

Rosario and Cali City Exchange Report

By Sydney Sanchez, Flávia Carbonari, and Jai-Ayla Sutherland

Executive Summary

In late July 2025, the civil society organizations Fundación Alvaralice, from Cali, Colombia, and Foro Regional de Rosario, from Rosario, Argentina, and the city government of Rosario came together in a tailored peer exchange that revealed key insights into advancing violence prevention through community mediation and multistakeholder collaboration. It emphasized the importance of creating inclusive spaces for social leaders to connect, share experiences, and receive emotional support, especially when working in high-conflict environments. The combination of violence interruption and mediation, adapted to local contexts, was highlighted as a sustainable approach to violence prevention. Crises in both cities served as catalysts for multisector alliances, demonstrating the important potential of coordinated efforts among governments, civil society, and the private sector to respond to these events, but also as crucial infrastructure to prevent future crises from occurring. The exchange also led to concrete next steps, including a Memorandum of Understanding between the cities of Cali and Rosario and the potential creation of a community of practice for mediators, aimed at fostering ongoing collaboration and resilience among regional actors.

Overview of the Exchange

The city exchange between Rosario, Argentina, and Cali, Colombia, took place July 28–31, 2025. The Cali delegation was represented by Fundación Alvaralice (Alvaralice Foundation), including its executive director, Juan Camilo Cock, project coordinator Alejandra Vidal, and community mediator Boris Alexis Cabezas. From Rosario, the exchange included representatives from the Foro Regional de Rosario (Rosario Regional Forum), including its executive director, Selva Raggio, and business and academic leaders that work with the foro, and representatives from the Municipality of Rosario, including Elisa Caballero Rossi, general coordinator of the Government Secretariat, and Gonzalo Bonifazi, general coordinator of the Municipal Violence Reduction Program, all of whom are members of Peace in Our Cities (PiOC). Three PiOC secretariat members—Flávia Carbonari, Sydney Sanchez, and Jai-Ayla Sutherland—also attended.

The City Exchange Program is an initiative facilitated by Peace in Our Cities, which, as a network, invests in cities learning from and inspiring one another. Focused exchanges help participating cities and organizations deeply engage with promising work being done to reduce violence, assess applicability to their own contexts, and develop direct partnerships to advance prevention and peacebuilding.

Why These Partners: Similar Contexts, Challenges, and Complementary Approaches to Violence Prevention

The city exchange between Foro Regional de Rosario and Fundación Alvaralice, organizations dedicated to promoting inclusive social and economic development and peaceful communities, originated from a joint desire to provide a dedicated training to community social workers of Rosario on the conflict-mediation and violence-interruption model being implemented in Cali through the Abriendo Caminos (Opening Roads) program. The two organizations met previously during a PiOC regional meeting where they identified similarities among the challenges faced by their communities and realized the potential for cross-learning. That meeting was followed by a visit from the foro to the fundación in Cali, where they were able to learn more about their program. Several virtual meetings followed, culminating in the proposal for this exchange.

Rosario, Argentina, and Cali, Colombia, have many similarities. Both are the third-largest cities in their countries, are economically driven by agriculture and nearby ports, and face similar challenges with drug trafficking and high levels of crime and violence. Additionally, key communities in both locations place limited to no trust in formal justice institutions and law-enforcement agencies. Further, each locale has faced recent moments of escalation of violence, creating opportunities to promote and improve integrated and coordinated responses by multiple stakeholders. In Cali, national strikes in the city in 2021 led to the development of the Compromiso Valle (Commitment to the Valley) alliance; in Rosario,



Rosario, Argentina, left and Cali, Colombia, right. AdobeStock photo

in early 2024, a series of homicides of civilians and threats by organized crime led to the creation of a multisectorial working group and joint efforts by different levels of government to address the violence.

Fundación Alvaralice promotes peace and sustainable development through cross-sector alliances and innovative programs such as Abriendo Caminos (Opening Roads), originally adapted from the US-born Cure Violence model of violence interruption. Foro Regional de Rosario serves as a platform for dialogue and advocacy around economic, social, and cultural development in Rosario. Both organizations work

in collaboration across sectors, including public, private, civil society, and community-based actors, contributing to shape local policies to promote more-inclusive, safe, and prosperous communities.

The Municipality of Rosario was a key partner in organizing this city exchange. Rosario currently has multiple policies and programs focused on violence prevention and urban development, and through integrated efforts with the state and federal government, it has achieved great success in reducing crime over the past year. Most prominently, its neighborhood-intervention program, Intervención Barrial Focalizada (Targeted Neighborhood Interventions), or IBF, delivers comprehensive interventions to reduce violence in areas with high concentrations of crime.

Both the foro and Rosario were instrumental in identifying participants to engage in the training led by Fundación Alvaralice and in identifying interventions from Rosario and key stakeholders to share information that would be relevant for the Colombian counterparts.

Key Objectives of the Exchange

The overarching objectives of the exchange were to share knowledge about the violence interruption and conflict mediation implemented by Fundación Alvaralice in Cali, as well as to learn about the current violence-prevention work led by community leaders in Rosario and the violence and urban-development strategies developed by the Municipality of Rosario. Specifically, the exchange aimed to:

- Strengthen the capacities of community-based social leaders to interrupt violence and mediate conflicts in the contexts of implementing their work.
- Exchange information about violence-prevention strategies being implemented by the cities of Cali and Rosario.
- Raise awareness among local government and private sector actors about the importance of investing in social programs aimed at reducing youth violence, including the potential for private sector engagement in violence prevention.
- Strengthen ties among the partners involved in the exchange: PiOC, Foro Regional de Rosario,
 Fundación Alvaralice, Cali city government, and Rosario city government.

What We Did: Overview of Activities

The exchange included a series of activities designed to foster learning and collaboration around violence prevention and urban development. Fundación Alvaralice facilitated a 1.5-day training session on conflict mediation and violence interruption for 27 social leaders from community-based organizations across Rosario, as well as municipal staff working in local territories. The organization also presented its Abriendo Caminos program—as well as other strategies being implemented by the city of Cali focused on youth violence prevention—to several secretaries from the Municipality of Rosario. The visiting delegation also learned about the Rosario city government's current violence-reduction and urban-development initiatives, as well as the Foro Regional de Rosario's program focused on

youth violence prevention. Participants took part in a site visit led by Rosario city representatives to the Moreno neighborhood, showcasing one of Rosario's flagship urban-development projects. Finally, the exchange featured a meeting with private sector representatives, where Fundación Alvaralice presented the Cali-based initiative Compromiso Valle (Valle Region's Commitment) and discussed the importance of private sector engagement in sustaining long-term violence prevention, highlighting both the challenges and opportunities involved.

Training on Violence Interruption and Conflict Mediation—the Abriendo Caminos Model



Cali's Abriendo Caminos program was launched in 2018, and based on its positive results expanded to up to 40 areas of the city and neighboring municipalities. Initially inspired by Cure Violence, the program adapted to fit local needs and culture, evolving over time to also incorporate a strong community mediation component. Elements of the Abriendo Caminos model have now been built into the public security strategies of Cali and its neighboring city of Palmira. The Abriendo Caminos program consists of four key components: training of trainers, mediation of

conflicts, support and opportunities for young people involved in violence or at risk, and changing social norms through community education.

During the training, facilitators presented concepts and practices that are essential to the implementation of interruption and mediation, with several role-play activities where participants were also able to share their current practices and challenges in carrying out similar work in their own communities. The following key messages and concepts were discussed.

Community Conflict Mediation Versus Violence Interruption

Community conflict mediation is a way to resolve conflicts peacefully through the participation of a third party who facilitates a dialogue to come to a peaceful solution together, targeting issues early on instead of letting them escalate. It is not implemented through the formal justice system but rather by credible messengers and community leaders. It is an effective tool that can be implemented at the community level by trained mediators, serving as a complementary yet distinct mechanism to the traditional judicial system. It is also a tool that can help resolve issues between people who have low levels of institutional trust and who would not otherwise turn to solutions through formal justice mechanisms or law enforcement. In the Colombian context, this feature has been officially recognized as an alternative and restorative justice mechanism by the judicial system since 1991 (when it was approved by Law 23) and has since evolved and expanded throughout the country. Therefore, community conflict mediation is legally recognized and can be used to create agreements that are aligned with the





law. This is a unique approach with important advantages for local communities to be able to resolve conflicts peacefully despite institutional barriers or lack of trust with authorities.

Violence interruption, on the other hand, is part of the solution to prevent conflict from escalating to violence. For example, an interrupter might work with victims of a recent shooting (in a hospital setting, for instance) and the person's inner circle to deescalate and prevent retaliation. The primary goal in violence interruption is to stop violence that is likely to occur; typically, it does not address root causes, as is the goal with conflict mediation (although it should be noted that some interruption programs around the world do include intentional steps to address root causes). In Cali, Fundación Alvaralice often couples the two tools to facilitate peace in the communities. The key steps it follows to engage in violence interruption include:

- Stop the violence.
- De-escalate the situation.
- Buy time.
- Rationalize through the consequences with the parties involved.
- Propose mediation and a solution.
- Follow up on agreements that come out of the mediation.

Principles, Limitations, and Challenges of Mediation and Violence Interruption

Although conflict mediation and violence interruption can be powerful tools to help build peace in communities, Fundación Alvaralice emphasized that there are limitations to their use, outlining three crucial considerations.

First, not all conflicts are suitable for mediation—particularly those involving high levels of violence or organized criminal networks. Fundación Alvaralice requires that mediators only intervene when it is safe to do so, and ensures their role remains distinctly separate from law enforcement activities.





Organizations must also consider the legal implications of the case when deciding whether to mediate or interrupt violence in a certain situation.

Second, Fundación Alvaralice explained that to properly approach a situation that needs mediation or interruption, the mediator must have a degree of familiarity with those involved in the conflict. Mediators should have a connection to at least one person who is a family member, neighbor, school-mate, or community member with whom they can engage. A basic level of trust between the mediator and those involved in the conflict for mediation is a key ingredient to success in the context of Cali. Trust between mediators and the communities they serve can be built up through different types of community activities.

Third, for community mediation to be effective, resources and care must be provided to the mediators themselves. Fundación Alvaralice made clear during the training that this key element is all too often lacking from planning and resourcing. It emphasized that community outreach workers doing this type of work need to be mindful of the resources available to them in their community, including referrals and support. The city of Rosario seemed to have a strong network of community leaders willing to support each other and their communities and genuinely appreciated the opportunity to gain access to new knowledge and approaches to support them and their work.

Key Tools for Mediation and Interruption: Emotional Management and Active Listening

Two concepts Fundación Alvaralice's team focused on when describing the tools needed to achieve conflict mediation are "emotional management" and "active listening." When mediating a conflict, it's important to understand that listening is an exchange; it's important to ask people questions with an open end, to lead those involved into explaining how they feel so that the solution to a conflict can come from those involved. If mediators begin by thinking about the solution to the problem, it will be hard to effectively listen. However, if they listen actively, giving physical cues and showing interest in what they are hearing, they allow those involved to share their point of view and give them an opportunity to explore prospects for resolution. This is important because when the people involved in a conflict feel they have buy-in to the solution, it's more likely to last.





The second element that was highlighted was the need for emotional management, not only for those involved but especially for the mediators themselves. There are always emotions involved in conflict, which informs how people enter a conflict and what their expectations are. To properly handle the emotions of others, Fundación Alvaralice's trainers emphasized that one must be in control of their own emotions, and that comes with an acknowledgment that you cannot mediate every type of conflict. Some issues may be more triggering for the mediator than others, and it's okay to recognize those limitations.

At the end of the training, the facilitators from Fundación Alvaralice were able to hear key takeaways from the individuals who participated in the training. Overall, it became clear that there is good work being done in the neighborhoods of Rosario and that work is bolstered by the community that supports each other in mediating conflict around the city. One participant stressed that the work is never finished and must continue beyond all obstacles.

Foro Regional de Rosario "Youth Project"

During the exchange, Foro Regional presented its flagship program Youth Project. Launched in 2024, the program aims to expand job opportunities for young people in vulnerable communities of Rosario by developing their socioemotional and professional skills. Its goal is to improve their quality of life and support their integration into the formal labor market, contributing to sustainable development and peacebuilding in their communities. The initiative focuses on two key areas: life and work skills, which help youth with self-awareness, emotional management, goal setting, decision-making, personal fulfillment, and technical and professional competencies. These skills prepare them to understand the formal work environment, specialize in technical fields, and enhance their performance in organizations. Approximately 150 youths have benefited from the program so far. Four private companies

participate, with three more joining by the end of the year. Three universities are also participating by designing and providing training courses.

Municipality of Rosario's Violence-Prevention and Urban-Development Policies



Rosario has experienced different cycles of violence, which have required adjustments in its prevention policies. During the early part of the 2000s, violence was primarily concentrated in specific territories, driven largely by disputes between organizations with criminal intent. Following the COVID-19 pandemic, organized criminal actors broadened their strategy, exerting violence on the general public in a campaign of intimidation. After two years of record homicide rates, with



252 deaths in 2022 and 224 in 2023, the three levels of government—city, state, and national—came together in a coordinated effort to reduce crime and violence.

From the municipal perspective, one of the key strategies emphasized during the exchange was the Intervención Barrial Focalizada (Targeted Neighborhood Interventions), or IBF. The plan is multiagency and aims to integrate data and promote interinstitutional cooperation while also addressing illegal economies and fostering social inclusion in priority zones—nine at the moment—with high levels of gun violence and homicide rates. It includes components such as social control, urban planning, housing, culture, and economic development—all coordinated to create a safe environment. Interdisciplinary teams work directly with the parties involved in each violent incident, applying methods tailored to each neighborhood. Priority is given to young people and families in critical situations, especially those affected by severe violence and conflicts with the law.¹ A multiagency committee meets weekly with representatives of the different components of the IBF plan to assess progress and plan how to move forward in the different areas.

Another strategy put in place by the city government is the Plan de Urbanización de Barrios Populares (Popular Neighborhood Urbanization Plan), which focuses on providing or improving basic services,

such as water and sanitation, as well as opening streets and alleys for improved security and circulation and other urbanization interventions. Among the lessons learned through this strategy was the importance of having a permanent, strong participatory approach with the community and the need to ensure that projects would go beyond superficial beautification and restoration projects. This was showcased in a site visit to the Moreno neighborhood, where the city government put together a team of architects and anthropologists to find ways to best improve the neighborhood. The team was able to build up infrastructure, reorganize the neighborhood and give all houses an address, create green spaces, and create walkways so people could move around more easily. They are also currently implementing a pilot, based on previous projects in Buenos Aires, to introduce spaces that provide shade in the neighborhood to counter rising heat and negative social consequences of heat exposure.

Private Sector Engagement in Violence Prevention—Cali's Compromiso Valle



Compromiso Valle (Valle Region's Commitment, in reference to the Cauca Valley) came about after national strikes in 2021. Although the strikes were national—with direct economic and development impacts in Colombia—the situation was severe in Cali, where access roads were blocked for weeks and there were a number of deaths specifically related to the strike. The number of homicides at

that time spiked,² creating the need for collaboration to combat the uptick in violence. During the strike, it became evident that there was a strong feeling of disaffection and anger among young people due to their lived experience of exclusion and lack of opportunities.

In response, public, private, and civil society actors came together in a broad commitment to close socioeconomic gaps and promote sustainable development in the Valle del Cauca region, where Cali is located. The effort includes eight municipalities, inclusive of Cali, and is based on six pillars: food security, transformation-of-life projects for excluded youth (e.g., vocational training, soft skills development), employment, entrepreneurship, leadership, and education. They also work with firms to generate inclusive work environments for vulnerable groups, such as people with disabilities, from the LBGTQ+ community, and from different ethnicities.

Fundación Alvaralice explained that the 2021 crisis became a turning point for the city, fostering space for direct dialogue between businesses and leaders from neighborhoods, facilitated by community leaders. From that dialogue emerged the commitment from the business sector to the social and economic development of the city. While the relationship started with a lot of mistrust, much of this was overcome. The governance model established also helped. While entrepreneurs provided direct financing, well-established nongovernmental organizations working in the region, including Fundación Alvaralice, brought technical expertise, with evidence-based methodologies for the programs proposed; social leaders worked on the mobilization of communities; and Pro Pacífico, a private foundation trusted by the private sector, came in as the manager of the overall strategy.

Another key element of Compromiso Valle is that the portfolio of programs it supported was based on existing interventions and well-known methodologies (e.g., Abriendo Caminos), therefore it was crucial to have a previous mapping of all organizations working in this area—something Foro Regional is currently trying to do in Rosario.

"The private sector got down to the territory, with no intermediaries, and once they did it, there was no turning back." —Juan Camilo Cock, Fundación Alvaralice

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the public has become an ally of the strategy to varying degrees, first in Palmira and more recently in Cali, where the city government's security strategy works together with Compromiso Valle in its component to support youth (e.g., psychosocial support and employability, including for youths in the juvenile criminal system).

Based on the experience of Compromiso Valle, Cali representatives related the importance of having the private sector engaged in violence-prevention initiatives. This makes those efforts more sustainable and more independent from political cycles. Foro Regional, which has been pushing this agenda with its own entrepreneurs for years, emphasized that investment on this is also "good for business." It also discussed challenges and opportunities for this engagement, mentioning, for example, the case of FICOSEC in Mexico, a broad alliance of business leaders who agreed on a new tax on all the state's private businesses, which was then put into a trust that could only be used for security. Those funds are administered by the alliance.³ The local group of entrepreneurs who attended the meeting in Rosario highlighted similarities between the two contexts and challenges, and seemed inspired by Cali's experience.

"If we complain that the state does not think and plan long term, that we don't have sustainable public policies, we should not be doing the same in the private sector. We are not promoting social assistance from the private sector. We encourage you to invest in development." —Selva Raggio, Foro Regional de Rosario

What We Learned: Key Takeaways from the Exchange and Way Forward

The experiences and challenges discussed during the exchange program led to several lessons related to interruption and mediation, public and private sector engagement and policies, and promising commitments for organization and city partners. Below are some of the key takeaways highlighted by participants from Fundación Alvaralice, Foro Regional de Rosario, and the city government of Rosario:

Community Interruption and Mediation

Connect community/social leaders. The training portion of the exchange provided valuable insights and highlighted several key lessons and challenges for advancing social leadership and

violence-prevention initiatives. One of the most important takeaways is the necessity of creating inclusive spaces where social leaders can come together to share their experiences, challenges, and approaches, even when their perspectives or methods differ. These dialogues help bridge differences and foster mutual understanding.

Establishing a network of leaders would help formalize and give visibility to the crucial role they play in violence prevention and conflict mediation within their communities. Often, without an impartial mediator—especially one external to the local political ecosystem—conversations can become dominated by political tensions or organizational conflicts, which risk deepening divisions rather than building unity. Many local leaders from Rosario, doing similar work in different neighborhoods, had never met. The encounter allowed them to exchange experiences, realize they are not alone, and foster a sense of community.

"These dialogues, with a neutral facilitator, are crucial to enable constructive dialogue focused on common goals." —Gonzalo Bonifazi, City of Rosario

Take care of caretakers. Linked to the above, the training also emphasized how these spaces for connection are important for mutual self-care and how crucial it is to ensure that people doing interruption and mediation work also have a support system to rely on. Dealing with these situations can be very challenging and sometimes triggering for workers themselves, so leaders doing this type of work need to be provided with resources for their own mental health care and wellbeing. They need to take into consideration their individual emotions, safety, and capacity when entering a violent or conflicted situation.

Combine interruption with mediation, adapt methodologies when needed, and recognize limitations.

The evolution of the Abriendo Caminos program and methodology showed that violence interruption is more effective when combined with mediation. The combination helps to stop violence when it is likely to occur and address the root causes of conflict in the community to ensure more-sustainable results. It also emphasized that even evidence-based programs that have been tested elsewhere need to be adapted to local contexts, as should be the training programs to transfer those methodologies. Even when training programs share common elements for supporting mediation or leadership, they must be adapted to the specific social realities of participants to be effective. Mediators should also recognize the limitations of the work and know when the case needs to be referred to the formal justice system. Mediation is not appropriate, for instance, for highly violent or networked crime, such as organized criminal networks. Fundación Alvaralice mandates that mediators only engage when it is safe and that their work is clearly separate from law enforcement. This helps maintain legitimacy of the meditators among the community and protects them from engaging in conflicts that require stronger law enforcement approaches.

"There is a strong sense of inspiration in seeing that many people—regardless of age or distance—have the potential to replicate the kind of social work done in

Cali, in other places like Rosario. These are individuals deeply committed to their communities, driven by the desire to improve their neighborhoods, cities, and countries. Their dedication highlights the transformative power of community work."—Boris, facilitator from Fundación Alvaralice

Building Multistakeholder Alliances for Prevention

Turn crises into opportunities. Both cities experienced key turning points in recent years (national strikes from 2021 in Cali, 2024 coordinated attacks from organized crime in Rosario), which led to diverse actors coming together and putting into practice the multisectorial and multidimensional approaches needed to address violence. Different levels of governments and multiple sectors, including civil society, communities, private sector, and academia, started working together toward a common goal. These examples show that these crises can become opportunities to shift approaches toward violence reduction.

Engage the private sector continuously, mainstreaming incentives and motivation. Engaging local businesses remains crucial. The discussion with Rosario businesspeople showed that while many already support violence prevention efforts, they would benefit from renewed motivation and support. Creating more-focused dialogue spaces could help demonstrate how their support contributes to youth programs and community resilience, for example. Rosario's focus on legalizing and reclaiming public spaces from organized crime, while simultaneously strengthening community initiatives, is particularly noteworthy. The experience suggests it is timely to foster dialogue between local government and the private sector to jointly advocate for sustainable strategies that benefit all stakeholders. Creating a shared identity and disseminating the work promoted by alliances such as Compromiso Valle is also crucial to keep the private sector incentivized to continue investing in violence prevention.

Have a credible messenger to engage with private, public, and civil society sectors. Having a neutral and credible anchor organization as part of a larger pact among different stakeholders is crucial to engage the private sector. Businesses may also need a champion entrepreneur that serves as a model and trusted partner, to create credibility.

Way Forward

The exchange solidified and strengthened the partnership among all PiOC partners involved and led to the proposal of new initiatives that should contribute to consolidate the violence-prevention strategies in both cities, as described below:

Memorandum of Understanding between the city governments of Cali and Rosario: After the
exchange, the two cities met to sign a Memorandum of Understanding outlining a work plan to
periodically exchange on violence-prevention policies, practices, challenges, and opportunities.

Community of Practice of Mediators: The exchange led to the recommendation to create a network of community leaders to maintain contact, provide joint training opportunities, and share good practices. This network could evolve into a regional community of practice that also serves as a space for mutual support and emotional resilience. PiOC, Fundación Alvaralice, and Foro Regional de Rosario will be working together in the next few months to develop this idea.

City exchanges are one of many ways Peace in Our Cities supports its members. To learn more about the network and to get involved, visit peaceinourcities.org.

Annex 1

Representatives Present at the Meetings

Community-Based Organizations That Participated in the Conflict Mediation Training:

AMAP

AMAP Casa de Luxemburgo

AMAP Rosario

Arca de Niños y Niñas

Asamblea Barrio Cotar

Asamblea Cristiana Seguí y San Nicolás

Asistente Escolar Ayudante de Cocina

Asociación Civil El Cruce

Capilla Inmaculada de la Parroquia Nuestra Señora del Carmen

Centro Cuidar Sexta

Ciudad Futura

Codo a Codo

Comedor y Merendero Buen Samaritano

Comedor y Merendero Zona Rural

Corazones Unidos Tío Rolo

Creciendo en Comunidad

Equipo Travesía 1

Evangelización Barrial

Iglesia Evangélica Asamblea Cristiana de Rosario

Madres Territoriales Nacional

Merendero Corazones Unidos

Pasito a Paso por Ludueña

Programa Andres, Prisma, Volver a la Vida

Urbanización de Nuevo Alberdi

Fundación Alvaralice:

Juan Camilo Cock Misas, Executive Director Alejandra Vidal, Project Coordinator Boris Alexis, Community Mediator

Foro Regional de Rosario:

Selva Raggio, Executive Director

Municipality of Rosario:

Elisa Caballero Rossi, General Coordinator of the Government Secretariat
Gonzalo Bonifazi, General Coordinator of the Municipal Violence Reduction Program
Sebastián Chale, Secretary for the City Government
Diego Herrera, Secretary for Control and Cohesistence
Nicolás Gianelloni, Secretary for Human Development and Habitat
Leandro Lopérgolo, Secretary for Economic Development
Ignacio Noble, Vicepresident for Public Service and Housing
Fernando Vignoni, Undersecretary for Health and Territory

Endnotes

- "Rosario, Argentina: An Example of a Targeted and Integrated Approach," Peace in Our Cities, published May 2025, https://peaceinourcities.org/resources/ rosario-argentina-an-example-of-a-targeted-and-integrated-approach.
- 2 Isabella Ladera, "Homicidios en Cali crecieron más de un 55 % durante mayo: Secretaría de Seguridad y Justicia," Infobae, June 2, 2021, https://www.infobae.com/america/colombia/2021/06/02/homicidios-en-cali-crecieron-mas-de-un-55-durante-mayo-secretaria-de-seguridad-y-justicia.
- 3 Benjamin Russell, "How the Business World Can Help Stop Latin America's Violence," Americas Quarterly, July 18, 2018, https://www.americasquarterly.org/fulltextarticle/how-the-business-world-can-help-stop-latin-americas-violence.

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