes. Nevertheless, the implementation of said model, as he states, needs legal changes. Likewise, this will not solve the problems caused by the lack of promotions for police officers who have served in the force for several years.

In regard to teachers, authorities acknowledge that there is no teaching career for the promotion of instructors. Thus, their opportunities for development within the ANSP are limited.

“At this time, there is no internal career for them as the teachers’ career of the Ministry of Education, they should be equal.

Teachers should have the guarantee that their positions at work will translate into improvements in their training and even in their salaries. I think that is necessary, especially for teachers”. (Sub-division of Academic Training, 30 September 2015)

“There is no career for instructors, but there is a teaching career. There are no guarantees that there will be improvements in positions. Teachers should be certain that their positions will translate into improvements in their training and even in their salaries. I think that is necessary, especially for teachers”. (Administration Division, 30 September 2015).

¹⁷ An internship entails an immersion period by the instructors in everyday police work, with the purpose of ensuring that conducted training activities respond to police officers’ needs.

Another issue for making up the group of teachers is how confusing the hiring scheme is, since there are different categories, but the functions are not adequately defined or differentiated.

“Teachers in the Academy are classified in two categories: a) Teacher 1, with a monthly income of \$950, and b) Teacher 2, with a monthly income of \$1,300. In practice, functions performed by both categories of teachers are similar. Members of the PNC also work in the academy as instructors, in service commission. It is necessary to review said classification and, especially, the implementation of clear rules on the teaching career in the entity, as well as to encourage updates and internships in positions in order to prevent gaps between the classrooms and the police practice.” (Administration Division, 30 September 2015).

Overall, the processes of the police career in which the ANSP has influence, have been functioning regularly since 2009. Nonetheless, it has not been possible to create a scheme for the police career and professionalization of the Police that ensures that the best candidates are selected and that their development in the entity is based on the quality of their performance.

7. The disciplinary regime of the ANSP

The entities in charge of the disciplinary regime in police bodies are indispensable for ensuring performance with democratic grounds. Their work is fundamental for overseeing police activities and that they respect the laws that rule police performance and protect human rights. The entities of the disciplinary regime are in charge of investigating police officers who have allegations against them and to penalize those who are guilty of committing illegal acts.

Regulations to rule the functioning of its internal disciplinary regime are in place in the ANSP. Recently, they conducted a series of institutional changes that translated into modifications to the way in which they implement their external controls.

The Organic Law of the General Inspectorate of Public Security was enforced on October 30, 2014, which transformed this body to a great degree, as it is no longer adhered to the PNC, and its functions are performed under the authority of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

The powers invested to the General Inspectorate go beyond those linked to disciplinary issues. It has turned into a comptroller and oversight entity both for the National Civil Police and the National Academy of Public Security.

Some of its main mandates are:

- Oversee academic and training performance of the ANSP

- Oversee compliance of the disciplinary regime
- Receive, investigate and process citizens' reports
- Conduct direction functions of internal disciplinary investigations
- Initiate disciplinary procedures for serious and very serious offenses committed by members of the police force
- Request investigation reports
- Oversee and control functions of all bodies, units, and operational management services of the PNC and the ANSP
- Assess and oversee police plans, programs, instruments and procedures
- Verify adequate management of staff and resources

The General Inspectorate is a body empowered to verify a great variety of processes within the Academy. However, said powers do not go against the existing scheme of the ANSP to perform the corresponding functions under the disciplinary regime.

The next chart shows both the processes associated to the disciplinary regime and the entities responsible for each one of them.

Chart 1. Disciplinary Regime of the ANSP

PROCESSES	TOPICS	AUTHORITY
Complaints	Receiving Processing Coordination between entities	Unit of Disciplinary Files Legal Unit
Investigations	Previous investigations Disciplinary investigations	Instructor of procedures Secretary of interventions
Supervision	Supervision of students Supervision of teachers Supervision of ANSP processes	Department of supervision of academic and training performance of the ANSP (belongs to the General Inspectorate of the PNC, does not work within the ANSP) Unit of Internal Regime of the ANSP
Sanctions	Sanctions to students Sanctions to administrative staff and teachers from the Academy	General Director and Academic Council Head Office of Division of Studies Executive Sub-director of the Academy

Source: Prepared with ANSP information

Interviews conducted with ANSP authorities and students showed that the entities shown in the chart are acknowledged by the authorities and the students of the Academy, and that these are working. However, they identified irregularities in several processes, both in their design and implementation.

In the interviews with authorities and students, both commented the neglect in the correct implementation of the Code of Conduct:

“The need to comply with the Code of Conduct is not emphasized in the Academy. For example, policewomen wear tight pants, and they look like sausages that have not been tied properly. Several young police officers wear haircuts in fashion, they depilate their eyebrows and do not want to wear caps because they do not want to ruin their hairdos.” (Focus group with police staff, 1 October 2015)

In regard to sanction processes, the regulations of the ANSP empower higher officers to be in charge of sanctioning faults classified as serious or very serious. The implementation of sanctions has been conducted in past years by the corresponding authorities. Nevertheless, the sanction process is susceptible for improvements. In other police bodies, such as the ones in Mexico and in the United States, sanctions of serious offenses are applied by collegiate entities made up by the heads of the main areas of the bodies. The fact that serious cases are discussed in a collegiate manner in a council, in which different points of view are stated, enables the process to be less discretionary.

Considering the new attributions of the General Inspectorate over the ANSP, seems to be beneficial for the creation of an oversight body in charge of verifying, not only the disciplinary regime, but also the use of resources allocated to the ANSP, but, from the perspective of several officers, it questions the operational capacity of the Inspectorate to control both the PNC and the ANSP in an efficient manner and at the same time.

A strategy to prevent discretionality in sanction processes of the ANSP is to link the implementation of new attributions of the General Inspectorate to follow-up investigation processes that arise in the Academy, but, it is necessary to consider, upon assessing the effectiveness of these processes, the number of obligations that the Inspectorate has to comply with in relation to the limited availability of human and financial resources.

In defining the oversight mechanisms of the Inspectorate for the Academy, which include not only disciplinary aspects but also the evaluation of the impact of the study programs, the availability of a disciplinary instructive is considered, as well as that of a regulated disciplinary regime and in place. At this time, one of the delegates of the Inspectorate has been appointed

as liaison with the Academy, with an aim to identify likely mechanisms for coordination and effective delimitation of functions.

Thus, the entities responsible for implementing the disciplinary regime will go through a period of re-adjustment, during which it is necessary to review schemes for coordination between the General Inspectorate and the ANSP, to strengthen areas responsible of overseeing actions, as well as to modify the sanctions processes to reduce discretionality in their decisions.

8. Comprehensive Police Education System

Since 2009, actions have been implemented to set the grounds for the ANSP to become a higher education entity. In the 2010-2014 Strategic Institutional Plan, the Comprehensive Police Education System (SEPI) was defined as an institutional education project. The Plan was elaborated by the Division of Studies and approved by the Academic Council.¹⁸ It is defined in its document of fundamentals, as follows:

“The SEPI provides the philosophical basis for the education work of the ANSP and guides teaching functions and police training processes, articulating components and philosophical, educational administrative, follow-up, and evaluation lines, with an aim to train professionals in Police Science and Public Security with civic awareness and education quality, pursuant to the functions they perform in society”. (ANSP, s/f, p.7)

The SEPI defines the education model of the ANSP, in compliance with the institutional functions set forth in its Organic Law: to train and update knowledge of PNC members, selection for their entry to the Academy; investigation on issues linked to the PNC and public security; assessment of police staff; organizing promotion courses and promoting civic awareness among students, in line with the institutional doctrine. In regard to its education model, the ANSP assumes teaching, scientific investigation, and social projection as its basic functions. (ANSP, s/f, p.22).

One of the strategies defined by the SEPI includes the evaluation of ANSP graduates, the update of study programs in the areas of judicial-regulatory training, humanistic, technical-Police, Deontology, Human Rights and General Training (ANSP, s/f, p.22).¹⁹ The curricular approach adopted by the ANSP is that of competences, “which is defined as the articulation of knowledge, thinking skills, attitudes, values, and capacities; for solving problems that are faced in the field of public security.” (ANSP, s/f, p.32). Competences adopted by this education model are divided into: human-social (such as communication and responsibility), metacognitive (mental

¹⁸ Focus group with the Academic Council, 2 October 2015.

¹⁹ “It refers to the interaction between the academic tasks with the natural, social and cultural reality of the country”. (ANSP, s/f, p.43).

abilities) and specific (skills). The SEPI states that defined competences can be subject to evaluation; nevertheless, the methodology for its application has not been defined yet (ANSP, s/f, pp. 38-39).

All the curricular contents of the ANSP must include the cross-cutting issues of human rights, ethics, and police deontology, gender equality and prevention of violence against women, community police, children's rights and prevention of violence against youth. However, the mechanisms to achieve mainstreaming of these issues in practice are not clear.

The SEPI also defines competences for teachers, among which it includes the capacity to conduct diagnostics, having good communication, empathy, ludic-teaching capacity, ethics and metacognitive skills. The persons who manage the Academy must also comply with the requirements of strategic, tactical, and personal development competences (ANSP, s/f, pp. 49-52). How these competences will be assessed and ensured is not defined, aspects that will be defined in the System for Assessing and Certifying Competences (ANSP, s/f, p. 556).

According to the decree of its creation, the Specialized Institute of Higher Education (IEES) is a different entity from the ANSP and, therefore, is not part of the Academy. The IEES was created as a corporation of public right, with legal status, and its own patrimony. In the opinion of the head of the Legal Unit,²⁰ there must be a reform of the Organic Law of the ANSP where it states that the Academy can provide higher education. Thus, it is necessary to reform the ANSP in a juridical and organizational manner so that it transforms effectively into an entity of higher education. Likewise, in this reform, it must be considered that the Ministry of Education must make specific exceptions with the academic functions of the ANSP, given its function and strategic influence in the security policy, enabling it to transform into the IEES.

The Academy has had significant progress in the design of the IEES: it has a career plan for technicians on Police Science; progress in the socialization of the objectives of the Institute between teachers and the elaboration of documents required by the Ministry of Education.

Nevertheless, if the legal issues that hinder the transformation of the Academy into the Institute are not resolved, the main challenge is that the education project is implemented by implementing, at least, the technical level. The reforms to the Organic Law of the ANSP and to the Law of the Police Career are imperative to effectively associate higher education to be provided with the corresponding police levels. The achievement of this objective will impact, to a great degree, in a significant improvement in police professionalization.

²⁰ 18 November 2015.

According to the ANSP's plans, the Institute will offer the careers of technician and technologist in Police Science, Degree in Police Science, and Master's and Doctorate in Police Science and Public Security. These degrees, upon being awarded by a higher education entity, would not only have validity in the PNC, but also enable graduates to continue studying in other education bodies. The academic program of the technicians' career was recently approved by the Ministry of Education. It is expected that the first promotion is comprised by ANSP teacher, who will undertake studies for technicians and technologist, so they are able to teach at those levels.²¹ Expectations are that, as of 2017, students from this entity will be trained at higher level, being this training optional for police staff in service.

The SEPI includes a proposal to match training of the Higher Institute with the police career (ANSP, s/f, pp. 26-29). The diploma of agent will be awarded after one year of study. With one more year, they can get the diploma of technician in Police Sciences, getting the processes of promotion to the category of corporal accredited. With two more years of study, it is possible to become technologist in Police Sciences, getting the process of promotion to the category of sergeant accredited. With an additional year of study, they will get the degree on Police Science, being accredited for the category of deputy inspector.²² It is foreseen that the Masters' degree in Public Security will last two years,²³ getting accredited for the category of deputy commissioner. The Doctorate, with one more year of study than the Master's degree, will get accredited for the category of General Commissioner.

Given the difficulties for police staff to attend face-to-face lessons, for all the time required for getting each academic degree accredited, it is fundamental that an online and semi face-to-face training offer be planned and implemented as an alternative, and consider that this education model does not hinder the requirements of police service, since the availability of the status of the force is affected, for PNC services.

A positive element is that fundamental theoretical elements of the ANSP education system are posited in a base theoretical document; challenges focus on its effective implementation. In order to do this, scenarios and specific actions to enable the consolidation of the education model must be defined, even with the existing difficulties for the short-term startup of the IEES.

²¹ Interview with Executive Deputy Director, 2 October 2015.

²² According to the SEPI, external entry to the category of deputy inspector can be done if the candidate has a university degree at the level of Licenciatura, Engineering or Architecture. Those who enter will have to take a leveling course of at least two years, in order to get the Degree in Police Science. Leveling courses of one year can also be implemented if the candidate has other academic studies (ANSP, s/f, p. 40).

²³ Every completed semester would enable the student to apply to the immediate higher category, which is a flexible qualification.

9. Training in police intelligence

Police intelligence is a fundamental component for the operationalization of the philosophy of Community police in El Salvador. The training manual on the subject (ANSP and PNC, 2013, p. 130), states that the insertion of communities as a key factor for setting networks of informers. Based on this approach, police intelligence is understood as the “processes and specialized knowledge to adopt measures and make decisions” (ANSP and PNC, 2013, p.131).

Despite the preponderance of intelligence for the consolidation of the police model adopted as an institutional policy and doctrine; training on the subject has focused, as a priority, only in specialized areas of the Police and not to all staff altogether (Arias, Rosada-Granados and Sain, 2012, p. 105). Based on this acknowledgement, in the 2015-2019 Strategic Institutional Plan of the ANSP (2015, p.7), it is set forth that “in the teaching area, it is necessary to update topics on police investigation and intelligence to link theoretical teaching with the operational tactical part”. In this regard, the PNC states in its Institutional Strategic Plan, the implementation of the police performance model guided in intelligence.

According to the police officers that responded to the questionnaire applied in the investigation, 62% consider that information received for conducting their work is necessary and of quality; 74% stated that the Police has criteria to define which information is useful and 70% agree in that there are procedures for information management in the Police. These data show that there are propitious conditions for police staff to receive in-depth training on adequate management of available information. For most of the officers participating in the survey, the Police uses information of criminal influence for the organization of their patrolling.

In the focus group with the Academic Council,²⁴ it was stated that since 2010 a training system on criminal investigation linked to intelligence is in place, which must be linked to the philosophy of Community police, in aspects such as community patrolling based on intelligence. There is an Inter-institutional Commission between the ANSP and the PNC, which conducts the diagnostic of training needs and results, it sets the basis for the proposal of update courses and specialties. In this regard, the head of the Center for Institutional Training of the PNC²⁵ confirms that the areas of prevention, criminal investigation, and intelligence have been defined as strategic.

²⁴ 12 October 2015

²⁵ 19 November 2015

In the survey conducted with police officers, the open question: What is police intelligence? was included. Most of the answers aimed at key words: “process”, “method”, “analysis” and “information”, which is processed in order to anticipate crimes and set the basis for decision making. Little reference was made to the fact that the process is consolidated with the participation of the community as an informer and that one of its main objectives is solving the citizens’ security problems.

These answers show that, among police staff, underlies the basic notion of intelligence as a cycle or process, which consists of the collection and analysis of information useful for preventing crime. This is a significant achievement to implement training activities that provide tools for police participation in the diverse stages of the intelligence process, as well as enabling the incursion of the community as a source and final beneficiary of the information to be processed.

10. Community Police Philosophy

Community Police in El Salvador is a cross-cutting philosophy in work (ANSP and PNC, 2013, p. 16). Initially, it was institutionally defined as:

“One concept of the duties of a Police force in a democratic country is an effective relation with the population is developed, potentiating the participation of the community in the identification, prioritization, prevention and solution of problems that affect it, contributing to improving the quality of life”. (ANSP and PNC, 2013, p. 15)

This Police philosophy prioritizes the community in the processes for solving problems and in the evaluation of actions, i.e., the community is the interlocutor and center of the police activity (ANSP and PNC, 2013, pp. 21-23). The community police philosophy is implemented following the next methodological sequence (ANSP and PNC, 2013, p. 28):

1. Local diagnostic of crime influence, risk factors, protection factors and the situation. Participation of the community.
2. Integration of the diagnostic plus intelligence. Elaboration of specific plans for territorial units.
3. Implementation of operational plans focused on preventive and dissuasive actions.
4. Feedback and adjustments with clear information on effectiveness. Oversight and internal control.
5. Accountability to the community. External control.

Since the Peace Agreements of 1992, it was set forth that “the primordial virtues of the Police should be the call for community service, the capacity for human relations, and emotional maturity” (Costa, 1999, p. 122). That is to say, from its origin, the PNC identified the positive interaction with the community as the articulating cross-cutting issue of its doctrine. Nevertheless, it is until 2009 when the greatest institutional efforts to adopt a doctrine of social proximity become visible. As of that year, the Academic Council of the ANSP started to adopt the model for the study plans and programs.²⁶

The program of Community Intervention Police Patrols had been implemented in previous years. These were known as PIP-COM (for its name in Spanish), as a deployment strategy to consult with the citizens and respond to insecurity problems through the creation of Citizens’ Security Committees (Arias, et al., 2012, pp. 104-105).

It is until 2009 when the institutional doctrine of Community Police of the National Civil Police of El Salvador is implemented. The 2010-2014 plan to implement the Community Police Philosophy at National Level was formulated in 2010 (GIZ-PREVENIR, 2014), which included the following phases: I) Training of staff from police offices; II) Local diagnostics; III) Operational planning; IV) Implementation of operational plans; and V) Supervision and Evaluation (internal and external).

The Institutional Doctrine of Community Police sets forth that “Community Police is not simply a form of implementing police actions, but rather a way to be police officers”. (ANSP and PNC, 2013, p.39). This reference is coherent with the principles of police performance defined in the Peace Agreements. As stated by the head of the Division of Studies of the ANSP²⁷: “The community police is the DNA of the Police: a police force that does not know how to relate to the people, to assert democracy among people, then we are not talking about Police”.

In regard to training, the doctrine sets forth that police officers must be more multipurpose than specialists. The implementation of the philosophy of work can be evaluated by the communities.

Upon asking police officers for their opinion on the philosophy of Community Police, most of them answered that they are mechanisms that relate and bring close the Police to the community. The consolidation of the philosophy of Community Police has a key factor in police staff training (Arévalo, 2011). If the attitudes of police officers are not modified, if there is no verifiable change in the way in which agents understand their

²⁶ Academic Council, 2 October 2015.

²⁷ 30 September 2015.

functions and duties as operational staff (since this perception defines the way in which each officer performs), the organizational culture of the PNC as a whole cannot be coherent with the proximity model. Hence the importance that police staff learns and is trained on the cross-cutting issues of development of basic social skills, insertion and linkage with the community, as well as solving problems. In regard to the necessary change of attitudes in the police body, one of the participants of the focus group of police staff,²⁸ stated: “There are many officers that do not trust in it ... they even called the course: ‘the plush course’. They have this chip where they have recorded that Community Police does not work.” Community Police must be the cross-cutting pillar of training and not a specific module (AIUDOP-UCA, 2012, p. 122). As another police officer of the focus group stated, “strengthening human talent is strategic for Community Police.”

According to the results of the survey conducted with police staff, there are suitable conditions for change in the organizational culture, towards a community approach.

89% of the surveyed officers feel well-prepared for dealing and assisting people. The position that the solution to community problems is as important as fighting crime is generalized, in the opinion of 92% of the consulted agents. For 75% of the respondents, the demands of the community are the priority input for the Police force agenda. 89% agree on defining police work as a service for citizens. Nevertheless, 69% of the respondents consider that the community has limited notions on the work of the Police, and 62% think that the community does not participate in planning the work agenda of the Police.

Pursuant to the Plan for Implementation of the Community Police Philosophy, police training on this topic started with the *Experimental Manual for Training* and with the creation of a group under the approach of training of trainers.²⁹ As a result, 250 trainers graduated in the first promotion, and they took a one-month course to replicate it in diverse positions to be extended nationwide. Training received by PNC members on community police lasts only two weeks, even though it has lasted longer in exceptional cases.³⁰

Even though the ANSP Academic Council states that more than 95% of police staff has already been trained, it is necessary to build on that training, as well as to assess its effectiveness, “to determine if the doctrine is being applied”.³¹ In addition, the success of the model does not depend solely on police training, but rather in convincing citizens of the effectiveness of

²⁸ 1 October 2015

²⁹ Focus group with Academic Council, 2 October 2015.

³⁰ Focus group with police staff, 1 October 2015.

³¹ Head of the Institutional Training Center of the PNC, 18 November 2015.

the Policy.³²In this same regard, one of the police officers participating in the focus group³³ stated, “The impact has not been visible, despite the fact that almost 95% of the police staff has been trained. This has had a lot to do with the organizational commitment, identify, vocation, will, and being able to see the needs of the community; all so that, in the end, the quality of life of citizens is improved.”

11. Conclusions

The consolidation of the democratic police reform in El Salvador does not depend solely on the Academy. However, it implements significant processes that contribute decisively to having a Police force that is oriented to provide services to the citizens. Thus, systematic and sustained efforts of the current authorities are required, integrated in an agenda for the security of citizens.

The project for the transformation of the ANSP into a Higher Education Institute is a historical opportunity to ensure professional training of police staff in the country. Setting the objective that police officers receive sound academic training, contributes to the achievement of a democratic police reform. Nevertheless, the findings show that progress in this process is slow and shows important challenges.

In recent years, the institutional effort to establish the Police as a strategic component of the democratic model of security has been evident, trying to revert the historical debt of promotions and promotions in the PNC, and adopting a police doctrine pursuant to the best international practices: the Community Police Philosophy. Nevertheless, these processes continue to be implemented through several discretionary practices of the ANSP which hinder a reform of the Police that would enable it to adapt to the demands of a democratic context, since the mechanisms to select the best candidates to enter the Police force are not being consolidated, and that officers who work in the Police force know there are guaranteed opportunities for personal development.

Some of the pending aspects to consolidate the availability of a Democratic Police, include:

- Plan recruitment processes so that these are conducted with an organized and accurate registry. It must be ensured that applicants who enter the Academy do so only if their background has been verified in a rigorous manner

³² Sub-division of Academic Training, 30 September 2015.

³³ 1 October 2015

- Promote permanent and effective programs for ongoing training and assessment of police staff, consolidate internal control mechanisms, as well as to include new competences of the General Inspectorate.
- Complying with this agenda will vindicate the spirit of the Peace Agreements: a civil and professional Police force, different from the reactive profile and of national security associated to the old military policies of national security.
- The consolidation of the PNC as an entity that bases its function as a mechanism for unconditional protection of human rights, the proximity to the community, intelligence and prevention, will not be achieved unless the ANSP is incorporated in the reform agenda, consolidating it as a professionalization body and it is achieved that they work in a coordinated manner in achieving common objectives.

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