

Razia Sultana

GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE IN MANAGING URBAN SECURITY: THE DEVELOPING COUNTRY CONTEXT

Abstract

By now, ensuring Good Urban Governance (GUG) has been one of the major challenges for urban government in the developing countries. Though the main objective of GUG is to ensure equal facilities to urban people, in most cases, it is not materialised. One of the reasons is lack of proper urban planning and management, which by and large, results in unplanned growth of slums and illegal settlement. Due to rapid migration of people from rural to urban areas, urban governments are facing numerous challenges to meet the basic needs of urban people. The rapid inflow of additional people creates extra pressure on water, housing, electricity, gas and other means of survival. This has also instigated various social, political, institutional, economic and structural forms of violence in the cities. At present, urban governments of many developing countries have failed to tackle various forms of crimes and delinquencies. This raises the important query as to how GUG is interlinked with urban security issues? It is in this context that the major objectives of the paper are to perceive the overall phenomenon and outline the various dimensions of urban insecurity issues in relations with the GUG. Based on the evidences of violent activities in different cities, some key challenges of urban government have been discussed. Deriving the causes and consequences of urban violence, some recommendations have been put forward from developing country context.

1. Introduction

In recent time, GUG has been considered as an important means to ensure security and safety of urban dwellers. The main objective of GUG is to ensure and protect social, political, economic and other rights of urban citizens. GUG is also related to effective management of cities. From the last couple of decades, it is perceived in the developing countries that GUG is absent in many cities and consequently it has deeply challenged the security and safety issues of urban people. One of the major drawbacks to imply GUG is to expand of cities in terms of population and failure to ensure the rights of large volume of people in the limited settings. Consequently, the major outcome of unplanned rapid urbanisation is the rapid growth of illegal settlements, in other words called slums. This has also given birth to various illegal activities like crime, robbery, smuggling, murder and so on in urban societies. These activities clearly induce gross human rights violation and bring other negative

Razia Sultana is Research Fellow at Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). Her e-mail address is razia@biiss.org

[©] Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), 2013.



influences over urban safety and security. It is a matter of apprehension that urban governments of many developing countries have failed to deal with the emerging crises embedded with crimes and violence due to lack of proper urban management and planning, shortage of manpower, deterioration of law and order system and a host of others. Although GUG is the significant tool to tackle the urban crises, regrettably, it is not practiced in many developing countries.

In fact, the issue of urban safety or urban security is a wider concept of human security identified by the international community. It includes a number of issues and concerns to address the security of urban citizen. It encompasses the fundamental requirements of citizen like food, health, shelter, protection from crime and violence. Also, collective security needs incorporate 'protection from urban terrorism'. In this regard, Global Report on Human Settlements 2007 focuses on three crucial aspects for ensuring security of urban citizen. These are: 'crime and violence, insecurity of tenure and forced eviction as well as natural and manmade disasters including low level chronic hazards such as road accidents'¹. Unfortunately, till now, few of these have been addressed by the urban government in policy planning, design and governance.

On the other side, GUG is considered as the exercise of political, economic, social and administrative authority accountable for managing the entire urban entity. The absence of GUG raises different kinds of insecurities in the cities. Question therefore is: How does GUG impact on urban security issues? From the various literature including UN Habitat Report, it is acknowledged that urban violence is one of the major challenges for urban government. Without addressing this, urban government cannot ensure security and safety of urban citizen. There are some violent activities which are mostly seen in urban areas such as crime, street violence and smuggling. Currently, violence is seen in many forms in the cities of the developing countries. Violent activities between police and slum dwellers during slum eviction; rapid influx of refugees; terrorism and drug trafficking; widespread community violence; small arms proliferation; presence of gangs and militia groups; increase of children's deaths for organised armed violence; and involvement of children in urban gangs are the names of a few. These incidents are highly perceived in Indonesia, Brazil, Kenya, Afghanistan, Sudan and other cities of developing countries. As a result, most of the

¹ UN-Habitat, Enhancing Urban safety and Security Global Report on Human Settlements 2007, United Nations Human settlements Programme, UK and USA, 2007.

² Christine Auclair and Alban Jackohango, *Good Urban Governance: Towards an Effective Private Sector Engagement*, Background Paper, Private Sector Unit-UN Habitat, June 2009.

³ In this paper, urban citizen refers to those who has the right to exercise every urban facilities provided by the urban authority.

⁴ Ellen Brennan-Galvin, "Crime and Violence in an Urbanizing World", *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2002, pp. 123-145.

⁵ Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT) and Canadian Consortium on Human Security (CCHS), Human Security for an Urban Challenge: Local Challenges, Global Perspective, Canadian Consortium on Human Security, Centre of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, 2006-2007.

cities in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been facing numerous human security threats. Hence, ensuring human security aspects is gradually being recognised as a key challenge for urban government.

Though, human security threat resulting from urban violence is massive in the developing countries, it is often disregarded. To acknowledge the fact, the key objective of this paper is to look at the nature, threats and consequences of urban violence in the developing countries in general and specifically in Bangladesh. To discuss these issues, the paper mainly deals with some questions: How GUG and urban insecurity issues are interlinked? What is the nature and scale of urban violence? What are the key challenges that urban government faces to ensure security of urban dwellers? What are the main causes and consequences of urban violence? In what ways urban violent activities and safety of urban citizen can be well managed?

To address these questions, secondary data is mainly used and the sources are mainly the UN Habitat Report, World Development Reports, Transparency International Reports and different research works on the developing countries. For this paper, qualitative data and the results of different empirical researches are used. However, one of the major drawbacks of the paper is the failure to explain the overall scenario of urban security issues as the issues relating to urban violence are very sensitive and data in this regard is under reported. Another concern is the problems of definition regarding urban crime and violence as the nature and extent are diverse and various scholars defined these terms in different ways. Besides, the suggestions provided in the paper seems to be tentative viewing the fact that field based intensive tasks are required for intensive research.

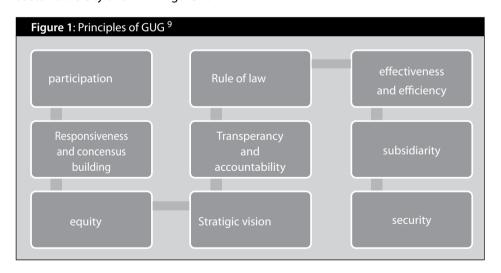
Despite some limitations, this paper is an attempt to highlight some of the key aspects of GUG and its relations with urban insecurity issues. After brief introduction in Section 1, the paper gives an overview about GUG in Section 2. Section 3 provides different dimensions and nature of urban violence. Section 4 explains GUG and its relations with urban security issues proving empirical evidence particularly on Bangladesh viewing the fact that Dhaka, the capital city, is now facing tremendous security threats emanating from unplanned rapid urbanisation. Section 5 discusses the key challenges that urban government faces to ensure security of urban people. Section 6 tries to explore the consequences of violent activities in urban areas. Section 7 addresses how urban violence can be managed in a comprehensive way to make the city secured. Finally, Section 8 draws conclusion.

2. Main Attributes of GUG

Governance, good governance, urban governance, and GUG are the popular terms nowadays. Initially, governance is a broader concept of government and it is not a new concept. Governance incorporates state which is run in collaboration with



public sectors, private sectors as well as civil society. As each sector has its own difficulties, strengths and weaknesses, governance combines all of them to work together for the welfare of citizen. The term 'good governance' is well accepted form of governance which ensures participation, transparency and accountability. The concepts of good governance and urban governance are complex in nature and controversial to many as each city is unique. Generally good governance is a good practice to make cities more inhabitable and liveable engaging the community and private sectors apart from the governments. As said by Mike Douglass "inclusion, participation, partnerships and transparency are the key to good governance"6. The World Bank (WB) defines that "good governance implies inclusion and representation of all groups in the urban society as well as accountability, integrity and transparency of local government actions in defining and pursuing shared goals"7. In general, the concept of GUG depends on different urban settings and local, national and regional contexts. More specifically, GUG is a popular term that ensures social, political, economic and cultural rights of every citizen through effective planning and management of urban government. UN-Habitat identifies seven characteristics of GUG including sustainability, subsidiarity, subsidiarity, equity, efficiency, transparency and accountability, civic engagement and security.8 Similarly, analysing the notion of GUG, United Nations development Programme and Urban Governance Initiative (UNDP-TUGI) has formulated 11 principles for a sustainable city shown in Figure 1.



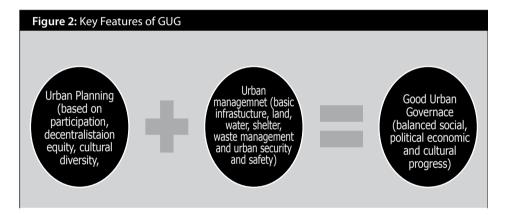
⁶ Mike Doglaus, "From Global Intercity Competition to Cooperation for Liveable Cities and Economic Resilience in Pacific Asia", Environment and Urbanization, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2002, pp. 53-68.

⁷ UNCHS (Habitat), "The Global Campaign for Good Urban Governance", *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2000, pp-197-2000.

⁸ Christine Auclair and Alban Jackohango, op. cit.

⁹ UNDP-TUGI, "The Urban Government Initiative", Environment and Urbanization, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2003, pp. 159-169.

The above mentioned report also illustrates that a city can be well governed when it consists of 5 key attributes: inclusion of social justice, environmental sustainability, political participation, economic growth and cultural diversity. GUG is also related to local and cultural understanding as culture is a potential impediment of GUG. As Jon Pierre argues, urban governance should be perceived from local and historical perspectives and the city should be planned and managed considering its social, political and economic transformation. In addition, GUG is related to good urban management. Primarily, it is based on two features: one is planning for maintaining city's infrastructure and basic services (such as access to land, water, shelter, employment opportunities, waste management, etc.) and the other refers to the sound conditions of a city administratively and financially to ensure social, economic and physical growth. Considering all the above definitions, it can be said that in GUG certain characteristics are incorporated at both urban planning and management stages. When these two stages act together in coherent ways, GUG takes place in a city and it is shown in Figure 2.



Urban Violence: Its Nature and Scale

In general, the concept of violence denotes the violation of law. There is no universal definition of violence as it is defined based on state perception, legal systems, cultural norms and values. On the other hand, violence is the use of force to gain specific profits against one's willingness. From the broader point of view, it encompasses physical violence to psychological abuse and other material dispossession.¹² In fact, there are 25 types of crimes that are identified from different studies.¹³ Considering all forms of violence in urban environment, violence can be divided into seven categories including political, institutional, economic, social,

¹⁰ Jon Pierre, "Comparative Urban Governance: Uncovering Complex Causalities", *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 2005, pp. 446-462.

¹¹ Ronald Mcgill, "Urban Management in Developing Countries", Cities, Vol. 15, No. 6, 1998, pp.463-471; C Rakodi, "Can Third World Cities be Managed?", in D Cadman and G Payne (eds.), The Living City: Towards A Sustainable Future, Routledge: London and New York, 1990.

¹² J Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization,* International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, 1991.



structural, community based and individual. Table 1 highlights the categories, types, forms and different sorts of outcomes emanating from urban violence. It shows that each form of conflict stipulates different violent situations which impact negatively on urban society.

Table 1: Categories, Types and Other Aspects Urban Violence14							
Types of violence	Forms of aggression by perpetrator or victim	Main attributes	Impacts/Outcomes				
Political	between state and non state actors	-guerrilla conflict -paramilitary conflict -political assassination -armed violence between politi- cal groups	genocide, civilian casual- ties, war crimes, involve- ment of child soldiers, population displacement,				
Institu- tional	violence between public and private sector	-"extra-judicial" assassination by state security forces -physical or mental torture by health and education staffs	deterioration of law and order situation, assault and murdering				
Economic	-organised criminal -traders -criminals -muggers -small arms dealers	-aggression to solve economic conflicts -robbery and crime -drug trafficking -car stealing	killing, murdering, small arms proliferation				
Social	gangs street children middlemen child abuse	-theft, stealing and rubbery -kidnapping -rape and sexual abuse -trafficking	gender based violence, murder, unlawful killing				
Structural	advantaged groups	-exploitation -conflict over resources -uneven resource allocation	poverty, inequity				
Commu- nity	gangs ethnic groups	-crime, robbery -communal riots	high rates of casualties, increase of ethnic tension				
Individual	violence with partner or extended family members sexual violence unorganised crime	-physical and sexual violence -psychological abuse -road accident	gender violence, injury, death, negative health impacts, economic loss and increase burden for family				

¹³ These are: violence within household, violence in public place, fraud, shoplifting, burglary, vandalism, corruption, drug trafficking, bribery, kidnapping, drug trafficking, violence in semi-public place, pick pocketing, theft, car theft, environmental crime, traffic crime, theft of motor cycle, sexual offences, workplace crimes, arson, vandalism, graffiti. To see in details, Council of Europe, *The Relationship between the Physical Urban Environment and Crime Reduction and Prevention*, Proceedings, 19-21 October 2000, Studies and Text No 77, Poland, available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=y_V8h0l0z48C&pg=P A31&lpg=PA31&dq=relation+between+good+governance+urban+crime&source=bl&ots=5BY3jAiO DW&sig=_6eLTFdXSqGxIQkN1U4dEZ3kg7w&hl=en&ei=oyvVS_vvBdO9rAeWxT2DQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=10&ved=OCCoQ6AEwCQ#v=onepage&q&f=falseaccessed on 26 January 2013.

¹⁴ Adopted from DFAIT and CCHS, 2006-2007, *op. cit.*; also see, Ellen Brennan-Galvin, 2002, *op. cit.*

4. Lack of GUG and Increase of Urban Violence: A Causal Relationship

How GUG is intertwined with the issues of urban crime and violence? In fact, the words 'governance' and 'urbanisation' are mutually inclusive. The process of urbanisation could not be sustained without the presence of good governance and governance could not be effective if there is no planned urbanisation. Hence, GUG is an auxiliary term to understand the sustainable urban growth and development, GUG has a primary role in reducing crime and violence. Considering the 11 principles of UNDP-TUGI, it can be said that the main goal of GUG is to ensure domestic security, promote political, social and economic policies to fulfil the interest of public and implement those policies equally for all urban citizens. When all those policies and principles are not implemented properly, crime and violence prevail in the society. It is shown in Table 1 that violence takes place in different forms in the urban areas. For example, from the economic point of view, lack of GUG threaten development efforts, destabilise market, and impedes economic activities which cause conflicts over resources, delinquency and other illegal aggression. From the social context, absence of GUG promotes deprivation and injustice through distorted progress. Also it creates strain on the poor for accessing the indispensable services such as education, health and justice.

GUG not only depends on the policies but also relies on its successful implementation. Regrettably, in many developing countries, implementation of those principles is absent. For example, in case of planned urbanisation, urban authorities have a big role to play. However, due to lack of proper urban planning and management, slums and illegal settlements take place in many cities of the developing countries. These inadequate urban settings directly or indirectly instigate crime and violence. According to the UN Global Report on Human Settlements 1996, more than 100 million people have been living in the street and mostly it is perceived in the developing countries. From 1975 to 1990, there was an upward trend of offences and each year it rose from 300 to 500 million. Of the total crimes, three-quarters of those are committed in urban areas. 15 In this situation, urban authorities quite often have been failed to provide basic amenities and therefore, these instigate the urban citizen to get involved in different forms of violent activities. Needless to say that lack of proper implementation of good urban policies in most of the developing countries increase insecurity of urban dwellers. It is found from different studies of UN Habitat reports that worldwide unplanned urbanisation and its ineffective management by the urban authorities have created dreadful living conditions thereby helping to create different forms of urban violence.16 It is also found that planned government and urban security are reciprocal as successful urban government helps prevent crimes in urban societies. 17 Also, when GUG prevails in the cities, urban citizen becomes free

¹⁵ Maurice Chalom et al., *Urban Safety and Good Governance: The Role of the Police*, UNCHS- Habitat and ICPC Report, Nairobi, 2001.

¹⁷ The UN Habitat, "Safer City Approach", available at: http://www.unhabitat.org/content.asp?typeid=19&c atid=375&cid=1434, accessed on 12 January 2013.



from fear and this in turn creates a conducive environment in the city. To perceive this clearly, the following analysis deals with the linkages between GUG and urban violence highlighting Dhaka city of Bangladesh as a case in point.

4.1 The Case of Bangladesh as Empirical Evidence

Urban governance in different regimes has introduced various policies to make Dhaka habitable. Since Bangladesh's independence in 1971, many people migrated to the capital city for getting better facilities in education, health, occupation and other social services. Due to unplanned urban policies and lack of assessment of any establishment by the urban authorities, the situation of Dhaka has been deteriorating day by day. Most importantly, the rapid inflow of people helped to grow slums in the city. In a survey conducted by Asian Development bank (ADB) from 2005-2006, it was revealed that social insecurity is one of the major challenges of the urban government. 18 By now, a significant segment of migrants in the city is below the age of 37 who are capable of doing labour intensive works. 19 As a large cohort is unskilled youth, they used to get involved in various illegal activities. On the contrary, around 500,000 children live on the streets and one third of them reside on the road sides of the city.²⁰ They also have to look for temporary jobs for their survival. As the street children have no available and suitable jobs, quite often they become involved in illegal acts (e.g., stealing, mugging and drug selling) which thereby increasing the frequency of violent activities.

It is revealed that Dhaka city is gradually becoming into a city of violence and insecurity. In a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) conducted by the World Bank in 4 slum areas of Dhaka in 2004/2005, it was reported that 93 percent of the respondents were experienced about 33 types of crime related vulnerabilities such as drug trade, gambling, murder, violence and so on.²¹ The musclemen used to control the city dwellers by means of collecting money forcibly from trade centres, market places, bus terminals and construction areas. Often, they conduct illegal operations like torture, murder, looting and stabbing to gain control over the limited urban recourses including water, gas, electricity, etc.²² Recently increasing violent events by the fraudulent persons in bus terminals, train stations and other public places has been another challenge for the urban government to tackle the situation. Different media reports showed that around 14 people died

¹⁸ The Daily Star, 9 August 2006.

¹⁹ Shahadat Hossain, "Rapid Urban Growth and Poverty in Dhaka City", Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2008, pp. 1-24.

vol. 1, 2006, pp. 1-24.

2º Alessandro Conticini, "Urban Livelihoods from Children's Perspectives: Protecting and Promoting Assets on the Streets of Dhaka", Environment and Urbanization, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2005, pp. 69-81.

2¹ World Bank, Dhaka: Improving Living Conditions for the Urban Poor, Bangladesh Development Series,

Paper No. 17, World Bank Office, Dhaka, 2007.

22 K. I. Ahmed, Urban Poor Housing in Bangladesh and Potential Role of ACHR, Policy Paper, Asian Coalition of Housing Rights, Bangkok, Thailand, 2007.

²³ UNESCAP and the UN Habitat, "Urban Safety in Asia and the Pacific", available at: http://asiapacific-safecity. org/city/Dhaka, accessed on 07 February 2013.

due to the inhuman activities of gel (*malam*) parties from 2006-2007.²³ Another dreadful part of urban society is the abuse of adolescent and young girls who used to work outside home especially in the industrial sectors. Though, many victims do not flash out the events fearing of further attacks by the musclemen.²⁴ Besides, women are vulnerable to rape and trafficking which have been hidden social crimes in urban society. In terms of trafficking, women and young girls are selected for trade by means of prostitution, forced labour and slavery. Only from Dhaka city and nearby areas, the number of prostitutes is around 50,000 who used to work in brothels and hotels.²⁵ As a result, women are gradually become susceptible to HIV/AIDS and various sexual transmitted diseases.

5. Identifying Key Challenges for GUG

Ensuring urban security and safety of city dwellers is one of the key challenges for urban government. Currently, urban government is facing a number of challenges for ensuring basic rights and security of people. Some of the key challenges are highlighted below:

5.1 Weak State Capacity, Presence of Slums and Urban Refugee

In some developing countries, urban governments fail to tackle the rapid growth of population and their illegal settlements. As a consequence, huge number of slums is grown up which have been the source of increasing urban violence. For instance, in some African countries, the rapid influx of refugees and displaced persons has created difficulties to urban government for ensuring minimum urban facilities. Other examples are cities of Tanzania and Sudan. These additional urban refugees are burden for urban authorities as cities are incapable of providing their legal citizenship rights. Besides, insufficient equipment of security forces, uneven police-to-citizen proportion, and rampant corruption of security forces has made the situation worse. In fact, living in slum areas has been unsafe due to lack of public security. For example, in Latin American and Caribbean countries, cities have turned into most hazardous places because of organised violence and presence of competing gangs in the temporary settlement areas.²⁶ Besides, conflict between police and gangs in terms of illicit drug and human trafficking has been a threat for the urban government to check this unlawful situation.

²⁴ Christoph Schultz and Jeremy Bryan, "Human Security of Female Migrant Workers in Dhaka", Human Security for an Urban Challenge: Local Challenges, Global Perspectives, Canadian Consortium on Human Security, Centre of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Canada, 2006-2007.

²⁵ Tania Wahed and Abbas Bhuiya, "Battered Bodies and Shattered Minds: Violence against Women in Bangladesh", *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, Vol. 126, No. 4, 2007, pp. 341-54; also see, ICCDDR,B, "Domestic Violence against Women in Bangladesh", *Health and Science Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2006.

²⁶ DFAIT and CCHS, *op. cit*.



5.2 Poverty, Inequality and Lack of Capacity to Provide Basic Security

In reality, scarcity itself is not the ultimate cause of violence. Rather, deprivation and unequal resource distribution increase the violence in urban areas. For instance, in South Africa, the poor socio-economic conditions are the basis of all sorts of social and economic violence.²⁷ Absence of income sources, shortage of resources and unemployment problems persuade the urban dwellers to commit different kinds of violent activities. Due to lack of education, proper socialisation, and employment skills, they get involved in prostitution, begging, mugging and other illegal activities. Besides, lack of basic facilities such as water, land and shelter result in high level of conflicts in some developing countries. In Sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, lack of natural resources (mainly land and water) resulted in high levels of violence including property crimes among the urban communities. It is revealed from the study of Ellen Brennan-Galvin that shared water in urban slum areas is one of the root causes of urban violence as it increases the degree of social conflicts and divisions among communities.²⁸

5.3 Drug Trafficking and Alliances between Narco-traffickers and Terrorists

Drug trade is a glaring example of increasing violence in some cities due to weak institutional mechanism of urban government.²⁹ Drugs are the sources of many types of violence such as gang warfare, robberies and hijacking due to easy access of communication network and financing. For example, in Brazil, it is found that 57 percent of murders were associated with drug trafficking since 1990s.³⁰ Due to its globalised nature, drug trafficking poses great threats not only at global scale but also brings negative impacts on national and local levels. During 1980s, Lagos, the port city of Nigeria and second fastest growing city in African region, was the gateway for heroin and cocaine from South America. This resulted in emergence of terrorist and criminal groups that had been a great barrier to democracy in Nigeria.³¹ Besides, in some countries of Latin America like Brazil, drug dealers are so powerful that they force the *favela* community to follow their own system of law and order.³² Consequently, the community security is fully dependent on their social system. To some extent, in the name of public security, drug traders, terrorists and narco-traffickers get involved in violent activities including gambling, prostitution

²⁷ Alisa Winton, "Urban Violence: A Guide to the Literature", *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2004, pp. 1 65-184.

²⁸ Ellen Brennan-Galvin, op. cit.

²⁹ Alisa Winton, op. cit.

³⁰ Alba Zaluar, "Violence Related to Illegal Drugs, Youth and Masculinity Ethos", Paper presented at the Workshop on *Rising Violence and the Criminal Justice Response in Latin America: Towards an Agenda for Collaborative Research in the 21st Century,* 6-9 May 1999, University of Texas, Austin.

³¹ Franz Vanderschschueren, "From Violence to Justice and Security in Cities", *Environment and Urbanisation*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1996, pp. 93-112.

³² Alisa Winton, op. cit.

and money laundering. It is a great concern that quite often they encourage the local government and public officers to get involved in their illegal acts. In this regard, Afghanistan is the case where government is directly involved with the drug dealers.³³ This unlawful act, in consequence, limits the rights and space for citizen.

5.4 The Proliferation of Small Arms and Increasing of Urban Child Soldiers with Guns

Small arms proliferation is a matter of concern in some cities and it is really a challenge for the urban government to tackle the problem. Specially, in some cities, youth and children are getting involved in the dark world of mafia groups resulted in more urban casualties and violence. For instance, in Rio de Janeiro, youth are actively involved in drug trade which provokes them to deal with small arms. It is projected that around 6,000 children of this city are directly involved in drug trade and are armed by prime drug dealers.³⁴ This motivation encourages the children to join in violent confrontations with state security forces that give rise to death and destruction in cities. In such type of violent activities youth and children are the worst sufferer. For example, in Israel-Palestine armed violence (from 1987-2001), around 467 people were killed due to gun oriented crime and 3,937 young people died because of small arms related injuries.³⁵ It is a great apprehension that youth violence also increases the rate of homicide in many cities. As mentioned by International Crime Research Institution of United Nations (ICRIUN), 29 percent of murders in Latin America are committed by the youths aged between 10-19 and 20-29.36 Also, their excessive use of firearms increased the vulnerabilities of city dwellers.

5.5 Gender Violence in Urban Settings

Protecting women from violence is another challenge for urban government. It has now been a tremendous human rights abuse and public health concern in some cities. Generally, the most common forms of violence against women are discrimination, early marriage, physical abuse, rape, trafficking, acid throwing, prostitution and torture. According to a survey conducted by International Centre for Diarroheal Disease Research, Bangladesh ICDDRB and Naripokkho (2000-2001), 40-60 percent of urban women in Dhaka city had the experience of torture and physical abuse by their husband and extended family members.³⁷ Each year, a significant number of women of this city are tortured when parents fail to provide dowry. As mentioned

³³ Canadian Consortium on Human Security, *Human Security for an Urban Challenge: Local Challenges, Global Perspectives,* Centre of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Canada, 2006-2007.

³⁴ DFAIT and CCHS, op. cit.

³⁵ Alisa Winton, op. cit.

³⁶ Roberto Briceño-León and Verónica Zubillaga, "Violence and Globalisation in Latin America", *Current Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 1, 2002, pp. 19-37; also see, Gareth A. Jones, "Children and Development II: 'Youth', Violence and Juvenile Justice", *Progress in Development Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 2008, pp. 345-348.



earlier, women are at risks of being raped and trafficked which have gradually been a threat for urban society. Another concerning point is human trafficking, for which women and young girls are generally selected for trade and other purposes.

5.6 Insufficient Data Relating to Urban Crime

It is a significant challenge for the urban government to quantify the extent of violence due to absence of statistical data. In some cities, crimes are taking place secretly. Hence, it is difficult for the urban government to take any legal action against the root causes of violence. Another important concern is the unreliability of mortality statistics because of under reporting of the violent crimes. It is a general pattern of society when death emanating from car accident is reported while it raises the question regarding the issues of death caused due to rape, emotional violence and other physical abuses. In South Africa, for instance, cities have become the hub of crime as statistics of crime are unreliable and collected from police recording and witness reporting rather than the victims.³⁸ Hence, people have lost their faith on state security system as well as law and order situation.

6. Consequences of Urban Violence: Challenges for GUG

There are a number of reasons of urban violence from state level to individual level. At the individual level, lack of space for urban youth, lack of education, poverty, frustration, unemployment problems trigger the urban poor people to get involved into violent activities and this is highly prevalent in some Latin American countries. Often social structure (e.g., patriarchal society, class division and power composition) generates deprivation especially happens in case of women. At the community level, inequality and conflict over resources increase the outbreak of crime and South Asian countries are the examples in this regard. At the state level, the fragile status, weak institutional mechanism, involvement of state actors in urban gang and terrorist groups are considered as the significant sources of urban violence. However, the social, economic and cultural consequences of urban violence are multiple and some of these are as follows:

Increase of crime rate perpetuates the homicide rates which have negative social consequences in family and society. Due to lack of GUG, 50 percent of the national killings take place in cities like Mexico, Lima and Caracas.³⁹ This caused anger, fear and erosion of social capital in the society. Another negative social consequence in urban city is increasing events of violence against women. Violent activities such as killing, homicide, rape and other forms of violence are now

³⁷ Tania Wahed and Abbas Bhuiya, op. cit.; ICCDDR,B, op. cit.

³⁸ Charlotte Lemanski, "A New Apartheid? The Spatial Implications of Fear of Crime in Cape Town, South Africa", *Environment and Urbanisation*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2004, pp. 101-112.

³⁹ Caroline O N Moser, "Urban Violence and Insecurity: An Introductory Roadmap", *Environment and Urbanisation*, Vo. 16, No. 2, 2004, pp.2-16

considered as 25-30 percent in different cities of developing countries. These types of violence actually cause small or fatal health problems of women including sexual transmitted diseases, mental depression, stress, and so on.

The economic cost of urban violence is wide ranging and severe. The direct outcomes of violence cause fatality, disabilities and economic loss of urban dwellers. In this regard, Jamaica is an example where high rates of crimes severely affect on state's tourism industry. Another crucial effect of urban crime seen in many developing countries is the setting up of security oriented industries (like increasing alarm services, protective fences, security grilles and private security forces) rather than investing more on industrial sectors. Increasing more investment in security sector also poses threats to state's command over the rights of using force. Many developing countries are now spending a significant amount of budget for private security rather than spending budget in health or any productive sectors. In Brazil, for example, 10 percent of its budget is allocated for private security purposes, while in Fiji a significant portion of income of household is invested for self protection.⁴⁰

Because of exclusion and fragmentation, cultural and social costs are immense in the society. Due to deterioration of law and order system, a new power structure and powerful group have been formed in the society. In many cases, the musclemen control the communities in terms of getting access to basic services such as land, water, shelter, etc. For example, in Papua New Guinea (PNG), members of Raskol gang control the urban services and they found that crime is more attractive rather than doing formal jobs.⁴¹

7. Policy Intervention for Managing GUG

In fact, there is no precise solution for urban government to prevent urban violence as each urban crisis is different and related to specific local context. Therefore, policy approaches need to be separate from international level to individual level. For example, in terms of organised crime, drug trafficking and small arms proliferation, cross-country collaboration, collection of exact data and extradition facilities are required. At state level, national plans are required to form a city in a planned way that would provide equitable service provision to urban dwellers. Urban government can strengthen public security improving law and order situation, forming effective trust worthy local police to overcome all sorts of social, political and economic violence. At the community level, inclusive grass-root level participation with the local government can play a pivotal role to avoid organised armed violence and community conflicts. Some of the demand driven programmes

⁴⁰ Ellen Brennan-Galvin, *op. cit.*; also see, Ron Duncan and Anupam Sharma, "Private Crime Prevention Expenditure in Fiji", *Agenda*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2005, pp. 47-56.

⁴¹ Michael Goddard, "From Rolling Thunder to Reggae: Imagining Squatter Settlements in Papua New Guinea", *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 13, No. 1 2001, pp.1-32.



which have been successful in various countries are highlighted in Table 2.

Table 2: Policy Intervention to Curve Urban Violence ⁴²							
Policy reforms	Objectives	Forms of violence	Interventions	Examples/Targets			
Models of Urban Develop- ment	To create a secure city	All types of social, eco- nomic and structural violence	Appropriate design for urban infrastructure, land management and upgrading of square settlement services	Orangi Pilot Project in Pakistan to develop community infrastruc- ture; water sanitation service in Bangalore			
Criminal Justice System	To increase law and order for a just and safe society	Crime, robbery, corruption, drug traf- ficking	Judicial reform, police reform, available justice system, mobile court	Justice reform in PNG; mobile court system in Bangladesh (to chase musclemen, theft, drug dealers and stranger)			
Com- munity Security	To increase the level of participation, reduce inequity, increase security and safety of different ethnic groups	Social violence, economic violence	Ensure commu- nity safety through participatory ap- proach	Community policing in Mumbai and Bogota to decrease homicide rate; participatory budgeting scheme in Porto Alegre Brazil			
Youth Policies	To prevent violence and personal risk factors	Genocide, arms prolifera- tion, youth violence	Increase awareness through education, create public space for recreation, skill development, cre- ate employment opportunities, surrender of gun and disarm child soldier	YLMP in Port Mosby; rescuing public space in Mexico; livelihood project in PNG; JICA's reintegration services to disarm soldiers in Afghanistan			
Positive Social Capital	To increase empowerment of women, decrease do- mestic violence	Domestic and gender based violence	prevent crime through communi- ty action planning measures, educa- tion and behav- ioural change programmes	Local Partnerships for Urban Poverty Allevia- tion Project (LPUPAP) in Bangladesh; social capital intervention in Colombia to engage youth and female			

⁴² DFAIT and CCHS, *op. cit.*; A.N. Roy, A. Jockin and Ahmed Javed, "Community Police Stations in Mumbai's Slums", *Environment and Urbanisation*, Vol. 16 No. 2, 2004, pp. 135-138.

To ensure individual safety, specific policies need to take into consideration for the vulnerable groups (such as youth and women) by strengthening social capital in a form of union, association and inclusion. In case of young people, youth specific policies could help address the root causes of violence. To remove gender violence, significant level of public awareness and behavioural change programmes for men are necessary to eradicate discrimination, dowry, and other ill social practices. In this regard, community based educational programmes can be arranged to raise awareness about women's social and regal rights.

Overall, urban planning in a sustainable manner is perhaps the best possible path to address the urban insecurity issues. To make the city sustainable and secured, a comprehensive urban policy is required addressing social, economic, environmental and health hazards of urban dwellers. Incorporating security and safety issues in urban planning might be another important step ahead for urban authorities. Issues that are posing threats especially to the vulnerable groups (e.g., women and children) of society should be incorporated in urban policy. For instance, regarding street children, urban government can take necessary initiatives like engaging them in different employment opportunities. This could help generate income and reduce involvement in crime and violent activities. For managing GUG, government can adopt separate regulations in each sector of the city. The idea of taking distinct regulations and implement those seem to be difficult for a radical change of society at present. But, it will be accepted gradually by the society in course of time.

8. Conclusion

It cannot be denied that a city is a unique feature of urbanisation. It is also the engine of growth and development as planned cities ensure and offer all sorts of facilities to its urban citizen. However, in most of the developing countries the massive movement of people from rural to urban areas and mushrooming of slums are the realities of urbanisation process and it has been a great challenge for the urban government on how to manage a city in a planned way. This paper is an attempt to identify a number of challenges and ultimate costs of urban violence. The paper also has outlined the various dimensions of urban insecurity issues in relations with the GUG. Taking into consideration of all the challenges and consequences, it is argued that gradual increase of urban violence is a great concern for the urban government to ensure safety of urban dwellers. Though, violence is context specific and of different forms, there are also some solutions by which the challenges could be dealt from state level to individual level.

In addition, the above discussion indicates that among all the challenges, urban insecurity emanating from crime and violence is a great challenge for GUG. This is well perceived in the cities of Africa, Latin America as well as Asia. In these



cities, urban violence has appeared not just as a crisis of social phenomena but as great impediments for social and economic growth. As urbanisation cannot be sustained without GUG, it is the responsibility of urban government to create a conducive urban government creating wealth through employment generation and enhancing other sectors. Put precisely, urban governance need close interaction, cooperation and partnership of the public sectors coupled with private sectors and civil society. This needs to be based on certain principles of GUG like rule of law, equity, transparency, responsiveness, sustainability, subsidiarity and so on. In absence of these interventions to redress urban violence, perhaps, it would not be possible for states to offer GUG for its citizens. This is fact for every vulnerable city of the developing countries. Therefore, cities can be friend or foe depending on how urban government deals with these emerging crises.