

- **Scarcity conflicts:** Urban-level conflicts can develop from competition over scarce resources such as water, food, jobs, or especially land. The rapidly growing organized landless movements of Brazil, Guatemala, South Africa, Kenya, India, and Bangladesh suggest a potential for violence over land, as has occurred on a massive scale in Harare, where over 700,000 urban dwellers have been displaced.
- **Economic distribution conflicts:** Given the lack of oversight mechanisms or attention to local governance, economic distribution conflicts can be especially pronounced at the local level, exacerbated by corruption and patronage. As one expert noted:

Principal among economic opportunities over which conflict is waged are: jobs, employment, and regular sources of income, housing, transportation, and – especially – public budgets. Criminal violence and social violence become fused, with indistinguishable threats to human security emanating from private violence and destruction of social structures.

Localized group-on-group conflict over delivery of essential local government services is a key problem for South Africa.

- **Demographic and acculturation conflicts:** Rapid urbanization has already induced riots in cities unable to cope with the raised societal tensions and increased demands of new migrants. Even the physical features of cities — often loud, crowded, hot, and environmentally decrepit — have been associated with violence in studies. Such a conflict erupted in the 500,000-strong Kibera neighbourhood of Nairobi in December 2001, with scores killed and conflict along socio-economic and ethnic lines.
- **Identity conflicts:** With rapid urbanization, many ethnic groups are self-segregating in urban spaces, leading to ethnic enclaves with self-protection militias, gangs, and identity-based political movements. Horizontal inequalities mean that conflict can erupt between competing enclaves, or between enclaves and city forces. Karachi is a perpetual example of this kind of urban armed conflict, most recently in May 2005. The status of, and battle for, Kirkuk is another example of identity conflicts localizing in a city. In many identity-based conflicts, local authorities are often complicit in the violence.
- **Power/electoral conflicts:** Local authorities appointed by, or dubiously elected under, the supervision of national regimes also represent another