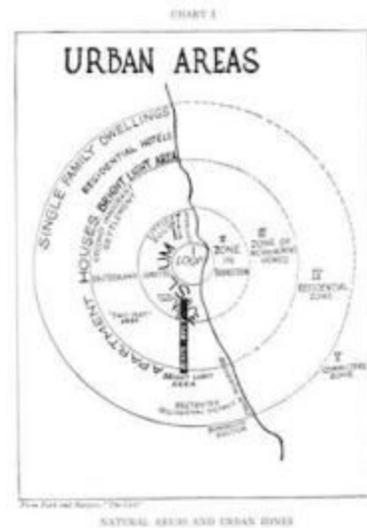


Report

Data analysis and estimation of migration's influence on violence,
the Safe and Inclusive cities program, Planbørnefonden



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Executive Summary

Title: Data analysis and estimation of migration's influence on violence, the Safe and Inclusive cities program

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Background: Cities in the Global South are increasingly characterized by fragile environments, widespread poverty, chronic violence and limited youth participation in democratic processes. To create the most impact on the lives of the young population it is important to effectively reach the youth most affected by the mismanaged urbanization and living in the poorest urban settlements and understand their lived challenges in order to effectively address them. In the DANIDA funded *Safe and Inclusive Cities Program*, PlanBørnefonden work in poor urban settlements in East and Southern Africa. The program applies a “*with and by youth*” approach, which entails that the youth share decisions and responsibilities with adults, and the youth take initiatives themselves which is fundamentally different from a *for youth* approach where young people are recipients of adults' ideas and initiatives. The aim is that young people drive the desired change. Our engagement is to clarify the relation between mobility and violence in an urban setting, by looking into a specific data from the baseline study conducted in 2018, and how the youth define, observe and experience the diverse nature of violence in these scenarios. The main assumption we want to test in our research is, are migrants in the state of more vulnerability towards experiencing violence than other groups of the society.

Research Question: Is there any significant correlation in an association between mobility (defined through the first 3 years of stay) and violence presented in 2018 Baseline Study (The Safe and Inclusive Cities Programme), and if so, what is the nature of that association?

General and Specific Objectives

General Objective: identify mobility trends in the settlements and, estimate is there any relation between mobility and violence in 2018 Baseline Study and explain findings within social disorganization theory

Specific Objectives:

Statistical analysis

1. Analyze the 2018 baseline survey questionnaire and identify the specific questions related to mobility and violence. / Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe
2. Identify mobility trends by discussing the type of migration, both international and internal
3. Estimate statistically the relation between urban violence and mobility.

Note: Violence will be presented both through personal experience and perception of violence, if not in statistical analysis, than as part of our theoretical background, with examples from the data

Theoretical background

1. To explain our findings, in the second part we will portray an association between mobility and violence using different theoretical tools (social disorganization theory)

Limitation and recommendations section

Part 1. Migration trends

The data source we delve into is provided by Planbørnefonden, collected for the purpose of project *Safe and Inclusive Cities Programme in Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe: Reducing violence through youth-led interventions to increase safety, economic opportunities and active citizenship in urban slum areas in Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe.*

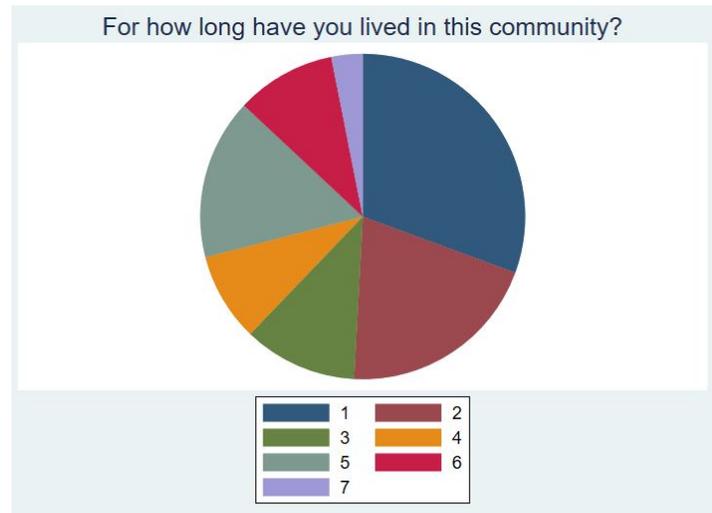
In the year 2018, it was conducted extensive number of interviews (almost 5000) and group discussions about various topics. Most of the questions in the survey are focused on work related opportunities, public life, and experiencing violence. The participants were teenagers and young adults.

Our aim is to identify the relation between migration and violence, and therefore we first need to find out what type of migration we are talking about, are we encounter international migration or internal one. There are some differences and some similarities between international and internal migration that can then influence connection between violence and migration itself, thus information about the type of migration what we encounter in the data might lead us in different directions. Still, differences between international and internal migration are not set in stone, what will be touched upon later in the text, and that consequently leave open space for discussion about migration's influence on violence.

It will be beneficial, as well, to know the reasons for migration, do people move because they are forced or their choice is on voluntary basis. However, the boundary between voluntary and forced is hard to define because in many cases we cannot be sure is a person moved because of personal choice or her/his move is forced by some other reasons. Even when we have some information, we cannot capture the process of decision making from quantitative research.

For our research and to find correlation between migration and violence, our first step is to identify general migration trends in the urban areas of Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe.

- Group 1** 0-3 years
- Group 2** 4-7 years
- Group 3** 8-11 years
- Group 4** 12-15 years
- Group 5** 16-19 years
- Group 6** 20-23 years
- Group 7** more than 23 years



As a first indicator of mobility trends, we looked into a time of stay in community, q1 *For how long have you lived in this community?* Our assumption is that indication of time someone stays in community indicates their movement. Additionally movement is indicated among other, within q *How many places have you lived within the last three years (outside of this community)?* 69,44 % answered one place, 27,88% 2-3 different places, and 2,68 % answered more than 3 different. The data also gives information that 24,79 % of participants stay outside of community for a longer periods of time, e.g. work.

From the pie chart above, what shows answers on q *For how long have you lived in this community?* we can detect that group 1 and group 2 inhere the majority of participants. Group 1 is a group that consists of participants who answer 0-3 years on the question *How long they lived in their community.* According to the data, 1484 of 4849 (30,60%) are new members of the community. Group 2 contains of participants who live 4-7 years in their community, what makes them rather settlers than locals. From this question we can conclude that more than 50% of participants are not inhabitants of that place for their whole life, and they migrated to that community at some point. However, when we look into the question: *Were you born in this city?*, answer is slightly different. 58, 05 % of participants answered that they are born in this city, while 41,95% answered negatively on that question. That difference can be explained through

the distinction between definition of whole city and specific urban area or what someone define as his or her own community.

5a. Were you born in this city?			
	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Yes	2815	58,05	58,05
No	2034	41,95	100,00
<hr/>			
Total	4849	100,00	

Question 5b. *Were you born in this country?* can contribute on detecting the type of migration, to show is it migration domestic one, fx. rural to urban, or has it more transnational character. Unfortunately, more than half the participants did not answer that question, what leave us only with the possibility to claim with more certainty that approximately 40% are born in the country where they lived nowadays. According to the data from q5b, that number can be expected to rise over 50%, considering current percentage of 94,40 amount 2034 participants, what will be significant evidence that migration is a domestic one. We should not exclude the possibility that people outside of the country chose not to answer this question, but even if the majority of them chose not to answer, expectancy of rise over 50% stay likely plausible. Anyhow, 40% of certainty in combination with indications from question 5b points in the direction of identifying trends of domestic migration rather than pointing out towards transnational migration.

5b. Were you born in this country?

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Yes	1920	94,40	94,40
No	114	5,60	100,00
Total	2034	100,00	

Additionally, an indicator for migration trends regards the locality/transnationality can be provided by information about possession of permanent residency. 85,9 % of examinees answered affirmatively about possession of permanent residency, while 14,1 % answered negatively. This question was answered by all participants (4848). However, although that most probably implies that at least 14,1% migrated internationally, we can not claim it with certainty, because being a permanent resident is not the same as being a citizen, albeit that terms are often used interchangeably.

If we accept this indicator, then again, 85,9 % of permanent residents confirm our indications that, from our survey generally, dominants domestic migration.

Migration, domestic or international, has become an increasingly complex set of various processes, each requiring own particular approach. For instance, the idea that international migrants and internal migrants differ in the process of integration is not fully correct.

According to King et al. (2008), it is a mistake to assume that internal migrants are necessarily more homogenous in terms of social, cultural, linguistic, ethnic or racial characteristics than are international migrants. King gives an example of rural-to-urban migrations which have characterised most European countries over the past 100-150 years, where rural folk faced with an urban-industrial milieu found difficult and strange to integrate, and often reacted to by living regional-origin-based concentrations, and maintaining their own cultural traits and regional languages and dialects. (King, Vullnetari, Skeldon, 2008:22) That example brings to mind international diasporas, showing how impacts of internal and international migration can be similar.

Reasons to decide if migration international or internal could be based only upon economical possibilities. Following Balán's ideas (1988) -Those who are better off tend to migrate further (i.e.abroad) while those with fewer resources to be limited to internal migration. The higher costs (and risks) of international migration largely explain the types of selectivity involved – for instance with regard to education and family contacts. Males are more predisposed to international migration than females, especially when the migration is temporary. Internal migration to cities shows a large presence of females. These ideas are present in migration studies from own beginning of migration studies (Ravenstein's laws) (Balán, 1988 in King, Vullnetari, Skeldon, 2008:15) Though, new IOM studies on global migration trends show that female migrants outnumber male migrants in Europe, Northern America, Oceania and Latin America and the Caribbean, while in Africa and Asia, particularly Western Asia, migrants are predominantly men. (UN, 2017, International Migration Report)

In regard to our question, finding out the relation between migration and violence, there are few more marks to be made. First, because of the lower cost of migration and other reasons, rate of internal migration is higher on average than the transnational. Second, unlike international migrants, internal migrants enjoy the same rights as natives, and generate different impacts in the labor market on their destination. (Boustan, Fishback, and Kantor, 2010, Kleemans and Magruder, 2017).

Following the logic of popular literature on the subject, poor economic opportunities increase crimes that are related to international migration. The case with internal migrants who enjoy more rights (right to work, for instance), might show different trends. (Feld and Kleemans, 2018) Feld and Kleemans are mostly focused on economically motivated crimes. While there is a growing literature measuring impact of migration on crime, it is almost always focus on international migrants to developed countries. However, the impact of internal migration on crime and violence is largely understudied. (ibid:2)

Feld and Kleemans are some of the few who studied relation between internal migration and crime. They studied Indonesia case and concluded that there is weak but positive relationship between internal migration and crime. (ibid: 10)

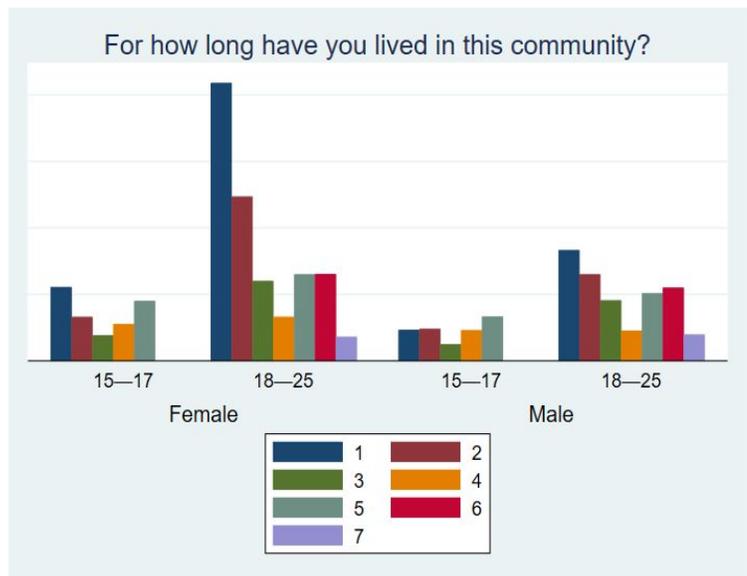
With example above we want to show that distinction of the rights individuals have in society, considering the fact of being international migrant or internal migrant might influence the rate of

violence in the community. Factors that influence the rate of violence will be discussed later in the text. Before that, there are few more marks regarding migration trends.

The bar chart below shows migration trends in respect to age groups. Regarding proportions and calculated from the data, we know that at least 59,7 % from the group 15-17 moved to this community (708 of 1186 lives in this community for less than 15 years, so we can conclude that they moved to community at some point), compared to 72% from the group 18-25 (2630 of 3663 lives in this community for less than 18 years what points out that they are most probably not born in this community).

That gives information that young adults are moving into a new community to a greater extent than teenagers. Again, on the chart below, group 1 consists of participants who answer 0-3 years, group 2 of those who answered 4-7, group 3 of those who answered 8-11 and so on. The chart and the table indicates that women age 18-25, who moved into a new community in the last three years, form the largest group. More precisely, 35% of participants contrary to 23% of men in the same group.

- Group 1** 0-3 years
- Group 2** 4-7 years
- Group 3** 8-11 years
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- Group 6** 20-23 years
- Group 7** more than 23 years



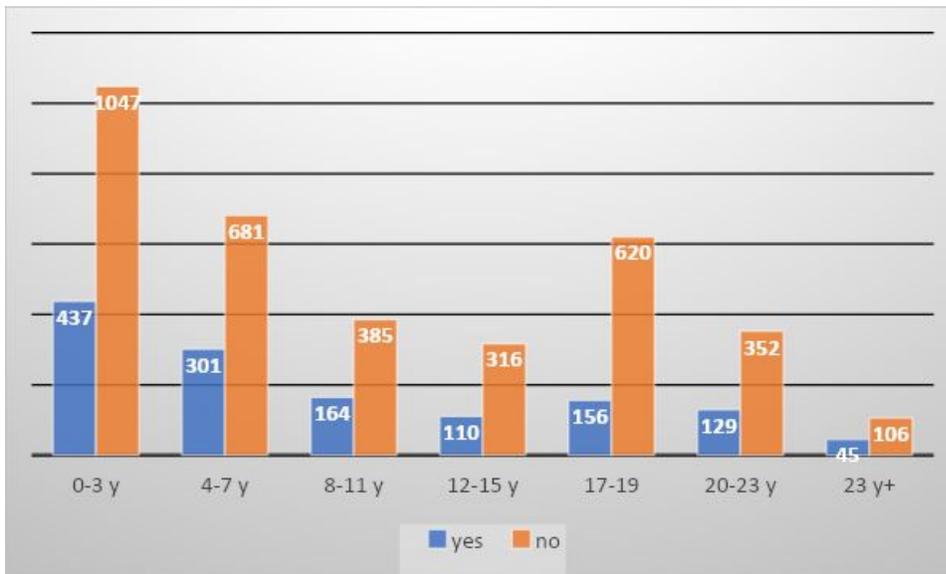
	Female	Male	Total
1	1058	426	1484
2	626	356	982
3	317	232	549
4	243	183	426
5	440	336	776
6	261	220	481
7	72	79	151
Total 	3017	1832	4849

Part 2. Mobility and violence

To find the relation between movement of people and violence in these communities we look into q7 *Have you ever considered moving to another community because of a feeling of insecurity?* q19 *Is there anything you do not do because of fear for your safety?* And q44 *Are you aware of someone who has suffered from any form of harassment or violence during the last 12 months?*

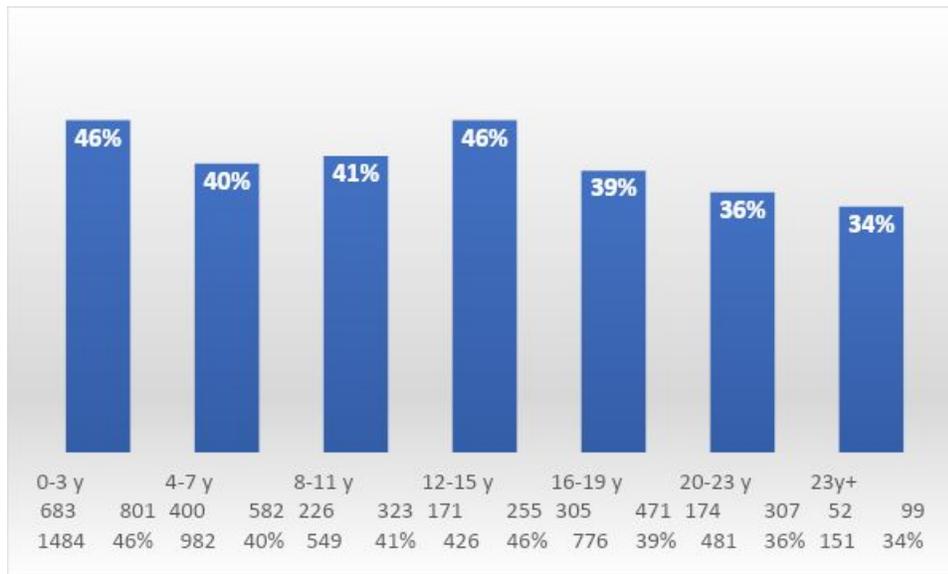
The feeling of insecurity, restrictions of own's actions because of the same fear and awareness of experiencing violence in comparison with time of stay in community might at least bring us closer towards making connections between mobility and violence. These indicators will probably not find these connections directly, but might show some directions for further research.

Question number 7, *Have you ever considered moving to another community because of a feeling of insecurity?* demonstrates the following results:



Numbers above show that there is no difference in a feeling of insecurity wherever you live in the community 1 year, or more than 20 years. There is no significant difference among percentages, approximately 30% of participants answered yes, regardless which group they are part of.

Q 19. *Is there anything you do not do because of fear for your safety?* demonstrates how violence manifested through fear of security is being a part of greater social life in these urban communities.



Similar as q7, it is not far different situation when participants are asked about limitations to do everyday actions because of feeling fear for their safety. With a slight decrease, answer remains similar, we can not conclude that violence is connected with time someone lives in these communities. This slight decrease, suggesting that group who stayed shortest are feeling most unsafe, while group who live longest in the community are feeling less unsafe then other, is interrupted with equal maximum trend in group 12-15 y. Regard to fluctuations, we cannot indicate influence of migration regarding this question.

Question 44 *Are you aware of someone who has suffered from any form of harassment or violence during the last 12 months?* More directly asks about experiencing violence and therefore may more directly answers our research question. However, it is a question based on perception.

. The trend here also suggest almost the same thing as q7 and q19, that migration does not affect the outcome when being a victim of violence is in concern.



This data show again that time of stay in community does not influence significantly on experiencing violence. The stay years from 0 to 23 years have more or less the same percentage of people being victim of crime and goes slightly up to 33% of people living more than 23 years in the community.

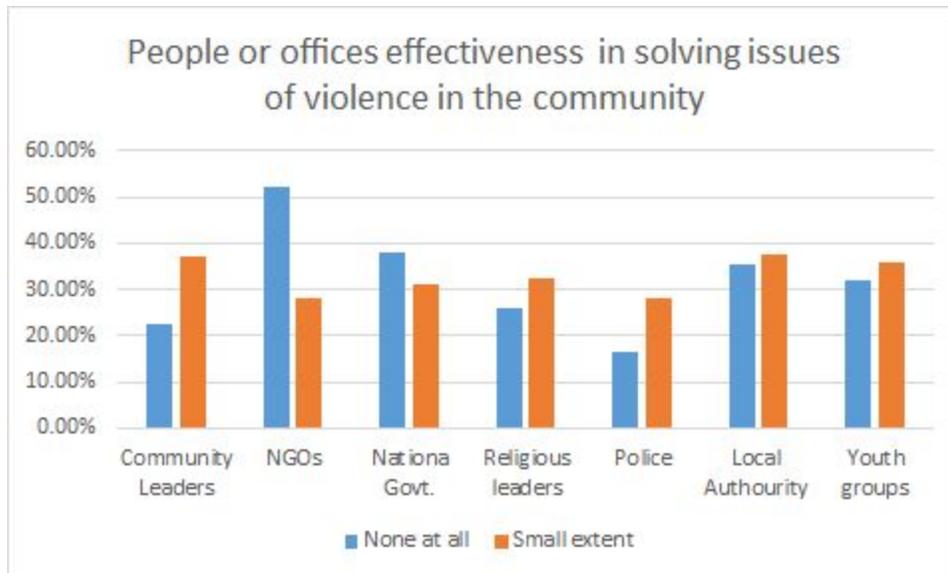
So, this can be assumed that migration in this communities don't play significant role to incite violence. The usual cause of violence is more likely to be the disorganization of these communities which plays a vital role in provoking violence in these communities. According to public opinion, our data shows that migration is not a cause of violence, only a few (1,69%) mention migration as one of the causes of violence. Majority consider unemployment and poverty as the main causes of violence.

In the following part we will discuss the main causes of violence which has been identified by the responders and the relation of Social disorganization theory to describe the pattern how social disorganization sustaining violence rather than just migration.

Part 3. Social Disorganization Theory

Social disorganization theory portrays violence through the lens of location of the population and how it contributes to the behavior of the respective population of a certain neighborhood. This theory holds neighborhood responsible for creating opportunities for violence to take place by discussing social, economic, racial or ethnical background. Social disorganization theory emerged from a research conducted by Shaw and McKay in Chicago by examining locations of juvenile criminals who has been referred to the court. They discovered that the crime rate is not proportionate by location rather it is clustered in particular areas which are more prone to violence. and importantly the ratio of violence remained relatively same within different areas despite constant changes in the populations who lived in each area. Neighborhoods with higher crime rates, remained relatively high. The change in racial or ethnic change in the residents did not bring much of a difference in the outcome of violence and crime in these areas. When previously crime prone groups moved from these locations it has been found that the crime rates among those groups has dropped significantly. The connection of this theory to the discussion is relevant because it resonates with the response from the survey, and particularly with section of Experience with harassment and violence.

The urban areas which were focused by this survey have a certain socio-economic situation that obviously plays a role to build an eco-system of certain characteristics of violence and crime and the experiences of people living in these areas. These neighborhoods can be viewed as “socially disorganized.” Where In such areas, conventional social institutions are weak and unable to regulate the behavior of the neighborhoods’ youths. The following graphs will provide more value to this discussion, when asked question No. 60 - To what extent are the following people or offices effective in solving issues of violence in the community? The answers are the following:

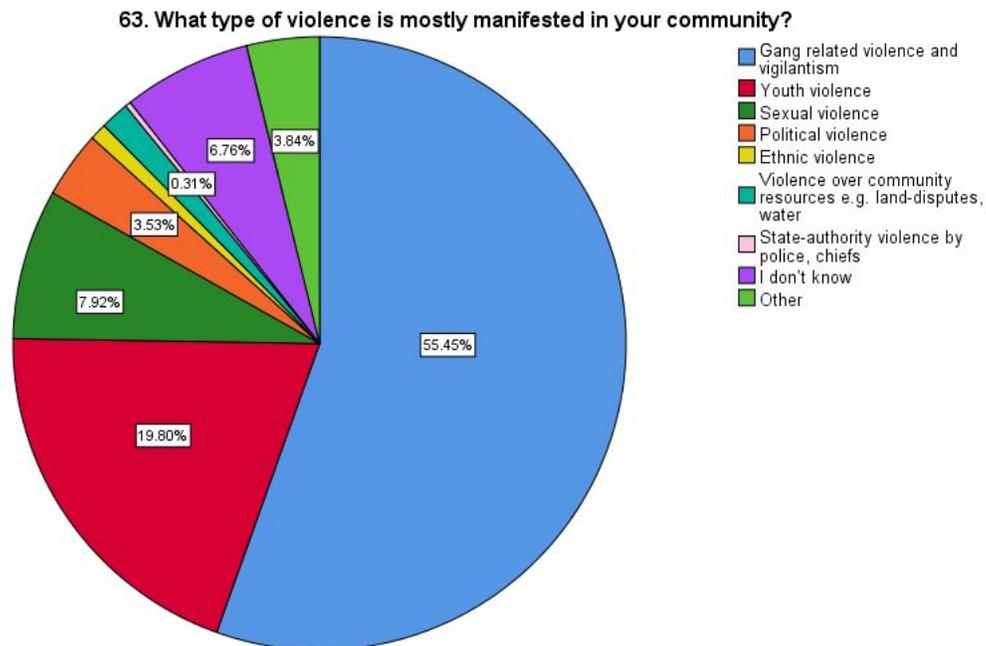


In most cases the answers produce the same pattern that, the perception among the youth is, the issues related to violence doesn't get solved by state or non-state actors. The cumulative percentage of none at all and small extent is always well above the majority. So, it shows that the youth of these urban community cannot rely on community leaders, NGOs, local or state authority, law enforcement or youth groups. This survey also suggests that, Police is the most effective force among all these actors, however almost 45% percent responders believe that police plays no role or to a very small extent to respond effectively to resolve violence.

This perception of the youth creates an environment where they believe that the community of their own can hardly do anything effective to address the issue of violence in their respective communities. In these urban areas people move around frequently as discussed in the mobility section and still despite having regular change in the population dynamics the trends of violence in these communities remains the same. Which is the core principle of Social Disorganization Theory. In addition, to the scope of this theory was adjusted and expanded to include new components which is beyond the macro-level components originally specified by Shaw and McKay. New concepts have been added to enhance the theoretical utility. These concepts creates links between different variables and Social Disorganization theory.

One aspect of discussing Social disorganization is neighborhood processes. It creates the link between social disorganization and crime. Sampson and Groves (1989) investigated how informal social controls are affected by social disorganization. Their study used data from the British Crime Survey. Emergence of unsupervised peer groups, and the level of

organizational participation in the neighborhood creates space for violent gangs to be active in the community. The lack of formal organization creates way for informal organizations which remains dominant in these neighborhoods. The survey suggested the same as we can see that when asked what type of violence occurs in these communities among young people, 55% answered gang related violence and almost 20% is youth violence, which goes to show that the unsupervised peers gets involved in the gang activity because of lack of organization among youth to participate in a constructive manner in the society and the trends of the community may decide the outcome of the violence takes place in those communities.



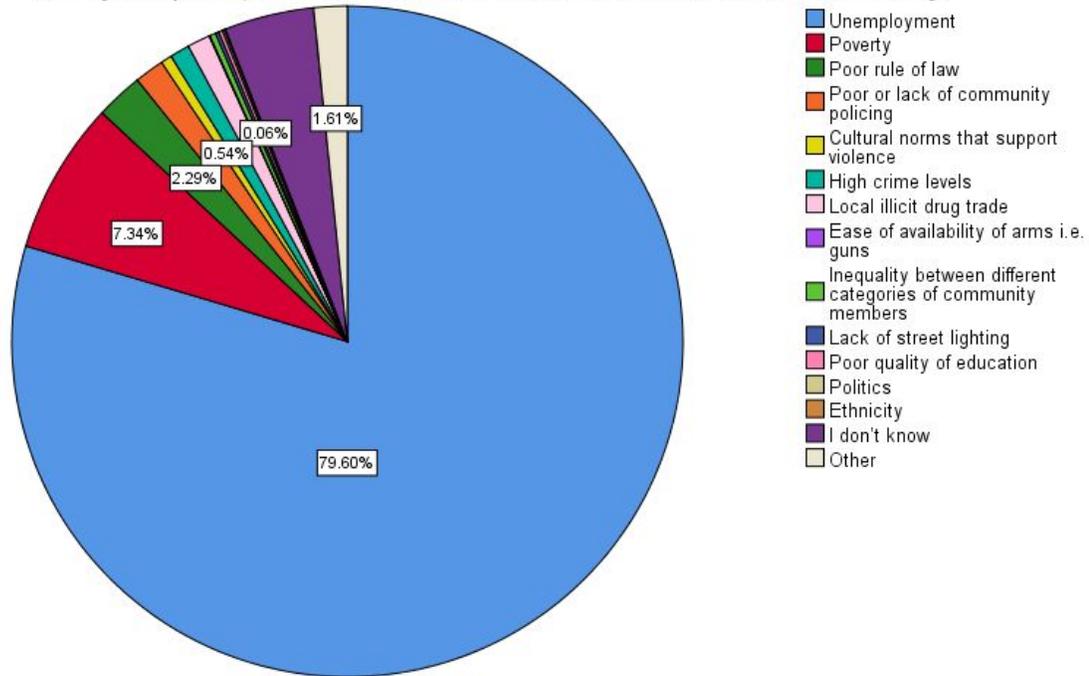
63. What type of violence is mostly manifested in your community?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Gang related violence and vigilantism	2689	55.5	55.5	55.5
Youth violence	960	19.8	19.8	75.3

Sexual violence	384	7.9	7.9	83.2
Political violence	171	3.5	3.5	86.7
Ethnic violence	43	.9	.9	87.6
Violence over community resources e.g. land-disputes, water	73	1.5	1.5	89.1
State-authority violence by police, chiefs	15	.3	.3	89.4
I don't know	328	6.8	6.8	96.2
Other	186	3.8	3.8	100.0
Total	4849	100.0	100.0	

Economic deprivation and lack chances to be involved in the economic activities may also be an important influence on social disorganization, which has been indicated as a vital influence on youth violence (Shaw and McKay, 1942). According to the survey when asked main causes of violence in their community, a landslide majority of almost 80% answered that unemployment is the main reason behind violence. Poverty also has been mentioned as the 2nd largest cause for violence. The large amount of response goes to prove the fact that economic deprivation is a major factor, that invokes violence in these communities.

64. In your opinion, which are the three main causes of violence in this community?



In communities which are more poor, formal institutions lack adequate finance and knowledge, as a result the chance of creating or achieving jobs from these communities always remains on the lower side thus, young people get involved with gangs and other violent activities to remain active. Also, the state structures which creates vibrant communities with populations that are more affluent and knowledgeable in other communities but fail to develop skilled and resourceful manpower in the less resourceful slums.

The discussion above reflects the fact that the responses which was acquired through the survey resonates with the Social Disorganization theory, that the placement of a population makes major impact in the collective behavior of the community and violent outcomes.

Limitations:

There are multiple limitations that we experienced during constructing this report –

1. Deciding on a proper framework that justifies the time and the task, however, the task is more complicated to be done properly within the timeframe.
2. Theory implications- we have discussed and tried to implement multiple theory to justify the data, however we found it to be quite a task to decide on a specific theory that both explain the data and help discuss. In the end we went with Social Disorganization Theory to discuss this survey findings.
3. Lack of statistical analysis experience was a dire obstruction in the whole process, in less than six weeks we had to learn and adapt with two different statistical software to complete basic data analysis, and obviously more time could help to come up with more sophisticated analysis and better data outcome. However, it will be ungrateful of us not to mention the cooperation from PLAN, our supervisor and university resources that helped us immensely to understand and work on this project.
4. The data from the survey is perception of the people of the community so sometimes we found it difficult to grasp the objectiveness, and link one with the other to create a link between our desired outcome.
5. Most importantly we went out thinking that we will try to find a commendable correlation between migration and violence in these urban community since most of the population in urban areas are settled from other parts of the country or other countries all together. In our surprise the data suggests that people's perception of violence in the community is more likely to be caused by social and economic rather than migration. Which changed the way we needed to approach the project immensely.

This project aimed to identify how migration towards cities in discussion can instigate violence in the urban areas. The discussion above along with the data analysis step by step unfolds our findings. In the first half of the discussion we discussed movement of people and tried to figure out the pattern of movements among cities by analyzing how long they have been living in the city, whether they were born in the city and country. To understand whether their movement is related to the violence they experience in the community we tried to cross check the number of years they lived in the community and the violent experience they went through in these cities. The data suggest that migration is not a significant factor that causes violence in these communities. Then we moved into people's perception of what is responsible for violence and how the respective institutions are addressing violence that young people experience. Which brings Social Disorganization Theory into the discussion, where we observe through the data that even though people living longer or shorter in these community doesn't change their experience with violence. Unemployment, poverty remains the main causes of violence and with the combination of lack of trust and in the institutions that should work on these communities to address violence makes people believe that it's a failure of this state and non-state actors to create a safe space for the young people. These inefficiencies of the structure to create better human resources ultimately result young people getting involved in gangs which by this survey is the largest violent behavior among the young population in these cities. Even though the primary goal was to relate violence with migration but these cities of the global south don't feel threatened by people coming to their cities, they are rather than concerned about economic deprivation and non-efficient state and non-state actors who are failing to address issues regarding young people in these communities and reduce violence to make these cities safe and inclusive.