

infrastructure investment, etc. Moreover, there is an urgent need for city-level failure assessments. Current data on cities is virtually non-existent, and this is impeding understanding of the roles of cities.

We also need to bear in mind that unlike at the state or global levels, much urban violence tends to occur almost spontaneously. Deadly ethnic riots — normally violence perpetrated by 'old' city-dwellers on newly-arrived ethnically-different migrants — in East and West Africa occur with little or no warning, though they are reflections of deeper settlement dynamics. It may be difficult, therefore, to develop early warning indicators in such cases.

**How does the concept of 'urbicide', or the express attempt to deny or kill a city, intersect with the concept of failed and fragile cities? Is Richard Norton's concept of 'feral cities' a useful one for us?**

Urbicide denotes the kinds of violence that cities often attract from state security apparatuses. It is precisely the type of language of feral cities that we need to avoid in order to steer clear of the argument of 'cleansing' cities of unwanted citizens or activities. The clearest and most recent examples of urbicide were in Harare, Mumbai, and Manila, where urban cleansing can lead to increased threat of violence and fragility. We must also bear in mind that we are presupposing that there is one standard, Western form of the city, whereas, of course, urbanity comes in many shapes and sizes.

## **Slum insecurity**

**Given the impenetrability of slums — both physical and psychological — what adaptive strategies have slums implemented to provide security where there is no police presence, e.g. gangs and community-organized structures?**

As one respondent noted:

*The urban slum may be within the administrative framework of a city or a metropolitan area, but be governed by city security forces or by gangs, mafias, paramilitary units, warlords, and other non-state elected or appointed officials. They may "govern" by fear and intimidation, collect revenues through some loose tax structure, and use their slum as a base for urban protest or guerrilla activities.*

Many of these gangs feature high concentrations of youth, given that half of all slum dwellers worldwide are under the age of 20.