



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

Between evidence and decisions: the CTMHF as a border organization in the Public Security of the Federal District.

Between evidence and decisions: the CTMHF as a boundary organization in the Federal district's Public Security

Marcelo Zago Gomes Ferreira - Brazilian Institute of Education, Development and Research (IDP).
PhD candidate in Public Administration

SUMMARY

This exploratory article investigates the consolidation trajectory of the Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF) of the Federal District, analyzing it as an institutional model of border organization. Through qualitative document analysis of normative frameworks, minutes, and reports produced between 2015 and 2025, the study investigates the evolution of the CTMHF from its creation within the context of the 'Pacto pela Vida' program – a response to the stagnation of lethal violence indicators and inter-institutional fragmentation – to its reconfiguration by Ordinance No. 83/2025. The results indicate that the new governance architecture, structured in specialized Thematic Executive Groups, allows for a simultaneously focused and integrated approach to the distinct dynamics of homicides and femicides. The CTMHF model transcends the production of diagnoses by systematically translating evidence into operational actions, influencing data collection protocols, and supporting policy formulation, operationalizing the principles of Evidence-Based Policing (Triple-T model) with an emphasis on improving Targeting and institutionalizing Tracking as Interinstitutional Accountability. The remarkable programmatic resilience of CTMHF, anchored in a formal feedback mechanism, and its recognition by external control bodies, suggest a relevant case for further theoretical study on the institutionalization of evidence-based governance in the Global South. This preliminary study acknowledges the limitations of document analysis and points to the need for future research incorporating interviews with the actors involved.

Keywords: Evidence-based governance. Public safety. Evidence-based policing. Border organizations. Public policies.

ABSTRACT

This exploratory article investigates the consolidation trajectory of the Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF) of the Federal District, analyzing it as an institutional model of a boundary organization. Through qualitative documentary analysis of normative frameworks, minutes, and reports produced between 2015 and 2025, the study examines the CTMHF's evolution since its creation within the 'Pact for Life' program - a response to stagnating lethal violence indicators and interinstitutional fragmentation - up to its reconfiguration by Ordinance No. 83/2025. The results indicate that the new governance architecture, structured into specialized Thematic Executive Groups, enables a simultaneously focused and integrated approach to the distinct dynamics of homicides and femicides. The CTMHF model transcends diagnoses by systematically translating evidence into operational actions, influencing data collection protocols, and informing policy formulation, thereby operationalizing the principles of Evidence-Based Policing (Triple-T model) with an emphasis on enhancing Targeting and institutionalizing Tracking as Interinstitutional Accountability. The CTMHF's notable programmatic resilience, anchored in a formal feedback mechanism, and its recognition by external oversight bodies, suggest a relevant case for further theoretical study on the institutionalization of evidence-based governance in the Global South. This preliminary study, however, acknowledges the limitations of documentary analysis and points to the need for future research incorporating interviews with the actors involved.

Keywords: Evidence-based governance. Public security. Evidence-based policing. Boundary organizations. Public policy.



1. INTRODUCTION

The increasing complexity of lethal violence presents public managers with the challenge of overcoming reactive security models, often guided by intuition or political pressures

Conjunctural factors. In contrast, evidence-based governance is establishing itself as a paradigm that aims to qualify state action, by advocating that decisions should be systematically informed by the best available knowledge, integrating empirical data and robust analyses of the public policy cycle (Cairney, 2016; Parkhurst, 2017; Kopittke, 2023).

In the field of security, this paradigm materializes in Policing Based on Evidence -*Based Policing* (EBP), an approach that applies the scientific method to to identify, test, and monitor crime prevention and control strategies (Lum; Koper, 2017).

The *triple-T* model (*targeting, testing, tracking*), proposed by Sherman (2013), offers the framework methodological for the operationalization of the EBP, fostering a cycle of institutional learning. continuous.

However, the institutionalization of such practices in Brazil faces significant barriers. fragmentation between security and justice agencies, the resulting administrative discontinuity Political cycles and an organizational culture that is sometimes resistant to scientific approaches constitute Structural obstacles to the implementation of integrated and long-term policies (Lopez, 2022; Lima; Sinhoretto; Bueno, 2015). It is in this adverse scenario that the analysis of innovative institutional arrangements becomes necessary. This becomes particularly relevant.

This article investigates the consolidation trajectory of the Technical Monitoring Chamber of Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF) in the Federal District as an exemplary case of overcoming challenges. of these challenges. It is argued that the CTMHF is moving towards a characteristic institutional model. of the "frontier organization" (Guston, 2001), operating effectively at the interface between production technical knowledge and political-strategic decision-making. CTMHF emerged in 2015 as a direct response to the stagnation of violence indicators and inter-institutional fragmentation; its progressive institutional evolution, culminating in the reconfiguration by Ordinance No. 83/2025 (District Federal, 2025a), attests to the remarkable programmatic resilience and institutional learning capacity. of this arrangement.

This single case study (Yin, 2018), of an exploratory and preliminary nature, is based on in qualitative document analysis of regulatory frameworks, minutes and reports produced between 2015 and 2025. Although the triangulation of documentary sources lends robustness to the analysis of the formal structure From CTMHF, it is recognized that this methodological approach has inherent limitations, which These will be discussed in a separate section. The value of this case, therefore, lies in its ability to offer initial *insights* and refine the theory on the institutionalization of frontier organizations in



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025
bureaucracies of the Global South.

The investigation demonstrates how the reconfigured governance architecture, structured in Thematic Executive Groups enable CTMHF to transcend the mere production of diagnoses. This model allows for the systematic translation of evidence into operational actions, influencing directly impacts data collection protocols and, above all, strengthens inter-institutional *accountability* . through formal feedback mechanisms.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: BORDER ORGANIZATIONS AND POLICING

Evidence-based

2.1 Evidence-based policing (EBP) and the *triple-t* model

Evidence-based governance is based on the premise that public policies They achieve greater rationality and effectiveness when informed by the best knowledge. available, integrating empirical data and rigorous analyses into the decision-making process (Cairney, 2016; Parkhurst, 2017). This paradigm seeks to overcome traditional approaches based on intuition or political pressures, suggesting that policy formulation and implementation be guided by Scientific evidence that addresses the specific needs of public administrators.

In the field of public safety, this perspective materializes in Basel Policing. Evidence -Based Policing (EBP), which consists of the systematic application of the method scientific to identify, test and monitor crime prevention and control strategies (Lum; (Koper, 2017; Kopittke, 2023). The EBP proposes that police decisions be supported by data. and rigorous evaluations, moving away from reactive and intuitive practices, and promoting a continuous cycle. institutional learning.

The *triple-T* model , developed by Sherman (2013), structures the operationalization of the EBP. in three interrelated pillars: *targeting*, *testing* , and *tracking*. The first, *targeting*. (targeting), refers to the detailed analysis of data to identify priority problems and To concentrate resources efficiently. This step involves identifying locations, groups, or risky behaviors that require intervention, allowing police actions to be focused where they have the greatest potential for impact.

The second pillar, *testing* , consists of the rigorous evaluation of the effectiveness of the interventions. implemented. Ideally, this evaluation should use experimental methods, such as trials. randomized controlled trials, to establish causal relationships between the actions taken and the results. observed. The goal is to validate or refine strategies based on empirical evidence, ensuring that public resources be applied to practices that have proven to be effective.



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

The third pillar, *tracking*, involves the systematic monitoring of results of interventions over time. This step ensures the continuity of the cycle of Learning, allowing for constant adjustments and improvements to the strategies adopted. Monitoring also contributes to transparency and accountability by documenting the... The impacts of policies and to facilitate the accountability of the actors involved.

Despite the conceptual clarity of the *triple-T model*, its transposition from the theoretical plane to the practical application... Administrative practice presents significant challenges. The simple production of scientific evidence. This does not guarantee its adoption by decision-makers, as institutional barriers exist. Cultural and political factors hinder the integration of technical knowledge into the daily routines of organizations. public safety. Furthermore, the fragmentation between agencies and the lack of adequate structures for Mediating the relationship between technical analysis and operational action compromises the effectiveness of the model. (Lopez, 2022; Cairney, 2016; Lima; Sinhoretto; Bueno, 2015)

The implementation of randomized controlled trials, for example, may be unfeasible when This involves denying interventions to control groups in situations of lethal violence, which creates a dilemma. between the pursuit of causal credibility and the need for social prominence and legitimacy. This tension It requires assessment approaches that reconcile methodological rigor with specificities and urgencies. from the field of security.

Given these challenges, the development of institutional arrangements becomes fundamental. capable of acting as mediators between scientific knowledge and political decision-making. The concept Border organizations emerge as an analytical and practical alternative for understanding and to structure this mediation, by promoting mechanisms that reconcile technical rigor, political relevance and social legitimacy, facilitating the effective implementation of Evidence-Based Policing.

2.2. Border organizations: mediation, dual *accountability*, and the salience trilemma-credibility-legitimacy

The concept of boundary objects was originally formulated by Star and Griesemer (1989). based on an analysis of the institutional and epistemological dynamics that permeate cooperation between heterogeneous social worlds. These objects, which can take the form of artifacts, documents, concepts or practices possess a paradoxical characteristic: they are malleable enough to to accommodate multiple interpretations while maintaining a shared identity. which allows for coordination between actors embedded in institutional, cultural, and cognitive contexts. distinct. This flexibility allows different groups to collaborate without the need for total consensus, functioning as cognitive anchors that enable translation and negotiation between diverse perspectives. Star and Griesemer (1989) identify four main types of objects of



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

frontier: repositories that aggregate heterogeneous data; ideal types that synthesize categories.

conceptual; overlapping boundaries that demarcate shared institutional territories; and forms

Standardized procedures that unify processes and records, each playing a role.

specific to intersubjective mediation. However, this mediation demands continuous work of

negotiation and reinterpretation of meanings, given the heterogeneity of the actors and the need for

cooperation.

Guston (2001) expanded this concept to the organizational level, proposing the notion of

Frontier organizations as institutional entities that operate at the intersection between science and

Politics. These organizations use boundary objects to facilitate exchange between domains.

epistemically and normatively distinct, incorporating institutional mechanisms that

They promote the active participation of multiple actors. The defining characteristic of organizations of

The boundary lies in maintaining dual *accountability*: they respond simultaneously to

demands of the scientific community, in terms of methodological rigor and epistemological validity, and

to the demands of the political field, related to practical relevance, social legitimacy and provision of

accounts. This dual responsibility gives these organizations an intermediate position that allows them

It allows for the mediation of conflicts of interest and values, preserving its legitimacy and functionality in

both social worlds.

With regard to the production and use of knowledge at the interface between science and

In politics, Cash et al. (2003) highlight three fundamental attributes for the effectiveness of systems of

Knowledge: salience, credibility, and legitimacy. Salience refers to the relevance of

Knowledge tailored to the needs and priorities of decision-makers, ensuring its usefulness.

In practice, credibility relates to the quality, robustness, and scientific validity of knowledge.

produced. Legitimacy involves the perception of fairness, transparency, and inclusion in the process of

production of knowledge, ensuring that multiple perspectives and values are recognized and

respected. Border organizations act as institutional devices that seek to cultivate

and balance these attributes through processes of mediation, translation, and negotiation that

They overcome the cognitive and institutional barriers between science and politics.

The theoretical choice of the concept of boundary organizations, to the detriment of others.

categories such as political networks, epistemic communities, or knowledge intermediaries,

This is justified by its ability to capture the complexity of the institutional processes that structure

the science-policy interface. While networks and communities emphasize social relations and

Sharing of beliefs, and intermediaries focus on the transfer of knowledge, the

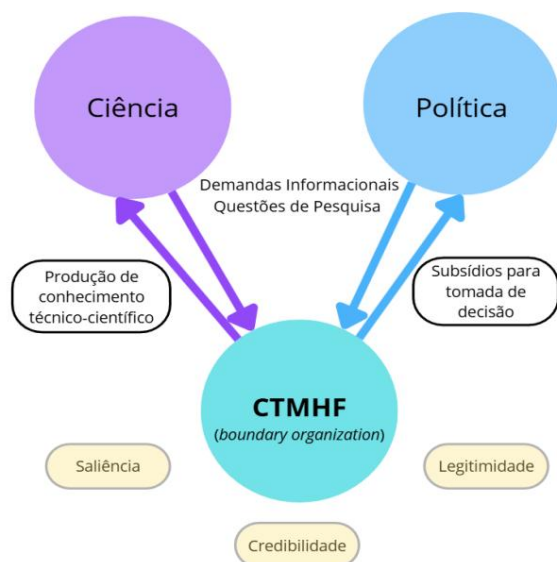
Border organizations simultaneously incorporate structural, procedural, and

regulations. These include the creation and maintenance of institutional artifacts (boundary objects), the

managing the heterogeneity of actors and dual *accountability*. This approach allows for an analysis

the most comprehensive of the mechanisms that enable mediation and constant negotiation between rigor Scientific and political demands are central aspects for the formulation and implementation of policies. evidence-based public health services (Guston, 2001; Cash et al., 2003; Lum; Koper, 2017).

Figure 1: Structure and Essential Characteristics of a Border Organization



Source: Prepared by the authors, based on Guston (2001) and Cash et al. (2003)

For the empirical analysis of border organizations, it is possible to establish theoretical criteria. that guide its identification and evaluation. First, one must verify the existence and systematic use of border objects that facilitate communication and coordination between actors from different institutional domains, such as technical reports, standardized protocols, Dashboards and adapted analytical tools. Secondly, it is essential to observe the heterogeneous composition of the actors involved, including researchers and policymakers. and professional mediators, as well as the institutional mechanisms that ensure participation. The effectiveness of these diverse groups. Third, the institutional mechanisms that guarantee dual *accountability*, assessing how the organization responds simultaneously to demands Scientific and political advancements through accountability, transparency, and legitimacy. Finally, qualitative and quantitative indicators related to salience (alignment with policy priorities), Credibility (scientific recognition) and legitimacy (perception of fairness and inclusion) are essential for mapping the organization's effectiveness in mediating between science and politics (Guston, 2001; Cash et al., 2003).

Within the framework of Evidence-Based Policing (EBP) and the operationalization of the model. *Triple-T (targeting, testing, tracking)*: border organizations play a strategic role. by enabling the institutional mediation necessary to overcome the dichotomy between scientific rigor and



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

operational demands. In the targeting phase, these organizations promote dialogue between analysts and managers, facilitating the collaborative definition of priorities that are simultaneously scientifically grounded and politically relevant. During *testing*, they act in the adaptation and contextualizing scientific methods to the contingencies and limitations of daily operations, ensuring the credibility and applicability of the evaluation protocols. Finally, in the *tracking phase*, They develop and maintain tools and indicators that meet the methodological requirements of researchers, while simultaneously satisfying the practical and *accountability* needs of public managers. This continuous and multifaceted mediation allows for bridging the gap between scientific knowledge and political action, ensuring the effective and legitimate implementation of evidence-based public safety policies (Guston, 2001; Sherman, 2013; Lum; Koper, 2017; Cash et al., 2003).

3. Research Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative approach, based on a single case study strategy. to analyze the Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF) of Federal District. The choice of a single case study is based on the need to understand to examine in detail a contemporary phenomenon in its natural context, especially when the The distinction between phenomenon and context is tenuous or indistinct (Yin, 2018).

Data collection was carried out through document analysis involving a *corpus*. A diverse range of official documents, regulations, meeting minutes, and technical reports that record the trajectory of CTMHF. The sources were carefully selected to encompass the evolution of The Chamber, from its creation to its most recent restructuring, is detailed below:

1. Regulatory documents: a) Ordinance No. 176/2018, which created the CTMHF; b) Decree No. 42,152, of June 2, 2021, which consolidated it as an organic unit in the structure of the Public Security Secretariat; c) Decree No. 42,831, of December 17, 2021, which reaffirmed the position of the CTMHF in the organizational structure of the SSP/DF; d) Decrees No. 45,165, of November 14, 2023, and No. 45,174, of November 21, 2023, which maintained the CTMHF in the structure of the Executive Secretariat of Public Security; e) Decree No. 47,114, of April 11, 2025, which relocated the CTMHF to the Institutional and Public Security Policy Executive Secretariat (SEINSP); f) Ordinance No. 83 of October 13, 2025, which details its new and robust governance architecture.
2. Records of Activities: a) The Report of the Inaugural Workshop of 2015, which records the conception of the Chamber within the scope of the "Pact for Life" program; b) Minutes of meetings of the CTMHF Executive Group, held between 2015 and 2025, which allowed for the examination of the deliberative processes and the interaction between the actors.
3. Technical reports and studies: Produced by the CTMHF on attempted and completed femicides in the District. Federal.



4. Audit report: a) Report from the Court of Auditors of the Federal District recognizing the CTMHF methodology as a model to be replicated (Federal District, 2023a); b) Final Report of the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission on Femicide, of the Legislative Chamber of the Federal District (Federal District, 2021b); c) Final report of the Commission for the Prevention and Combat of Femicide, of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Federal District and Territories (Brazil, 2025).

The data analysis was conducted using the content analysis technique (Bardin, 2011).
guided by the previously established theoretical framework. The process involved coding and...
categorization of documentary information to identify how the structure, processes and
CTMHF products align with the characteristics of a border organization, notably its
capacity to mediate the science-policy interface, producing salient, credible, and legitimate knowledge.
(Cash et al., 2003), and operationalize the principles of Evidence-Based Policing.

The categories of analysis were defined based on this intersection between theory and data.
empirical, focusing on: (1) Institutional evolution and programmatic resilience, to understand how
CTMHF has become established over time; (2) Governance architecture and mechanisms of
mediation, to analyze its interinstitutional composition and its role in overcoming fragmentation;
and (3) Production and translation of evidence in action, to examine the creation of "borderline objects" and
The application of the *triple-T model*.

3.1 Study limitations and ethical considerations

It is essential to recognize the methodological contours and limitations that define the scope.
This study, therefore, has an exploratory character. The choice of documentary analysis, although
robust for mapping the formal governance architecture and normative evolution of CTMHF, no
It allows you to capture informal dynamics, behind-the-scenes negotiations, or subjective perceptions.
of the actors involved, crucial elements in the functioning of a Border Organization. A
The nature of this institutional arrangement implies ongoing work of intersubjective negotiation and
Language translation, which is rarely fully recorded in formal documents.

The absence of interviews with *boundary spanners* (border actors) therefore restricts,
a thorough understanding of organizational cultures and the interpersonal tensions that permeate them
CTMHF. Key issues, such as managing the tension between the political urgency for results.
immediate considerations and the need for methodological rigor, or the existence of risks of political capture and
Excessive bureaucracy meant that these issues could not be explored in depth using the methodology adopted.

In this sense, this article should be understood as a preliminary analysis, whose value
lies in the ability to refine the theory on the institutionalization of frontier organizations in
Bureaucracies of the Global South, based on an analysis of their formal structure and results.
documented. Unanswered questions based on the documentary source constitute an agenda.



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

future research will require conducting in-depth interviews with key stakeholders.

actors involved, in order to deepen the understanding of the costs, conflicts and tensions inherent in maintaining dual *accountability*.

From an ethical standpoint, the research addressed a highly sensitive social topic: lethal violence. The analysis of minutes and reports demanded rigorous care to ensure the confidentiality and anonymization of any information that could, directly or indirectly, To identify victims, perpetrators, or specific details of criminal cases. The focus of the investigation. remained strictly within institutional processes, political deliberations, and dynamics of governance, refraining from exploring the particularities of individual crimes. All documents The data used are official and were handled in accordance with ethical research principles. ensuring that the analysis contributed to the improvement of public policy without exposing data. sensitive.

The use of artificial intelligence tools for text enhancement and analysis of The data collection was conducted in accordance with ethical and responsible guidelines, preserving the primacy of... of human action in all stages of research (Sampaio; Sabbatini; Limongi, 2024).

4. Results and discussion

Documentary analysis by the Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF) allows us to demonstrate how, in practice, an institutional arrangement can be designed to overcoming systemic challenges to the implementation of evidence-based security policies, which incorporates dual *accountability*. The trajectory, the governance architecture, and the processes of The work of CTMHF embodies the principles of a border organization, acting as a A bridge between technical knowledge and political-strategic decision-making.

4.1 Trajectory and institutional evolution of CTMHF

The evolution of CTMHF reveals a deliberate process of progressive institutionalization. an effective "normative anchoring" strategy that protected it against the challenge of discontinuity. administrative, one of the main obstacles to the consolidation of long-term policies in Brazil (Frey, 2000). This trajectory can be understood in distinct phases that demonstrate its maturation of an informal arrangement for a state policy.

The Chamber's genesis dates back to 2015, within the scope of the "Viva Brasília: Nosso Pacto" program. "For Life" – established by Decree No. 36,619, of July 21, 2015 (Federal District, 2015) - as a direct response to a crisis scenario. The report from the inaugural *workshop* of that



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

This year documents the urgency that motivated its creation: the stagnation of the historical series of crimes.

Intentional lethal violent crimes (ILVCs) have been on the rise for almost two decades, and the rate of solving them has fallen.

homicides, which had decreased from almost 70% in 2009 to 60% in 2014. The outcry from managers for a space to "improve coordination," "break the taboo" between the Civil Police and the Ministry.

Public, and "overcoming vanities to sit at the table" demonstrates that CTMHF was born from the perception of that institutional fragmentation was the central cause of the ineffectiveness of the policies at the time.

Another significant milestone in this trajectory was the publication of Ordinance No. 32, of 27 of June 2016 (Federal District, 2016), which established the Center for Combating Femicide.

(NEF). This core, designed to coordinate actions with a gender perspective, represented a progress in recognizing the need for specific treatment for cases of femicide, defined by Law No. 13.104/2015 (Brazil, 2015).

The formalization of CTMHF advanced significantly with Ordinance No. 176 of 2018. (Federal District, 2018), which established it as a "propositive and deliberative" body, integrating the previously scattered efforts in homicide monitoring and in the NEF. Although it represented
Despite institutional progress, this configuration still left CTMHF in a vulnerable position, as it did not...
It consolidated it as an organic unit of the Public Security Secretariat (SSP/DF), restricting its
Autonomy and operational capacity are essential elements for dual *accountability* and effective...
Mediation between science and politics.

A qualitative advance occurred in 2021 with Decree No. 42,152, which represents the Consolidation of CTMHF by creating it as an organic unit of the Executive Secretariat of Security. Public (Federal District, 2021a). This change was fundamental to its resilience, as it allowed it to...
It provided institutional stability and its own operational capacity, separating its existence from its own.
from specific advisory boards or offices, more susceptible to management changes. This protection
The institutional framework was reinforced by a succession of normative acts, such as Decrees No. 42,831/2021. (Federal District, 2021c), No. 45,165/2023 (Federal District, 2023b) and No. 45,174/2023 (Federal District, 2023c), which maintained and reaffirmed their position within the structure of the SSP/DF.

More recently, Decree No. 47,114 of 2025 promoted a new repositioning.
Strategic move to relocate CTMHF to the Institutional and Security Policy Executive Secretariat. Public (SEINSP) (Federal District, 2025b). The definitive proof of the programmatic resilience of CTMHF — its persistence in the face of administrative discontinuity (Frey, 2000), particularly after
The extinction of the "Pact for Life" program finds its corollary in external validation.
formal recognition by the Court of Auditors of the Federal District (Federal District, 2023a), which
Validating its methodology as a replicable model is the embodiment of *accountability* in the field.
Guston's (2001) political-social endorsement simultaneously strengthens the attributes of effectiveness.
of knowledge (Cash et al., 2003): ensures credibility (management compliance), reinforces the



Legitimacy (endorsement by a public guardian) and increases the salience of the CTMHF model for the replication in other sectoral policies.

Additionally, the technical credibility and prominence of CTMHF products are validated. due to its adoption by central institutions of the justice system. A notable example is the Final Report of Commission for the Prevention and Combat of Femicide of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Federal District and Territories (Brazil, 2025), one of the main instances of criminal prosecution in the country. The aforementioned The report not only uses the Chamber's data and analysis as a basis for its own strategic conclusions, but also highlights the importance of the unit's existence and annexes The complete 'Study of Completed Femicides in the Federal District' produced by CTMHF. This incorporation demonstrates that the CTMHF has transcended its role as an advisory body. internal to the executive security agency itself, establishing itself as a source of knowledge. legitimate and credible for external actors, whose work in producing evidence directly supports the formulation of strategies in other spheres of power, fully realizing its function as border organization.

The publication of Ordinance No. 83/2025 marked an institutional advancement for CTMHF, by expand their competencies to include the production of systematic analyses and evaluations of programs, projects and public policies, as well as impact assessment. This regulatory change formalizes the Chamber's transition from a model focused on translating evidence into monitored actions to one that seeks to incorporate more systematic evaluation methods, such as quasi-experimental designs. However, this expansion of responsibilities depends on the allocation of specialized human resources and adequate analytical infrastructure is essential for its full implementation. The new standard expands its responsibilities. to include "the conference and monitoring of the effectiveness of public security policies" and "the production of in-depth diagnostics and scientific articles", reflecting the maturation of The Chamber and its potential for even more significant contributions.

In summary, the trajectory of CTMHF reveals a process of institutional maturation guided by... in five interdependent vectors: the progressive institutionalization that transformed it from an arrangement informal in state policy; the expansion of the scope and network of actors, incorporating new thematic areas and strategic partners; continuous technical and scientific deepening, which has elevated the quality and relevance of its knowledge production; and a programmatic adaptability that It has ensured its relevance throughout different governmental cycles. This evolution demonstrates a organizational learning capacity, consolidating CTMHF as a sustainable model and Effective evidence-based governance, which exemplifies dual *accountability* and mediation. between science and politics inherent in frontier organizations.

4.2 Governance Architectures: Weaving a Network Against Fragmentation



If normative anchoring was the strategy that ensured the resilience of CTMHF against the discontinuity, its governance architecture is the practical and structured response to the challenge of Institutional fragmentation. The Chamber functions as the space where the security ecosystem... The public and criminal justice system, traditionally operating in silos, are compelled to collaborate, thus fulfilling the function of the border organization to involve actors from different domains for the co-production of solutions (Guston, 2001).

The inter-institutional composition of CTMHF forms the foundation of its capacity. articulatory. The documentary analysis of the meeting minutes reveals an organic expansion that It went beyond the initial configuration, which was restricted to the organs of the Executive Branch. The systematic inclusion and active members of the Court of Justice (TJDFT), Public Prosecutor's Office (MPDFT), Public Defender's Office (DPDF), The Secretariat for Women and research institutes such as IPEDF demonstrate a growing reach and This reinforces the legitimacy of the network. This expansion was formally consolidated by Ordinance No. 83/2025. (Federal District, 2025a), which established this expanded configuration as the permanent structure of The Chamber, fulfilling its role of involving multiple domains in co-production.

The new governance architecture, detailed in the aforementioned ordinance, further develops this model by to establish two permanent Thematic Executive Groups: one for Homicides and another for Femicides and Domestic Violence. This dual structure allows for a simultaneous approach. specialized and integrated, deepening the analysis of the distinct dynamics of each phenomenon under a unified coordination. The robustness of this structure is evidenced by the requirement for representation of high-level officials, including the top leaders of the security forces and members of the TJDFT and MPDFT, This ensures that the decisions have the necessary political weight to be translated into action.

The driving force behind this mechanism is the permanent Technical Coordination, whose Stable leadership since 2020 ensures continuity and expertise. This team is responsible for management. daily tasks, preparing the analyses that support the meetings and, fundamentally, by Systematic monitoring of referrals. Acts as the generating core of "objects of "frontier" (Guston, 2001) - such as monitoring reports, indicator dashboards and notes techniques, translating raw data into analytical diagnoses that enable the various stakeholders Institutions should engage in dialogue based on a consensus of evidence.

One of the most powerful and distinctive mechanisms of CTMHF governance, formalized in Article 3, § 8, of Ordinance No. 83/2025 (Federal District, 2025a), establishes the obligation to start each meeting with a "detailed feedback regarding the decisions made at the meeting "previous". This practice, consistently documented in the minutes, establishes a robust double cycle. *Accountability*, ensuring that decisions are not lost over time. Unlike others In inter-institutional forums, at CTMHF each task has a defined responsible party and deadline, and the provision



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

The accounting process is public and periodic, presented to peers, strengthening transparency and accountability. mutual.

This collaborative management model directly confronts "institutional fragmentation" and... "Disarticulation between spheres" pointed out by Lima; Sinhoretto; Bueno (2015), fostering a A positive pressure environment that encourages inter-institutional cooperation. Thus, the CTMHF It transcends the status of a mere committee, establishing itself as a sophisticated platform for Network governance, designed to transform fragmentation into structured collaboration and To transform deliberations into monitored and effective actions.

4.3 Production and use of evidence: the *TRIPLE-T* model in action

An analysis of the work processes of the Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF) reveals a consistent adherence to the *triple-T* model (*targeting, testing, tracking*), proposed by Sherman (2013), which forms the basis of Evidence-Based Policing. A Câmara's focus is not limited to generating diagnoses, but seeks to convert them into interventions. monitored, reducing the distance between analysis and action.

The Executive Group meetings constitute the privileged space for this mediation. Structured in a standardized way, they integrate technical and deliberative moments, allowing that Decisions should be based on evidence without disregarding political and operational dimensions. Shared leadership, usually exercised by the Executive Secretary of Public Security and the The coordinator of the CTMHF reflects the hybrid nature of the Chamber, ensuring that the technical agenda... To engage effectively with the political and strategic sphere.

The permanent Technical Coordination acts as the core producer of border objects. Translating raw data into analytical artifacts that, while robust, retain malleability. sufficient to guarantee communication between the different institutional worlds (Star; Griesemer, 1989). CTMHF's strategic portfolio manifests itself in multiple typologies: 1) the data Aggregates of crimes and risk profiles function as inter-institutional repositories; 2) the concept The use of "femicide" as an analytical category constitutes an ideal type that unifies legal perspectives. police and social; and 3) operational protocols and technical notes establish standardized forms. which ensure the translation of evidence into concrete actions, underpinning the co-production of knowledge and order (Guston, 2001).

The targeting pillar *is* the clearest expression of this production of knowledge. The formal competencies of CTMHF, established in Ordinance No. 83/2025 (District Federal, 2025a), include the "production of criminal and criminological diagnoses based on "Empirical evidence" and "identification of risk factors." Concrete examples illustrate this.



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

Capacity: Identifying a peak in femicides on Tuesdays enabled targeted intervention.

of preventive actions; the "Study - Accumulated Completed Femicide" showed that 72% of Crimes occur in the victim's residence, providing insights to improve assessment protocols. of risk (Federal District, 2025c). In addition, the CTMHF operates at a metadisciplinary level, seeking qualify the collection of primary data, as demonstrated by the decision to eliminate the term. "passionate" analysis of police records, a measure intended to improve the accuracy of future analyses, as well such as the discussion on standardizing age classifications in accordance with the IBGE's national indicators.

In the case of CTMHF, the *testing* pillar proved to be the most methodologically challenging aspect. challenging. In response to the practical and ethical impossibility of implementing RCTs, the Chamber adopted a strategy focused on converting the diagnoses generated by *targeting* into operational actions, accompanied by a monitoring (*tracking*) system. This approach allowed the interventions were to be continuously reevaluated through formal feedback mechanisms. ensuring inter-institutional accountability and the adaptation of strategies.

CTMHF's experience demonstrates that strengthening the pillars of *targeting* and Specifically, *tracking* is fundamental to ensuring the effectiveness of the policing cycle. Based on Evidence. These elements function as necessary conditions for the future. Implementation of more rigorous impact assessments. Developing this capacity. The evaluation represents an important step in consolidating the Chamber as an organization of border, expanding its capacity to mediate between technical knowledge and political decision-making.

CTMHF exemplifies the strategic role of border organizations in Operationalization of the *triple-T* model of Evidence-Based Policing. In the stage of *Targeting*, the Chamber promotes dialogue between technical analysts and political managers, enabling the Joint definition of priorities that reconcile scientific basis and political relevance. During *testing*, although limited by the unavailability of RCTs, CTMHF adapts methods. Evaluative actions based on local conditions, seeking to ensure the applicability and credibility of the interventions. During the *tracking phase*, the Chamber develops and maintains tools and indicators that meet both the needs of the Chamber and the objectives of the Chamber. methodological requirements regarding the practical needs of accountability, ensuring that evidence-based decisions should be accompanied by formal monitoring mechanisms. and accountability.

The *tracking* pillar constitutes the most innovative mechanism of CTMHF. As recorded in the minutes and formalized in Ordinance No. 83/2025 (Federal District, 2025a), each The meeting begins with a detailed review ("feedback") of compliance with the "guidelines" established in the previous meeting. This cycle of accountability, which It tracks the progress of specific tasks - such as implementing locks on systems, access

Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025
databases and the review of regulations - transforms the Chamber from a merely functional forum

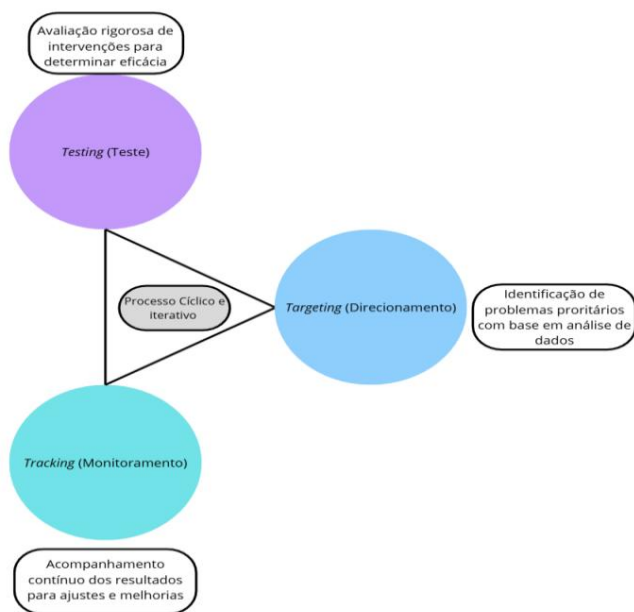
deliberative within a mechanism endowed with executive monitoring capabilities.

Rigorous monitoring of these points at the subsequent meeting, with proper formalization, ensures that discussions translate into concrete products and actions. This mechanism completes the *triple-* cycle.

T, ensuring that monitoring goes beyond the analysis of crime rates to encompass the institutional performance, overcoming the inertia often observed in collegiate bodies.

interinstitutional relations in Brazil.

Figure 2. Evidence-Based Policing (Triple-*T model*)



Source: Prepared by the authors, based on Sherman (2013)

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The document analysis undertaken in this exploratory study suggests that the Technical Chamber The Monitoring Center for Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF) of the Federal District was structured with characteristics of an institutional model comparable to that of a "border organization". Its The trajectory and architecture of governance, examined from formal sources, indicate a case relevant for reflecting on the implementation of evidence-based practices and overcoming Systemic challenges - fragmentation, discontinuity, and cultural resistance - that historically They hinder the modernization of public security in Brazil.

The analysis indicated that the institutional design of CTMHF as a border organization This constitutes the central explanatory factor for its effectiveness. Through its interinstitutional composition, With dedicated technical coordination and robust accountability mechanisms , the Chamber operationalizes the principles of Evidence-Based Policing, according to the *triple-T model*. When functioning as



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

As a space for the co-production of knowledge, CTMHF ensures that the evidence produced is simultaneously salient, credible, and legitimate (Cash et al., 2003). This process enables mediation from the tension between technical rationality and political dynamics, ensuring the effective translation of diagnoses in monitored actions.

The experience of CTMHF, corroborated by external validation from the Court of Auditors of The Federal District offers relevant contributions to academic literature. By applying the concept From border organization to a specific case in the Brazilian context, this study identifies factors institutional frameworks that enable evidence-based governance, with particular emphasis on anchoring progressive regulations and the institutionalization of accountability cycles.

CTMHF is not limited to being a case study; it is configured as a paradigm replicable and an analytical roadmap for building frontier organizations in other contexts federative and thematic. The inter-institutional *accountability* mechanism institutionalized by *Tracking* (mandatory feedback) is the key element that can be transferred to other areas of... crime, such as combating organized crime or other forms of gender-based violence. The analysis of CTMHF offers a governance model that transforms mere coordination into *enforcement* mutual, overcoming the inertia common to inter-institutional bodies and ensuring that decisions Evidence-based solutions translate into concrete and monitored actions.

The most recent institutional reconfiguration, detailed in Ordinance No. 83/2025, configures The advancement of CTMHF as a Border Organization, establishing the vector for strengthening from the *testing* pillar . The new mandate formalizes the competence to produce analyses and evaluations of public programs and policies (Article 2, Item III) and the development of predictive models for Impact assessment (Article 2, Item XVII). This strategic repositioning transcends the limit from "Translation of Evidence into Monitored Action," signaling the transition to incorporating quasi-experimental evaluation methods that are more suited to the pragmatics of public safety than Pure Randomized Controlled Trials (RCTs). Express encouragement of the publication of articles scientific (Art. 2, Item X) requires that the CTMHF submit its findings to academic scrutiny, institutionalizing *accountability* to scientific rigor and validating a co-production model of Knowledge in its highest expression.

The sustainability and expansion of this model, however, require a strategic agenda structured. It becomes essential to strengthen its policy evaluation function, expanding its scope. Beyond monitoring; invest in analytical capacity through increased allocation of human and technological resources; and develop effective strategies to disseminate the culture of use of evidence throughout the system. The expansion of the model to other areas of crime, as The recommendation from the Court of Auditors of the Federal District represents the next logical step in its... evolution.



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

Finally, this exploratory study points to the need for future research that...

delve deeper into the findings presented here. Conducting qualitative analyses, through Interviews with the actors involved are essential to deepen the understanding of the dynamics. informal negotiation methods, organizational culture, and the management of tensions inherent in the duo CTMHF *accountability* . Additionally, quantitative impact studies are needed for to measure the causal effects of policies formulated by the Chamber. The experience of the CTMHF, Analyzed from a documentary perspective, it suggests the feasibility of building effective bridges between evidence and decisions, but understanding their complexity and confirming their replicability require The continuation of the investigation, shaping a rich research agenda on governance. based on evidence in Brazil.

Declaration of Conflict of Interest

The author declares a conflict of interest of an institutional nature, since he/she holds the position of function of Coordinator of the Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF), the subject of this article. All analyses were conducted based on publicly accessible documents guided by a rigorous theoretical framework, aiming to ensure the Maximum objectivity in data interpretation.

REFERENCES

BARDIN, L. *Content Analysis*. Lisbon: Edições 70, 1977.

BRAZIL. Law No. 13.104, of March 9, 2015. Amends article 121 of Decree-Law No. 2.848, of December 7, 1940 – Penal Code, to provide for femicide as an aggravating circumstance of the crime of homicide, and article 1 of Law No. 8.072, of July 25, 1990, to include femicide in the list of heinous crimes. *Official Gazette of the Union*, Brasília, DF, March 10, 2015.

BRAZIL. Public Prosecutor's Office of the Federal District and Territories. *Analysis report: femicides in the Federal District (2015 to 2022)*. Brasília: Gender Nucleus/MPDFT, 2023. Available at: <https://www.mpdft.mp.br/portal/pdf/feminicidio/relatorio-feminicidio-2015-2022.pdf>. Accessed on: October 30, 2025.

CAIRNEY, P. *The politics of evidence-based policy making*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

CASH, DW et al. Knowledge systems for sustainable development. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 100, no. 14, p. 8086–8091, 2003.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Legislative Chamber. *Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into Femicide: final report of the CPI on Femicide*. Brasília: CLDF, 2021b.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Decree No. 36,619, of July 21, 2015. Establishes the Pact for Life, and provides other measures. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, July 22, 2015.



FEDERAL DISTRICT. Decree No. 42,152, of June 2, 2021. Provides for the administrative structure of the State Secretariat of Public Security of the Federal District. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, June 3, 2021a.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Decree No. 42,831, of December 17, 2021. Provides for the administrative structure of the State Secretariat of Public Security of the Federal District. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, Dec. 20, 2021c.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Decree No. 45,165, of November 14, 2023. Provides for the administrative structure of the State Secretariat of Public Security of the Federal District. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, November 16, 2023b.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Decree No. 45,174, of November 21, 2023. Provides for the administrative structure of the State Secretariat of Public Security of the Federal District. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, November 22, 2023c.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Decree No. 47,114, of April 11, 2025. Provides for the alteration of the administrative structure of the State Secretariat of Public Security of the Federal District, and takes other measures. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, April 14, 2025b.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Ordinance No. 32, of June 27, 2016. Establishes the Nucleus for Combating Femicide within the scope of the State Secretariat for Public Security and Social Peace of the Federal District. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, June 28, 2016.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Ordinance No. 176, of September 13, 2018. Creates the Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides – CTMHF. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, September 14, 2018.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. Secretariat of State for Public Security. Ordinance No. 83, of October 14, 2025. Provides for the competences and functioning of the Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF) of the Secretariat of State for Public Security of the Federal District. *Official Gazette of the Federal District*, Brasília, DF, No. 200, Oct. 21, 2025a.
Available at: <https://www.dodf.df.gov.br>. Accessed on: October 29, 2025.

FEDERAL DISTRICT. State Secretariat of Public Security. Technical Chamber for Monitoring Homicides and Femicides (CTMHF): study of completed femicides in the Federal District: accumulated information: March 2015 to August 2025. Brasília, DF: SSP/DF, 2025c. 17 p.

Federal District. Court of Auditors of the Federal District. *Government actions, whether plans or programs, aimed at combating violence against women in the period of 2019–2022.* Brasília: TCDF, 2023a. 98 p.

FREY, K. Public policies: a conceptual debate and reflections on the practice of public policy analysis in Brazil. *Planning and Public Policies*, no. 21, pp. 211–259, 2000.

GUSTON, DH Boundary organizations in environmental policy and science: an introduction. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, vol. 26, no. 4, p. 399–408, 2001.

KOPITKE, A. *Handbook of evidence-based public safety: what works and what doesn't work in violence prevention.* Passo Fundo: Conhecer, 2023.



Year V, v.2 2025 | Submission: October 30, 2025 | Accepted: November 1, 2025 | Publication: November 3, 2025

LIMA, RS de; SINHORETTO, J.; BUENO, S. The management of life and public safety in Brazil. *Society and State*, Brasília, v. 30, n. 1, p. 123–144, Jan./Apr. 2015. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69922015000100008>. Accessed on: October 30, 2025.

LOPEZ, FG. Instability of decision-making bureaucracies, planning and inefficiency in the public policy cycle. *Cadernos Gestão Pública e Cidadania*, São Paulo, v. 27, n. 88, e86489, 2022. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.12660/cgpc.v27n88.86489>. Accessed on: October 30, 2025.

LUM, C.; KOPER, CS *Evidence-based policing: translating research into practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

PARKHURST, J. *The politics of evidence: from evidence-based politics to the good governance of evidence*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017. 182 p.

SAMPAIO, RC; SABBATINI, M.; LIMONGI, R. *Guidelines for the ethical and responsible use of generative artificial intelligence: a practical guide for researchers*. São Paulo: Editora Intercom, 2024.

SHERMAN, LW The rise of evidence-based policing: targeting, testing, and tracking. *Crime and Justice*, vol. 42, no. 1, p. 377–451, 2013.

STAR, SL; GRIESEMER, JR Institutional ecology, “translations” and boundary objects: amateurs and professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology. *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 19, no. 3, p. 387–420, 1989.

YIN, RK *Case study research and applications: design and methods*. 6. ed. Los Angeles: Sage, 2018.