Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: participatory methodology for gender-based and political violence

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Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict:
violence, cities and poverty reduction in the developing world

Working Paper Series

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Objectives

The objective of this working paper is to outline the participatory violence appraisal (PVA) methodology implemented for the sub-city level studies in the *'Understanding the Tipping Points of Urban Conflict'* (UTP) research project. It is intended to assist researchers when designing sub-city or local level research. As such it does not provide a definitive 'blueprint' but rather elaborates a generic methodology that may be easily adapted to the needs of different research objectives.

This working paper complements the UTP Concept Paper (Moser and Horn 2011) that sets out the UTP research project's objectives, and its associated conceptual framework. Underlying the UTP project is the assumption that two concepts – tipping points and value chains – provide added value and introduce new perspectives on an already much debated and contested issue, namely violence in cities of the South. As elaborated in detail in the concept paper the research focuses less on documenting a static phenomenon, be it conflict or violence, and more on examining the shift from one state to another, in this case from conflict to violence – the so-called tipping point – and from one type of violence to another, identified as a violence chain. A focus on processes rather than a phenomenon requires a research methodology that moves from statistical measurement to a narrative understanding of social, economic and political processes – but also one that is sufficiently robust and cannot be dismissed as anecdotal information. Considerations such as these have important implications for the design of the research methodology.

To successfully complete a project such as this, with the associated production of both analytical and operationally relevant findings, it is necessary to **implement** a sequential research process. This includes three phases, each with an associated methodology, as follows:
1. Collection of research data relating to identified research themes using participatory violence appraisal (PVA) methodology.
2. Preliminary analysis of PVA data, including the quantification of qualitative research results.
3. Final data analysis, including comparative findings, and the identification of potential policy implications

This working paper describes each of these three phases, drawing on the UTP research process and associated results.

1. Using participatory violence appraisal (PVA) methodology to collect research data

The PVA methodology identifies both tipping points of particular types of violence as well as violence chains, through the voices of local people themselves. In this research project it includes the perceptions of different income groups in Santiago relating to gender-based violence, and those of individuals, households and communities in low-income settlements in Nairobi focusing on political violence. It seeks to explore the processes and events that tip conflict into violence, as well as perceptions of the role which local institutions can play in developing strategies and solutions to 'cut' violence chains. This section starts by providing **generic** information on a number of issues of importance in undertaking a PVA. These include the following:

i. Principles of a PVA: hearing local people's voices
ii. Preparation for a PVA
iii. Methodological principles and practices of participatory methodology: the detailed research themes and associated techniques for undertaking a PVA

i. Principles of a PVA: hearing local people's voices

Based on recognition of the importance of hearing local people's voices and priorities, participatory methodologies were first developed by Robert Chambers (1994) and others undertaking participatory rural appraisals (PRA) of poverty[1]. Rather than individual or household questionnaires, participatory methodology is based on purposive sampling from a range of focus groups that are representative of community members, in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, economic activities and other culturally specific variables. Since the introduction of a participatory methodology, over a decade ago, it has been widely used, particularly for participatory poverty assessments undertaken in both rural and urban areas, with an extensive associated debate reflecting both the advantages and limitations of this methodology (see, for instance Brock and McGee 2002; Kanbur 2003; Holland and Campbell 2005).

Box 1: Principles of a Participatory Violence Appraisal

Conceptually, PVA uses participatory methodology to identify 'bottom-up', local perceptions of violence, its tipping points and violence chains.

Operationally, a PVA can contribute to the design and implementation of municipal and community level interventions to address both tipping points of violence and violence chains – either separately or as 'mainstreamed' sector-level interventions.

In terms of *capacity-building*, PVA involves training local researchers, non-governmental organisation (NGO) members, as well as community activists in a range of techniques and tools.

The PVA methodology used in this research project builds upon earlier research by Caroline Moser and Cathy McIlwaine (1999, 2004) that modified PRA methodology for the assessment of violence in urban contexts. This methodological paper is also influenced by recent tools developed for climate change adaptation interventions by Caroline Moser and Alfredo Stein (2010). These include the development of a participatory climate change adaptation

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[1] As Chambers stated, participatory methodology is 'a growing field of approaches and methods to enable local (rural and urban) people to express, enhance, share and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions to plan and act' (1994:953)

appraisal (PCCAA) methodology. This identifies – 'bottom up' – both asset vulnerability to climate change (CC), as well as asset adaptation strategies to build long-term resilience, protect assets during adverse weather, and then rebuild them[2].

A community-level participatory approach to understanding violence at the micro-level is intended to provide insights into the experience of violence among low-income groups in a way that macro-level analysis cannot. A PVA not only allows poor groups to identify the extent to which violence-related problems affect their communities, but also encourages them to assess the causes and consequences of violence. Furthermore, such an approach assists in identifying interventions from the perspective of the poor, rather than that from policy-makers or academics.

While all participatory appraisal methodologies share a number of common tools or techniques that can be applied to different political, social, economic and environmental problems within urban areas, at the same time such methodologies also need to be adapted to address each particular context. In this case the focus is specifically on gender-based or political violence.

The ultimate aim of the research is to identify entry points in both tipping point processes and violence chains that would allow the implementation of policy initiatives to reduce the risk of violence, or break strategic linkages within violence chains. These changes might well be modest, and therefore more easily and efficiently put in place, both within poor and urban communities – rather than at the metropolitan level. Such initiatives contrast with efforts to address 'macro-level' structural issues such as poverty or demographic bulges. The remaining parts of this section outline a range of conceptual and methodological issues that are important for planning and implementing the project.

Box 2: Some key principles of participatory methodology

- Reversal of learning – 'handing over the stick', learning from local people, flexible use of methods
- Learning rapidly and progressively – no blueprint
- Triangulation – cross checking – plural investigation
- Embracing diversity – not rejecting exceptions
- Researchers facilitate, but do not do it – 'they' do it. This involves handing over the stick, so no interruptions, no generation of researchers' own outcomes
- Sharing of information by researchers, local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and communities – everyone has access and ownership of the information
- Shift from verbal to visual; primary use of diagrams rather than the written word
- From individual to group based
- From extracting to empowering
- Scope to innovate new tools

Source: Chambers, n.d.

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ii. Preparations for PVA

Conducting participatory violence appraisal in communities experiencing high levels of violence involves obvious dangers for both community members and

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[2] An additional methodological tool developed for climate change adaptation interventions is the rapid institutional appraisal (RIA) which provides a 'top down' review of the policy domain, in terms of the institutions tasked to deal with climate change (CC), the relevant national, regional, and municipal level policies, regulations and mandates relating to CC, as well as associated programmes and budgetary allocations.

researchers. Safety is a fundamental issue. It is important to identify a number of constraints that need to be acknowledged in undertaking participatory research in a context of violence.

a)   Ensuring safety for communities and individuals
Ensuring anonymity for the research communities and for the participants in group discussions and interviews, generally through pseudonyms, is critical to protect them from possible retribution. Field notes and analysis need to identify settlements by pseudonyms, often chosen by community leaders themselves.

b)   Ensuring safety for researchers
Research teams should include people with guaranteed access to communities. Collaboration with people or organisations already known in the community not only ensures safety for the teams when conducting the research, but also minimises entry time and helps in negotiating with gatekeepers. Although caution must be exercised, it is also important that research be conducted as equitably as possible by informing community members of the study aims and including the key power brokers in discussions. This approach helps prevent further conflict from developing. Indeed, the most expedient way to initiate research in communities is with an open meeting to explain the aims of the research to community leaders and residents.

Also critical is the *perception* of safety among the researchers. It should not be assumed that researchers feel comfortable in low-income communities with high levels of violence. Not all researchers will have worked intensively with community members in the informal manner required in participatory urban appraisal. For instance, researchers with previous experience undertaking research with specific community organisations may experience anxiety when working 'in the streets'.

c)   Penetrating a culture of silence
Individuals and groups may be reluctant to discuss topics relating to violence. In the case of political violence, this hesitance may be due to trauma or to fear of the consequences. In undertaking research in Guatemala for instance, brutal atrocities committed during the civil war led many people, especially among the indigenous population, to adopt a "strategy of silence" on topics related to violence (Lykes 1997). Yet, those who provided oral testimony for the Recuperacion de la Memoria Histórica project (REMHI 1998) noted the cathartic effect of sharing their experiences. In Guatemala reluctance to share experiences was evident in most of the research communities. This reticence, referred to by the researchers as the *cultura de silencio* (culture of silence) was created by the political violence of the past. In some communities traditional systems of support had been disrupted, and trust severely eroded. Strategies to deal with this included speaking to youth and children too young to have direct experience of the atrocities of the 1980s. Young people tended to be affected more by other types of violence affecting communities today, such as gangs (*maras*) and drug-related violence.

Reluctance to discuss violence was also important in the research in Colombia, especially in places affected by political violence. The *ley de silencio* (law of silence) was most evident in communities that the guerilla and paramilitary regularly entered, threatening and occasionally killing the inhabitants. Here, the researchers made appointments to talk with community members at safe times when there was no danger of the guerilla nor paramilitary arriving. In addition, they often conducted focus groups in the back rooms of houses, out of sight of the community, rather than in the street.

Discussions of social violence, particularly intra-family violence, also presented particular difficulties. Young people are often more willing to discuss violence within the home than older community members, and women are more likely to raise the issue than men, mainly because men are often the main perpetrators. It is often possible to explore intra-family violence only from the perspective of alcohol or, more recently, drug abuse. When alcohol arises as a topic in focus group discussions, it often serves as a conduit for talking about violence in the home because of its role as a major cause of domestic abuse. Thus researchers adopted a strategy of using any mention of alcohol problems to examine intra-family violence.

d)   Broaching the issue of violence
Decisions about when and how to introduce the issue of violence are critical. It is expedient to indirectly discuss violence when explaining research objectives. In the research project in Colombia and Guatemala for instance, the starting point for discussions of violence-related issues was the identification of community problems; community members talked about types of violence as part of their broader discussions of other concerns. This approach is consistent with the aim in PVA to allow issues to emerge from local people themselves, rather than being imposed by researchers. Thus, violence should not be assumed to be a problem. Instead, the first stage of a PVA should explore community perceptions about the priority of violence as a concern and different types of violence. (For a discussion of this issue in Jamaica, see also Moser and Holland 1997: 49-50).

iii.   Methodological principles and practices of participatory methodology
This section outlines a range of different appraisal techniques that are relevant when undertaking PVA. These represent broad approaches rather than specific tools and exercises:

a)   Selection of researchers and local teams
Participatory research requires collaborative research partnerships with researchers (and their counterpart institutions) that have had hands-on research experience using PVA/PRA techniques, even if not specifically in relation to violence. Another essential requirement is that such researchers are able to be 'gate-keepers' directly, or through close trust networks, to local poor communities. Finally, local researchers have responsibility for identifying local fieldworkers who are capable and confident about undertaking participatory fieldwork in poor urban communities. Constructing research teams that can undertake PVAs requires skills in judging local capacities – and key to this is finding researchers, if not fieldworkers, already confident about working in slums and doing participatory fieldwork.

b)   Community profile
Background information about a community can be collected using PVA tools (see below). It is also useful to elicit some basic characteristics before entering the community. One way to do so is to have a counterpart organisation construct a simple community profile with basic descriptive information on the community and its resources. The profile should include demographic and social data – location, geographic characteristics, a brief history, population size, number of dwellings, ethnic population, predominant household structures. It should also provide information on economic activities and major income sources, access to credit, land tenure, community infrastructure and facilities such as water, electricity, sanitation, schools, and health provision. Finally, the profile should give some basic information on community organisations, such as the number and types operating in the community. The information for the profile can be

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collected from secondary sources, such as census data and household surveys and other studies of the community, and from other sources available to counterpart organisations.

c)   The fieldwork process

Once all the preparation work is completed, following the same fieldwork process already used in many such participatory studies, the actual research is undertaken over a five-week period. This breaks down into the following tasks:

- Week 1: Capacity building of local researchers to train them in the conceptual framework and participatory tools and techniques used in the study (see Box 3)
- Week 2: Study of pilot community (see Box 4)
- Weeks 3 and 4: Study of four further communities (two people for each research team)
- Week 5: Local researchers' analysis of data and completion of preliminary research results

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Box 3: Training of local researchers

Training includes the following:
- The theoretical foundation of participatory research techniques on urban poverty
- Conceptual framework on tipping points and violence chains
- Introduction to participatory research techniques appropriate for studying the impact of urban violence
- Logistics needed for participatory research

Training methods include the following:
- Short presentations, including videos and power points, on the theoretical and methodological frameworks
- Role-play, using participatory research methods
- Group discussions and plenary presentations
- Simulations, individual and group analysis
- Preparation of the logistics required for the pilot including the selection of neighbourhoods and the methodology for contacting organisations

Source: Adapted from Moser and McIlwaine 1999

This intensive five-week methodology requires the full-time commitment and **participation of all researchers,** who start with the first two weeks of training. However, only those who have satisfactorily completed the training requirements can take part in the next stages of the research. Of critical importance is the piloting stage. As well as learning the techniques, this allows researchers to assess the participatory appraisal tools in terms of their applicability to the issue, to practise their use, and to modify the methodology as considered necessary. The methodology also structures each day in the field so as to allow time both for undertaking focus groups as well as writing up daily notes. In the fifth week all the daily notes are compiled and analysed, with the research process ending with a final workshop and presentation of preliminary findings.

d)   Research techniques

PVAs use a range of techniques or forums for discussing issues with community members. These can include the following:
- Group discussions;
- Semi-structured interviews (on a one-to-one basis);
- Direct observation;

- Ethno-histories and biographies (on a one-to-one basis);
- Local stories, portraits, and case studies;
- Triangulation.

However, **group discussions** now widely known as focus group discussions (FGDs), are the most commonly used. This technique encourages extended analysis and conversation among community participants. Groups can range from two-to-three people to 25 to 30, although it is advisable to divide larger groups into sub groups of about 10 to 15. There are several types of group that include the following, often overlapping, categories:

- *Interest groups* – people in the community who share a common interest (occupational groups, religious groups, neighbourhood gangs, Parent-Teacher Associations, sports groups).
- *Mixed groups* – people from all walks of life, representing the community as a whole.
- *Focus groups* – people convened to discuss a particular topic.

Box 4: Piloting stage

A piloting stage is invaluable as it allows researchers to assess which tools are the least and most successful for studying violence in a particular community as well as identifying any other issues which may help ameliorate the participatory process. The pilot provides the opportunity for researchers to practise and modify the methodology.

The composition of groups can vary by gender, with single-sex as well as mixed groups, by age and generation, (with mixed-age groups and young, middle-aged, and elderly groups), and by race and ethnicity, with mixed-race and ethnically uniform groups. Because perceptions often vary with these characteristics, it is important to identify the gender, age and ethnicity of all participants throughout the research. Women and men tend to identify different issues, as do young and old people.

The basic rules of a PVA requires discussants rather than the facilitator to determine the agenda, ensuring that the discussants themselves write or draw ('handing over the stick'), and encouraging visual rather than written or verbal accounts of situations or issues (Shah 1995). **Triangulation** is an important technique that comprises asking different groups the same questions. It not only provides a means of cross-checking but also helps to incorporate the views of different interest groups with influence over community organisations or key informants who may not live in the community, but have an in-depth knowledge of the area and its population. Different groups or constituencies may include:

- Police force
- Judicial officials
- Church organisations
- Women's groups
- NGOs and community based organisations working in the community
- Hospitals and health centres
- Educational establishments

Members of different constituencies can participate in focus group discussions or in one-to-one, semi-structured interviews.

e) Locations for conducting participatory violence appraisal in communities

There are two main ways of conducting a PVA in a community. Both methods have advantages and disadvantages, and a combination of the two is ideal. The first method is to carry out **'formal'** focus group discussions in a local community

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centre or communal building. This involves negotiating the use of the building with community leaders beforehand. It allows community members to come to the centre to participate in the research at pre-arranged times and is useful when working with large or interest groups. However, conducting a PVA in a community centre can risk excluding groups that normally do not participate in community activities.

The second method is to use PVA tools with **'informal'** focus groups, identified on the spot while walking through the community, as well as in shops, and bars, beside football pitches or basketball courts, or outside people's houses. This method allows greater flexibility and access to a more representative cross-section of community members, some of whom may be reluctant to go to a community centre. The main disadvantage is that groups can be very fluid, with people entering and leaving, and generally it is unlikely that those involved will commit as much time as in formally arranged groups.

2. Research themes and associated techniques for a PVA

A participatory violence appraisal addresses a series of themes, each with a range of associated tools for eliciting information. Themes are developed from the background contextual discussions and analysis. Table 1 summarises the appraisal tools to address **gender-based violence** and **political violence.**

Table 1: Summary of appraisal tools for a PVA of gender-based violence or political violence

	Tools for gender-based violence	Tools for political violence
Introduction: general community characteristics	***Community characteristics*** • transect walks • matrix on general data	***Community characteristics*** • transect walks • matrix on general data
	Community map • identify important place in the community / household and those that are dangerous for men and women	***Community map*** • identify tribal territories, hotspots of political violence
	History of the community • time lines • history matrices • provides tendencies of violence in the streets / in the home	***History of the community*** • history matrices • time lines providing visual representation of community changes relating to robbery, or drug use.
Priority tools for the study: Identification of Tipping Points and Violence Chains	***Listings*** • of different types of violence with men and women	***Listings*** • of different types of violence with different groups by ethnicity, economic level or housing tenure type
	Ranking • of different types of violence using scoring	***Ranking*** • of different types of violence using scoring
	Venn/causal flow diagrams • identify tipping points of violence	***Venn/causal flow diagram*** • identify tipping points of violence
	Matrix • why did causes result / tip into violence?	***Matrix*** • why did causes result / tip into violence?
	Time line • to identify perceptions of changes in problems or types of violence over different times	***Time line*** • to identify perceptions of changes in problems or types of violence over different times
	Violence chains • causal flow diagrams with prioritised violence problems	***Violence chains*** • causal flow diagrams with prioritised violence problems
Institutions, strategies and solutions	***Institutional maps*** • some with specific focus on gender-based violence	***Institutional maps*** • some with specific focus on political violence
	Matrix • organisations and their associated solutions	***Matrix*** • organisations and their associated solutions
	Causal flow diagrams • of strategies and solutions	***Causal flow diagrams*** • of strategies and solutions
	Matrix • of strategies and solutions	***Matrix*** • of strategies and solutions

The selection of tools used depends on the context of the discussion. It is neither necessary nor possible to implement all the tools in a given group discussion. As mentioned above, the basic rule of the PVA ensures that discussants rather than the facilitator determine the agenda, discussants themselves write or draw ('handing over the stick'), and that visual rather than written or verbal accounts of situations or issues are encouraged. The tools can be modified according to issue and context. The following section seeks to provide practical guidance in terms of the relationship between each research theme, and the identification of potential tools for eliciting information on the associated theme. Examples of the use of tools are drawn from the PVA fieldwork results on gender-based violence from Santiago, Chile, and political violence from Nairobi, Kenya.

i.   Introduction: general community characteristics

Information on community characteristics forms the foundation of a PVA. The tools for gathering this information should be implemented at the beginning of the appraisal to establish the context at the outset (toolbox 1).

Toolbox 1: Potential tools for identifying general community characteristics

Tool	*Function*

Community characteristics:
   a) **Transect walk**
 	
   b) **Matrix on general data**
	▪ Helps break ice – critically important to dispel suspicion of outsiders
	▪ Mechanism for first informal contact with a range of community members
	▪ Identifies safe and dangerous locations
	▪ Provides information about the community
	▪ Covers such issues as population, infrastructure, source of income by gender, political affiliation, family size and division of labour, migration, communications, and ethnic groups

Community maps:	▪ Maps spatial characteristics of a community and particular households (can be combined with the transect walk) ▪ Maps the most important features of the community, such as boundaries, houses, roads, police stations, health posts, and schools ▪ Identifies safe and dangerous places (e.g. by gender, political hotspots).

History of the community:
   a) **Matrix on history**
 	
   b) **Time line or seasonality analysis**
	▪ Details the history of the community.
	▪ Identifies periods of violence and violent events.
	▪ Identifies changes in poverty and social institutions.
	▪ Provides visual representation of community changes relating to specific issues, such as unity, robbery, or drug use.
	▪ Tendency of violence in street / at home

a)   Community characteristics

The transect walk, in particular, should be carried out, with community leaders, on initial entry into the community. This high-profile walk is especially important in communities with high levels of violence. It not only dispels suspicion of outsiders, but also informs researchers of potentially dangerous places that should be avoided. During the transect walk in the pilot community in the popular settlement in Santiago, for instance, community leaders identified a

street where drugs were sold and consumed. It was useful for researchers to know its location so as to ensure their vigilance when researching in the area.

The matrix on general data is most usefully conducted with community leaders or people who have lived in the community for a long time. Unlike many of the other tools, this matrix needs to be implemented only once or twice, at the beginning of the research. It can be combined with the matrix on social organisation for ease of implementation. Table 2 shows a matrix from Santiago providing socio-economic date from the three communities.

Table 2: Socio-economic descriptions of the three areas according to participants' perceptions

Variables	Areas		
	El Castillo	**Contraloría**	**La Dehesa**
Income-generating activities of men (M) and women (W)	**M** – Construction workers, carpenters/jack-of-all-trades, cleaners and market vendors.	**M** – Teachers, engineers, contractors, office workers, small-scale entrepreneurs, street vendors, construction workers, gardeners, plumbers.	**M** – Professionals (engineers and doctors), businessmen, shopkeepers, student product promoters, waiters, deliverymen.
	W – domestic workers, employees in cleaning companies, childcare, seamstresses, temp workers. Theft and prostitution (M and W)	**W** – Hairdressers, small-scale entrepreneurs, domestic workers, shopkeepers, office workers.	**W** – Professionals (designers, dentists, teachers, psychologists, nurses), caterers, family stores or businesses, salesperson, classes, product promoters.
Percentage of men and women who generate income	**M** – 40 to 80%	**M** – 50 to 80%	**M** – 65 to 100%
	W – 60 to 80%	**W** – 20 to 50%	**W** – 35 to 80%
Activities that do not generate income	**M** – Drinking, playing and watching football in the plaza, playing pool, cards and cruising around.	**M** – Drinking; playing football, watching it on TV; going to discos, pubs and restaurants; attending family gatherings; gardening; exercising; reading; church, dating.	**M** – Playing sports (football, golf, horseback riding), reading, going to movies, fixing things, playing music, travelling.
	W – Caring for children, participating in diverse workshops (hairdressing, personal development) and studying in the evenings.	**W** – Looking after the house, caring for children, participating in seniors' clubs, doing community work, playing cards, drinking, exercising, football, church, visiting with family. Some stressed that they have no leisure time.	**W** – Exercising, going to the hairdresser, going for coffee, going to church, travelling, participating in workshops, attending a diverse range of courses.
Gender of household head	5 to 20% male-headed households	40 to 80% male-headed households	90% male-headed households 10% female-headed households
	80 to 95% female-headed households	20 to 60% female-headed households	According to young people: 50% male-headed households, and 50% female-headed households.
# of children per household	3 to 10	2 to 4	3 to 5 Catholics: 6 to 7
# of elderly people per household	1 to 2	2	0 to 1
Infrastructure and services	Two primary health care centres, one traditional Mapuche health care centre, one addiction rehabilitation centre, educational institutions, churches, multipurpose courts and social centres. Lacking telephone and internet services (due to the theft of cables from the lines)	Residential area, well supplied with small businesses and services, plazas and parks, neighbourhood centres, churches.	Completely equipped residential area, high standards, and extensive commercial development.
Social organisations	Neighbourhood committees responsible for residential streets, leaders of free markets Deterioration of social organisations from 1990 coincides with drugs.	Social and cultural organisations, among others.	Neighbourhood committees, churches. Scant organisation or community participation.

M – Men   **W –** Women

Source: Data from focus groups in the three research communities.

b)   Community maps

Another tool for collecting basic community information is a map. This often acts as an important ice breaker. Figure 1 shows a participatory map in Kawangware, Kenya. It identifies the conflicts and violence at certain hotspots. As it is shown in the map, the areas of Congo, Kanungaga and Gatina are the key hotspots in Kawangware. This tool of collecting basic community information identifies both the spatial layout and the services in the community, as well as the location of vulnerable areas.

Figure 1: Patterns and types of conflict and violence in Kawangware
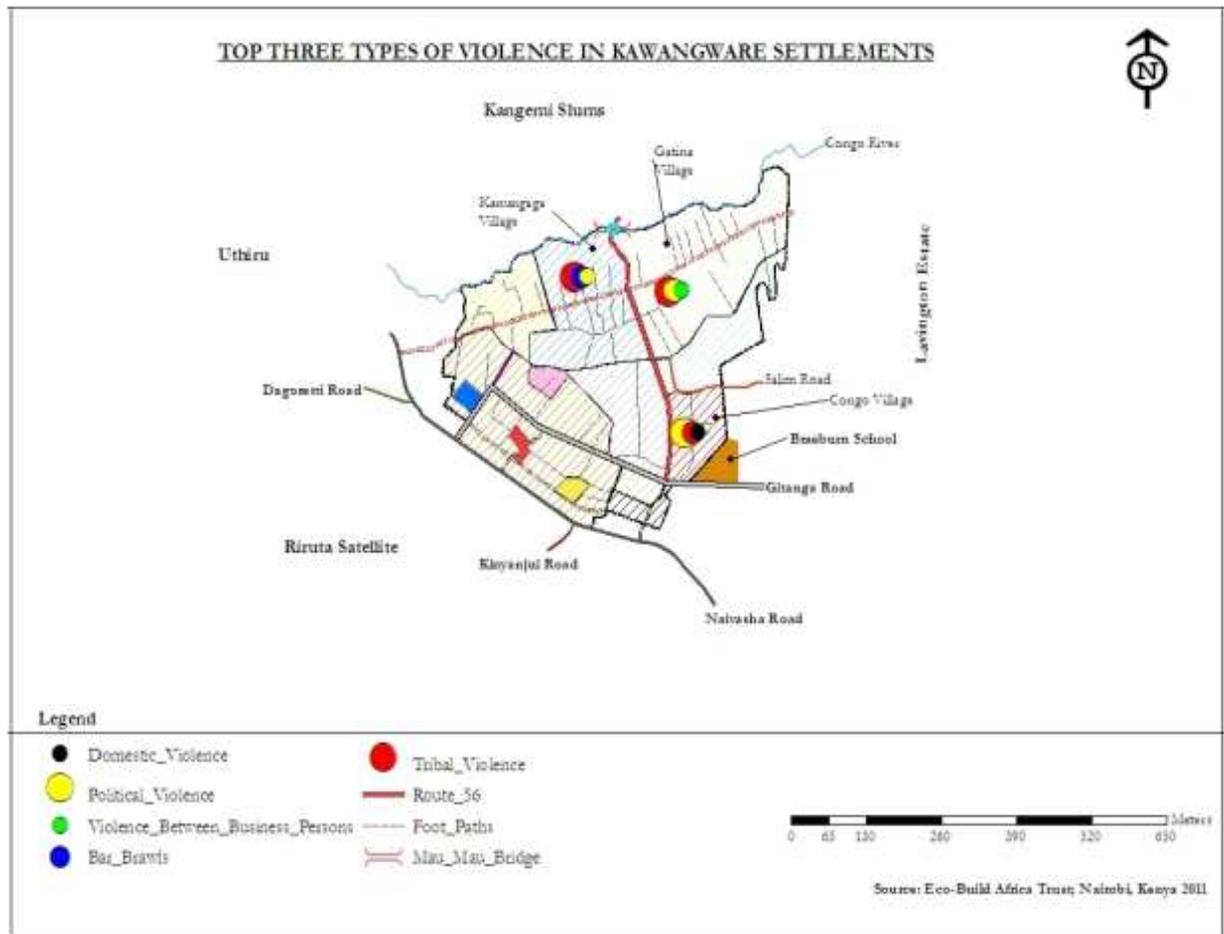
Source: Data from listing, grouping, ranking and maps in 14 focus groups

c)   History of the community (and violent events)

The most important tool for eliciting this information is the timeline of the history of the community. This identifies the key events affecting the population since the foundation of the community. The timeline should be constructed with elderly or established members with an in-depth knowledge of the changes that have occurred. Time lines allow for more specific understanding as to how violence has changed over time, or how different types of violence have become more or less important according to the perception of the community.

Figure 2 below illustrates the increase in violence in relation to the population increase over time in Contraloria, Santiago, Chile drawn by a group of elderly women. In this particular example, it is clear that the levels of violence have increased through the years along with population growth. According to the participants, the deterioration of the area began with the population increase.

Figure 2: Time line of the history of Contraloría, Santiago, Chile
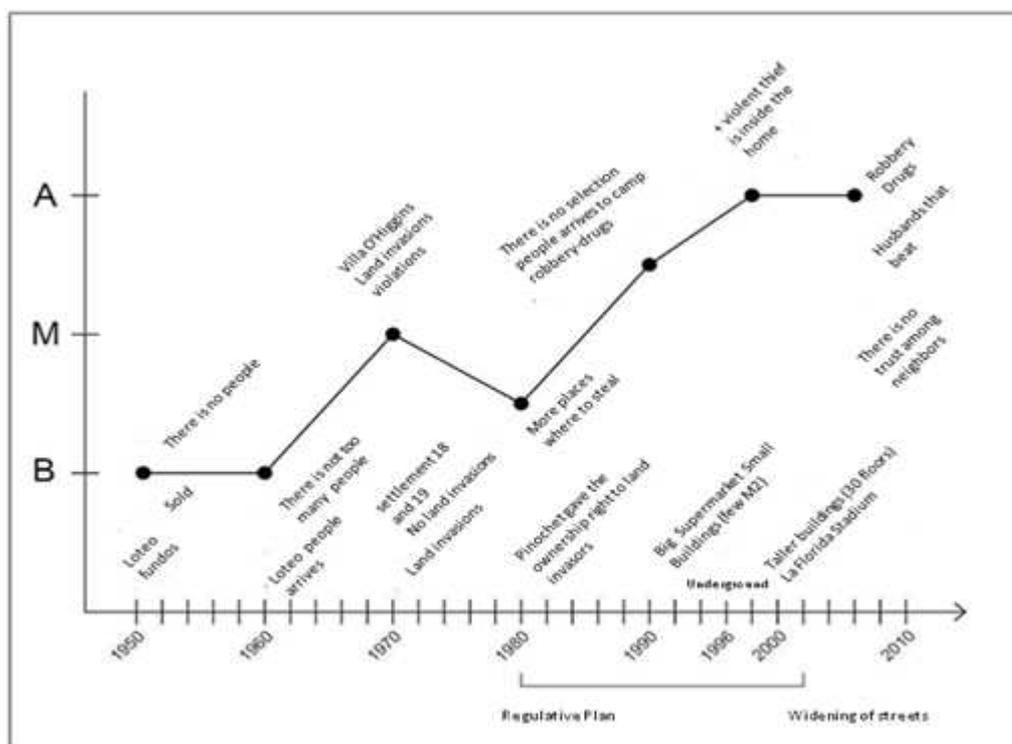
Source: Focus group of elderly women. Contraloría, March 2011.
Notes: A = high levels of violence, M = medium levels of violence, and B = lower levels of violence.

ii. Priority tools for the study: Identification of Tipping Points and Violence Chains

Having identified the main characteristics of a community, the next part of the participatory methodology identifies tipping points and violence chains (see toolbox 2).

Toolbox 2: Potential tools for identifying general problems and types of violence

Tool	Function
Listing	▪ Identifies types of violence perceived by different groups (e.g. gender, political groups) ▪ Identifies meanings of violence, insecurity, and danger.
Ranking / prioritisation	▪ Based on the listing, ranks problems or types of violence by importance rather than frequency.
Venn / causal flow diagram to identify tipping points of violence	Shows factors that tip conflict into violence ▪ Identifies relationships between different types of violence and other factors.
Matrix	▪ Why did causes result in violence? ▪ Helps identify and prioritise factors that tip
Time line	▪ To identify perceptions of changes in problems or types of violence over different times
Violence chains (causal flow diagrams / listing and ranking)	▪ With the six most prioritised violence problems

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a) Listings and ranking of current types of violence

Listing and ranking can be an important ice breaker, and a good entry point for group discussions. Ranking tools can be used to prioritise types of violence. Discussants should first list types of violence and subsequently rank these according to certain predefined criteria (see table 3 for an example on gender-based violence).

Table 3: Listing of violence-related problems, El Castillo, Santiago

Problems Mentioned	Frequency*
Drugs	25
Shootings	8
Intra-family violence	8
Hitting	7
Fights	7
Alcohol	6
Verbal arguments	6

* Frequency refers to the number of times that a problem was mentioned by a focus group.

Source: Focus groups in El Castillo, Santiago

Table 4 provides another example of a listing and ranking exercise on political violence undertaken in a community in Nairobi, Kenya. Here the focus group went through a two-phase process. First community members in the focus groups undertook a listing of types of violence affecting them; then they ranked them, with each participant giving three points to the most important, two to the next, and one to the third. The totals when added up showed that tribal violence was ranked as the most serious problem.

Table 4: Ranking of Political Violence in Kibera, Raila Village

Rank	Type of Violence
1	Tribal violence
2	Political violence
3	Rape
4	Competition and rivalry
5	Nepotism
6	Domestic violence
7	Looting
8	Corruption and mismanagement.
9	Religious violence
10	Gender based violence.
11	Drunkenness.
12	Racism

Source: Kibera data from listing, grouping and ranking in 23 focus groups

b) Time-lines

Comparative time lines, such as in figure 3 below, shows the way in which in El Castillo, Santiago, violence inside the house has declined over the years, while during the same period, violence in the street has increased.

Figure 3 below, shows the shift from common delinquency to crime involving drugs and weapons in the community of El Castillo. In this timeline the focus group identified their perception of important events in the community's history. These included improvements to the urban environment, but along with these throughout the 1990s was an increase in the prevalence of fights and

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confrontation due to formation of gangs of hooligans loyal to different football teams. Also during 2000s the participants agreed that the violence inside the household has decreased compared to street violence.

Figure 3: Time line of the history of El Castillo in Santiago, Chile
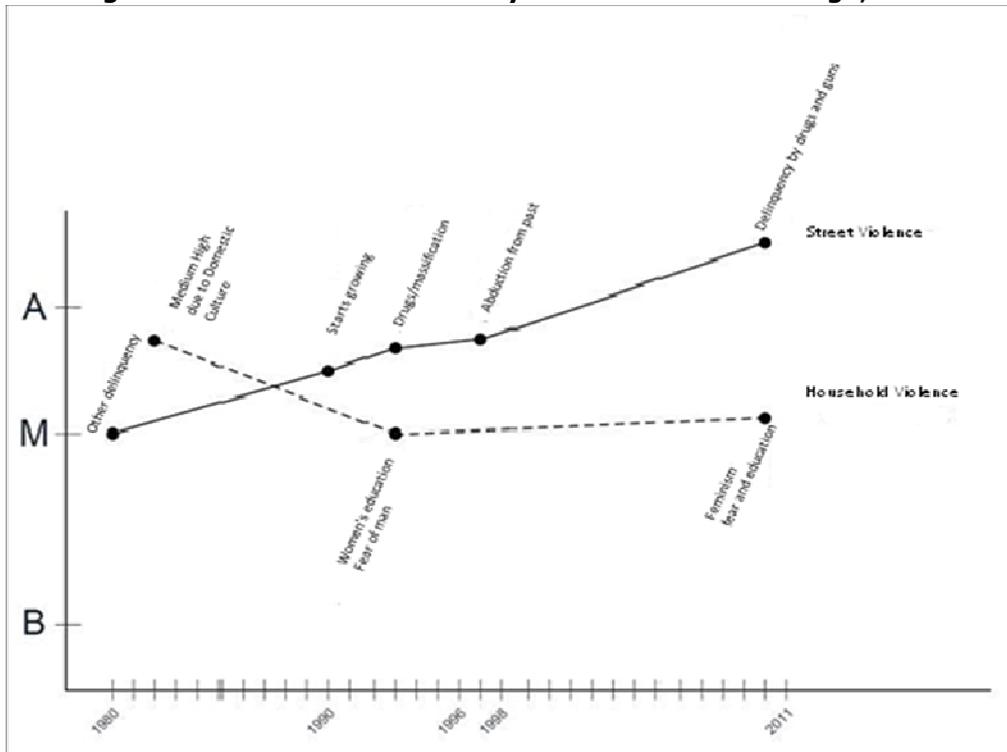
Notes: A= high levels of violence, M= medium levels of violence and B= lower levels of violence.

Source: Group of adult women, aged 35 to 56. El Castillo, Santiago.

c)   Venn / flow diagrams, matrices, time lines to identify tipping points

Identifying the factors that tip conflict into violence can be done through causal flow diagrams, matrices, or time lines (Toolbox 2). Figure 4 shows an example for a causal flow diagram on gender-based violence. It not only highlights the main causes and consequences for a type of violence. It also shows that one type of violence can lead to other types of violence.

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Figure 4: Causal flow diagrams for the identification of tipping points for gender-based violence in El Castillo, Santiago, Chile
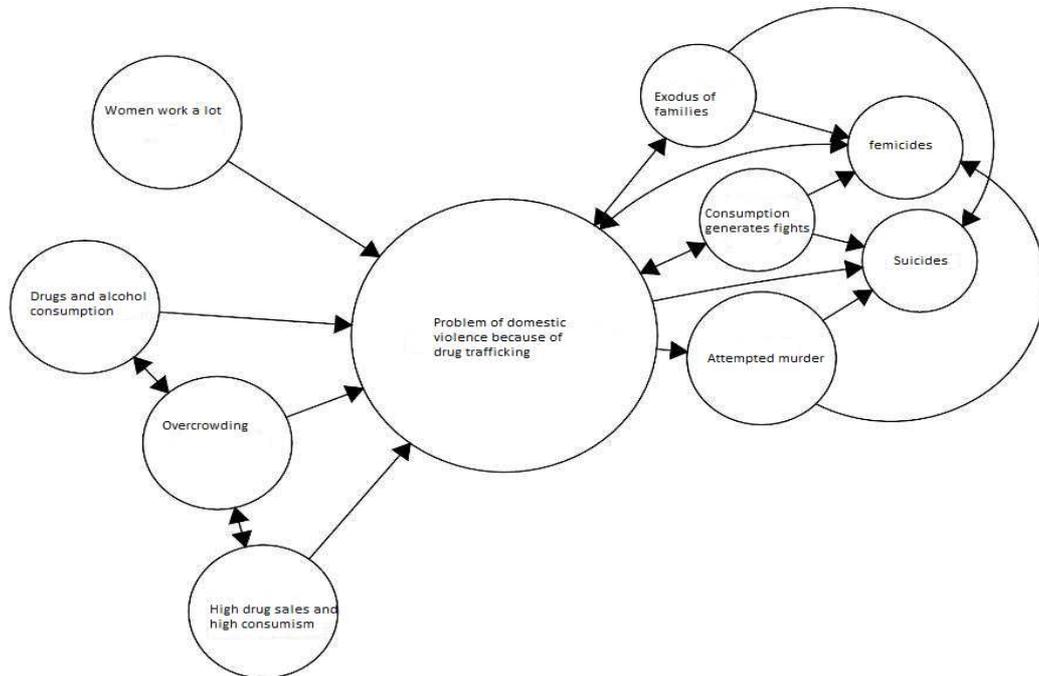
Source: Group of adult women, aged 35-56, El Castillo, Santiago.

Matrices aim to identify different factors causing violence, why these resulted in violence and whether this happened in the short or long term. Table 5 offers an example of a matrix of causal factors of political violence in Kibera, Nairobi.

Table 5: Timeline of factors causing violence in Kibera

Time	Key events
1924	Nubians great grandparents arrived in Kenya from Sudan
1930	Nubians settled in Kibera
1932	They fought in the First World War helping the British Army
1940	Kikuyus who were settling in Dagoretti were working in Nubians' farms in Kibera
1943	The Kikuyu farm workers were offered pieces of land in Serang'ombe, Gatwikira
Mid 1950s	The Meru settled in Kibera but worked as house-helps for the Nubians
1960	The Luos, who had been forced out of Kawangware by Kikuyus after a fight broke out between the two ethnic groups over a protest by the Luo people following the death of Tom Mboya, were rescued by the Nubians
1965	Shifta war by the Borana hit Kibera
1969	First Nubian MP, Mr. Yunis Ali, was elected. He was non-partisan
1972	Nubians fought for their land. Asmer Hamber,a Nubian, was given document of ownership for the land
1974	The late Mwangi Mathai become the M.P. He represented most Kikuyu in Kibera, and the whole governance system was overtaken by Kikuyu speakers
	The Kikuyu forcefully took a great portion of land from the Nubians using guns and other weapons
1978	A Nandi District Officer by the name Lemmi Lammu was appointed. He invited most of the other tribes in Kenya to settle in Kibera
	Corruption intensified among the chiefs and other leaders who permitted even more land subdivisions
1982	The attempted coup led to people losing their jobs and there was a lot of tension, many deaths and food shortages
1992	The introduction of multi-party representation resulted in the emergence of Saba Saba clashes which led to declaration of curfews in Kibera
2011	The Nubians are still fighting, but have never been issued with land-title deeds

Source: Three focus groups including Imams from Darajani, elders from Laini Saba, and Christian leaders

d)   Causal flow diagrams to identify violence chains

To identify violence chains, it is necessary to begin with one prioritised violence problem (e.g. related to gender-based, political or youth violence) and ask whether this problem generates other types of violence (e.g. some of the prioritised types of violence). For an example of a violence chain see Figure 5.

Figure 5: Flow diagram and violence chain, Contraloría, young men
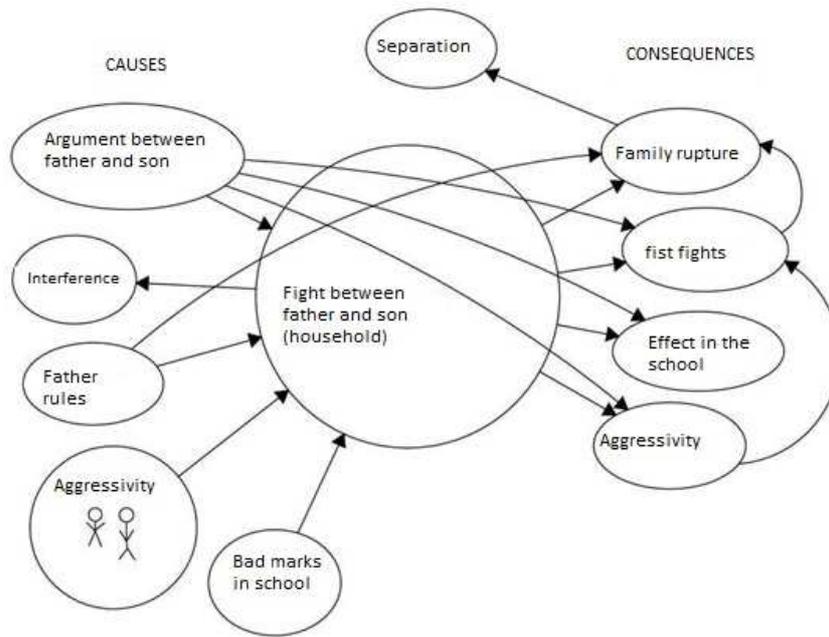
Source: Group of young men, aged 14-15. Contraloría, Santiago.

Casual flow diagrams can identify the nature of networks of relationships among the family, and assess the relationship between members of the family as a consequence of violence-related events. This includes different types of violence – physical, psychological and sexual – affecting family members; violence from sons/daughters towards fathers/mothers and vice versa; and violence among siblings. In this case, psychological violence is the second element that acts as a starting point for other violence chains.

iii. Institutions, strategies and solutions

This part of the PVA identifies institutions that focus on violence and the strategies and solutions with which they are associated – in terms of different types of violence (see toolbox 3).

Toolbox 3: Tools for institutions, strategies and solutions

Tool	Function
Institutional mapping / map of institutional relationships	- Identifies and evaluates important institutions. - Identifies negative or "perverse" social capital. - Identifies the nature of relationships between institutions. - Some with specific focus on type of violence
Causal flow diagrams of strategies and solutions	- Visually identifies the strategies and solutions for different problems and types of violence. - Can distinguish or combine strategies and solutions. - Identifies existing and proposed solutions and the institution or entity that could implement them.
Matrix of strategies and solutions	- Identifies coping strategies and solutions for different types of problems or violence. - Identifies the institution or entity that can help.

a)   Institutional mapping / map of institutional relationships

Institutional mapping identifies whether the most important institutions are viewed as positive or negative. This flexible tool allows the identification of negative or "perverse" social capital, such as gangs, drug dealers or user, and other institutions that propagate violence (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Elders' mapping of important institutions in Kawangware
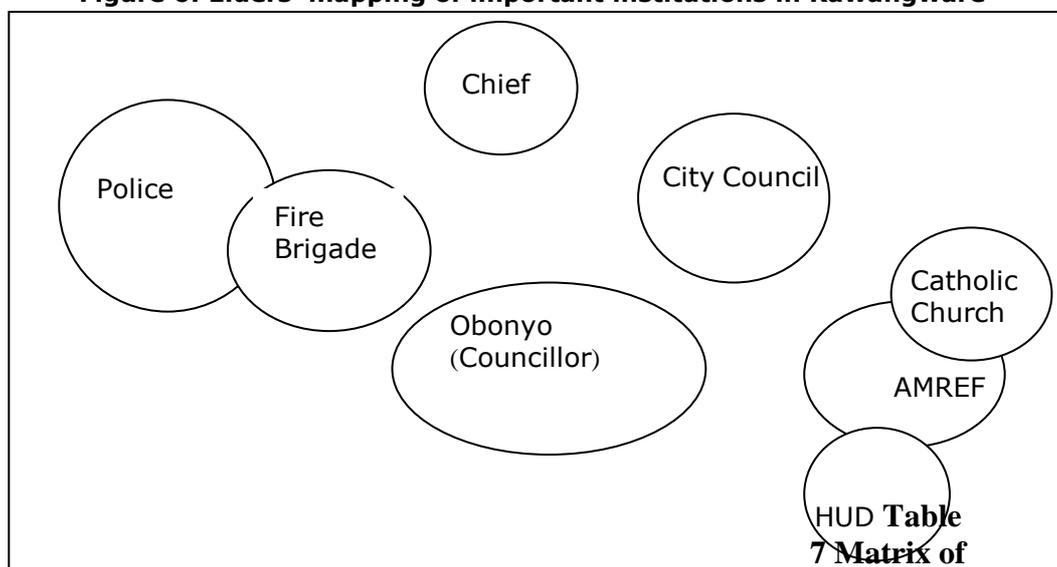
Source: Focus group in Congo area

In this figure, the bigger circles represented institutions that provided more assistance to people in times of violence, while the others focused less on the problem.

b)   Matrix, organisations and their associated solutions

Where there are many institutional maps it may be necessary to work on the five most prioritised. Table 6, identifies how each institution/actor in Kawangware, Nairobi has addressed different types of violence within the community. This tool provides information about the role of each institution and the activities that have been important for the community.

Table 6: Roles of important institutions in Kawangware

Institutions/Actor	Role played in the event of violence
AMREF	Providing those affected with medicine, food, blankets, clothes and tents
City Council of Nairobi	Putting out fires when houses are burning Offering temporary housing to the affected people especially those displaced or those with their houses burnt in their schools.
Police	Quelling violence and arresting those engaged in violence
Huduma church	Providing those affected with medicine and food
The chiefs	Taking records of the people affected and forwarding it to the institutions that help them
Councillor Obonyo	Helping the deceased with burial arrangements and paying hospital bills for those in hospitals
Hon. Beth Mugo	Settling hospital bills for those hospitalised Asking for more security personnel in the area

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Source: Data from four focus group discussions; a youth group and elders of Congo area and religious leaders and youth from Stage 56

c)   Causal flow / diagrams / matrices of strategies and solutions

In policy-focused research, local community perceptions of strategies and solutions to address violence are crucial, especially if they differ from the views of policy makers. While researchers view strategies and solutions as distinct, people tend to see the two as closely linked. Coping strategies refer to the short-term measures people have to take to avert violence. Solutions are usually longer term and tend to be associated with actions by outside agencies and organisations. A visual exercise for identifying strategies and solutions are matrices (see Table 7).

Table 7: Matrix of organisations and solutions by young women, Contraloria, Santiago

Organisation	Mechanism of violence prevention	Response to violence	Proposed solution
Investigations Police of Chile (*PDI - Policia de Investigaciones de Chile*)	Carry out investigations in the area	Special investigators	More immediate action taken
Chile's uniformed police (Carabineros)	Receive formal complaints Assist people to press charges	Incarceration Initiate court proceedings	Quality investigations More immediate action taken Non-violence
Prostitution	Depraved men satisfy their needs with prostitutes	——	Men use prostitutes instead of raping innocent people
Municipality	Hold lectures	Dissemination of information (posters)	Approaches and responses to violence are not classist
Hospital	Lectures Medications tranquilisers)	Examinations (AIDS, rape)	Fewer people go unattended

Source: Focus group of women, aged 13 to 17, Contraloria, Santiago.

d)   Matrix of solutions

Established tools such as listings and matrices can be used to assess basic information on strategies and solutions (see table 8).

Table 8: Composite matrix of strategies for managing political violence

Strategies	Ranking	Total	Percent
Civic awareness/duty	///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// /	**56**	**28.14**
Intermarriage among the affected communities	///// ///// ///// /////	20	10.05
Youth employment and economic empowerment of other vulnerable groups	///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ////	**34**	**17.08**
Regularise informal settlements	///// ////	9	4.52
Relocation to alternative land	/////	5	2.51
Good governance, transparency and accountability	///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///// ///	**38**	**19.09**
Support institutions running peace-building and reconciliation initiatives	///// ///// ///// //	17	8.54
Campaign against drug abuse	/	1	0.50
Construction of more police stations and intensification of community policing	///// ////	9	4.52
Police to change the perception they have against youth	/	1	0.50
Restructuring provincial administration	/////	5	2.51
Lighting of dark public spaces	////	4	2.01
Total		**199**	**100.00**

Source: focus groups from three communities, Nairobi.

Table 8 provides a composite matrix of listing and ranking of strategies for managing political violence undertaken by focus groups in three communities in Kenya. Civic awareness and sense of duty was the most preferred strategy for managing political violence, followed by good governance and youth employment.

iv. Summary of PVA tools

There are no set rules on the number of tools that should be used when conducting a participatory violence appraisal on violence. The experience in Santiago showed the benefits of providing a list of tools and a recommended number of exercises to be done in a community in a one-week period. Imposing particular tools and the number of exercises has drawbacks. It is particularly useful in large projects where research teams work simultaneously in a large number of communities. Furthermore, because it produces a consistent set of information, it makes cross-community comparisons easier. Toolbox 4 lists the basic tools for a participatory violence appraisal on violence. The list serves only as a guideline; other tools can be implemented, depending on the context.

Toolbox 4: Summary of main tools for participatory violence appraisals on violence

Tools	Content
'Transect' walk	Initial tour of the area to conduct a reconnaissance of the area with community members and/or leaders – prior to beginning the week-long stay and carrying out the focus groups (FG)
Socio-economic data on the communities	Very quick elaboration of community profile with the FG participants. Questions concern income-generating activities carried out by men and women, the percentage of men and women who earn an income, other activities (recreational), female- and male-headed households, average number of children per household, number of elderly people per household.
Map of the neighbourhood (or area)	Participants draw their communities, in which they identify key aspects and places considered to be dangerous for either men or women or both according to the time of day, i.e. day or night.
Time lines	Participants depict the history of their communities by using 'blocks' of time. Subsequently, they identify patterns related to violence (low, normal, high) in public places and in the home.
Listing of violence-related problems	Participants make lists of the violence-related problems that affect women and men in public places and in the home.
Ranking of problems identified	Participants rank problems enumerated, designating the highest scores to the problems considered to be most important.
Flow diagram of causes and consequences	Using the problem (one or more) highlighted, the participants determine relationships of cause and effect.
Matrix of why these causes resulted in violence	Using the causes identified in the above flow diagrams, participants analyse why violence was the eventual outcome and whether these shifts occurred over the short or long term.
Violence chains	Participants evaluate whether the problem already highlighted gave rise to other instances of violence as a means to determine whether or not a violence chain exists. If so, the participants draw this violence chain.
Map of institutions / organisations linked to violence	Participants identify institutions and/or organisations working on the problem of violence within or outside of the area and label them as positive or negative according to their importance in connection with the issue of violence.
Matrix of institutions / organisations and solutions	Participants assess whether the institutions and/or organisations previously identified do the following: – prevent violence or provide services to deal with violence, – offer proposals regarding how to improve their responses.

The PVA methodology makes use of various tools, including graphs/charts, diagrams, matrices and lists that emerge from the group discussions. Participants write and/or draw their opinions on large sheets of paper that are visible to all. As such, everyone has an equal opportunity to actively participate given the emphasis on 'handing over the stick', including those with difficulties writing as they can express themselves through pictures.

3. Preliminary analysis of PVA data: including the quantification of qualitative results

An important next stage in the PVA is the analysis of the data from the PVA focus group reports. The research analysis can go through a number of stages. Often researchers start by producing a report, based on the daily field notes and the preliminary research findings of the fieldworkers. This data is then reworked, often going back to original focus group field notes for further elaboration. At this stage data are often quantified so as to provide representative information at the level of communities, or the aggregate of communities within the city studied. This requires the numerical counting of such tools as listing, ranking and institutional maps.

This section describes a one-week data analysis capacity building process undertaken by the Eco-Build (EB) Africa team, (Grace, Alfred, Titus and David) together with Caroline in Nairobi (**25th – 30th April 2011**). The starting inputs, all completed prior to this one week process, were as follows:
- the **completed sub-city** focus group (75) study in 3 sites
- a **draft first analysis of the sub-city data** undertaken in 9 sub-site areas

Starting with a review of the draft city profile meant that the team grounded their work by first reflecting on city level issues, then turning to the relationship of the sub-city data. At the city level it provided an important opportunity for the team to reflect, and to identify the narrative underpinning of the city profile. For instance, in discussing city-level violence a useful distinction was made between national political conflicts played out at city level and city level governance, and conflicts between different administrative and legal systems.

i. Sub-city data review

a) Consultation with research team
This began by inviting five of the researchers who had undertaken the PVA, together with the UTP team of four, to undertake the following brainstorming process (see table 9):
i. Each researcher identified the **most important / dramatic / impressive** type of violence they came away with at the end of the study that was then listed on a flip chart
ii. Each researcher then identified the associated **type of conflict** (left-hand column on matrix)
iii. Each researcher then identified a **tipping point**
iv. Finally researchers identified **focus group report** that illustrated this

Table 9: Conflicts and when they tip into violence at sub-city level

Conflict	Tipping Point	Violence	Source FGD
Idle youth are ready to be paid Political leaders have conflicts between their territories	Political campaigns	**Kibera** Political violence People are ready to be used by politicians Leaders incite people to physically fight in order to protect territories	Religious leaders in Darajani; Kibera
People belong to different ethnic groups	Abusive language	Tribal violence People fight to protect their ethnic groups through evictions, fighting etc	Women and youth Darajani; Kibera
Conflict on paying rent incited by: politicians by politicians Conflict paying rent linked to ethnic groups	Landlord locks up the house , Political campaign times	**Mukuru & Kibera** Struggles over evictions	All sites
Conflict over land ownership, rent, ethnic	Political opportunity to use political violence to deal with non-political issues	**Mukuru & Kibera** Political violence not relating to communities but other issues. Using political violence to address other problems	Gangs in Kamukunji; Kibera
Conflicts between landlords and tenants because of tribal alignments	Agent locks door	**Stage 56-Kawangware** Tenants mobilise to beat up the agents	Youths & Elders in stage 56; Kawangware
Conflicts over income/money	When the husband does not provide for the family	Domestic violence Gender and generation	Youths & Elders in stage 56; Kawangware

Source: Discussion with five research assistants [Ruth, Wilson, Augustine, Gabriel & David]

b) Discussion of hotspot analysis at sub-city level

The team then decided that one of the most interesting tools was the hot spots maps produced by most of the focus groups. These provide important data on the following:

i. Spatial location of conflicts/violence
ii. Types of conflicts/violence
iii. Quantification of type of violence at site level

c) Preliminary observations included the following:

This showed that spatial hotspots are not only political if one compares the three communities:

- Kibera = Political +++
- Mukuru = Youth/gangs; Land
- Kawangware = Political +Illicit brewing

Specific locations identified included:

- Bridges
- Open spaces used for political gatherings

Potential hypotheses

- Is there a relationship between the history of a location, and a type of violence?
- Is there a relationship between population density and political violence?

d) Agreement from the hot-spot data

Quantification at site level

Comparison between the three sites

Compare with level data

Illustrate it with the best examples from at least three (sub-site specific)

e) Consultation with Community Members, Umande Trust, Kibera

One of three consultations took place in Kibera with 36 community members drawn from a variety of focus group discussants. It was hosted by the Umande Trust and its Director, Joshiah Omotto. The UTP team was all present with Grace and David facilitating. The focus group focused on the following:

- Definitions of conflict and violence in Kiswahili;
- Discussions on hot spots of violence in Kibera, including mapping and ranking of these;
- Explanatory factors behind conflict and violence in Kibera; and
- Mapping of the most important institutions causing violence and the most important in stopping violence.

f) Brainstorming sub-city study narrative

After the different rounds of discussion and consultation described, on the fifth day the team undertook a discussion about the sub-city study narrative, coming out with the following reflections: conflicts and violence tend to be articulated in separate categories in different spatial areas primarily associated with the dominance of one category. This is reflected in site selection of the sub-city level site as follows: Kb = political; Mk = Ethnic; Kw =land

Assumptions / potential questions

- Some sites are more violent than others?
- Where there is more open space, there is more political violence?
- Do the media/experts accurately represent the story of violence?

- Are the institutionalised economic/political killings at city level replicated at sub-city level?

g)   Provisional analysis

Multi-faceted results show it is more complex; what starts as one type of conflict/violence tips into another type of conflict/violence. Therefore, while the analysis starts with the quantification of a) conflict and b) violence it is then important to move from **static categories** of conflicts/violence to **processes** by which different types of conflicts/violence are linked. What becomes important then is identifying the tipping points in the chains. Conflict that tips into other types of conflict or into violence, or violence that tips into other types of violence is dependent on the agency and power of different social actors and institutions. In addition, tipping points that move towards peace can relate to the movement of social actors such as tribal groups and shopkeepers. Finally the analysis identified that while some chains are short others are long.

The study identified five different types of violence chain:

i) Conflict that is resolved (*landlords/tenants, neighbours*)

ii) C $\longrightarrow$ **V**
Conflict that tips into violence
Matrix examples:
1 = political
2 = ethnic
5 = economic

iii)   **C** $\longrightarrow$ **C**$_1$ $\longrightarrow$ **V**
                                    $\searrow$
                                       C$_{ii}$

iv) **C** $\longrightarrow$ **V** $\longrightarrow$ **V**$_i$

v) **V** $\longrightarrow$ **V**$_i$ $\longrightarrow$ **V**$_{ii}$
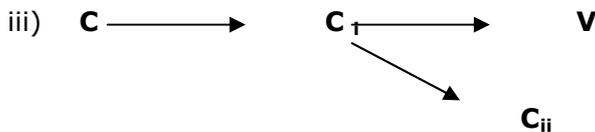
h)   Final stages of preliminary data analysis

The work undertaken in the previous stages provided the basis for two final stages of forward planning

1. The work programme timetable that includes tasks, times and responsibilities
2. The restructured outline of the final report. This drew on the Santiago reports but made some significant changes, particularly in the analysis of the relationship between conflict and violence (see Appendix 1)

ii. The quantification of qualitative research – examples the violence PVA

While the quantification of participatory data presents particular challenges as to its representativeness (Moser 2002), nevertheless it can assist in providing strong messages particularly to policy makers who have a tendency to dismiss such work as anecdotal. Since the research on violence in Santiago and Nairobi was conceived as qualitative, this section illustrates the issue of quantification through examples from both cities. Quantification can take two forms.

- First, it can identify broad patterns from in-depth content analysis of the focus group exercises. These can then be illustrated using the most appropriate tools.
- Second, in order to move beyond individual focus group experiences at the analysis stage it may be useful to quantify some of the information.

In the PCCAA in both Santiago and Nairobi, focus groups all used the same tools when addressing each issue. This meant that those tools lending themselves to quantification, such as ranking and listings, could produce quantitative results – as well as cross-city comparisons. It is important to stress that quantification depends on focus groups using exactly the same tools, or the data will not be compatible. Using the total number of listings (the number of times a listing was conducted) as the universe, it is possible to conduct some basic statistical analysis. Equally, information gained from rankings can be quantified – using the prescribed participatory methodology on ranking information (3 for first priority, 2 for second and 1 for third) (See Moser 2002). While these data are only representative for the focus groups, nevertheless they assist in showing the broader picture.

a)   Quantification of listings and rankings of types of violence
As Table 10 shows, listings and rankings from participatory focus groups in the three settlements in Nairobi show similar perceptions of the types of violence. Political conflicts and associated violence were identified as the most severe problem in both Kawangware (26%) and in Kibera (32%), while in Mukuru, domestic conflicts were ranked as the most significant (28%).

Table 10: Matrix of perceptions of the most significant conflicts and violence

Type of conflict or violence	Kawangware* percentage	Kibera** percentage	Mukuru*** percentage
Domestic	10	20	28
Political	26	32	19
Tribal/ethnic	17	22	15
Tenants/landlords	20	10	18
Economic	27	12	16
Religious	-	4	4
TOTAL	100	100	100

Sources: * Kawangware data from listing, grouping and ranking in 12 focus groups
       ** Kibera data from listing, grouping and ranking in 23 focus groups
       *** Mukuru data from listing, grouping and ranking in 13 focus groups

b)   Quantification of spatial hot spots

Table 11: Preliminary spatial quantification of hot spots in Kibera (incomplete)

Hotspots	Ranking
Provincial administration demonstration	|
Economic fights	|
Political rally	||||| |
Youth gangs assembly point	||
Civic demonstration	|||
Unlit public spaces	||
Insecure public spaces (rape, robbery, drunkards)	||||| ||||
Forest hiding place	||
Spaces used by unemployed men	||
Ethnic conflict space	||
Land use fights	|

Source: Data from 73 Focus Groups

The same methodology was used in this case to list hot spots, quantified in terms of the total number of spatial hot spots identified through mapping in Kibera. As Table 11 shows, in Kibera the majority of participants agreed that public spaces have become insecure, and the political rally is an important hot spot that relates to conflict.

c)   Quantification of institutional maps

Institutions important in the community in Kawangware were numerically quantified in terms of the number of times they appeared in the institutional maps. Focus groups first identified institutions that were perceived to be important generally in local communities, and identified whether they were inside or outside the community, as well as whether they were perceived as positive or negative. The same focus groups then identified those institutions that particularly assisted the community to address violence and conflicts. This allowed for the quantitative, comparative identification of those institutions important in the community, and the extent to which the same institutions were, or were not, important in mitigating violence. Table 12 shows the landowners association as the most important institution in the community, and the councillor and chief as the least important.

Table 12: Listing of institutions in Kawangware, by general importance

Institution	Tally	Rank
Landowners Association	4	1
Tenants Association	3	2
Police	3	2
AMREF	3	2
Member of Parliament (Hon Beth Mugo)	3	2
District Commissioner	3	2
Rent Tribunal	2	7
Church	2	7
Elders	2	7
Councillor	1	10
Chief	1	10

Source: Data from ranking by 6 focus groups of elders, youth, women, mixed, political mobilisers, and touts

4. Final data analysis, including comparative findings, and the identification of potential policy implications

The final stage in the PVA analysis is to review conclusions, compare findings and identify the most important potential policies. This section describes the final data analysis workshop carried out by the UTP project research team in Manchester (13th – 18th November 2011). The starting inputs, all completed prior to the workshop, were as follows:
- The draft of the city profile report
- The draft of the sub-city report

This allowed for a discussion of the narratives for each city profile, and their linkages to the main findings from the sub-city reports. Conclusions were discussed by groups as were the linkages between findings and policy recommendations.

Objectives
The main objective for the workshop was to undertake a logical process during which each team undertook the following:
i. Review of the main findings, city narratives and analysis of sub-city data
ii. Identification of comparative sub-city empirical findings
iii. Identification of potential policy implications for each research case study city

i. Review of main findings, city narratives and sub-city data
Initially the entire research group reviewed the narratives and main findings of each city with a 15 minute round of presentations, followed by 15 minutes of group questions and comments. Table 13 summarises these for Santiago and Nairobi.

Table 13: Main findings: city and sub-city level

	Main findings city level	Main findings sub-city level
Santiago Santiago	Neoliberal city, tipping point: 1973 Coup D'etat 40 years of consolidation of a neoliberal political model Shift from a social welfare state to a subsidiary state Social inequality where the neoliberal political model has led to social and underlying conflicts	There are winners and losers constituted through the system
	Current violence and insecurity in Santiago related to a neoliberal political, social and economic structure. There is structural conflict, inequality between winners and losers Social, economic and political-institutional violence that is expressed in: Direct, Structural and Cultural Violence	**El Castillo:** Direct violence on a daily basis, in the home and in public places as part of a continuum. The "losers' of the system. **Contraloria:** Direct violence stress, domestic violence, workaholics' illusion of integration via the market system. "Caught in the middle" inhabitants want to distance themselves from the poor and become more like the wealthy. **La Dehesa:** Direct violence, less severe, less visible, less acknowledged. The "winners" of the system. There is Structural violence: inequality and inequity. Cultural violence: Consumerism, Individualism and Machismo
Nairobi	Historical inclusion/exclusion conflicts Three broad areas: **economic level**: housing, infrastructure and employment/ethnicity. **Political level:** legal/constitutional framework, public participation and control of information by media. **Social:** selective provision of health, education. Informal private sector. Social exclusion: access to education + poverty. Exclusion of youth + media links to violence. Ethnicity: people trying to include/exclude political access to land. Depending on ethnic angle the conflict evolves Most conflicts are political	Conflict tipping points are national issues, Nairobi is the political, economic and administrative capital of Kenya. Prime city-site for national, city level and local level political violence. With 50 percent urban poor the city has highest number and proportion of poor in Kenya. 70 percent live in the informal settlements. Political violence but it is more a case of economic injustice and is fuelled by ethnicity. Largely economic injustice: informal land and housing markets. Poverty and violence tenuous. Ethnicity and youth infrastructure violence.

Nairobi	Violence and conflict have their roots in inequitable access to resources and distribution of power. Historically colonial conflicts that led to high segregation Post election violence from Dec 2007 to Feb 2008 1969: assassination of minister Tom Joseph Mboya led to political conflicts in KANU and national unrest that took ethnic angle as well 1975 JM Kariuki death led to political conflicts around land and violent commemorations for years 1982 decision to publicly question legitimacy of government: coup +violent aftermath 1988 Mlolongo election, violent demonstrations of multiparty democracy	No provision of basic services and facilities important cause of political violence; including planning that results in shortage of space for families and communities High cost of housing Police harassing young people Ethnic conflicts and ritual killings Tenants refuse to pay rent and landlords being discriminative with ethnic groups Landlords hiring criminal gangs to terrorise tenants Political party differences tip to violence Rigging elections Political violence + conflict: it is difficult to isolate one from the other One of the major problems is space and landlords' 'structure of ownership'

Source: Santiago and Nairobi city and sub city reports

a)   Speed dating comparative data review

Since each group had already read the documentation prior to coming to Manchester, a speed-dating exercise provided a useful way for each group to rapidly share comments with others on a one-to-one basis. Groups met for half an hour with each team given 15 minutes in turn to provide comments on the others' reports. This analytical tool proved an effective way to share information fast, allowing for feedback about specific sub-city level findings, its implication for the city level and for comparative cross-city findings.

Table 14: Brainstorming points linking city and sub-city reports

Santiago	Nairobi
.P. 1973, others? National-City-Sub city Levels and linkages 40 years period - trends and changes at sub city level See timelines Stress only in middle income groups? Institutions – to be developed	Colonial data-city; sub city in the intro page 32, tables on tipping point Community recommendations, as entry point into policy discussions Sub-city importance of space/violence Key questions that structures the whole study Rural-urban link Type 1 = single factor tipping point Type 2 = chains At what level: policy institutional/policy context analysis What policies? Relevant institutions City profile: water; services; electricity; industries Comparative crime statistics – why peaks 1992; 1997? Urban violence trends + bigger narrative Different decades + types of violence Choice of sites: location in city; hot spots – why? Recommendations: out of the box = inter marriages

Source: Discussion between researchers and Santiago and Nairobi teams

ii. Comparative work

The next step was a comparison between city findings. Tipping points and violence chains were noted at city and sub-city level. (See table 15 below.)

Table 15: Comparative similarities and differences between cities

Nairobi and Santiago	
Similarities	*Differences*
PVA-methodology : giving voice to the people	Hot Spots – verification in Nairobi
Giving information back – important	Different types of violence
Violence chains	Political violence – tipping point
Identification of different types of violence - direct causes: structural and cultural	Identifying participants
	Hot Spots – economic and political – religious, ethnic
Feedback	
Market based system, No welfare (Neoliberalism)	Housing and land
T.P. Santiago/Natural/City – regimen change	Rent in Nairobi "structure owners" / Owners in Santiago
Nairobi/Conflict to violence political	Informal in Nairobi / Formal in Santiago
Domestic Violence chains	Less violence around land in Santiago / Violence around Land in Nairobi
	Violence chains: long term and immediate

Source: Discussion between researchers between Santiago and Nairobi teams

iii. Relationship between findings and policy

One of the most important objectives for the workshop was to define the policy recommendation for each city. It was important to clarify definitional and institutional issues as much as assessing the impact of the research. Also it was important to discuss the level of influence for the policy, either a national or city level policy. The work undertaken previously provided the basis for the teams to be able to identify specific main findings that were policy related.

Table 16: Main policy related findings

Countries	Main findings with policy links
Santiago	Child mistreatment and abuse
	Youth-young violent fights
	Youth-Adolescence pregnancy
	Gender violence Women-men, men-men and women-men Children Direct structural cultural violence
	Social-spatial inequality structure Consumerism Spatial separation
Nairobi	Landlord tenant conflicts [breaking of violence chains by removing landlord tenant conflicts]
	Hot spots [link with tipping points; dealing with consequences of tipping through prediction of where conflicts tips]
	Ethnicity / Youth [Multi-ethnic youth forums; voice]

Source: Presentation of Santiago and Nairobi teams

The groups then focused on the identification of potential entry points for dissemination in order to influence policy, ranking those institutions they perceived as being most interested in the results of the study.

Table 17: Potential entry points for the leverage of results

Level of Influence	
Nairobi	**Santiago**
Civil society UN organisations local government and academics UK Department for International Development (DFID) communities	NGOs CBOs Social and student movements as much as academia
Ranking of level of influence	
Local government Civil society Communities	NGOs Social movements Academia and local governments

Source: Brainstorming by Santiago and Nairobi teams

a)   Relationships between findings, policy and institutions

Once the actors and areas of influence had been identified in each city-level context, each research group then identified entry points at both strategic and practical levels.

Table 18: Entry points

	Substantial entry points	Practical entry points
Santiago	strategic civil safety vs social insecurity	putting these findings in the public and social agenda
Nairobi	national urban development policy process	civil society urban forum which is an umbrella

The final exercise comprised a composite matrix that brought together the main entry points for policy-related interventions. This was identified in terms of four questions:

1.   Which is the entry point for the results from each city?
2.   Who do we want to influence? (either allies or potential)
3.   How will we influence? (what type of event)
4.   What is the policy documentation that is needed, and how do we package it?

Table 19: Policy entry points, who, how and what?

City	Policy entry-points	Who	How	What
Santiago	To broaden the current policy approach Now femicide critique: women-men spatial-urban	Women NGOs Networks (masculinity and non violence) Civil Society Media	Workshop to discuss the findings Strengthen some of these issues	Findings report Joint policy recommendation document
	To make inequality visible in the public arena	CBOs, NGOs that work on urban issues, and media	To disseminate our research findings to them To influence their agendas	Findings report Joint policy recommendation document
Nairobi	Develop Tenancy Guidelines for informal settlements; including those that deal with rent disputes – should as much as possible use structures that exist in informal settlements	[DEVT] Urban NGOs / CBOs following 'evictions guidelines ' DEVT model; AAK; KIP Ministry for housing, CNN, MoLG; OP [IMPL] OP	Link with land & housing reforms [structural national] Sub-city Policy Discussions at Umande Trust [29th Feb]	Working Paper
	Security & Hotspots: Link community and conventional policing; and emergency services with violence hotspots in the slums and in the rest of the city	[DEVT] Urban NGOs / CBOs; UoN planning; provincial admin; city planning; councillors; Nairobi water; Red Cross; AAK; KIP [IMPLE] Urban NGOs / CBOs; provincial admin; city planning; councillors; Nairobi water; Housing & MoLG, Red Cross	[can link with general planning / slum improvement programmes at city level – KENSUP; KISIP] Consultation with strategic partners – afternoon [2nd March] [closed meeting]	Working Paper Policy brief [2-3 pages] Advocacy Briefs [2-3 pages]
	Youth Forums Establishment and operationalisation of multi-ethnic local youth security and development forums	[DEVT] Youth groups; Urban NGOs / CBOs; councillors; CNN; MoLG; Ministry Youth [IMPLE] CNN; MoLG	Link of youth forums with participation framework in NUDP; and constitution Public Forum – Goethe / FCC – evening [2nd March]	Presentation on the research report Policy briefs [2-3 pages]

Source: Discussion between researchers and Santiago and Nairobi teams

b)   Impact assessment

Among instruments that could measure the impact of the research, the following were identified as most important:

- Policy change at city level
- Publication of a book
- Articles published, specially the public reviews
- Media participation in reporting of each event, thus putting the importance of the reports in the public eye
- Inclusion of information on websites
- Academic impact through inclusion of the innovative methodology and concepts in the development of course materials.

Table 20: Impact assessment

	Assessing research impact
Santiago	Ensure research findings enter discussion with those channels that will contribute to social change Ensure findings get on public agendas as a way of building momentum for social change
Nairobi	Developing tenancy guidelines Enrich local urban forums through youth forums

Appendix 1: Provisional structure of a sub-city report
[Max 50 pages]

1. Introduction [1 page]

2. Background [6 to 8 pages]
– Spatial information
– Characteristics [similarities/differences] of the three sites [Kb=PV/Ethnic, Mk=Ethnic & Kw=Land]
– Why we chose the three sites
– Time lines at site level [look for dramatic one]
– Matrix on history of the community

3. Types of violence and conflict [6 to 8 pages]
– FGD data listings
– Location of violence

4. The relationship between conflict and violence [12 to 15 pages]
– The five transformations of conflicts/violence
– Testing the five generic transformations including identification of tipping points and chains
– Which tools? Causal flows, listings and ranking of conflicts and violence

5. Institutions [6 to 8 pages]
– Responsible for violence
– Mitigating/reducing violence
– Important institutions in the community [prioritise]

6. Strategies and solutions [4 to 6 pages]
– Matrices of institutions and what they do [FGD, site]
– Problem trees; relating to specific types of violence

7. Conclusions and recommendations [policy implications] [2 to 4 pages]

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