

entry point for manipulation and intimidation, as was the case with local elections dominated by the Cambodia People's Party in February 2002. Given peace processes' relative neglect of local events, local-level operatives can cling to power long after conflict resolution at a national level, thereby blocking national peacebuilding at the local level.

- **Strategic military conflicts:** Capital cities are especially targeted during times of war, and can suffer from a degree of localized violence even when surrounding areas are largely peaceful. Sarajevo, Jakarta, Beirut, Cairo, Khartoum, and Jerusalem have all been targets of significant social armed violence. In addition to symbolic value, cities with strategic assets, including ports, airports, rail connections, and commercial value, are frequently targets of armed groups.

### **What would be some early warning indicators to warn us of failing cities?**

Early warning indicators include rising murder rates/gang activity and high levels of access to small arms; rapid population growth without corresponding economic and social capital growth; dominance of organized crime syndicates and gangs with respect to service delivery; levels of state-perpetrated violence; more frequent and intense people-power events on city issues; a sudden increase in the number of violent crimes; consistent, coherent threats from a senior government or external aggressor; and, rural-to-urban and transnational migration figures. Traditional indicators of state fragility, such as infant mortality rates, may also apply to urban environments, particularly slums.

Most fragile cities also have very weak municipal governments. For the most part, this weakness derives from three elements: lack of full right to elections; insufficient resources, including tax base and secure land tenure; and, few city personnel on the municipal payroll, which places into question the allegiances of workers who are appointed and paid by the central government. The concentration of power, rampant corruption, and very poor capacity and performance of council mechanisms, as well as a lack of attention to sub-municipal-level representation, are other problems of local governance. Smaller and medium-sized cities (with populations of less than 500,000) also typically suffer in the shadows of larger 'showcase' cities and face higher debt burdens, fewer sources of income, and less influence at the state level.

Many state-level governments are also sceptical and suspicious of urban democratic mobilization and even undermine the financial and political power of cities. They do not engage in the small projects that can rapidly ramp up city capacity for security provision, including slum upgrading,