VIOLENCE, SECURITY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF PEACE IN CITIES

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs has anticipated that in 2050, 68% of the world’s population will live in urban areas. This increase will occur unevenly in geographic terms, but in general, the urbanisation process will continue to increase and will be faster in countries with low incomes, those that are poor, and in those countries with average incomes.

This decrease in the number of inhabitants in rural areas will be due, on the one hand, to low birth rates and, on the other, to the large-scale migrations that will undoubtedly occur due to the effects of climate change (droughts, desertification, natural disasters and conflicts). These large cities will absorb a permanent migratory flow of people who will be trying to improve their living conditions and reach cities where the main economy is a tertiary one. These migrations will be unequal, depending on whether the countries are wealthy or poor. In the cities of poor countries, where underemployment and an important spatial segregation in favelas or slums predominate, the population will be distributed throughout urban areas in accordance with income levels. As a result, highly deteriorated suburban areas will be formed, where inequality and spatial segregation replicate economic inequalities. Not only will the poor live in a certain area, the level of opportunities in terms of education, health, access to culture or other services in the city will be different in accordance with the social layer to which the community there belongs and this will also be related to the area where these people reside.

At the same time, the process of the population moving from the countryside to the cities in such short periods of time will have turned the cities themselves into a business niche, both because of the speed of urban construction in creating new infrastructures, and the transformation of the city itself, through urban interventions. These actions are usually cited in terms of a supposed regeneration, rehabilitation, requalification, or the revitalization of the urban fabric (terms that have a positive
Most of the world’s people are concentrated in cities (55%) and it is also where most of conflicts take place. Conflicts are directly related to the commercialization of the city, to this concept of the city as a business, and to the diversity and plurality of those who live in urban conurbations. It is then, the confrontation of interests and social and cultural diversity that generates these conflicts, and the challenge at hand is how to deal with them, how to learn to manage them and how to transform them in a positive way, so as to create relationships of mutual respect, reciprocity and fairness through actions that do not involve violence.

These are situations that produce debates about global cities which are highly similar in nature, and where fear of suffering personal violence prevails, i.e. the fear of being attacked, either in a private or a public space. This is an insecurity that comes from a fear of everyday violence: common crimes with robbery, theft or other crimes, gender violence through the rape or murder of women, or LGBTI people. These are violent acts that occur at sporting events, in schools, in urban traffic, in leisure areas in discos or at festivals. There are other transgressions that are linked to international organized crime networks through drug trafficking and trafficking in women, children and organs, as well as violence as a result of ethnic or religious differences; and finally, there is the violence caused by armed conflicts and that produced by violent terrorist extremism.

The city is therefore the area where, if not all, then many of the conflicts in today’s world take place. The populations of large urban conurbations are socially and culturally heterogeneous, as their inhabitants may come from different regions or countries where most of the conflicts occur in urban areas, as a result of political, cultural, or commercial demands, or due to private, interpersonal confrontations. These are conflicts tackled by social movements in the face of governmental political authority, due to problems arising from social demands, or against those who intend to appropriate public space in order to implement their own commercial interests.

However the city is also the urban space where greater needs exist. It is a space where civil society is better organized to tackle these needs, as the public is gregarious and is accustomed to involvement in participatory initiatives in order to improve coexistence and alleviate needs in all social spheres, and the community associates with the populace by means of numerous organizations in order to improve coexistence and in the city itself. These associations are, on a small scale, vital for the transformation of conflicts among inhabitants. These civic entities provide a fundamental service for the common good that, together with the services provided by local governments, should form the foundations on which coexistence and peace in cities should be established.

In this respect, the urban planning of the city and its neighbourhoods is highly important; there should be no urban barriers that create “borders” inside the cities, as these cause territorial ruptures and create separation and exclusion. These fractures specifically affect those social strata with less income and they divide the population either by generational order (neighbourhoods with many older or younger people), those with migratory or ethnic origin (neighbourhoods with a high density of migrants) or those with social divisions (working-class neighbourhoods).

In order to break with this dynamic of class division, public space must become a basic element in the constitution of a new form of social and territorial inclusion. Because without quality public spaces no coexistence or satisfactory urban structure is possible, and therefore, neither is the care (human security) of the community. Therefore, the organisation and construction of public space is by no means a task for the police, in order to build a security “fantasy” in which the concept of ‘security’ is only understood as the persecution of crime. What is necessary is the implementation of urban planning that reduce inequalities due to population densification and a lack of services. Therefore, what is appropriate is the construction of multiple centralities and different orders that allow decisions to be made in accordance with the conditions of each space and neighbourhood. Public space must be where the dispute for freedom, integration, visibility and representation take place, and not an area of social control in any of its forms.

This means that the city must provide its inhabitants with a security that is aimed at providing care and satisfying those basic needs that allow the full development of the populace, so that its members can enjoy a life worth living.
1. THE MIGRATIONS TO THE CITIES. THE CHALLENGE OF THE MEGALOPOLIS

The world is becoming ever-more urbanized, and has been doing so for decades. In 1950 the majority of the world’s population was rural, and only 30% of the population was urban (751 million), in 2018 55% of the population lived in cities (4,200 million). However, this process is not uniform, and urbanization trends are very different with respect to different geographical regions on the planet. North America is the most urbanized region in the world, where 82% of the population resides in cities. In Latin America and the Caribbean, 81% of the population is urban. In Europe it is 74%, in Oceania 68%, in Asia 50% of the population is urban (although it accounts for 54% of the world’s population). However in Africa, the population is still mostly rural and only 43% of the population lives in urban areas1 (Graph 1).

If one compares the current urbanization process of the richest regions with the poorest, it can be seen that the current urbanization speed in the countries of the global south (those that are poor) is much higher than the historical urbanization trend in the industrialized countries. Thus, for the last 20 years, urbanization has been relatively rapid in Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia, West Asia and Latin America. The urban population in East Asia, for example, has tripled in 65 years (1950-2015), from 18% to 60%. This same process in the regions of the industrialized countries took all of 80 years, between 1875 and 1955.

In this area, studies of the future show that while in 2018 23% of the world population (1,700 million) lived in cities with more than one million inhabitants, in 2030 these figures are expected to account for 28% of the population. In 2018, 45% of the world’s population lived in rural areas, in 2030 these figures will shrink to 40%. That is, all cities will grow considerably, and given that in 2018 only 6.9% of the world’s population (529 million) lived in cities with over 10 million inhabitants, cities of this size will see population growth of 8.8% and reach figures of 752 million.2

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The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs anticipates that in 2050, 68% of the population will live in urban areas. This increase will occur unevenly in geographic terms, and even some of today’s large cities could in fact experience population decline, due to natural disasters or economic processes such as deindustrialization. However in general, the urbanization process will continue to increase and it will be faster in countries with low and average incomes.3

This decrease in the number of inhabitants in rural areas will be due, on the one hand, to low birth rates and migrations, for example, in cities in Eastern Europe, such as Romania or Ukraine, and on the other, to natural disasters, as in New Orleans, in the United States, which lost inhabitants after Hurricane Katrina in 2005, or in Sendai, Japan, after the tsunami of 2011. Other factors, such as deindustrialization and a resulting loss of jobs may also contribute to population decline in some cities, such as with Detroit in the USA, after the decline in automobile production and the bankruptcy of General Motors in the city.

1.1 THE PANORAMA IN SPAIN

There is a strong population imbalance in Spain, as there is in many other European countries. In Spain, 68% of the population lives in large urban areas with over 50,000 inhabitants, which accounts for 75% of population figures. The two large urban areas of Madrid (6.1 million inhabitants) and Barcelona (5.1 million inhabitants) represent 24% of the entire Spanish population. According to the United Nations Population Division, in 2050 88% of the Spanish population will be urban. In 2035 the urban areas of Madrid and Barcelona will concentrate 28% of the entire Spanish population, and if the populations of the metropolitan areas of Valencia, Seville and Zaragoza are added together, these figures will account for 33% of the total Spanish population.

The other side of the coin is represented by the depopulation of rural areas. The demographic-territorial imbalance in Spain worsened between 2015 and 2016. More and more municipalities are losing their populations and are dropping to below the threshold of one thousand inhabitants. In 2016, 61% of Spanish municipal areas together accounted for only 3.15% of the total Spanish population.

In Spain there are 8,125 municipalities of which 4,995 have population censuses that do not exceed the


figure of one thousand registered inhabitants, and among all of them there are merely one and a half million residents. The most dramatic situation occurs in the 1,286 municipalities that do not exceed 100 registered inhabitants and together comprise a total number of 74,943 people, representing just 0.16% of the entire Spanish population. Despite this, it must be borne in mind that the rural population is heterogeneous, and three different groups of rural spaces must be differentiated: those of “demographic resilience”, which are larger and that survive in a stable manner. Those with “migrations”, which have an average of 175 inhabitants per municipality and in which 80% of those born there have migrated to other places, and finally, those municipalities that suffer an “irreversible depopulation risk”, with 110 inhabitants on average, the majority of whom are aged over 65.

With regard to those areas that continuously continue to lose inhabitants, there are many provinces that have accumulated decades of marked demographic decline and that have been among the most depopulated provinces in Spain for years, with a greater number of municipalities that are at risk of disappearing due to their low census numbers and their aging population. This is the case, among others, of Teruel, Cuenca or Soria, these are paradigmatic cases of provinces that have long since become “demographic deserts.” The latest data from the Spanish Statistical Centre, the INE, confirms the population downturn that has been occurring throughout Spanish regions over the last five years and that has meant, in terms of most of the country, the loss of those advances brought by the immigration that took place in the late 1990s and the early years of the 21st century.

This depopulation trend in rural areas, to the benefit of large cities and due the fact that it is worldwide, involves a process of structural transformation that has important consequences with respect to social welfare, environmental sustainability, governance and the often-uneasy relations between rural and urban societies.

1.2 THE COMPOSITION OF SPAIN’S RESIDENT POPULATION

Immigration in Spain is a relatively recent phenomenon, until the 1980s and 1990s the Spanish population was very homogeneous. Yet in over just a few decades, Spain went from being a country that produced emigrants, to a country that received them. In 1999, foreigners accounted for 1.86% of the total Spanish population, in while 2018 they represented 10.13% of total figures – and from the latter, those immigrants from the EU (from the 28 EU countries) represented only 3.83% of the total numbers.

The foreign population is predominantly concentrated in the most economically dynamic areas, in addition to those areas where there is a greater labour demand linked to agriculture, tourism or construction. As such, those areas with the highest proportion of immigrants are: Catalonia, the Community of Madrid, the Valencian Community, Andalusia, the Canary Islands, the Region of Murcia and the Balearic Islands.

In economically dynamic areas such as the Basque Country, where these sectors are not as relevant and where its industrial base requires qualified personnel, the percentage is lower than in the rest of Spain.

In terms of nationalities, the top ten countries responsible for the country’s foreign population are: Morocco 770,523, Rumania 676,005, the United Kingdom 242,837, China 215,970, Italy 206,524, Colombia 165,918, Ecuador 135,275, Bulgaria 124,404, Germany 111,495 and Ukraine 106,987.

1.3 THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BARCELONA

The registered population in Barcelona, as of 1 January 2018 was 1,628,936, of which 301,626 were foreigners, who represented 18.5% of the city’s total inhabitants. Of these foreign residents, those from the European Union totalled 91,662, i.e. 30.4% of foreign inhabitants in the city. By nationalities, those registered in Barcelona city were: Italians, with 31,500 residents, Chinese 20,550, Pakistanis 19,240, French 15,260, Moroccans 13,058, Colombians 10,192, Hondurans 9,542, Filipinos 9,149, Peruvians 9,069, Bolivians 8,582, Venezuelans 7,936 and Ecuadorians 7,751.

The foreign population is distributed throughout the city; 18.7% of all foreigners live in the Eixample area, 15.7% in the neighbourhood of Ciutat Vella, 13.7% in San Martin and 12.3% in Sancts Montjuic district. However, with respect to the total resident population by districts, it can be seen that there are districts that concentrate more foreigners than others. Thus, in Ciutat Vella foreigners represent 46.3% of all those inhabitants registered, while in the Eixample, this figure is 21.1%. If we examine this in terms of nationality it is obvious that preferences exist by neighbourhoods, most probably due to work-related reasons or housing rental prices.

Although many cities are demonstrating courage, flexibility and creativity in organising their reception of the immigrant population, in the long term the challenge will be to guarantee the full integration of migrants into society and their acceptance by the local population. The acceptance or non-acceptance of migrants is related to xenophobia, which is a cultural problem rooted in the rejection of different peoples. It is also related to the fears that uncontrolled migration creates, and the effects of competition with the native population in the labour market, not to mention the fear created by a reduction in terms of social cohesion. These fears need to be seriously tackled by municipal governments in order to counteract the perception of immigration as a “problem” and to avoid the emergence of new urban socio-spatial inequalities, while at the same time these governments must also work to promote both social cohesion and coexistence.
2. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE URBANISATION PROCESS

In Spain and Europe, population distribution has been unstable throughout history, the most dynamic economic areas were a magnet for those emigrants who travelled to them. In ancient times, the most populated area was therefore the Mediterranean coastline. In the Middle Ages, commercial activities caused new cities to rise up and population density began to favour the cities, rather than the coast, a trend that occurred from the Baltic across to England. But it was not until the 19th century, with the Industrial Revolution, that urban explosion in a very real sense occurred. Factories demanded a labour force that, together with increased commercial activity, created new life opportunities for both people and for the newly-thriving cities.

However population concentrations in the cities of poor countries were not affected by slow economic or industrial growth. These cities absorb a permanent migratory flow of people who seek to improve their terrible living conditions in the countryside, and who arrive in cities where the main economy is tertiary, and where underemployment and an important spatial segregation in the so-called favelas or slums predominate. This causes socio-spatial polarization, and the distribution of the population throughout urban areas in accordance with income levels. Poor quality suburban areas have therefore been formed in areas where inequality and spatial segregation replicate economic inequalities, and which furthermore contribute to their persistence over time. It is not only that the poorest inhabitants live in certain areas, but also that the level of opportunities available to them in terms of education, health, access to culture, or other city services is different, according to the social strata to which they belong; social groupings that are directly related to the area where these people reside.

Special reference must be made here to many cities, especially those in the large urban conurbations of countries in the South, where people with low incomes are concentrated in urban peripheries, a fact that leads to extremely difficult, hard ways of life in which misery destroys coexistence and dehumanizes social relations, turning these areas into a source of innumerable conflicts.

2.1 SOCIO-SPATIAL INEQUALITY

This process, of the population moving from the countryside to the cities in such short time periods, has transformed the cities themselves into a business niche. This is due to both the speed of urbanization in terms of creating new infrastructures, and the transformation of the city itself through urban interventions that are usually couched in terms such as regeneration, rehabilitation, requalification, revitalization of the urban fabric (terms that have a positive meaning) but which in reality foster the commercial appropriation of the city. Business opportunities that promote the financial/real estate sector lead to historical centres becoming areas for tourism, for commerce, or spaces for nightlife, museums or musical events. In short, these are urban planning strategies
that thematise the city, whose social consequences are already well-publicised, such as the expulsion of the long-standing local residents (gentrification) who live in these areas, which then result in the dynamics of outsourcing, thematization or touristification. These are no more than strategies that privatize and commercialize public space. The commodification of the city is evident in urban planning policies that prioritize exchange value over the value of their use.

These dynamics not only affect the city’s historical centres, they also have a marked influence on the ordinary residential neighbourhoods closest to the historical centres. These are areas, whose history and unique character quickly fades and disappears due to the destructive effects of mass tourism.

This trend causes a loss of identity in these cities, to the benefit of the “city-market” and the homogenization/standardization of cities, which converts the basic needs of their inhabitants into a quantifiable merchandise. It is the “market” that designs housing, public space and the socio-spatial distribution of the population according to income. This is where commerce, leisure, culture and tourism is located, and it is the market that takes over the management of public assets, such as water or energy supplies.

The destructive nature of these effects is far more apparent in the cities of the South, where a lack of housing, infrastructure, public services and job opportunities encourage the emergence of deteriorated areas that function as landfills for people. These are zones where those unwanted by the economic system, people who subsist in the middle of niches of misery, exclusion and fear, are left to survive. The main source of violence in these urban spaces involves those who control the space in these niches of survival. Organised criminal groups appear, who control access to housing and those small economies that their inhabitants manage to create.

Urban growth has generated an agglomeration of people from diverse backgrounds. Megalopolis and global cities welcome people from different communities and ethnicities, those from a wide range of cultures, languages or religious backgrounds. However, unlike the past, the idea that those who come from abroad will end up adapting and integrating into the host society, is no longer the case. The city, in the current context of globalization, has become a melting pot of diverse identities. The reaction to this new reality may be to adapt and accept sociocultural diversity, which in turn becomes a sign of the city’s identity. Or on the contrary, reactions of rejection may appear; “myxophobia”, which represents the fear of the different, the fear of what is not controlled, the insecurity generated by what is not known and different. The competitive individualism in which the public has been educated diminishes mutual trust, it creates feelings of insecurity among inhabitants, with respect to one other, and it often manifests itself in a rejection of what is different: a rebuffal of the population that has come to live in the cities, especially towards those left over, the surplus population of the economic system. Many current urban planning projects now unsurprisingly feature residential communities surrounded by walls and surveillance technology that limits the free movement of non-residents. This is the clearest manifestation of how mistrust infects urban planning and this in turn leads to segregation in economic and cultural terms.

These are situations that generate the fear of being subjected to personal violence: the fear of being attacked, either in a private space or in a public one - it is an insecurity that comes from the fear of violence and is one that occurs in everyday city life: common crime with robberies, thefts or other crimes, gender violence through rape or the murder of women or members of LGTBI groups, at sporting events, in schools, in urban traffic, at leisure venues in discos or at festivals. There are also other crimes, those linked to international organized crime networks through drug trafficking, the trafficking of women, children and organs, as well as those that arise from ethnic or religious differences. And finally there are military interventions and wars, and the violence produced by the violent extremism of Jihadist-style, politically-motivated terrorism, which despite the low number of victims in Western countries8, is the main focus of anti-terrorism measures that end up affecting the rights of Muslim immigrants, because Islam is mistakenly identified with Jihadism.

2.2 INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), every year one and a half million human lives are lost due to interpersonal violence, i.e. the violence that some exert on others, and most of which occurs among the younger members of the population. It is generally estimated that poor countries spend between 2.5% and 10% of their GDP on combating violence and crime. These are extremely high costs that are detrimental, as this spending leads to a reduction in the amount of money allocated to catering for the population’s basic needs, such as access to food, healthcare, health or education (Institute for Economics and Peace).

In everyday life, violence manifests itself as if it were a normal part of daily existence. Therefore, in shared

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8. Only 1% of total deaths occur in Western countries, the remaining 99% occur in countries where armed conflict takes place. Global Index of Terrorism (GTI), Institute for the Economy and Peace 2017.
life experiences, from the personal, to family and school environments, relationships between peers, and in social contexts of participation, unequal power relations are presented, from one person to another, either through physical strength, intelligence, the possession of material objects, affections or emotions.

This is a widespread issue in both wealthy and poor countries. Everyday life is threatened by numerous direct acts of violence that are implemented with unequal intensity, such as racial, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender or identity discrimination. These are signs of violence that are associated with social inequality. This is violence that occurs in public or private spaces, in sporting events such as soccer championships, in children's and youth competitions, or in nightlife venues. It is manifest in the neglect of the elderly, among residents in the same building, in the mobility of road traffic, on social networks, on television or in the movies.

2.3 VIOLENT EXTREMISM

No country, region or municipality is immune to the effects of violent extremism. Although attacks in Europe are much lower than those in countries where conflict is present, especially in where Islam is influential, European societies have also suffered. In 2003 Madrid suffered a terrorist attack, in 2017 Barcelona and the town of Cambrils were the targets of terrorist attacks. Jihadist attacks have also taken place in Paris, Nice, Brussels, London and Berlin.

In Norway in 2011, a man broke into a youth camp and killed 77 people. He explained in a statement that he committed this atrocity as a reaction against the "Islamization of Europe" and against a "multicultural left" that defends foreign immigration. In Hungary, in 2013, a court of justice condemned three far-right militants that encourages social cohesion and solidarity.

Violent extremism is a broad concept that includes violent actions committed by radicalized people. These include terrorist attacks, political violence or violent acts of hatred. The purpose of these actions is to achieve political, ideological, religious, social or even economic objectives.

No one is born a violent extremist, violent extremists are created, trained and encouraged. There is no single cause or a single path to the radicalization process. Violent extremism consists of a wide range of diverse factors. No perfect solution or model exists to counteract it.

Countering violent extremism is not enough, it must also be prevented and controlled. That is why the "power of persuasion", is necessary in its many forms, introducing new narratives in social networks, as well as other strategies, in order to prevent the threat that feeds on distorted interpretations of reality and which is based on fundamentalist doctrines that result in hatred and violent acts.

2.4 RACISM, XENOPHOBIA AND OTHER INTOLERANCES

Cities no longer function, as in the past, as spaces that integrate those arriving from other places. A few decades ago, immigrants tended to integrate and fit in with the rest of the society in the places where they arrived. Today the situation is asymmetrical, aspirations have been homogenized and capacities to enjoy them have been heterogenized. Now people claim themselves to be equals, no matter how difficult their actual chances of becoming so are. Furthermore, today's grand metropolises contain multiple cultural communities that demand that their own cultural expressions be respected, while seeking to contribute, with others, to a common future. Cities are and will be melting pots of identities, of multiple languages, of numerous different religious traditions or practices. All this diversity may, in the absence of careful educational policies, lead to conflicts if no work is done to encourage social cohesion and solidarity.

Hate crimes occur when one person attacks another for belonging to a specific social group, for being a different nationality, for their (different) ethnicity, for their lack of financial resources, for being homeless, due to their sexual orientation or their gender identity, their political affiliation or because they are in some way disabled. In short, they are crimes based on discrimination and intolerance that become incorporated into political discourse, underpinning stereotypes and myths about the "others," about those who are "different."

Many black women receive comments from other women about their skin, there are Muslim women with headscarves who are insulted in the street or subway for wearing the headscarf. People who, when they go apply or jobs are rejected because they do not represent the mainstream aesthetic standard, and who can only opt for job opportunities that re-
quire only low qualifications. There are people who, because they are foreigners, or are from a specific ethnic group, even if they have sufficient work contracts and economic resources, are rejected when they seek rental accommodation. Graffiti is daubed on the walls of oratories where Muslims go to pray, that insult them or ask them to leave the country, vandalism occurs at the entrances to LGTBI venues as well as physical attacks on those in these groups.

And to all these racist and xenophobic attitudes we must, unfortunately, add aporophobia; the fear of the poor and the phobia of poverty. We have often seen how homeless people are insulted or assaulted simply because they visually intrude on a public space and because their aggressors feel superior to them.

2.5 CORRUPTION

According to the World Bank, some 2.6 billion dollars are stolen from public coffers each year, due to corruption. This figure totals more than 5% of the world’s GDP. In poor countries it is estimated that due to corruption, the amount of money lost is ten times greater than that used for Official Development Assistance (UNDP). According to the 2017 Global Corruption Barometer, one in three people surveyed believes that corruption is one of the main problems in their country, with politicians and civil servants being perceived as the most corrupt.

Corruption has reached all social sectors. There is corruption in political parties, at elections, in public and private administration bodies, in academia, the health service, the commercial, financial, environmental and sports sectors, in businesses and in the media, as well as in NGOs and religious organisations. Corruption is closely linked to tenders, eminently public works, and is associated with political behaviourisms, such as political patronage.

Corruption is now a major social scourge that has invaded the public and private spheres, both the wealthy and the poor. In the political arena, corruption undermines democracy; in the economic context, it increases the costs of goods and services, in the judicial arena, it undermines the rule of law, and in social terms, it destroys ethical values such as empathy and fairness. Acts of corruption are part of the many violent actions that take place in urban areas. Corruption is avoidable and mechanisms that prevent it must be established.

The relationship between politicians/political parties/governments and the economic interests of corporations must be addressed in order to tackle corruption. Public procurement moves a vast amount of economic resources and is susceptible to creating toxic relationships the illegal influence between economic interests and politics must be reduced, and this relationship must be weakened.

2.6 ORGANISED CRIME

Countless lives are lost every year due to organized crime. The problems of health and violence associated with drugs, gun deaths and the lack of ethical values by people and immigrant traffickers all form part of this scenario. Women and girls represent 71% of the victims of human trafficking worldwide.

The world economy may be considered to consist of three interconnected spheres. The sphere of the formal economy, which pays taxes, in which the mission of the state is to balance the market by seeking social equity (universal education, health, social protection, unemployment, etc.), i.e. it collects taxes and redistributes wealth.

The second sphere, that of the ‘underground’ or informal economy, is where the majority of the world’s population moves, is where the survival of the majority of the population is organized. In this area, economic activities are not registered or accounted for, they are organized outside the state, outside of the law and regulations. In this area no taxes are paid and no benefits or protection is received from the state.

The third area is that of the illegal, criminal economy. This is where violence is used to impose economic transactions at different levels, be this enforcement-style protection rackets, theft, blackmail or illegal trading. This diffused violence of criminality intervenes and acts on the economy in the same way that the violence of warfare does on the “war economy”, with the difference that this violence is not regionalised, it is global and it is more persevering and more difficult to eradicate.

Organized crime has both spread and grown as the process of globalization has intensified. According to data provided in 2012 by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), organized crime generates about 870,000 million dollars every year, which is equivalent to 1.5% of world GDP, and this underground business is expanding to embrace even more products. Criminal networks affect all the countries of the world, although mafia-style groups have greater influence in those countries where public institutions are weaker.

At a European level, Europol estimates that there could be over 5,000 active, organized groups, with fields of operation ranging from drug trafficking, the
smuggling of goods, to human trafficking and financial crimes.

In general terms, these criminal organizations seek to obtain economic benefits and political power. The actions of criminal organizations harm the economic system, and have a negative influence on politics, the media, the management of public administration and the implementation of justice. Criminal organizations corrupt institutions in order to ensure immunity from the police and from judicial action in order to ensure the success of their activities.

2.7 VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The World Health Organization estimates that 35% of women across the world have suffered physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of their partners, or by another person at some time in their life. However, some studies in different countries show that up to 70% of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by a sentimental partner during their lives. According to UN Women, 64,000 women and girls are killed every year in the world.

Gender violence is one of the acts of violence with the greatest social impact, both because of the high percentage of the population affected and because of the level of acceptance and social normalization it enjoys. Violence against women is mostly exercised in the private sphere, which makes it difficult to detect and prosecute.

Although human rights violations affect both men and women, the impact of violence varies according to the sex of the victim. The violence suffered by women is directly linked to an unequal distribution of power and to the asymmetric relationships established between men and women that perpetuates the devaluation of the feminine and its subordination to the masculine.

In 1995, the United Nations defined gender violence as "Any act of sexist violence that results in possible or real physical, sexual or psychological harm, including threats, coercion or the arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether within the public or private scope".

Resolution 1325 recognizes the specific impact of armed conflicts on women and girls, and underlines their key role in conflict transformation and the importance of including women in the construction of a post-war agenda. However, sexual violence continues to persist as a weapon of war, as does the scant participation of women in peace processes and the very low number of cases concerning sexual violence against women that are taken to court.

2.8 THE CITY AND WAR

During 2018, there were 34 armed conflicts, sixteen of them took place in Africa, nine in Asia, six in the Middle East, two in Europe and one in America.9

Today’s wars are no longer declared, they are informal, irregular and privatized wars, they are waged in micro-territories, and are characterized by large amounts of violence, in areas where territorial, economic and social control is disputed. In contemporary armed conflicts, the civilian population has become a target of war, a hostage to the armed groups that use the population, alongside terror and fear in order to achieve their ends. War is the ultimate expression of violence, and cities have become their scenario.

The widespread use of explosive weapons in cities and towns results in thousands of deaths and injuries among civilians, the destruction of infrastructures essential for people’s lives and the means to support life itself. Added to the sufferings involved in living through a war, are poverty, insecurity, malnutrition, poor medical attention, looting, or hatred among people from the same community.

Added to individual human injury and suffering is the fact that local authorities cease to provide services to the population, such as education, garbage collection, the cleaning of streets or sanitation. The closure of schools, universities, the lack of fuel, damage inflicted on ambulances, preventing access to medical centres, the exodus of workers such as doctors, teachers and other professionals, which all goes to stifle and paralyse life in the city.

9. Information from the yearbook Alerta 2019 prepared by the School of Culture for Peace: https://escolapau.uab.cat/img/programas/alerta/alerta/19/cap01e.pdf
3. DEFENCE OR SECURITY

Addressing the issue of security from the standpoint of the culture of peace requires a plural and inclusive perspective. All those disciplines that address the construction of peace from diverse angles must be accommodated. These viewpoints are those that make enjoying a worthwhile life possible, and which allow people to live free from insecurities and threats. The full development of both social and political human rights, as well as justice, is required in order to attain these goals, and this means covering basic needs in accordance with the natural environment where one resides.

In terms of investigations for peace, any conflict must be able to be resolved or transformed without the use of force (Lederach, 2010), i.e., without violence. Therefore, conflict resolution cannot fall exclusively on the armed security forces and on armies, but rather, society must be involved so that conflicts are transformed by peaceful means such as through dialogue, negotiation and the participation of society itself, and in the places where conflicts take place. This is the best formula to help appease, resolve or transform conflicts.

For states, the concept of defence is always conceived from the military standpoint, whether in terms of deterrence, prevention or intervention in the face of an external or internal threat. Security, on the other hand is a much broader concept that encompasses all areas of life.

As such, the classic concept of national security aims to prevent or reject military threats and, therefore, to militarily defend the sovereignty and territoriality of the state against possible external aggressors, or even internal aggressors if there is a revolt by the populace that law enforcement (the police) cannot control. In these cases, state governments have never hesitated to implement the use of the armed forces in order to restore order.

Faced with this concept of security, critical voices have emerged that chose to reformulate the idea, as this model only refers to state security and does not include the public, nor does it consider other sources of insecurity, both global and internal, be they economic or environmental. The first critical approach arose with the extension of globalization, which
showed that the state is no longer the only international actor that participates in the construction of peace and security, given the emergence of new risks and threats (economic crises, environmental disasters, pandemics, organized crime, jihadism, etc.) that have cross-border dimensions. Solutions here cannot be sought at a national level; they need to be sought through the international cooperation between states, agencies and other regional and/or multilateral organisations. Hence this new proposal that the concept of security should take on a multidimensional aspect, along with the idea that we live in an interdependent world and that, therefore, those strategies used to address this new scenario cannot be those that refer strictly to the utilisation of the police or the military. It is also necessary to introduce strategies that are diplomatic or civil in nature, or those that involve economic, political and cultural development cooperation. This new vision has been evolving since the late 1980s, and it culminated in 1994 with the Human Development Report (UNDP), with the commitment to a new concept, that of “human security”. This strategy involves a new approach to security that faces those traditional ideas in which security is based on increasing the dissuasive capacity of the numerous police and army bodies that defend the established order and that are unquestionably insufficient for the task at hand. This latter security model presents an unsettling idea of “state security”. Human security, on the other hand, puts people at the centre of all concerns.

3.1 ACTS OF VIOLENCE

People live permanently immersed in conflict with each other and with their surroundings. According to this premise, the phenomenon of conflict is consubstantial in human relationships, as people interact, debate, and agree or disagree with each other. And given that their interests do not always coincide, conflict is therefore inescapable. In those cases where no solution can be found to those issues that arise, there is no other choice but to learn to live with conflict.

The largest numbers of people are concentrated in cities across the world - 55%, and as such, cities are where the greatest number of conflicts arise. Conflicts have a direct relationship with the commercialization of cities: the city as a business and the diversity and plurality of people living in urban conglomerations. It is therefore, differences of interests, and social and cultural diversity that generate conflicts, and the challenge is how to tackle them, how to learn to manage them, and how to transform them in a positive way in order to create relationships of mutual respect, reciprocity and fairness, through actions that do not involve violence.

Conflict management has not however always been possible without violent actions and attitudes being unleashed. If this occurs, there will be no other choice but to face the issue in a civilized way, that is, using the rationality with which humanity is endowed. This is the great tradition of humanism; the attempt to resolve conflicts in order to inflict as little suffering as necessary in an appeal to dialogue, love and respect.

Another relevant issue is that most conflicts occur among the most depressed social sectors, those that suffer the greatest inequalities. These are groups of people who resort, through a multiplicity of actions, to eliminate those inequalities that oppress them, and which do not allow them to develop a life with dignity. These actions are manifest in protests, and among them, inevitably, some acts that disregard or break the law.

This is a key issue that has led to an accurate analysis of types of violence. In this area, the work of Johan Galtung10 is notably relevant. His Triangle of Violence has become essential (Figure 1) where the interrelation between the three acts of violence that dominate the entire social spectrum are stressed: the personal, the structural and the cultural.

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10. Johan Galtung, Sociologist, leading researcher and peace theorist, founder of the PRIO Institute for Peace in Oslo, has developed his theories in different studies and works. There are several publications available in Spain, among them, the best known are Investigaciones teóricas. Sociedad y culturas contemporáneas, (1995) Madrid, Tecnos; Paz por medios pacíficos: paz y conflicto, desarrollo y civilización (2003), Bilbao, Bakeaz.
As the figure shows, direct violence is always visible, however, the hardest violent acts to recognize are structural and cultural violence, which are interconnected, and which cause of direct acts of violence to take place against people. They are violent acts that build and transmit values that normalize, justify and legitimize violent relationships between people and their environment.

One form of violence is structural, this is less visible, however it is generally that which is most present in those of our societies dominated by a predatory system such as capitalism. This is a violent act that comes from the inequality on which the social structure of the system is based, and which prevents a part of the population from having access to those goods necessary to cover their basic needs, so affecting individuals, families and communities. Exclusion ensues, due to a lack of housing, social facilities, transport and urban planning, a deteriorated environment, and urban areas with a high population density. This a type of violence that also causes deaths, due to a lack of food, medicines or due to poor environmental conditions.

The most visible acts of structural violence are evident in cities, where differences of income are apparent, or in life expectancy rates among those who live in rich neighbourhoods. Violence arises between those who are wealthy, who are supplied with equipment and services of all kinds, and those neighbourhoods where the lower classes live, in a precarious, or highly vulnerable manner, with access to few or no services or facilities at all, a situation that results in the marginalization of not only people, but also entire neighbourhoods.

This is a situation that also occurs in rural areas where, due to small population numbers, there are no services close at hand, such as health or specialist services, or public transport, which means that those in rural areas sometimes have to travel for hundreds of kilometres in order to use these services. The countryside also lacks banking services, internet, sports, as well as recreational and cultural spaces.

The final type of violence is cultural, which legitimizes the structural and personal types of violence described above. It is shaped by ideologies, stereotypes and symbolic universes, and it is present in language, beliefs and religions. This type of violence considers issues related to ethnicity, language, religion, ideology or gender as belonging to a higher order. It is the type of violence that considers those who are different as inferior, either because of their skin colour, because they belong to another culture, or because they follow a different religion. It prevents women from enjoying the same rights as men and LGTBI groups and other minorities from assimilating and developing their identities. It is a violence that can be found subliminally in the derogatory language used in the media, advertising, in songs or in the cinema by those of the dominant ethnic group and which justifies the exclusion and marginalization of different minorities.

3.2 TYPES OF VIOLENT ACTS

According to the classification of the different types of violence: direct, structural and cultural, the different types of violence that take place in cities is detailed below.
**Acts of Direct Violence**

As mentioned above, these include physical or psychological aggression, such as murder, torture, abuse, rape, insults, intimidation, beatings, harassment, contempt for people, and which may all occur due for different reasons and in different contexts.

- Common crime committed through theft and robbery
- Interpersonal, gender, homophobic violence, or violence against LGTBI groups.
- Due to xenophobia and racism.
- Harassment in the workplace.
- Harassment in homes to evict tenants.
- At sporting events.
- At school.
- Problems in urban traffic.
- At leisure venues, in discos or parties/festivals in public areas.
- From youth gangs in neighbourhoods.
- Those related to the organized crime of drug dealing and the trafficking of women and children.
- Uprisings and rebellions in neighbourhoods due to poor health conditions, a lack of basic facilities, marginalisation and repression of its inhabitants.

**Acts of Structural Violence**

These are caused by imbalances in the social structure that society is based upon and which affect the needs of people. They cause inequalities to the point of provoking marginalization and rootlessness.

- Hunger, malnutrition or poor diet.
- Lack of access to education and health.
- Lack of access to a home, as experienced by the homeless.
- Lack of social protection for people with diverse abilities, senior citizens or children.
- Unemployment due to a lack of access to a workplace.
- Lack of guarantees to access a minimum income.
- Urban planning that segregates and marginalizes neighbourhoods and populations.
- Income inequalities among the population that cause the marginalization of the inhabitants in the neighbourhoods where they reside.
- A lack of public services in peripheral or marginal neighbourhoods of the city.
- A lack of regulation of urban land that produces speculation in land prices and housing, to the point that the population is expelled to peripheral areas.
- Lack of sanitary services in neighbourhoods that become rubbish dumps and sewers.
- The transformation of neighbourhood life due to a lack of regulated tourism, which leads to increased property and rental values and higher prices in shops, causing gentrification due to the pressure of tourism-related businesses.
**Cultural Acts of Violence**

Values, ideologies, beliefs and symbologies that are transmitted socially and that are used to normalize, legitimize and justify structural and direct violence.

- Values, ideologies, beliefs and symbologies integrated into education that shape ways of thinking and living that justify the existence of poverty, hunger and inequalities of all kinds.
- Values, ideologies and patriarchal beliefs that normalize and discriminate against women and LGBTI groups.
- Values, ideologies, beliefs and symbologies that justify discrimination based on ethnic or religious reasons.
- Values, ideologies, beliefs and symbologies that justify discrimination towards those considered different for reasons of age (the elderly and children), people with diverse abilities, the poor and the homeless.
- Values, ideologies and beliefs that justify selfishness, individualism and competitiveness as positive values, while corruption is also considered as a positive factor.
- Values, ideologies and beliefs that deny rights to animals to the point of abuse, torture or death.
- Values, ideologies and beliefs that deny the right to a healthy environment with the consumption of non-renewable resources that lead to unsustainable extremes for the biosphere.
4. SECURITY OR CARE?

The public seeks security in order to meet its needs in terms of human dignity, such as access to work, housing, health, education, food and a social protection system for the most disadvantaged (guaranteed minimum income, people with diverse abilities, senior citizens and children). People do not wish to be discriminated against because of their cultural, religious or gender tendencies, and seek to enjoy an unpolluted environment, and above all, not to suffer personal violence.

It was the gender perspective, with the ethics of care, those that women have traditionally performed, that pushed the demand to go beyond security policies and introduce a new concept of care. The concept of security, as shaped by traditional power structures, holds people accountable on an individual basis. This is a neoliberal vision that has been imposed with capitalist globalization and one that aims to privatise all state policies, including security, leaving services that were previously public in private hands and therefore, commercializing healthcare. This is a situation that has motivated the general population to demand public care policies, and it opens the way to empowerment in order to attain the common good, and is a true driving force for the eradication of public insecurities.

This is a common good that has been becoming more popular and progressing due to the increasingly more accessible economic, social and cultural rights (ESCRs), which in Latin America have been expressed through the Quechua words Sumak Kawsay (good living), living in peace with Pacha Mama (Mother Earth). This is proposed in a context marked by the forthcoming depletion of non-renewable resources extracted from the earth’s crust, the emission of carbon into the atmosphere, causing climate change, a lack of water, the depletion of fertile lands due to the use of agrochemicals, all of which are events that forewarn of a collapse of the biosphere. This situation is forcing a profound change in ways of living and in consumer habits in order to render our behaviour metabolically sustainable. These are ESCRs that are highly important among those who seek to reduce inequalities. They are ESCRs that seek to implement social and economic systems based on justice, so as to achieve sustainable human and economic development so that all will be able to access goods and services and live our lives in dignity.
In order to manage and provide the security that provides a life worth living, local public administrations will have to develop policies aimed at providing care so that people’s minimal needs are met. Moreover, to this end they need to adopt mechanisms for conflict prevention and transformation. However, as conflicts will inevitably occur, mediation mechanisms to pacify, resolve or neutralize them, will also be required, with the aim of helping public coexistence. Thus, these public policies must be aimed at addressing all acts and types of violence, not only those that are personal, but also structural and cultural acts of violence.

Municipal councils, due to their proximity to the local populace, are institutions that provide immediate public services. This means that poverty, exclusion, unemployment, migratory flows, environmental destruction and personal violence are priority issues in the political agendas of these bodies. Given these issues, local administrations must promote the recognition of public rights for everyone, be they native-born citizens or migrants. In this respect they must also respond to the demands of housing, and the social facilities of health, education and culture, while they must also manage social, cultural and identity diversity, seeking a balance between diversity and equal rights, without allowing rights and opportunities to be denied to certain groups due to cultural reasons, or where prejudice may be motivated by sexual orientation.

The city is an urban space where there are greater needs and, consequently, greater conflicts. Nonetheless, it is also where civil society is better organized to deal with such encounters. The public is therefore gregarious, and is used to participating in order to improve coexistence and alleviate needs in all social spheres. People associate with each other in a wide variety of organizations in order to improve shared values in everyday life; neighbourhood associations, sports, cultural, social assistance for people in need which, in a micro sense, are vital for the transformation of public conflicts. These civic bodies provide an essential service for the common good, which together with those services provided by municipal councils, should form the foundations on which to establish coexistence in cities.

Municipal councils, in order to facilitate security, implement public policies in services that range from the traditional; the police and fire services, to others, such as services in the social, cultural, urban, mobility, educational and healthcare sectors. These are services whose function is to prioritize the care of the most vulnerable members of society, as the most essential needs of this sector of the population are not fully catered for. As such, public security cannot be equated solely with a problem of public order and with crime prevention measures, it must also have an integrational social focus, one of preserving coexistence and the common good for the entire community.

Thus, it should be an obligation of the town councils to concern themselves with integrating volunteer-based social entities into municipal public policies and to establish joint development and cooperation plans in order to provide care and security to local inhabitants.

However, conflicts will always appear, and some may violent, but if there is an organized, conscious and participatory civil society, as well as public bodies that are committed to being involved in preventing and resolving conflicts, coexistence will undoubtedly improve in those cities where these initiatives are implemented.

Finally, people are not isolated or abstract entities, they are essentially relational and interdependent human beings. Self-esteem, which is necessary to overcome difficulties, does not involve the search for personal success, nor does it provide individual answers to problems that are relational. One lives in society and not only does one need institutions and systems that regulate living together, one also needs affection, help, compassion, friendship, respect, company and care. From this perspective, people need to become involved so as to cross-link personal, political, and community activities to the benefit of the common good. Thus, a municipal care policy should strive to recover the value of communal solidarity, which is an essential value when it comes to coexistence.
5. THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

Cities are the places where, if not all, then many of the conflicts in world develop today. The rural community has common cultural roots that are closely linked to regional values and agriculture – factors that result in a highly homogenised population. As a result, rural conflicts are closely linked to endogenous factors, such as a lack of water, deforestation, droughts, monocultures, or extractive industries that harm agriculture due to the harmful effects of polluted rivers and groundwater.

In the cities, on the other hand, and especially in the great urban conurbations, populations are very heterogeneous, in both social and cultural terms, as their inhabitants originate from different regions or countries. The conflicts in these spaces are therefore of a very different nature when compared to those of the rural world. In cities, conflicts occur in the public arena, and are the product of political, cultural, commercial or private interpersonal protests. These social discrepancies occur because the public space is used for the expression of opinions of many kinds, and conflicts therefore arise. These clashes involve those who disagree with and confront governmental political authority, be it local, regional or state-wide in its scope, and centre on those issues that arise from problems relating to social demands, or confrontations that arise against those who intend to appropriate public spaces in order to carry out their own, private, commercial interests.

The causes that motivate conflicts in urban society therefore are due to a spatial fragmentation that segregates different homogeneities, these being those that typify differences between groups and which may be cultural, social or commercial.

This segregation is expressed not only in terms of income indicators, but also in the population’s access to what the city offers. Areas exist where extreme forms of marginalization and poverty occur, and which always go hand in hand with limited urbanization and planning, compared to modern, highly urbanized and sometimes areas that have high levels of technology. There are cities with peripheral zones featuring commercial and business areas, with neighbourhoods that are highly connected to the globalised world, compared to other poorly-urbanized suburbs where poverty and rootlessness prevail. Sometimes both coexist in the same space, crudely demonstrating the dividing line of inequality between a developed and wealthy world and another, one that is marginalized and poor.

It is in this context where the public space is subject to pressure from financial and real estate capital,
tourism or business activities, where the location and design of activities and services generate a confrontation of interests between the inhabitants and the economic sector that perform them.

This is the phenomenon of globalization, where the expansion of global cities takes place, and which has given way to the so-called “right to the city”, as a public claim to an inclusive, balanced space, without arbitrary tensions, one that is subject to market speculation. This new concept, in the great metropolis of poor countries, increasingly appears to be a utopian concept, as not all their inhabitants possess the same material resources. They are unable to inhabit them as they might wish, or in accordance with their interests, and extremes are reached in which vulnerable groups become highly vulnerable, leading to their marginalisation. If problems of transport, environment, poverty, a lack of facilities, housing and governance are added to this, then this “right to the city” disappears and becomes a curse. This forces us to rethink the role of cities and recover the idea of living in the countryside and encouraging proximity-based agricultural practices, as these may well offer more protection than the city.
6. SECURITY AND THE PUBLIC SPACE

Security in public space will take on very different approaches depending on where the cities are located as, although in all events public space needs to be regulated and managed, the cities of poor countries in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa or Southern Asia do not have the same security problems as those of the wealthy Western world. In what was previously known as the Third World, and which is today an area measured by its human development (UNDP)\(^1\), there are cities with widespread cases of violence that are linked to the phenomenon of structural violence. This creates marginal neighbourhoods where organized crime exists as a means of subsistence. In western cities, although marginality and organized crime exist, these aspects do not however have the same importance as in the cities of poor countries. Even so, the scenario is commonplace and the causes are shared, as the responsibility for this situation lies with neoliberal globalization. With this political strategy, several actors, such as the large corporations that govern this globalization through highly aggressive mercantile practices, have prohibited a large number of residents from accessing public, community services. Now, after the commercialization of these services serious decline in urban living standards and basic individual rights have taken place.

This would appear to indicate that the causality of the different acts of violence must be analysed, and in this sense, differentiation needs to be made between classes of violence, as different solutions and regulations would need to be implemented in accordance with their origin.

Some acts of violence mean that citizens enter into disputes over public space, a fact that determines the need for urban policies that provide security.

One must nonetheless be wary when applying the concept of security, because, as mentioned above, it is a concept with a dual dimension, it is not applied to the state in the same way it is to the public. It may therefore become a fallacy. In the wealthy, white, patriarchal, Western, masculine world, the concept of security has been built as a defence against others, the ‘them and the others’ – those who differ and who become opposites. This is a security that states associate with defence and who always conceive it in terms of policing and military strategies in order to deter, prevent or intervene in the face of external or internal threats. Even so, security is a much broader polysemic concept that encompasses all areas of people’s lives. Hence

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\(^1\) The United Nations Development Programme. [https://www.undp.org/content/undp/es/home.html](https://www.undp.org/content/undp/es/home.html)
the critical voices (Henry Lefebvre, Amartya Sen and Saskia Sassen), who despise the traditional security strategies conceived by the states, as they have disregarded the populace, while stressing that other sources of insecurity exist, such as economic and environmental factors.

These factors have led to the criminalisation of urban areas, in accordance with their uses and inhabitants, as is the case with certain neighbourhoods or areas that are stigmatized as places of crime and violence. This phenomenon occurs in many cities, especially in countries with high levels of social inequalities (e.g. Latin America) where police security methods involve the application of military techniques. This was the case in Mexico; where the fight against organized crime in 2006 led President Felipe Calderón to declare a “war” on drug trafficking gangs. This strategy, during his tenure until 2012, led to the number of deaths related to this conflict reaching the incredible figure of 121,600. More recently, the new president Andrés Manuel López Obrador, has created a new police force, the National Guard. These 50,000 troops have been assigned to tackle organized crime, as the police force was “contaminated” (infiltrated) by those gangs responsible for drug trafficking. This new body will undoubtedly use military techniques and strategies, its progress will need to be analysed in order to measure its effectiveness, as its presence may lead to a new increase of the death toll.

Another example is that of Brazil, where the new president, Jair Bolsonaro, a former army captain, is preparing a project for the armed forces to expand their actions to ensure public safety and act against organized crime.

The criminalization of some urban areas and neighbourhoods has led to the desire to transform urban city centres into a security “fantasy” with a strong police presence, when what is actually required is an urban planning strategy that reduces inequalities that occur due to population densification and/or a lack of services. What would therefore be appropriate is the construction of multiple centralities and different organisational norms that allow decision making to be undertaken in accordance with the needs of each space and neighbourhood.

The situations described require profound reflection in order to analyse the roots of violence. “Global cities” have become strategic spaces for the liberalism currently prevailing in the world, with its highly-aggressive mercantile functions that are performed by workers in the cities, to the extent that those who perform these tasks are no longer needed as either salaried employees, nor as consumers. This has led to the ideas of “failed cities,” “urban jungles,” “urbanicide,” “ecofascism,” or “cities at war.” These are events in which members of the public are “resident”, but lose their right to proper citizenship. These are challenges for the community, who need to demand from council governments access to their right to the city. This would recover the genuine meaning of the word “politics”, one that is closely linked to the participation of the people in the polis.

In this sense, urban planning in cities and their neighbourhoods is highly important. These are areas where public barriers should exist that create “borders” within cities, as these lead to territorial ruptures and create separation and exclusion, which in turn specifically affect lower income level social groups. They also divide the population by generation (neighbourhoods with many older people) or by migratory or ethnic origin (neighbourhoods with a high density of migrants), in terms of social division (working quarters) or generational (young people). In order to attain affordable housing within the scope of their low earnings, these groups move to neighbourhoods where accommodation is cheaper.

These are neighbourhoods where the working classes make use of public areas for social encounters and coexistence. While the upper and middle classes live behind closed doors in their homes, in increasingly exclusive neighbourhoods with access to all kinds of private commercial services and a hyperconsumism that adds comprises all areas of consumption: eating, leisure, cinema and sex and where spaces have been privatized and are no longer public.

In order to break with this dynamic of class division, public space must become a basic factor in the constitution of a new form of social and territorial inclusion. Without quality public spaces there is no possible coexistence or satisfactory urban structure and, therefore, no services that care (i.e. that provide security) for the community. Therefore, the organisation and construction of public space is in no way a task for the police and is therefore an area of responsibility that is pertinent to the concept of security. Public space must be where the dispute for freedom, integration, visibility, representation all take place, and not an area of social control in any of its forms.

12. Wikipedia, see: Felipe Calderón Hinojosa.
13. Nájar, Alberto, The National Guard of Mexico: Who is Lucia Riojas? The only Legislator who opposed the Controversial Security Corps, BBC World News 02/03/2019
It therefore follows that public space is where conflicts take place, and which in turn, may generate new forms of violence that have to be addressed, and that in turn may require the occupation of public space to be regulated by municipal authorities. Such regulations however must aim to achieve social cohesion among the population and prevent displacement and marginalization. What is required is urban policies that decentralize large cities, providing neighbourhoods that contain their own centres. These would be places where coexistence is facilitated in accordance with the cultural characteristics of their communities, in which the participation of the populace and their organizations would be unavoidable.

These municipal regulation policies on public space would have to take into account the concept of human security as described previously, and must be differentiated from the idea of security as the persecution of crime. The former concerns the concept of security destined to satisfy and nurture those basic needs that allow the full development of people so that they may live worthwhile lives.
7. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PEACE AGENDA IN THE CITIES

Demographic studies reveal the current growth trends of cities, while the violence that takes place in these urban contexts becomes increasingly more relevant. Both elements, population growth in cities and urban violence, are matters that condition the human and environmental sustainability of societies, while presenting challenges for the coexistence of the urban populace.

Cities are areas occupied by over half of the world’s population. This figure will increase, as indicated by population forecasts. Building cities of coexistence and peace will therefore be a mandatory challenge in ensuring their effective governance, especially when cities are to be paradigmatic arenas for the launching of coexistence-based initiatives. These are actions that if they are to be successful, must be driven by public participation in order to reverse the enormous problems that currently threaten the coexistence of cities.

People live in cities, those who are the same and those who are different live together and relate, both autochthonous inhabitants and those from elsewhere. It is a place to walk, grow, shop, love, have fun, fight, get sick, where justice is demanded and where the characteristics of all come into contrast. This mingling of cultures, ethnicities, languages, religions, genders and ages enriches existence and is the spice of life.

In historical terms, cities have been the scenarios of confrontation, arenas of protest and of numerous struggles, they have become engines of change and transformation. The majority of the social movements that have focused on the great problems of humanity were created in cities. Cities are where contradictions, antagonisms and social confrontations intersect, while remaining as the space of creativity in order to face the problems facing humanity today.

Situations of violence in cities do however reveal the vulnerabilities and interdependencies that occur in life. As mentioned above, conflict is inextricably linked to mankind, to mutual relations between people and to those structural relationships that have been socially constructed.

People need tools and training that allow them to tackle, transform, resolve or live with conflicts and the provide ways of guiding their frustrations in a non-violent way. However, it is also necessary for communities to mobilize, organize and work to motivate local authorities in their cities to create and implement political programmes that ensure that those conflicts that intersect in the cities do not lead to violence.
Based on the premise that local government is the main manager of social conflicts, as it is the closest administrative body to the populace, and the authoritative body with the best chance of facilitating the meetings, dialogues and transformations involved in the conflict between all those agents with conflicting interests, it is therefore important that the community pressures city council leaders to ensure their involvement and their commitment, and to act with measures that go beyond the electoral cycle, in order to facilitate the general interest of the most disadvantaged members of the public.

In this respect, at an international level, city councils have committed themselves to promoting the 2030 Agenda, or Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which is an agenda created by the United Nations that has established the following objectives:

1. End poverty in all its forms throughout the world.
2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture.
3. Ensure that people are able to have healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages.
4. Ensure inclusive, equitable, quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.
5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.
6. Ensure the availability of water and its sustainable management and sanitation for all people.
7. Ensure access to affordable, safe, sustainable and modern energy for all people.
8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.
9. Build resilient infrastructures, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation.
10. Reduce inequality in and among countries.
11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.
13. Adopt urgent measures to combat climate change and its effects.
14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development.
15. Protect, restore and promote the sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, manage forests sustainably, combat desertification, stop and reverse soil degradation and stop biodiversity loss.
16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies to achieve sustainable development, provide access to justice for all people and develop effective, responsible and inclusive institutions at all levels.
17. Strengthen the means to implement and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development.

At the same time, municipal councils have also taken on the New Urban Agenda and the World Charter for Law in the City.

All of these commitments represent the effort that many municipal councils will be making within the definition been established as structural acts of violence. Cities are however also scenarios where acts of direct violence also take place and where local action initiatives must be developed in order to counter and deactivate them. Tackling the problems of cities with a coexistence-based perspective has been the challenge faced by many municipalities within their commitment to a City of Coexistence and Peace Agenda that was approved within the II World Forum on Urban Violence and Education for Coexistence and Peace. This Agenda for Coexistence and Peace in cities specifically addresses the types of violent acts that need to be tackled.
7.1 MIGRATIONS

People leave their habitats and move to live in other places, be they nearby, or distant cities, or even in another country, and they do so for economic, political, environmental reasons, or due to military conflicts, but not all of them can travel by plane and have access to an entry visa. Rich people, experts, professional athletes, artists and students are not limited when it comes to migration, but this is not the case for poor people.

In general, displaced persons and refugees represent a relatively small percentage of migrants. In 2017, the number of international migrants (people residing in a country other than their country of birth) was 258 million. Approximately 68.5 million of these people have been forcibly expatriated, including 25.4 million refugees, 3.1 million asylum seekers, while there are over 40 people who are million internally displaced.\(^{18}\)

Many of these people require attention in the places and countries they arrive in, as they are often in highly vulnerable situations and are in need of assistance.

The migratory phenomenon, in general is mostly due to the existence of structural violence. Significant movements of capital, goods, information, delocalized industries and people have characterized the era of globalization. Migrations follow these economic logics of supply and demand as manifest by the great world labour market. The economy of wealthy, Western countries requires labour and the problem does not lie with immigrants, but in those who are surplus to requirements. The ideological and humanitarian challenge that this phenomenon entails will not then be solved by building walls and increasing border controls in order to impede the passage of migrants, it will rather require highly complex political and social agreements that must function in unison. This is a phenomenon of great importance and one as decisive as climate change.

Mass migrations will generate tensions in urban planning, sustainability and on a human level, they will generate problems with housing, infrastructure, basic services, food, health, education, occupation and security. In depopulated areas, they will generate deficits for the maintenance of public infrastructure and services (hospitals and schools), private services (banks and supermarkets) and investments (the internet).

Proposed actions for local societal organisations:
- Integrating newcomers into all social and organizational areas of cities.
- Working so that they can enjoy all normal individual rights.
- Promoting ethical activities in social networks that curb xenophobic discourse regarding immigrants and that promote the communication of a positive discourse about immigration.

Proposed actions at a municipal level:
- Helping social organizations with the integration of immigrants.
- Promoting activities that aid contact between the numerous cultural communities, promoting coexistence and mutual respect.
- Promoting campaigns to avoid hostility and the fear of refugees and immigrants, while facilitating solidarity and empathy.
- Promoting campaigns that counteract the lies, rumours, stigmatization and the criminalization of immigrants.

7.2 RACISM, XENOPHOBIA AND OTHER FORMS OF INTOLERANCE

There are more and more people coming into the cities from other places. In the neighbourhoods, ethnic and cultural diversity is evidence of this, just as the growing rejection of ‘the different’ is also very worrying evidence. The latter attitude includes racist reactions that may be manifest through actions such as banning girls who wear veils from schools, or the building of mosques.

All cities suffer from socio-spatial polarization, where inequality and spatial segregation confirm economic inequality. These are inequalities that are perpetuated and inherited. They cause the fear and rejection of that which is the different because the ‘others’ (those who are different) are poor. Racism and xenophobia are manifest in the propensity to blame immigrants for negative phenomena such as unemployment, falling wages, increasing crime or a loss of quality in social services.

In our cities, just as with the rest of the cities in the European Union, debates concerning a multicultural society, racism and xenophobia take place as a means to protest against the migratory phenomenon. Resistance to immigration has, in many cases become a direct indicator of racism and xenophobia.

Proposed actions for local societal organisations:
- Supporting and participate in those civil organizations that denounce racist and xenophobic acts through proactive actions to help immigrants gain full access to their rights.

\(^{18}\) The 2017 UNHCR Report [https://www.un.org/es/sections/issues-depth/migration/](https://www.un.org/es/sections/issues-depth/migration/) o [https://www.acnur.org/5b2955a31e.pdf](https://www.acnur.org/5b2955a31e.pdf)
As mentioned previously, violent extremism involves those actions committed by radicalized people in order to generate fear and achieve political, ideological, religious, social or economic aims. The purpose of these acts is always to reap fear among the population, and so force governments to change their policies in the way the extremists want.

The emergence of jihadist violent extremism has today become the central concern of the governments and it figures prominently as a primary threat in the defence and security strategies of many states. This phenomenon has created many stereotypes about Islam and the Muslim religion that have resulted in Islamophobia. Given this situation, the first thing required is to discover the causes behind jihadism, as well as the fears that this phenomenon instils. These are fears that may induced by decontextualised reasoning, when those who die at the hands of violent extremists are far fewer than those killed by other hazards, such as road traffic, diseases, pollution and others. This reflection leads us to consider that jihadism cannot be combated in a military manner, it is rather more important to act on the causes behind it and seek its prevention in an interdisciplinary combination.

However, in addition to the jihadism that is such a concern to governments, there is also the violent extremism that comes from extreme political positions, from the right and from the left. Although in recent times the extremism of the left has been greatly reduced, and in some cases it has disappeared (in Europe, with the IRA and ETA), however, that of the extreme right, on the other hand, has increased as a result of the rejection and hatred towards that which is different, especially migrants and LGTBI groups. Thus, no country, region or municipality is immune to the effects of violent extremism.

Although attacks in Europe are less frequent than those in countries where armed conflicts exist, especially in countries where Islam is present, European societies do also suffer. The last major jihadist occurred in Barcelona and Cambrils in the summer of 2017, while in terms of the extreme right, in June 2019, a prominent German politician of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) from the Hesse region, assassinated by a shot to the head. The politician had defended Chancellor Merkel’s decision to open the doors to refugees in 2015. His political position to defend what he considered as Christian values appeared to have cost him his life. The police arrested a person with ties to the extreme right, yet the murder was celebrated by extremist groups on social media sites.

We must always start from the fulfilment and defence of human rights in order to stop the process of extremist radicalization, this includes upholding the rule of law, respect for all differences, be they ethnic, cultural, religious or gender-based, while supporting education based on values. Coexistence peace and the empowerment of youth are also basic factors in countering violence of all kinds.

Proposed actions for local societal organisations:

- Supporting and participating in those civil organizations that denounce racist and xenophobic acts.
- Promoting and participating in educational campaigns that contribute to increasing the resilience of youth and adults against extremist messages, while promoting a positive sense of identity and the membership of a group or religion.
- Creating an environment conducive to the empowerment and democratic participation of youth in order to help young people become active subjects in the defence of human rights.

Proposed actions at a municipal level:

- Planning and building urban spaces that allow the development of various identities, so helping the integration of people from various socio-economic and cultural substrates.
- Taking measures to prevent spatial segregation and the creation of ghettos.
- Creating spaces or instruments that allow citizens to file reports on racism or xenophobia.
- Campaigning to deny lies, fake news stories and to combat negative stereotypes about those with different identities.
- Planning public services so that all citizens can enjoy the same provisions and the quality of these services without discrimination.
- Attending to victims.
- Incorporating diversity for council workers of the municipality so that the management agencies are an image of social diversity.

7.3 VIOLENT EXTREMISM

As mentioned previously, violent extremism involves those actions committed by radicalized people in order to generate fear and achieve political, ideological, religious, social or economic aims. The purpose of these acts is always to reap fear among the population, and so force governments to change their policies in the way the extremists want.

Incorporating numerous social groups in the networks of social organizations so that these organizations reflect the social diversity of the city.

Encouraging values that oppose the use of violence and discrimination and encourage those that favour human rights, coexistence and respect in society as a whole.

Echoing the campaigns of organizations that defend and protect people who suffer from racist, xenophobic or religious intolerance, or other forms of intolerance and discrimination.

Planning and building urban spaces that allow the development of various identities, so helping the integration of people from various socio-economic and cultural substrates.

Creating spaces or instruments that allow citizens to file reports on racism or xenophobia.

Campaigning to deny lies, fake news stories and to combat negative stereotypes about those with different identities.

Planning public services so that all citizens can enjoy the same provisions and the quality of these services without discrimination.

Attending to victims.

Incorporating diversity for council workers of the municipality so that the management agencies are an image of social diversity.
Proposed actions at a municipal level:
■ Establishing a protocol for the media on how to deal with violent acts, and ascertaining those images and messages used to avoid the stigmatization of certain groups, while preventing the generation of fear or motivations that promote radicalism against those who are different.
■ Establishing instruments with the participation of different actors in order to address measures to prevent and combat political, ethnic or religious discourses that encourage or motivate radicalization.
■ Rejecting strategies of repression and/or the violation of human rights in action plans as a response to acts of political violence.

7.4 VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND SEXUAL IDENTITIES

The term “gender violence” is used to name a problem that was until recently, a part of people’s private lives, and one that was considered a family matter that did not have to transcend to the outside world. Therefore, neither the authorities nor the government had to intervene. Addressing violence as a personal issue leaves women in a situation of subordination to men, and involves assuming the historically unequal power relations between men and women as being normal. These are relationships through which it is legitimate for men to maintain the status quo of masculine domination and in which the use of violence is legitimized. The social assimilation of such values has meant that women did not report their problems to the police due to fear, shame or guilt.

Remember that the use of violence is a relational strategy that is learned, and it is not innate. Not all people exercise it in the same degree or intensity and it is not always used in personal relationships. Those who are abusive are selective in their exercise of violence, which demonstrates that they are able to control themselves with respect to different people or in any other circumstances.

No matter in what way abuse or violence against women manifests itself, it always seeks the same objective, that of eroding women’s self-esteem so that the abuser increases their level and power and control over them.

The rights of women and of people with sexual and gender identities (LGTBI) are essential in any state that seeks the well-being of its populace, increasing rights and freedoms. These are rights that have been attained and implemented after difficult struggles, and their reversal cannot now be implemented, as this would destroy the rule of law. As a result, measures in defence of women’s rights and sexual and gender identities must be implemented.

Proposed actions for local societal organisations:
■ Promoting values that eliminate those stereotypes transmitted by a patriarchal culture as much as possible. One must learn to be a person instead of learning to be a man or a woman, and banish myths such as the ideas that aggressiveness and competitiveness are masculine characteristics or that submission, silence and obedience are feminine characteristics.
■ Promoting masculine behaviour that does not use violence against women as a form of repression and control, so as to prevent the continuity of the patriarchy as a social order.
■ Incorporating the gender perspective in research papers, in written and spoken language, and in the design of social campaigns.

7.5 COMBATING CORRUPTION

Acts of corruption arise when there are no ethical barriers in the mind (of those tempted to act corruptly) to impede them. What stops corrupt behaviour are the values and principles that every society needs to promote through an intra-community coexistence based on respect.
Government anti-corruption strategies are commonly-based on reaction, in cases of substantial media impact that create social alarm. This approach however acts only on the effects, and only acts on some who are corrupt, but it does not affect the causes that make corruption occur. This makes it possible for a new wave of corrupt people to commit crimes again, as the desire to enrich themselves without hindrance is inherent to a system of life that is established in a society where the values of easy profit prevail. Corruption cannot be controlled if we do not cut off the channels that nourish it. Education must focus on defending the empathetic nature of community values, of the common good and of the general interest.

Proposed actions for local societal organisations:
- Promoting a commitment to personal ethics that defends the values of honesty and that respects the social norms established by the rule of law.
- Rejecting selfish personal behaviour and expressions that exalt illegal behaviour.
- Reporting corrupt actions that take place in public or private organizations.

Proposed actions at a municipal level:
- Establishing and applying personal ethical responsibility protocols for the public, politicians and administration officials, while remaining firm in applying them.
- Establishing and applying protocols that regulate the ‘revolving doors’ phenomenon in political careers and measures against the conflicts of interest in the defence of the general good.
- Developing measures to eradicate the practices of patronage, patrimonialism and nepotism in relations between politics, commercial actions and public administration.
- Prohibiting public contracting in order to provide services to companies that have been rationality suspected of being involved in corruption cases.
- Regulating and clarifying economic contributions to parties.

7.6 DEFENDING THE CITY IN THE FACE OF WAR

War in recent decades has been characterized by its employment in urban centres, such as in Sarajevo, Grozni, Falluja, Baghdad, Gaza, Aleppo or Homs. Urban spaces are attacked by one (or several depending on the case) of the sides involved while others seek refuge in urban structures. This is a strategy that has caused and still causes a great number of deaths, as well as a great deal of suffering among the civilian populations of cities, who become the passive victims of the conflict.

War strategies must be made that place their focus away from cities, so that these will not be turned into an objective where sides take refuge, using the population as a hostage to protect themselves from the attacks of their enemies. This would imply that a policy should be put forward by the United Nations, with the support of the international community in order to prevent cities from becoming spaces in which war is waged.

We often approach war in statistical terms, but behind each statistic, behind each headline, report or article on a war in a city, there are thousands of individual stories. These personal stories can help us (the public, local governments and international organizations) to humanize statistics, humanize ourselves and apply pressure, with the aim of adopting political commitments that reinforce the protection of civilian populations in wartime.

Proposed actions for local societal organisations:
- Working to avoid social polarization, promoting spaces of confluence between people and groups that represent opposing or antagonistic options.
- Promoting respect for rights as a key element for living together.
- Training and promoting the use of dialogue and mediation tools that allow consensus to be reached in conflicts.
- Reporting media sources that spread false news or are creators of opinion trends that support confrontation, discrimination, criminalization, incitement to hatred or social polarization.

Proposed actions at a municipal level:
- Protecting and preserving vital spaces (such as infrastructures, housing, drinking water, hospitals, etc.) so that they cannot be used for the purposes of war.
- Promoting the participation of civil organizations in decision-making as a preventive instrument.
- Promoting the diplomacy initiatives of cities in favour of peace and coexistence.
- Participating in international anti-war city defence networks.

7.7 INTERPERSONAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE

The suffering that these acts of violence cause urgently demands that they should be confronted using the social structures that propitiate or sustain them, whether in language, art, religions, ideologies, media, science, leisure or the norms that are constituted as legitimizing symbols of marginalization and the exclusions of that which is different. These are elements that create mentalities that both justify and encourage numerous forms of violence.
Proposed actions for **local societal organisations:**
- Involvement in the design of answers and solutions in the various problems or conflicts that affect coexistence and diversity.
- Coordinating actions among all those organizations that work with vulnerable groups, children, young people, senior citizens, children’s sports, etc.
- Engaging in the use of social networks and ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) to promote attitudes and values such as empathy, solidarity, understanding, cooperation, justice, equality, rejection, and to disarticulate any discourses that encourage violence in any form.

Proposed actions at a **municipal level:**
- The development of coexistence plans based on mutual respect, diversity and plurality, and by addressing the violence inflicted on specific groups due to their political or religious views, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity or because they belong to other nationalities.
- Establishing mechanisms so that citizens can report any kind of discrimination in the administration.
- Developing programmes and supporting the activities of local groups in education and awareness that promote the values of the culture of peace and non-violence.

### 7.8 ORGANISED CRIME

Globalization has brought with it progress in culture, information and communication, however it has also led to certain setbacks that have been imposed by a predatory neoliberalism in terms of the use of resources, in terms of commerce, or in finance in the creation of tax havens. This globalization has taken place free from regulation by international organisations and has led to the spread of criminal gangs and mafia-style groups that once controlled crime in places around the world, although only on a local level. They have today formed extensive networks that control the trafficking of drugs, organs and people, using the same means as with women, for the purposes of prostitution. These facts have become a scourge for most states, who find it seriously difficult to combat them. Organized crime is usually located in big cities and in those neighbourhoods where inequalities and poverty are accentuated. This implies that a high-level of commitment is required, a pact between the public and local governments, in order to confront this source of social deterioration. That is why tough policies are needed to fight the gangs and networks that control organized crime.

Criminal organizations commit a wide range of illegal activities, and all of them are very serious, however it must be stated that both drug trafficking and people trafficking for sexual exploitation are especially painful for the victims of these crimes.

Proposed actions for **local societal organisations:**
- Reporting those mafia-style mechanisms of organized crime that ensnare those belonging to vulnerable groups in economic traps.
- Supporting social organizations that support and work with the victims of organized crime.

Proposed actions at a **municipal level:**
- Strengthening police and judicial investigations against the actions of organized crime.
- Preventing or placing impediments with respect to the possession of weapons by the population.
- Strengthening medical and social protection measures for drug addicts and providing consumption rooms, where drug addicts can be treated in order to prevent the spread of diseases: hepatitis and HIV virus (AIDS).
8. IN SEARCH OF AMENABLE COEXISTENCE AND LOCAL PEACE

It is essential to implement policies that directly affect the causes of the many violent acts that take place in the urban context, and in several major aspects.

■ The first is that the policies adopted must aim to reverse the structural causes that create violence. These policies must aim to modify the values that legitimize or justify violence and therefore seek to change the culture of violence. This involves replacing conflict resolution through the use of force with a search for coexistence. It also involves caring for the needs of the population with the implementation of a culture of peace.

■ Second is the policy that implements preventative measures in order to deactivate any conflicts through methodologies of an anticipatory nature, so preventing any confrontations from leading to violence.

■ Third is the need for palliative policies, those that seek to care for the victims of violence after it has arisen.

Developing and implementing local action plans against violent actions of all kinds requires the participation and involvement of social organizations that, together with professional actors, develop diagnoses and action agendas in order to prioritize measures and to tackle those inequalities that may lead to violence.
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