

## Index

- Abreu, Saulo Castro, 172  
*acordo de cavalheiros*, 160  
 Airport Security Police, 113  
 Alckmin, Geraldo, 166, 168, 172  
     police reforms, 173  
 Alemão, 78  
 Alencar administration  
     criminal violence, 75  
 Alencar, Marcello, 58–59, 67, 195  
     drug trafficking crackdowns, 70  
 Álvarez, Juan José, 139  
 Amarildo (murdered favela resident), 88  
 Argentina  
     criminal factions, 17  
     drug consumption, 17  
     drug transshipment, 17  
     drug-related violence, 47  
     governance, 17–18  
     police violence, 197  
     subnational homicide rates, 16  
     wealth, 18  
 Argentina, 15. *see also* Buenos Aires  
 Argentina, 17. *see also* Rosario  
 Argentina, 15. *see also* Santa Fe  
 Armendariz, Alejandro, 131  
 Arslanian, León, 137, 144  
  
 Baixada Fluminense, 76  
 Baratta, Salvador, 152  
 Batalhão de Operações Especiais – Special  
     Operations Battalion, 1. *See* BOPE  
 Batista administration  
     police violence, 73  
  
 Batista, Nilo, 67  
 Beltrame, José Mariano, 79–81, 86  
 Bergman, Marcelo, 11  
 Binner, Hermes, 100, 109–10, 195, 205  
 Blumberg, Axel, 144  
 Bonaerense, 142  
 Bonfatti, Antonio, 95, 100, 111,  
     114, 123  
 BOPE, 1, 64, 72  
 Brazil  
     criminal factions, 17  
     drug consumption, 17  
     drug transshipment, 17  
     governance, 17–18  
     police violence, 198  
     role in cocaine trafficking, 65  
     subnational homicide rates, 16  
     wealth, 18  
 Brazil, 15. *see also* Rio de Janeiro  
 Brazil, 15. *see also* São Paulo  
 Brazilian Social Democratic Party, 23.  
     *see* PSDB  
 Brizola administration  
     criminal violence, 75  
     destabilization by police, 70  
     police reforms, 65–66  
     police violence, 72  
 Brizola, Leonel, 58–59, 195, 205  
     election, 1982, 65  
     fragmentation, 66  
     re-election (1990), 67  
 Brown, Carlos, 137  
 Brunati, Luis, 132

- Buenos Aires, 3, 15, 23, 124, 126, 195, 205  
 Buenos Aires Police 2 145  
 characteristics of, 127  
 coordinated protection rackets, 126, 142  
 criminal violence, 156  
 Damned Police (Maldita Policía), 138  
 fragmented drug market, 156  
 gubernational party share, 130  
 homicide rates, 3, 16, 127, 141, 156  
 Internal Affairs Division, 145  
 kidnappings, 141, 145, 153  
 La Bonaerense, 144  
 market fragmentation, 127  
 mutual accommodation, 132  
 Operation Strawberry, 135  
 Operation White Coffee, 135  
 particularistic negotiations,  
 140–42  
 Peronist factionalism, 126, 128  
 Peronist government, 126, 142  
 police autonomy, 126, 144, 156  
 police corruption, 128, 133, 140–41  
 police ineptitude, 140  
 police protests, December 2013 147  
 police reforms, 144  
 police violence, 140  
 political competition, 128  
 political fragmentation, 129  
 politicians accused of drug trafficking,  
 126  
 protection rackets, 22, 126–27,  
 148, 197  
 security ministers, 144, 147  
 violence against police, 157
- Cabezas, José Luis, 137
- Cabral administration  
 PM rebellion, 82  
 police professionalization, 77  
 police professionalization, 81  
 police violence, 85  
 political fragmentation, 80  
 success of UPPs, 83  
 violence reduction, 79
- Cabral, Sérgio, 59, 78
- Cafiero administration  
 police reforms, 132
- Cafiero, Antonio, 130
- Cafiero, Juan Pablo, 139
- Cali cartel  
 coordinated coexistence, 12
- Camilo, Alvaro (Col.), 174, 176, 190  
 police reforms, 174
- Camorra  
 coordinated coexistence, 13
- Camorra, 46. *see also* coordinated  
 coexistence,
- Candelária church, 73
- Canteros (Los Monos), 118, 122
- Carandiru prison massacre, 166, 206
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 166
- Casal, Ricardo, 146, 151
- CELS, 140, 158
- Center for Integrated Intelligence for  
 Security, 173
- Center for Legal and Social Studies 158.  
*see* CELS
- Cerqueira, Magno Nazareth (Col.), 65–66,  
 196, 205  
 assassination of, 67
- Cerqueira, Nilton (Sec. Gen.), 68, 71
- Chile, 201
- civilian promotion boards, 113
- cocaine, 65  
 Brazil, 65  
 GBA, 134, 150  
 Santa Fe, 116  
 São Paulo, 166
- Colombia, 200  
 and Medellín cartel, 12, 14, 46  
 coordinated coexistence, 12  
 particularistic confrontation, 14
- Comando Vermelho (CV), 71
- community policing, 31
- Community Security Councils, 173
- Complexo da Maré, 81
- concentrated markets, 45
- conflict de-escalation, 31
- Conselho Justificativo (Justification  
 Council), 167
- Conte Lopes, Roberval, 186
- coordinated coexistence,  
 4, 54, 195
- Cali cartel, 12
- Camorra, 13
- central features, 14
- Colombia, 12
- coordinated regime, 12
- decline in trafficker retaliation against  
 police, 87
- defined, 12
- donbernabilidad, 12

- El Salvador, 13  
 informal regulatory arrangements, 4  
 Italy, 13  
 Japan, 13  
 low corruption, 12  
 Medellín cartel, 12  
 Pacification, 77  
 police professionalization, 23  
 Rio de Janeiro, 61, 86  
 São Paulo, 160–61, 187  
 Sicilian mafia, 13  
 the Yakuza, 13  
 violence, decrease in, 86, 91  
 violence, low, 55  
 coordinated coexistence, 91. *see also*  
     Pacification  
 Corporal X, 160  
 Corti, Leandro, 112, 115  
 Covas administration  
     lasting change, 170  
     police autonomy, reduction of, 170  
     police professionalization, 168  
     police violence, 174  
 Covas, Mário, Jr., 165, 167, 196  
     police reforms, 167  
 criminal violence  
     defined for context, 12  
     literature on, 8  
     police autonomy and, 75  
 Cuenca, Daniel, 110  
 CV, 63, 64  
     corruption and violence, 64  
  
 da Silva, Benedita, 69  
 de Afonso, Jose, 171  
 de Lázari, Eduardo, 136  
 de Oliveira, Quintal (General), 69  
 de Oliveira, Rossangela Assed Barros  
     Matheus de, 69. *see* Garotinho, Rosinha,  
     December 2001 crisis, 108  
 DEIC, 171, 182  
 democracy and policing, 203  
 DENARC, 171, 182  
 donbernabilidad  
     coordinated coexistence, 12  
 donbernabilidad, 12. *see* coordinated  
     coexistence,  
 Doria, João, 169, 192  
 double pact (GBA), 127  
 double simultaneous vote (DSV), 99. *see* Ley  
     de Lemas  
  
 drug gangs, São Paulo  
     Primeiro Comando da Capital (PCC,  
     First Command of the Capital), 2  
 drug markets  
     market fragmentation, 44, 119  
     market stability, 44  
     state regulation of, 44  
     violence and, 45  
 drug markets, political economy of, 208  
 drug trafficking  
     across Latin America, 4  
     characteristics of organizations, 32  
     maintenance of order, 76  
     police toleration of, 5  
     police toleration of, 5. *see* coordinated  
     coexistence  
 drug trafficking organizations  
     state cooperation with organizations, 32  
 Duhalde administration  
     police resistance to, 135  
 Duhalde, Eduardo, 102, 129, 130, 131, 135  
     split from Kirchner, 143  
 Durán-Martínez, Angélica, 9  
 Duterte, Rodrigo, 14  
  
 El Salvador, 200  
     coordinated coexistence, 13  
 Escobar, Pablo. *see* xref Medellín cartel  
     particularistic confrontation, 14  
  
 Falange Vermelha (Red Phalanx)  
     64, *see* CV  
*Faroeste* (Wild West), 68, 71, 195. *see also*  
     Cerqueira, Nilton (Sec. Gen.),  
 Favela Naval massacre (1997), 168, 176,  
     206  
 Fernández, Aníbal, 126, 144  
 Ferreira Pinto, Antônio, 173, 190, 206  
     police autonomy, reduction of, 173  
 First Command of the Capital  
     160, *see* PCC  
 Fleury Filho, Luiz Antônio, 165, 167, 196  
     police violence, 166  
 Florencio Varela, 19, 155  
 forbearance (Holland), 41  
 formal regulation of drug trafficking  
     crime control strategies, 10  
     demand reduction, 10  
     militarized supply reduction, 10  
 FPV, 130, 143  
     low turnover and fragmentation, 142

- FR143, see Renovation Front  
 fragmented markets, 44  
*Frente Renovador*, 143, see Renovation Front  
 FREPASO, 130, 135  
 Friends of Friends (ADA), 71  
 Front for Victory, 130, see FPV
- Garotinho administration (Anthony)  
   criminal violence, 75  
 Garotinho, Anthony, 59, 68, 74  
   destabilization by police, 70  
   fragmentation in administration, 69  
   police reforms, 68  
 Garotinho, Rosinha, 59, 69  
   rent extraction from illicit activities, 69  
 Gaviola, Álvaro, 111  
 GBA, 126, see Buenos Aires  
 GBA, 126, see greater Buenos Aires  
 Goldstein, Paul, 46  
 González, Yanilda, 8, 163  
 GPAE, 68  
 Granados, Alejandro, 147  
 Greater Buenos Aires  
   corruption, 2  
 Guatemala, 200
- Haddad, Fernando, 174  
 Holland, Alisha, 41  
 Honduras, 200
- Ilha Grande prison, 64  
 illicit markets  
   further research, 209  
 informal regulatory arrangements, 2, 6, 9,  
   16, 24  
   central features, 14  
   coordinated coexistence, 4, 12  
   defined, 3, 10  
   particularistic confrontation, 14  
   particularistic confrontations, 4  
   particularistic negotiations,  
     4, 13  
   protection rackets, 4, 13  
   stability of, 205  
 Institute of Public Security, 108  
 Institute of Public Security (Santa Fe),  
   108  
 international events, 63, 79, 93  
   police reforms, 206  
 ISEP, 107, see Institute of Public Security  
   (Santa Fe)
- Italy  
   coordinated coexistence, 13
- Japan  
   coordinated coexistence, 13
- Kirchner, Cristina Fernández de, 97, 102,  
   130, 143  
 Kirchner, Néstor, 102, 130, 143  
   split from Duhalde, 143
- La Bonaerense, 126, 128–29, 133–34, 138,  
   141, 207  
 Lamberto, Raúl  
   police autonomy and, 112  
 Lembo, Cláudio, 169, 183  
 Lessing, Ben, 9  
 Let's Change (*Cambiamos*)  
   coalition, 158  
 Ley de Lemas, 99  
   use to preserve party unity, 101  
 Lifschitz, Miguel, 100, 123  
 Lins, Alvaro, 74  
 Lomas de Zamora, 155  
 López Echagüe, Hernán, 133–34  
 Luz, Hélio, 65
- Macri, Mauricio, 97  
 maintaining order  
   balance with allowing drug  
   transactions, 2  
*Making Peace in Drug Wars* (Lessing), 9  
 Marcola, 182, 183  
 market actors  
   defined, 24  
 Marzagão, Ronaldo  
   police reforms, 172  
 Massa, Sergio, 143  
 May Attacks, 183, 206  
 Medellín cartel  
   particularistic confrontation, 14  
 Medellín cartel, 12 see coordinated  
   coexistence  
 Menem, Carlos, 101–2, 129, 130, 135  
 Mexico, 200  
   protection rackets, 13  
   uncoordinated regimes, 13  
 Military Police (Polícia Militar)  
   predation, 73  
 Military Police (Polícia Militar), 67, see also  
   Brizola, Leonel

- Military Police (Polícia Militar), 67. *see also* Cerqueira, Magno Nazareth (Col.),
- Military Police Battalions (Batalhões da Polícia Militar, BPM), 72
- Mingardi, Guaracy, 189
- Montoro administration
- police reforms, 164, 192
  - police resistance to reforms, 163, 165
  - police violence, 166
- Montoro, Franco, 167, 196
- More Money, More Crime* (Bergman), 11
- Moreira Franco, Wellington, 58–59, 195, 205
- police reforms, 67
- Nicaragua, 200
- O Globo, 1
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, 6
- Obeid, Jorge, 100–2, 105, 195, 205
- conflict with Reutemann bloc, 106–7
  - police reforms, 106–7
- Operation Rio, 67
- ordered illicit markets, 2
- organized criminal groups
- succession violence, 46
- Ouvidoria, 167
- Pacification, 22, 77, 163, 206
- and persistent police corruption, 89
  - coordinated coexistence, 77
  - criminal violence, 75
  - limits of, 84, 88–89
  - more organized protection rackets, 89
  - partially informal regulatory regime, 78
- Pacification 89, *see also* Police Pacification Units (UPP)
- Paes, Eduardo, 80
- Paraisópolis uprising, 173
- particularistic confrontation, 14, 51
- central features, 14
  - police corruption, 51
  - police violence, 51
  - violence and, 22
- particularistic negotiations, 52, 114
- central features, 14
  - homicide rates, 120
  - police corruption, 52
  - uncoordinated regimes, 13
- particularistic regulatory arrangements
- Rio de Janeiro, 197
  - Santa Fe, 197
  - São Paulo, 197
- Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira, 161. *see* PSDB
- Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party), 69
- Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement, 22. *see* PMDB
- PC (São Paulo), 196
- and DHPP, 171
  - brutality, 164
  - collaboration with PM, 172
  - corruption and violence, 166
  - professionalization, 178
  - technological advances, 178
  - under Ferreira Pinto, 173
- PCC, 17, 160–61, 167
- and prison dominance, 181, 183
  - containment of violence, 187, 189
  - crime in the periphery, 189
  - dominance in São Paulo, 180, 193
  - drug trafficking, 182
  - internal organization, 182
  - prison organization, 187
  - retaliation against ROTA, 191
  - sense of justice, 184
  - state truce, 161, 180, 187
  - state truce, 2012 interruption, 190
- PDT, 59
- Peronist Cooperative, 101
- Peronist factionalism (GBA), 126, 135
- breakdown of police coordination, 140
  - consolidation, 143
  - increased violence, 127
  - low interparty fragmentation, 142
  - particularistic negotiations, 127
  - police autonomy, 127, 135, 142
  - police reforms, 135
- Peronist government
- continuous rule, 1983–2007, 100
  - coordinated protection rackets, 103
  - factionalism, 106
  - intraparty fragmentation, 136
  - low violence, 103
  - police corruption, 102
  - rent capture from police, 102
- Peronist party, 22–23, 99
- internal factions, 100

- Peronist party (cont.)  
     municipal mayors, 145, 148  
     shift in platform, 134  
 Perotti administration homicide rates, 123  
 Perotti, Omar, 124  
 Perú, 201  
 Petrelluzzi, Marco  
     gang mismanagement, 182  
     police reforms, 171  
 Petrolão, 90  
 Pezão, Luiz, 59  
 Philippines, 202  
     particularistic confrontation, 14  
 Piotti, Alberto, 133, 136  
 PJ, 22. *see* Peronist party  
 PM (Rio de Janeiro), 58, 66, 72  
     dispersed corruption, 70  
     uncoordinated attacks, 70  
 PM (São Paulo), 172  
     collaboration with PC, 172  
     Community Policing proposal, 170  
     human rights, 170, 171–73, 176  
     non-attention to suppressing drug  
         trafficking, 186  
     professionalization, 172, 176  
     role in May Attacks, 183  
     ROTA, 164  
     violence, 164  
 PMDB, 22, 59, 61, 63  
     entrenchment during Pacification, 79  
     intraparty fragmentation, 165  
 PMERJ, 70  
 police  
     motivations, 29  
     organizational structures, 28  
     relationships to politicians, 29  
 police autonomy, 5, 7, 16, 25, 49, 206  
     and state-level instability, 63  
     bureaucratic politics, 36  
     cross-case analysis, 196  
     effects on police violence, 71  
     formal means of reduction, 38  
     formal regulation of drug trafficking, 22  
     in developing democracies, 38  
     informal means of reduction, 38  
     informal regulation of drug trafficking, 22  
     particularistic confrontations, 5  
     particularistic negotiations, 5  
     police lethality, 140  
     political fragmentation and, 22, 48  
     political turnover and, 22, 48  
     politicization and professionalism, 5  
         summarized, 194  
         theoretical and practical implications, 203  
     police autonomy conditions  
         regulation of drug trafficking, 50  
     police autonomy, high  
         corruption and violence, 73  
         particularistic confrontation, 160  
         particularistic negotiations, 116  
         uncoordinated regimes, 50  
         violence, high, 116  
     police autonomy, low  
         coordinated regimes, 50  
         regulation of drug dealing, 24  
     police corruption, 41, 140  
         criminal entrepreneurship, 43  
         criminal protection rackets,  
             156, 159  
         defined for context, 11  
         funneling monies to incumbents, 26  
         high autonomy, 73  
         police violence, 43  
         predation, 42  
         protection, 41  
         rent extraction, 22, 73  
         toleration, 41  
     police interventions  
         number of wounded and dead, 175  
     Police Ombudsman, 170  
     Police Pacification Units (UPP),  
         77, 80, 83  
         ethos conflicts with BOPE, 88  
         favela interventions, 83  
         improvisation, 84  
         mission, 86  
         Nova Brasília UPP, 83–84  
         reduction of police autonomy, 83  
         Rocinha UPP, 83  
         training of police, 83  
     police politicization, 38  
         protection rackets, 5  
     police poverty, 29  
     police professionalization, 37–39, 49, 56,  
         192  
         coordinated coexistence, 23  
         Covas administration, 168  
         lack of, Rio de Janeiro, 62  
         PC (São Paulo), 178  
         PM (São Paulo), 172, 176  
         Rio de Janeiro, 61, 198  
         São Paulo, 160–61, 168–69, 198

*Index*

251

- police reforms, 38, 195
  - Buenos Aires, 2004–2007, 144
  - Cafiero administration, 132
  - GBA, 137–38
  - in third wave democracies, 7
  - incremental success, 207
  - international events and, 206
  - Peronist factionalism, 135
  - police resistance to, 135, 138, 144
  - police scandals and, 206
  - São Paulo, 171
- police scandals
  - police reforms and, 206
- police violence, 71, 86, 108, 136, 140
  - defined for context, 11
  - destabilization of trafficking gangs, 76
  - fragmentation, high, 53
  - homicides, 77
  - in the absence of security policy, 72
  - Jewish Center AMIA, 136
  - reasons for, 30
- police, deaths at the hands of traffickers, 73
- policing
  - literature on, 7
- political authorities
  - and control over police, 5
  - entrenchment and turnover, 5. *see*
    - political fragmentation
- political competition, 5, 25
  - cross-case analysis, 198
  - fragmentation, 33–34
  - turnover, 33
- political competition, 24. *see also*
  - fragmentation
- political competition, 24. *see also* political turnover
- political economy of drug markets, 208
- political fragmentation, 5, 16, 56, 204
  - and protection rackets, 23
  - and turnover, 35
  - cross-case analysis, 195
  - defined, 24
  - disruptive nature of, 124
  - high, 24, 197
  - low, 25
  - theoretical and practical implications, 203
- political turnover, 56
- post-Communist Russia
  - protection rackets, 13
- predation, 53
- PRI hegemony
  - protection rackets, 13
- Primeiro Comando da Capital, 160. *see* PCC
- PRO (Propuesta Republicana), 158
- PROAR, 168
- Progressive Front administrations
  - homicide rates, 123
- protection rackets
  - and fragmentation, 23
  - central features, 14
  - coordinated regimes, 12
  - defined, 13
  - police corruption, high, 53
  - violence, low, 53
- Provincial Memory Commission, 155
- Przeworski, Adam, 47
- PSDB administrations, 59, 67, 161, 185
  - gang mismanagement, 182
  - governors, 167
  - intelligence-centered strategy on PCC, 182
  - intervention in police affairs, 185
  - police autonomy, reduction of, 185
  - police corruption, 178
  - reduction of police violence against PCC, 185
  - São Paulo, 23
  - truce with PCC, 183
- PT. 69 *see* Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party)
- Quércia, Orestes, 165, 167, 196
- Quintal, Josias, 69
- Radical Civic Union (Unión Cívica Radical, UCR), 99
- Radicals, 131. *see* xref Cívica Radical (UCR), RDD, 183
- Recycling Program for Officers Involved in High Risk Situations, 168. *see* PROAR
- Red Command, 63. *see* CV
- re-democratization (1983–2007), 70
  - drug trafficking regulation, 70
  - instability of power structures, 77
- regulation of drug trafficking,
  - 25, 40, 47
  - state regulation of, 40
- Renovation Front, 143
  - Peronist factionalism (GBA), 148
- rent extraction, 60
  - appeal for police, 29, 73
  - appeal for politicians, 26

- rent extraction (cont.)
  - as source of police-politician friction, 29
  - uncoordinated, 74
- Reutemann, Carlos, 100–1, 195, 205
  - conflict with Obeid bloc, 106–7
  - coordinated protection rackets, 104
  - police corruption, 103
- Reuter, Peter, 46
- Reviglio, Victor, 101
  - police corruption, 103
- Rico, Aldo, 138
- Rio de Janeiro, 15, 19, 58, 195, 204
  - aligned city and state government, 80, 82
  - and Colombia, 200
  - Bolsonaro, Jair, 94
  - cocaine market, 65
  - coordinated coexistence, 61, 86
  - coordinated coexistence, 86. *see also*
    - Police Pacification Units (UPP)
  - criminal actors, pre-drug trafficking, 64
  - dispersed corruption, 73
  - Dona Marta favela, 80
  - drug gangs, destabilization of, 70
  - drug gangs, 70. *see also* individual gangs,
  - drug trafficking, 1
  - extortion of drug dealers, 1
  - FIFA Soccer World Cup (2014), 79
  - fragmentation, 61
  - fragmentation, high, 58, 69
  - Freitas, Antonio Chagas, 64
  - Global Youth Encounter (2013), 79
  - homicide rates, 16, 75
  - Military Police (Polícia Militar), 58. *see* PM
  - National Security Law of 1969 64
  - Olympic Games (2016), 63, 79, 93
  - Pacification (UPP), 61, 62–63
  - Pacification (UPP), 61. *see also* Cabral, Sérgio
  - Pacification (UPP), 61. *see also* Pezão, Luiz
  - Pan-American Games (2007), 79
  - particularistic confrontation, 58, 62, 124
  - particularistic regulatory arrangements, 196
  - police “warrior ethic”, 62–63
  - police autonomy, 60
  - police corruption, 1, 60
  - police professionalization, 61, 62, 197
  - police reforms, 59, 69
  - police violence, 1, 3, 62, 94
  - re-democratization (1982), 1, 61
  - regulation of drug trafficking, 61
  - rent extraction, 89
  - rise in drug trafficking, 64
  - Social Christian Party (PSC), 94
  - state government (1982–2014), 58–59
  - turnover, high, 58, 61, 69
  - uncoordinated regimes, 22
  - violence, 22, 58
  - Witzel, Wilson, 94
  - Workers’ Democratic Party (Partido Democrático Trabalhista), 59. *see* PDT
  - World Cup (2014), 63
  - Rocinha UPP, 88
    - decreased police-trafficker violence, 92
    - disordered community safety, 92
    - fragmentation of trafficking gangs, 92
  - Rodríguez, Candela, 153
  - Rosario (Santa Fe), 19, 109
    - alternate explanations for post-2007 drug crisis, 97
    - bunkers, 118
    - homicide rates, 156
    - particularistic negotiation, 22, 97, 124
    - Peronist reform cycles, 97
    - role in Argentine drug networks, 97
    - security ministers, 110–11, 114–15, 119
    - soccer clubs, 116
    - uncoordinated drug market regulation, 97
    - uncoordinated regimes, 22
  - Rosúa, Fernando, 107
  - ROTA, 164–65, 172, 182, 190, 196
    - fatalities at the hands of, 177
    - homicides by, 191
    - PCC retaliation against, 191
  - Ruckauf, Carlos, 130, 135, 196
    - police reforms, 137
  - Sain, Marcelo, 139, 148, 151
    - police autonomy and, 124
  - San Martín, 19
    - protection of drug dealers, 154
  - Santa Fe, 15, 19, 23, 95, 195, 204
    - containment, 105
    - decentralized protection, 2–3
    - drug trafficking regimes, 95
    - fragmentation, high, 95, 98, 100
    - Front for Victory (FPV), 111
    - governors, 99
    - homicide rates, 3, 16, 105, 120
    - increased drug trafficking, 116
    - institutional legacies, 98
    - Ley de Lemas, 110



*Index*

253

- low competition and high stability, 96
- low fragmentation, 96
- Ministry of Security, 110
- particularistic negotiations, 95, 120
- particularistic regulatory arrangements, 196
- Peronist party, 96
- police autonomy, 96
- police corruption, 98, 118
- Progressive Front administrations, 109, 111
- Progressive, Civic and Social Front (FPCS), 109
- protection rackets, 197
- Radical Civic Union (UCR), 110
- Secretariat of Control of the Police, 110
- Socialist party (Santa Fe), 109
- Socialist victory, 2007, 96
- turnover, 96
- Unión PRO, 111
- Santa Fe, 118. *see also* Rosario (Santa Fe), São Paulo, 1, 15, 19, 63, 160, 196, 206
  - characteristics of, 161
  - Civil Police, 164. *see* PC (São Paulo), cocaine (crack and powder), 166
  - coordinated coexistence, 22, 160–61
  - criminal violence, 161
  - decline in police violence, 161, 163
  - fragmentation, high, 164–65, 169
  - fragmented drug market, 166
  - gubernational elections, 169
  - homicide rates, 3, 16, 170, 188
  - Human Rights Watch on, 178
  - low fragmentation, 192
  - Military Police, 164. *see* PM (São Paulo)
  - non-aggression agreements, 3
  - orderly drug market, 161
  - particularistic confrontation, 160, 165
  - particularistic regulatory arrangements, 196
  - PCC dominance, 180
  - police autonomy, 192
  - police autonomy, high, 160
  - police autonomy, reduction of, 168–71
  - police corruption, 163, 166
  - police killed on duty, 188
  - police professionalization, 160–61, 168–69
  - police reforms, 167
  - police violence, 164, 166, 178
  - political fragmentation, 160
  - political turnover, high, 164
  - prison violence, 166
  - re-democratization, 192
  - rent extraction from sources other than drugs, 186
  - shift to coordinated coexistence, 180
  - State Division of Homicides and Personal Protection, 171
- Scioli administration, 142, 197
  - expulsion of police officers, 149
  - lack of investigation into corrupt practices, 148
  - police reforms, 145
  - protection rackets, 148
- Scioli, Daniel, 130, 143
  - reduced police autonomy, 144
- Sé, João Trajano Sento, 70
- Serra, José, 166, 169, 172
- Silva, Benedita da, 59
- Siqueira (General), 68
- Soares, Luiz Eduardo, 68
- Social Democratic Party (Brazil), 161, *see* PSDB
- Socialist administrations (Santa Fe), 109
  - and police autonomy, 110
  - fragmentation, 114
  - police autonomy, 118
- Socialist party, 23
- Socialist party (Santa Fe), 99
- Solá administration, 138, 142
  - control of drug trafficking, 150
  - expulsion of police officers, 149
  - involvement with criminal activities, 150
- Solá, Felipe, 130, 135, 139, 143, 196
  - police reforms, 139
  - reduced police autonomy, 144
- South Africa, 202
- Staniland, 12
- State Department of Criminal Investigations, 171. *see* DEIC
- State Department of Prevention and Repression of Narcotics, 171. *see* DENARC
- state regulation of drug trafficking, 10
- state responses to illicit markets, 4
- state truce (São Paulo), 183, 190
  - 2012 interruption, 190
  - PCC and, 161, 180, 187
- Tabuaté prison, 167, 181
- The Politics of Drug Violence* (Durán-Martínez), 9

254

*Index*

- the Yakuza
  - coordinated coexistence, 13
- Third Command (TC), 71
- Tognoli, Hugo, 113, 118
- toleration, 1
- Tucanos, 168, 179, 192
  - lack of government corruption, 179
- turnover, 16
  - and fragmentation, 35
  - defined, 24
- turnover, high
  - and police autonomy, 24
  - cross-case analysis, 196
  - fragmentation and, 48
- turnover, low
  - and police autonomy, low, 25
  - cross-case analysis, 196
  - fragmentation and, 49
- uncoordinated regimes, 12, 51–52
- Unión Cívica Radical (UCR), 131
- UPP. 75 see Police Pacification Units (UPP)
- Vernet, José María, 100–1
  - police corruption, 103
- Verón, Ramón, 138
- Vidal, María Eugenia, 131, 158
  - expulsion of police officers, 149
  - police retaliation against, 159
  - reduction in criminal violence, 159
- Vieira, Fernando Grella
  - police reforms, 191
- Vigário Geral, 73
- violence
  - particularistic confrontation, 22
- warrior mindset, 62–63, 72
- weakly institutionalized democracies,
  - 204
  - global examples, 200
- Willis, Graham Denyer, 162
- Witzel, Wilson, 59
- Workers' Party (PT), 66, 80
- Yabrán, Alfredo, 137