Gangs and violence in slums are only one potential outcome. Family ties and ties to place can be as strong in slums as in many traditional rural areas, so some slums adopt a 'community defence' approach. As opposed to upscale areas, one expert noted, slum security:

> ... is more people-based ... than technology-based (lots of people with time on their hands but no technology). Also, since the "legal" process in slums usually ends at enforcement; there being no jails, the "rule of law" is short and clear.

Moreover, there is in essence what one expert called "the pluralization of security systems where non-state security personnel outnumber formal police."

The result of this pluralization is that citizen allegiance to the state is weakened as the state no longer monopolizes violence, and security devolves from a public to private good. This has impacts on how people see their relations with the state apparatus.

In terms of conflict cities, why have peace support operations (PSOs) such as the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) in Port-au-Prince not been able to solve slums like Cité Soleil?

A PSO is not competent to 'solve' the complex mix of human and material factors that make up a slum. No PSO can 'pacify' a slum, and military-only solutions will not satisfy the security/development needs of a slum population.

PSOs should also liaise with local peace committees, made up of local police, political elites, and civil society, to engage in proper community policing.

Are there any successful examples of urban disarmament, demobilization and, reintegration, and what lessons have we learned?

Liberia is an example, but requires further research.

Cities and conflict prevention

To what extent is it reasonable to emphasize the role of cities in larger national or regional peace processes?