Urbanisation and Violence

by Clarissa *Reid*

INTRODUCTION

The growing global population is moving increasingly away from the countryside to an environment in cities unnatural to many agrarian communities. Urban areas, as well as being wealth – creation centres, are also huge wealth – consumer entities that are increasingly challenged by the need to support numbers unimagined when they were created. Governments increasingly fail in the provision of urban infrastructure to provide for their inward-migrating citizens forced to move by climate change and socio-economic needs.

The consequences are violence, insecurity and deprivation; they are being felt in cities across the World. The developed World is no exception. Urban violence is seen in many guises from trafficking, sectarian dispute, gender issues, lack of road safety, poor sanitation and a general inability of local and national government to provide.

This ICRA Discussion paper explores in brief some of the complexities of this topic using an example of the Kenya's Kibera district in Nairobi. The paper is not designed to be an in-depth analysis, but, as with other ICRA Discussion Papers provides a basis for discussion.
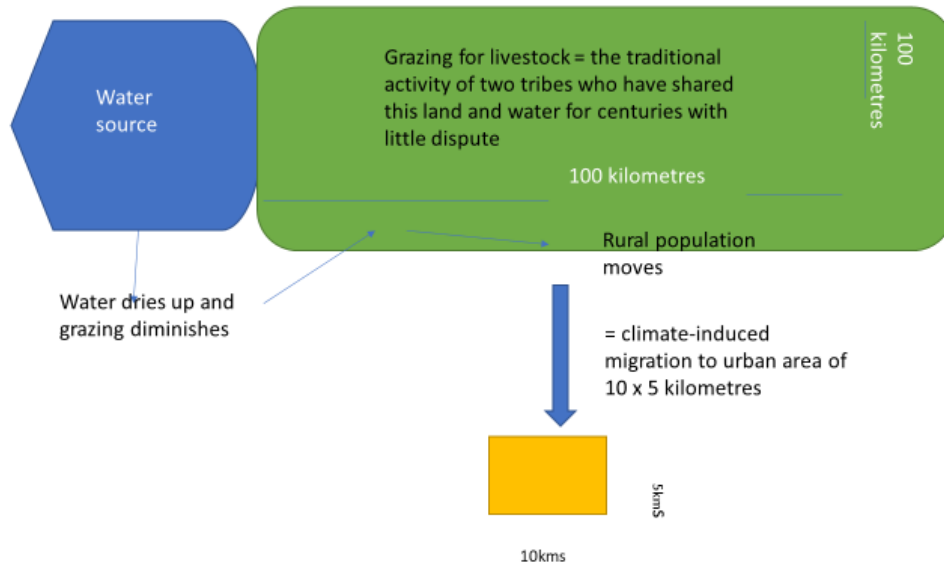
Overview

The purpose of this discussion paper is to investigate **the connection between urbanisation and violence** using Kibera in Kenya as a case study. This paper will be informed by the

growing body of literature that discusses the causes and some remedies of urban violence. These are not exhaustive.

In 2007, the world became a predominantly urban society, and now 600 urban centres generate over 60% of global GDP (Muggah, 2012). More than half the global population currently live in urban areas and 1.5 million new people are added to the urban populace every week (PWC, 2017). On its own urbanisation is not a problem; this transition offers opportunities for growth as cities can act as powerful forces for inclusive development. They are also often the safest places for people during disasters due to ready availability of infrastructure and resources (Patel and Burkle, 2012). However, rapid levels of urbanisation are often unsustainable, they put huge pressure on infrastructure, services, employment and the environment which undermines their powers of protection for citizens and creates new vulnerabilities (Patel and Burkle, 2012). Unplanned and badly managed urbanisation can lead to inequality, pollution and costly sprawling development patterns (PWC, 2017).

The threat of conflict and insecurity is increased as the global population is concentrated into urban environments; many of these fast-growing cities create conditions that foster conflict over resources because of increased disparities in standards of living (Patel and Burkle, 2012) among people often unaccustomed to living in such close proximity to each other. Sharp escalations in the incidence and severity of various forms of urban violence are being seen across the world, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America (Muggah, 2012). Moreover, future population growth will likely be highly concentrated in urban areas in less developed countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia. In these regions, the urban population is projected to double from 2.6 billion in 2010 to 5.2 billion in 2050 (Muggah, 2012), which suggests without improved management the violence will increase further. This is in part because the growth of the urban poor is disproportionately large with 60% of urban populations living in slums, and over 60% of urban growth taking place in already urban areas (Patel and Burkle, 2012).

Water source

Grazing for livestock = the traditional activity of two tribes who have shared this land and water for centuries with little dispute

100 kilometres

100 kilometres

Rural population moves

Water dries up and grazing diminishes

= climate-induced migration to urban area of 10 x 5 kilometres

5kmS

10kms

The result = population compression, unfamiliar territory, few resources or employment = violence and disease

Urbanisation frequently occurs in an unplanned and disorganised fashion, whilst often being limited to disaster-prone areas with poor sanitation and no clean water. Large populations become concentrated into precarious settlements with access to few basic services and high levels of insecurity. As urbanisation continues these areas begin to be categorized as urban slums (Patel and Burkle, 2012). The current situation in many slums is akin to a 'crisis,' and violence levels often contribute to situations on the level of armed conflict (Duijsens, 2010). Urban slums have become havens for criminality involving gangs and weapons, and they create insecurity for their residents and the rest of the population (Patel and Burkle, 2012). Specific groups such as women, migrants and refugees are the most vulnerable (Patel and Burkle, 2012). Rural-to-urban migration is largely made-up of people with low levels of education and economic means. They have no choice but to live in random settlements or slums (Duijsens, 2010). In 2007, the UN estimated that the number of people living in slums had passed the point of one billion. Over 90% of the slums are in the global south where urbanisation and slum growth have become synonymous (Duijsens, 2010). The rapid growth of these slums proves that they cannot be considered only an unfortunate bi-product of urbanisation that will disappear, instead they need to be considered a global development issue. The Millennium Development Goals echoed this sentiment aiming to significantly improve the living conditions of 100million slum dwellers by 2020.

Urbanisation has been found to be linked to the increase in multiple types of violence which will be detailed for this discussion, they include**: the link between urbanisation and youth; urbanisation and radicalisation; gender based violence and urbanisation and gang-based violence**. This paper will offer some definitions of urbanisation and of urban violence. This paper will also consider the causes of urban violence.

Kibera will be used as the main case study for this paper. Kibera is one of Nairobi's 16 slums located approximately 3 miles from downtown. Experts suggest it is one of the biggest slums in Africa with a population up to 100000 in some estimates (Holicka, 2015). The conditions in Kibera are extremely insecure and strained, it is not officially recognised by the government meaning that it has hardly any infrastructure; electricity, sanitation, running water and most public services are out of reach for 80% of residents (Holicka, 2015). In recent years, Kibera has experienced a significant population increase which means greater strain on an already very minimal infrastructure.

Defining Urbanisation and Urban Violence

In order to understand the proposed correlation between urbanisation and violence it is useful to consider some definitions, including the definition of the word 'urban'. There is not currently a universal definition of what constitutes 'urban,' but the majority of definitions share variables in both population size and density. Generally, areas are considered cities when they have a minimum density of 2000 people per kilometre squared. Some massive cities such as Mumbai number 30000 people per kilometre squared, with slums of some 1million people per square kilometre (Patel and Burkle, 2012). Urban areas also include demarcated geographic zones of dense human habitation and some separation from rural areas (Muggah, 2012). Urbanisation can be defined as the increasing proportion of national and global populations living in urban areas. The causes are population movement, natural growth (an excess of births over deaths) and policy change (governments' reclassification of some places from rural areas to urban settlements) (Muggah, 2012).

When defining urban violence, many academics feel it is necessary to distinguish between 'direct' and 'indirect' violence. 'Direct' violence are forms of violence which result in physical and psychological damage including deliberate fatalities, assault, sexual violence and violence against children (Muggah, 2012). Whereas, 'indirect' violence comprises the

negative effects on other aspects of livelihoods, social relations and wellbeing (Muggah, 2012) such as road safety. In cities, there is evidence of both kinds of violence and each has negative effects on urban communities. Violence can take place within and across various domains – political, institutional, economic and social. Not only does it inflict physical harm it also generates high levels of insecurity within societies. Insecurity can undermine faith in formal institutions and erode social networks (Duijsens, 2010).

Urbanisation and Youth

There is a connection between urbanisation and violence towards youths. Over a billion children now live in urban settlements yet child protection has been noticeably absent from development priorities and urbanisation agendas (Save the Children, 2012). Urbanisation can increase violence against children in a number of ways. Firstly, when children are left behind by their parents moving to urban areas for employment (approximately 23 million children in China alone) they can be left without appropriate care and can be more vulnerable to forms of violence such as trafficking. It is estimated that 1.2 million children were trafficked into sexual exploitation or child labour in the year 2000 alone (Save the Children, 2012). Children can however, be equally if not more vulnerable, when they themselves move into urban areas. Children living and working on the streets is an urban phenomenon which has grown significantly (Save the Children, 2012). Many of the children are born as residents of the city and are likely to remain in the same life situation. Consequently, owing to high levels of unemployment, caused by rapid urbanisation putting pressure on the job market, children can be forced into exploitative and dangerous work to bring income to their families. By 2030 it is estimated that youth will make up 60% of urban populations, they are the fastest growing demographic group in urban areas (Patel and Burkle, 2012). They are in many cases, disaffected, underemployed, undereducated and vulnerable (Patel and Burkle, 2012).

Violence against youth is a problem in urban Kenya including Kibera. Kenya's population is very young; 43% of the population is under the age of 15 (Onyango and Yostensen, 2015). A population distribution such as this is often called 'the youth bulge'. Many of these youths live in urban settlements, a situation which poses significant challenges including the provision of shelter, education and employment. In Kibera, up to 90% of children do not

even have access to piped water (Onyango and Yostensen, 2015). Violence is reported to be commonplace in Kibera and children are witnesses and victims of these acts. With small congested homes being the norm, many youths are expected to leave home and live on the streets or in communal homes with other young people. In these situations, drugs and alcohol are easily accessible which can lead to youths being victims and perpetrators of violence, including sexual violence (Onyango and Yostensen, 2015). The children who remain in cramped houses with their parents are also vulnerable to violence when the conditions raise tensions. Education is a major problem for the children of Kibera; public schools cannot cope with the increase in students from Kenyans migrating to the city (Onyango and Yostensen, 2015). With low levels of education and poor employment prospects children are more likely to turn to drugs, crime; or to seek employment where they are putting themselves in danger (couriers for drug dealers etc;).

Urban youths are not only the victims of crime, they can also be the perpetrators. A CMI study (Onyango and Yostensen, 2015) in Kibera, which focused on youth violence found that 76.8% of respondents reported they knew of youths involved in crime, including carrying out violent acts such as mugging, robbery and rape. Approximately 20% of respondents reported that they themselves were involved in crime including 1.1% confessing to being involved in sexual crimes. Youth crime is a large problem across dense urban areas in general, including cities in so-called developed countries. As well as youth involvement in crimes such as those listed above, acting alone or in small groups, they represent the demographic group targeted most by gangs and by extremist groups seeking to radicalise them.

Urbanisation and Radicalisation

 In some place urbanisation is identified as one aspect leading to radicalisation. In Kenya the increase in terror activity in the region is exacerbating the problem. The number of youths living in urban slums are also an aggravating factor. The lack of opportunity caused by poor employment prospects pushes disillusioned people towards the Islamist terror group, Al-Shabaab (Malo et al, 2015). Young people are subverted by offers of power and the chance to belong to a cause. Having little chance of education or employment they are easy prey for terrorist recruiters (Malo et al, 2015). Unemployment is not the only feature of urbanisation

that can increase radicalisation. Economic hardship also plays an important role generally, as terror groups of a way out of poverty (Hellsten, 2016). Other reasons people are attracted include: belief in jihadist ideology, the effect of corruption in politics, pressure from their families and the search for a clear set of norms to follow. Traditionally recruitment has focused on boys and young men who are easy to attract, however, in recent years the recruitment base has been widened and young girls and some older people are being subverted.

The connection between urbanisation and radicalisation is not unique to Kenya. Urbanisation is linked to radicalisation by many academics in discussing different radical groups globally. Living in large cities can encourage radicalisation because people are closer together and it is therefore easier to preach radical beliefs (Francis, 2012) and 'cross-infection' occurs. Poverty and inequality are also general causes of radicalisation; this happens when people feel excluded from the benefits of modernity, and the extreme social inequality in urban areas, particularly in the developing world, exacerbates this. However, people in urban areas can be radicalised without being impoverished if there are other manifestations of equality such as is discrimination and social segregation (Francis, 2012). These factors make it more likely that someone would be willing and able to subscribe to radical ideas.

Scholars have identified that whilst the socio-economic conditions remain the same in slums like Kibera, Kenyan politics remains divisive and corruption continues, the youth of all ethnic groups remain vulnerable to radicalisation. This vulnerability is easily exploited by recruiters offering promises of a better life. In this respect the use of cyberspace, to recruit, communicate and radicalise is a key facilitator for terrorist organisations and criminals.

Weapons are also a huge problem in African slums such as Kibera. It is estimated that over 30 million small arms have been left over in Africa from armed mostly inter-state conflict, and the majority of these weapons are now in civilian hands; and crucially the hands of those mostly those under the age of 18 (Patel and Burkle, 2012). These weapons not only draw young frustrated people towards extremist groups but increase the likelihood of violent crime.

Discussion point: Reducing inequality is the best prevention of radicalisation, governments faced with radicalisation driven by the negative symptoms of urbanisation may need to focus on creating better opportunities for youths, to create projects to absorb idle youths and spread the truth about the dangers of terror groups such as Al-Shabaab. Working to collect left-over weapons and reduce the number in circulation particularly among young vulnerable people is also important. But how to achieve this?

Urbanisation and Gang Violence

Violence in cities is most often committed by young men – if not driven by their financial situation, crime is often a means of obtaining status, especially within gang organisations. The number of young people is disproportionately high in slum areas so many disenfranchised youths make perfect recruits for street gangs. There is competition between social groups within slum areas and also competition between social groups and the state; this competition is often violent and is executed by armed groups or gangs that represent a certain ethnic, religious or age group combatting other gangs or the government (Patel and Burkle, 2012).

Land, or criminal territory, is a primary cause of disputes according to Patel and Burkle (2012) who argue that due to its increasing scarcity is at the centre of resource conflicts. Criminal gangs are a huge problem in poor urban areas across the world, in 2016 the Internal Displacement Monitoring centre found that, as of December 2015, in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico over 1million people had been displaced by gang activity (Moloney and Rowling, 2016). Gang violence has been a massive problem for El Salvador for many years with whole districts within its cities controlled by the two most powerful gangs Barrio 18 and Mara Salvatrucha. They use homicide, sexual violence and extortion to exploit the communities under their influence (Maloney and Rowling, 2016).

Gangs do not just benefit from urbanisation because they have access to many youths vulnerable to recruitment; rapid growth of urban areas stretches the armed forces and police assigned to protect them which gangs use to their advantage. In many cities policing and the judicial system have fallen behind and urban slums are hardly policed. Their complicated nature makes it even more difficult to protect the people; they are often unmapped areas, with narrow alleys and poorly made make-shift roads with no lighting or

footpaths. Thus, it is very difficult for anyone other than the residents to navigate them and the criminals have a decided advantage (Patel and Burkle, 2012).

This type of violence is rampant in slums across Africa, Asia and South America as well as present in urban areas in European countries such as Italy, Russia and the UK. In recent years there has been an increase in gang violence in Nairobi, in Kibera gangs play the role of the government and their law is followed, government law enforcement has little involvement. According to the report by Save the Children (2012) up to 14 criminal gangs run Nairobi, many of whom terrorise its residents for ransom and enact violence. In this environment Kibera has the highest concentration of gangs; the six main terror gangs are Nubians, Kibera Battalion, Siafu, Kamukunji Pressure Group, 'Yes We Can' and J-10. The Nubians protect the Nubian community but the rest engage in extortion, the illicit provision of security, illegal tapping of electricity and so-called 'resolving disputes.' In Kibera gangs are an important factor in the violence against children and adults. This violence can take many forms. Adult and youth gangs may be sought for protection and for a sense of belonging but they are often involved in criminal activities including organised violence. Not only do many of these gangs exact violence on their communities they may be violent towards their members during initiations or for a breach of gang rules.

The proposed solutions to gang violence will be discussed further in the section devoted to dealing with urban violence, but they are for the most part, comparable to the solutions to radicalisation in urban areas.

Discussion point: Governments and the international community need to work towards improving the opportunities for youths by creating jobs and providing training and education. Alongside these actions, they need to educate about the dangers of joining gangs and the benefits of being an active member of society. Community groups can be a useful tool where they have the trust and respect of the youth population, but such groups need to be empowered and supported by the State.

Urbanisation and Gender Violence

The link between urbanisation and gender violence is the least explored in the literature, and the plight of women in urban slums is often overlooked. Men are usually the victims of violence because they are also the perpetrators. In 2007, in Colombia 12 men were killed for

every 1 woman (Patel and Burkle, 2012). Whilst men may be the main perpetrators of violence several studies have shown that women are very commonly the victims of non-fatal violence (Patel and Burkle, 2012) for example, systematic rape often increases in times of conflict and violent scenarios in which women are the main victims. Women in urban settlements lose social protections and often bear the brunt of the insecurity in these areas. Women struggle to get access to support and services as well as being forced into living in very close proximity to people with all kinds of social and cultural practices (Patel and Burkle, 2012). Traditional tribal cultures may suffer from the degradation of their traditional values; and in this environment gender violence takes on different forms; domestic violence, sexual violence, violence in the work place and aggravated violence that may not have occurred to the same degree in the traditional communities from where the women came originally.

Gender violence is an acute problem in Kibera. In 2011, Swart surveyed 200 women aged 18-30 and results showed that the levels of gender violence are significantly higher than in the rest of Kenya. Simultaneously women in slums reported lower tolerance to this form of violence which suggests they are willing to accept intervention when its offered. In Kenya in general there is a deeply embedded culture of male superiority and gender-based violence is a personal, social and political issue. What is relevant in the context of this paper is that **gender violence is exacerbated by urbanisation**. Patriarchal norms invade all aspects of society and these can be debilitating for women in areas of education, employment, access to credit and ownership of property (Swart, 2011). The context of poverty in urban slums also exacerbates the problem. The KDHS (2008) found that 39% of Kenyan women had experienced gender-based violence but 84.5% of women from Kibera were victims, this shows that the problem is worse within urban areas. 84.5% of women in Kibera also reported being the victim of domestic violence or sexual violence from a non-partner which is double the national rate (Holicka, 2015). However, it is also quite common that the survivors of sexual violence know the perpetrator personally and may in some cases depend upon him for sustenance (Holicka, 2015). Furthermore, surveys including one by Erulkar and Matheka (2007) found evidence for significant violence within marriages and cohabiting young people in Kibera. One in six married girls reported being hit within the last three months, they claimed their husbands' justifications for the punishments were disobeying

them or failing to fulfil their domestic duties to an adequate standard. Moreover, In Kibera women are often forced into making a living by offering sexual services in exchange for money or food; this practice coined 'survival sex' is socially accepted and distinguished from prostitution. Similarly, early exposure to sexual activity and sexual violence is also common, at the young age of fourteen over half of school aged girls have had sexual intercourse (Holicka, 2015).

Domestic violence is more likely to occur in informal housing settlements where there is a lack of privacy and space as well as difficulty monitoring and policing (ARI, 2014). Both men and women can be victims of domestic violence and the plight of men in domestic situations is often overlooked because they can be both perpetrators and victims. The formalisation of housing is key to reducing the levels of domestic violence seen in urban areas across Africa (ARI, 2014). There is also a cultural element and organisations need to use education to modify the views of some of the urban poor who see domestic violence as both commonplace and acceptable.

What is urgently needed in Kibera is greater access to physical and psychological care for the victims as well as a more effective system for reporting evidence of violence and punishing perpetrators (Holicka, 2015). One of the ways to alleviate this problem is to increase the available healthcare within the area, Global Alliance reported in 2010 that there were only 4 health clinics in Kibera and only 25% of survivors surveyed had sought any kind of help with 20% of women saying they had no one to talk to in the face of their assault at all (Holicka, 2015).

Urbanisation has been linked to violence against women by many studies and it is not just a problem in developing countries such as Kenya. A study by ActionAid (2016) of 1013 found that 75% of UK women had experienced some form of violence or harassment in cities, and this number is rising across the world. The study also considered women in Thailand, Brazil and India and their statistics were even higher, Thailand 86%, Brazil 86% and India 79%. Approximately 40% of women in these countries claimed they had been groped in public, and 23% of UK women had also experienced this form of sexual harassment. ActionAid's Women's Rights Campaign Manager said that 'the research highlights a global epidemic' and

that women around the world are facing harassment and unwanted touching as well as many other forms of violence in the streets of cities (ActionAid, 2016).

Social & Economic Inequality and Violence

This paper has discussed the types of violence which manifest in urban areas and how urbanisation exacerbates them. What has become apparent is that it is not urbanisation itself that causes violence but the poverty that is rife in informal, overcrowded and poorly resourced urban areas. However, much literature suggests that it is not in fact solely poverty that causes this urban violence, or poor rural areas would see the same problems. The consensus is that this violence is triggered by inequality which is much more present in urban areas than rural areas. Much of the violence is directed between social groups or between social groups and the government which helps highlight the centrality of inequality. Whilst it does not directly explain violence towards to children and gendered violence, it increases general tensions and insecurity which these groups bear the brunt of.

There is a divide in many large cities between the wealthy and the poor, the poor are more vulnerable to violence. Rather than poverty causing violence, it has been observed that violence promotes poverty by reducing capital and investment and reducing economic growth (Duijsens, 2010). Many communities believe that inequality is a greater cause of crime and violence than poverty itself (Duijsens, 2010). This inequality manifests in unequal access to education, health care and employment which has a cyclical effect of perpetuating violence in the future. Inequalities have been shown in Latin America to be the main and multiplicative factor for the growth of violence as opposed to the absolute level of poverty (Patel and Burkle, 2012). These findings have been echoed across the world and inequality is widely considered to be the main cause of a variety of types of urban violence which have been explored in this paper. Poor sanitation, access to healthcare, economic prospects and scarce food and water increase the gaps between rich and poor and exacerbate tensions. For example, in Kibera resources are so scarce; one latrine is shared between approximately 4000 residents and in some parts of the slum less than 25% of people have access to piped water, which differs greatly from the 92% access in the rest of Kibera, as reported by Patel and Burkle (2012).

Dealing with Urbanisation and Violence

It is a job for international agencies, NGOs and governments, they must act to reduce the growing urban insecurity. Protecting urban populations and preventing the escalation of conflict is central and its requires improvements in urban planning, investment in youths, cooperation with local community projects, strengthening policing and the judicial system (Patel and Burkle, 2012). Rapid urbanisation is unsustainable and without commitment from the international community and major policy changes, conflict and violence are inevitable. The risk is growing and it is the responsibility of all international and domestic actors to take action.

When assessing the opportunities and threats caused by urbanisation, different agencies choose different aspects to focus on. These can include: poverty reduction, political empowerment, health promotion and women's rights (Duijsens, 2010). The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, especially during times of conflict, focus on protecting life and health and strengthening the position of the people. National Societies seek to promote human dignity and peace by reducing violence and reconciling troubling social problems, such as ethnic divides, gendered tensions or drug addicts.

Actors need to address the problems with inequality that fuel the violence, this can be done with macro and micro level interventions and should be focused on improving the prospects for youth. Policies for the youth can include: improving shelters, granting access to education, increasing access to a living-wage, training programs and substance and alcohol rehabilitation (Patel and Burkle, 2012). These interventions will help reduce the likelihood of youths being recruited into street gangs or radicalised by extremist organisations. Grassroots community organisations are often a powerful tool in the implementation of these improvements and international agencies should form alliances with them. These groups can help foster social cohesion and can increase dialogue with marginalised groups such as refugees and some ethnic and religious groups (Patel and Burkle, 2012). Social and cultural values often play a role in the prevalence of violence: here also social networks can be a valuable tool in reducing the violence through community participation and education (Duijsens, 2010).

In 2013 ARI launched publications and hosted events scrutinising the state of urban planning and the education of urban planners in Africa (ARI, 2014). Its criticisms highlight that long-term effective urban planning is the key to improving the situation, this view is echoed throughout the literature. Cities need to ensure safe environments for their citizens by providing adequate lighting, formal roads, planned public spaces for parks and communal areas and in the direst situations improving access to sanitation and running water (Patel and Burkle, 2012). How to provide healthcare and other important services is also an issue in slums, risky urban conditions provide a challenge for many humanitarian groups which are better prepared to deal with crises in rural areas and ill-equipped to face some of the urban challenges (Maloney and Rowling, 2016). However, improving urban planning and investing in infrastructure in slum areas should make it easier for NGOs to deliver healthcare. Running water, clinic building and proper roads all make the provision of healthcare more efficient.

The humanitarian community is often underrepresented in developing urban environments with gang problems which is a barrier to progress, whether their absence is caused by an inability to access these areas or an awareness that the issues are beyond their scope (Patel and Burkle, 2012). For governments and humanitarian agencies gaining trust involves speaking to religious and community leaders and can be a lengthy process. Many aid agencies in gang controlled areas also must navigate negotiating with gang leaders in order to get permission to work before they can begin helping the population (Maloney and Rowling, 2016). However, the problem with radicalised young people and gang members cannot be ignored. They must be retrained and reintegrated into society, especially when judicial systems do not have the capacity to prosecute them, minor offenders can be rehabilitated. With the example of ex members of Boko Haram in Nigeria; Nigeria and surrounding countries need programs to reintegrate and deradicalize mainstream Boko Haram combatants who are not ideologically violent or war criminals (Foucher, 2016). The ICG (2017) also stresses the importance of easing the pressure on overstretched judicial systems by diverting more national resources and aid towards them whilst focusing on reintegration of moderate members. The local police and judicial systems also need to be a focus in solving these problems, they should be empowered to root out corruption, and

funded more effectively, so that they can invest in training and improve their scope (Patel and Burkle, 2012).

All of these strategies need to be coordinated on a local and national level, and supported by all international agencies to improve the effectiveness and the scope of these policies. Governments need to go beyond traditional methods of security and work with local communities to improve trust and understanding between the people. With better urban planning, increased investment in infrastructure and healthcare and greater support for the most affected groups, urban areas can become the engines for growth and development they have the potential to be.

Final discussion points

The 'so what?' of this discussion may be that governments have a duty to examine the consequences of policies leading to increasing population densities. Climate change and lack of rural opportunity will drive agrarian peoples off the land into the cities; the cities very often do not have the infrastructure or wealth creation opportunities for extra numbers of people and this allows violence in all its guises to flourish.

FUTURE CONFLICT SCENARIO based on URBANIZATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE
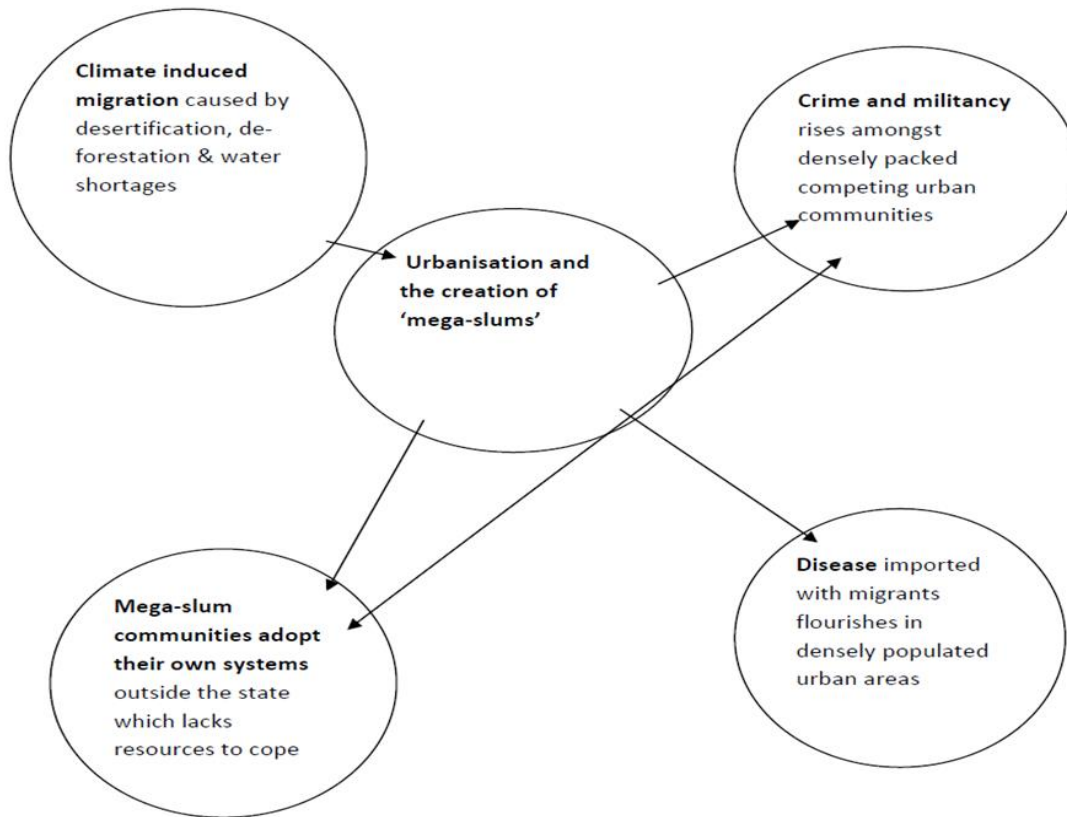
Bibliography:

1. Action Aid. "Three in four women experience harassment and violence in UK and global cities." *ActionAid UK*, 2016, www.actionaid.org.uk/latest-news/three-in-four-women-experience-harassment-and-violence. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017

2. Africa Research Institute. "Urban violence in Africa: Understanding civic conflict." Africa Research Institute, 2014, www.africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/event/urban-violence-in-africa/. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

3. Duijsens, R. "Humanitarian challenges of urbanization." *Eisf.eu*, 2010, www.eisf.eu/library/humanitarian-challenges-of-urbanization/. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

4. Erulkar, A, and J Matheka. Adolescence in the Kibera slum of Nairobi, Kenya. Nairobi, Kenya, Population Council, 2007.

5. Foucher, V. "Boko Haram is losing ground – but will not be defeated by weapons alone." International Crisis Group, 16 Feb. 2017, www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-

africa/boko-haram-losing-ground-will-not-be-defeated-weapons-alone. Accessed 17 May 2017.

6. Francis, Matthew. "What causes Radicalisation? Main lines of consensus in recent research." Radicalisation Research, 2012, www.radicalisationresearch.org/guides/francis-2012-causes-2/. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

7. Hellsten, S. "Radicalisation and terrorist recruitment among Kenya's youth." The Nordic Africa Institute, 2016, pp. 1–8., Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

8. Holicka, B. The connection between poverty and gender-Based violence in Kibera: Lessons and Opportunities. 2015, www.gbvuncovered.com/blog/gbv-kibera-lessons-and-opportunities. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

9. Ibrahim, L. "Rising Insecurity in Kibera." Voice of Kibera, 2012, blog.voiceofkibera.org/?p=508. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

10. International Crisis Group. "Niger and Boko Haram: Beyond Counter-Insurgency." ICG, 26 June 2017, www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/niger/245-niger-and-boko-haram-beyond-counter-insurgency. Accessed 17 May 2017.

11. Malo, P, et al. "Unemployment drives youths towards Al-Shabaab." Kenyan Insecurity on Our Radar, 2015, www.onourradar.org/kenya/2015/07/23/unemployment-drives-youths-towards-al-shabaab-2/. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

12. Moloney, Anastasia, and Megan Rowling. "Gangs, crime and slums: growing cities present new challenges for aid agencies." Reuters, Thomson Reuters, 17 May 2016, www.reuters.com/article/us-humanitarian-summit-urban-crisis/gangs-crime-and-slums-growing-cities-present-new-challenges-for-aid-agencies-idUSKCN0Y80GA. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

13. Muggah, R. Researching the Urban Dilemma: Urbanisation, Poverty and Violence . IDRC, London, 2012, Researching the Urban Dilemma: Urbanisation, Poverty and Violence . Accessed 15 Aug. 2017.

14. Onyango, P, and A Tostensen. The Situation of Youth and Children in Kibera. CMI, 2015, pp. 1–33

15. Patel, Ronak B., and Frederick M. Burkle. "Rapid Urbanization and the Growing Threat of Violence and Conflict: A 21st Century Crisis." Prehospital and Disaster Medicine, vol. 27, no. 02, 2012, pp. 194–197., doi:10.1017/s1049023x12000568.

16. PWC. "A New Urban Agenda: Accommodating 2 billion new urban citizens." Rapid Urbanisation, PWC, 2017, www.pwc.co.uk/issues/megatrends/rapid-urbanisation.html. Accessed 1 Sept. 2017.

17. Save the Children. "City Kids Urbanisation and its consequences for children's right to be protected from abuse, neglect, exploitation and violence." Save the Children, 2012, resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/library/city-kids-urbanisation-and-its-consequences-childrens-right-be-protected-abuse-neglect. Accessed 21 Sept. 2017.

18. Swart, Elizabeth. "Gender-Based Violence in a Kenyan Slum: Creating Local, Woman-Centered Interventions." Journal of Social Service Research, vol. 38, no. 4, 2012, pp. 427–438., doi:10.1080/01488376.2012.676022.