Article

What is urban violence?

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Abstract

Considering the absence of an agreed definition of urban violence, this article suggests that exploring the violence-security nexus in the context of planetary urbanisation provides some necessary steps for theorisation. Moving from the analytical toward the conceptual, we offer three conceptual shifts, intended as steps toward a theory of urban violence: first, from violence in the city to violence in/of/through an age of planetary urbanisation; second, beyond the dichotomous thinking about the violence-security nexus; third, from manifestations of violence in the city to the 'threshold' (of visibility) beyond which a city is understood, and depicted, as violent.

Keywords

atmosphere, critical urban theory, fear, manifestations of violence, public safety, urban security, urbanisation

I Introduction: From violence in the city to urban violence

'A utopian if not impossible task': thus Body-Gendrot described the task of writing about urban violence (1995: 525). As Muggah (2012: 19) concluded, 'there is no agreed definition' of urban violence. This is not surprising: the same is the case for the notions of *violence* and *urban*. Violence – a concept constantly oscillating between the physical and the structural, the visible and the invisible, the natural and the social, the institutional and the criminal – is still under-theorised in social sciences (see Kilby, 2013; Springer and Le Billon, 2016). The urban, likewise, may refer to the physical environment (the city), a sociological and existential condition (the urban 'way of life'), an immanent being-together (a relation, an atmosphere, an assemblage...), or a historical process

(urbanisation). This article stems from a simple consideration: any attempt towards a definition of urban violence cannot take the 'urban' and 'violence' for granted. In particular, we shall offer some theoretical paths to overcome two problems that characterise (as we shall show in what follows) mainstream thinking about 'urban' and 'violence'. On the one hand, the *urban* in urban violence has been self-evidently referred to a given, bounded and static place: the city. In other words, the urban is for the most part intended as a secondary adjective, referring to the *place* (the container) in which instances of violence would occur, rather than as a spatial *process* constitutive to urban violence. This presupposition has led to either using urban violence as a simple (and redundant) shorthand for *violence in the city*, and/or crystallising the urban as a sort of a-historical condition, naturally conducive to violence, which is accordingly described via the extensive use of (reductive) statistics (e.g. murder rates).

Taking inspiration from the recent thesis on 'planetary urbanisation' (Brenner and Schimd, 2013), we will address this issue by accounting for the globalising process of capitalist urbanisation as the angle through which the urban must be framed today, as opposed to the static and statistics-obsessed rhetoric of the 'urban age' that informs, implicitly, the equally static and statistics-obsessed rhetoric of urban violence. On the other hand, the *violence* in urban violence has been assumed as an exogenous anomaly to be eradicated, an assumption (negatively) grounded on the implicit postulation of an idealised 'city without violence'. Far from being an innocuous utopia, the latter is a powerful imaginary that, filtered through an increasingly global (neoliberal) discourse of security, materialises onto the urban space by (re)producing violence in both its commonly known forms (direct, structural, cultural), as well as in a pervasive atmosphere of fear that unevenly clouds urban everyday life. Yet, and notwithstanding the constitutive role that politics of security play in producing and shaping it (cf. Dillon, 2003; Sützl, 2009), for the most part urban violence is dealt with by means of being reduced to its mere manifestations, and studied through their quantitative collection. Thus, while geography and social sciences 'have too often fetishized violence, thereby obfuscating the fundamental sociospatial relations and processes that give "violence" its meaning' (Tyner and Inwood, 2014: 771), we do argue this is particularly true vis-à-vis the concept of urban violence, for the most part treated as an empty signifier, an a-spatial and a-historical concept vulnerable to be distorted and fetishised (cf. Penglase, 2011), and more or less arbitrarily attached to (ethnic, social, racial…) groups, neighbourhoods, or whole cities.

Therefore, following influential calls within the field of geography for a more complex theorisation of the relation between violence and space, and thus the specific sites and (power) relations constituting what we define as violence (e.g. Peluso and Watts, 2001; Blomley, 2003[AQ2]; Springer, 2011; Loyd, 2012[AQ3]; Tyner and Inwood, 2014), we look at the specifically urban dimension of this relation, challenging simultaneously the

static understanding of the urban and the exogenous understanding of violence, which prevent the notion of urban violence from having critical and strategic value.

In particular, taking inspiration from recent works on affect, atmosphere and (urban) space (e.g. Böhme, 1995; McCormack, 2008; Anderson, 2009), we will address the violence-security nexus in the context of capitalist urbanisation, by accounting for the way the contemporary discourses, practices and politics of *security*, insofar as framing urban *violence* as an exogenous anomaly to be eradicated, generate the pervasive atmospheres of *fear* that increasingly characterise contemporary urban space (e.g. Koskela, 1999; Pain and Smith, 2008; Tulumello, 2017). Such an affect-oriented approach permits us not only to stress 'how the production of narratives [of violence and fear] is conditioned by wider sociospatial circumstances' (Sandberg and Tollefsen, 2010: 13), but also how these very narratives are produced by, and in turn (re)produce, the sociospatial materiality of the urban. Urban violence (and the fear thereof) can be said to emerge out of the intersections between structures, processes, narratives, practices and bodies that constitute the urban (e.g. Caldeira, 2001; Rodgers, 2016), and this is particularly relevant in the so-called information age, in which the speed, scale and dimension of the circulation of representations, discourses and ideas make the interplay between direct, structural and cultural violence increasingly more complex. Exploring the atmospheres of fear, we argue, may be in this sense a way to investigate the *affective dimension* of urban violence, a crucial category to understand, following Gregory and Pred, how 'violence compresses the sometimes forbiddingly abstract spaces of geopolitics and geo-economics into the intimacies of everyday life and the innermost recesses of the human body' (2007: 6). And urban space, indeed.

In sum, we intend to unpack the notion of *urban* encapsulated within that of urban violence, neither stopping at observing the event of violence, nor assuming the urban as the passive container in which this occurs, but rather understanding it both as the *background* out of which violence becomes manifest as an event, as well as the *process* constitutive to violence itself. In other words, assuming the urban both as the affective atmosphere of violence (i.e. what makes it 'visible' and 'felt' as such, as the result of a specific lens through which violence is framed, i.e. security) as well as a specific process (namely, capitalist urbanisation) responsible for producing the conditions in which given forms of violence proliferate.

Moving from an analytical to a conceptual perspective, our argument proceeds in six steps. First, we question the mainstream understanding of *violence* as an endogenous anomaly, to make the case for a proper geographical understanding of urban violence. Second, by setting out an exploratory but systematic review of studies about urban violence, we show that such an understanding is missing: this is, we argue, the *problem* with defining urban violence. We proceed to suggest, third, that this is interlinked with

the way discussions on urban violence tend not to be explicit about what is peculiarly *urban* with urban violence. We therefore take two steps toward a theorisation of urban violence by, fourth, discussing the relation between *urbanisation* and urban violence and, fifth, discussing the link between violence-security and *fear*. In conclusion, six, we recap the three conceptual shifts that follow from our discussion: from violence in the city to violence in/of/through capitalist urbanisation; beyond the dichotomous thinking about the violence-security nexus; from manifestations of violence in the city to the 'threshold' (of visibility) beyond which a city is understood, and depicted, as violent.

II The 'violence' in urban violence

In his classic 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', Wirth (1938) systematised a series of equations that still hold today. Accordingly, cities' peculiar size, density and heterogeneity imply that urban relations naturally weaken (pre-urban) social bonds, providing a fertile environment for violence. This view of the city as unruly and chaotic (nowadays usually employed to position 'disorderly', 'fragile', 'feral' or 'failed' Global South megacities at the bottom of the urban evolutionary chart; see below) naturalises violence as a socially exogenous phenomenon to be held in check through order and control (Rodgers, 2010).[1] Not only is this position empirically disputable (quantitatively similar cities have very different patterns of violence), however, but also flawed at the conceptual (and political) level: it overlooks the extent to which violence is endogenous to the sociospatial processes that produce the urban, the politics pursuing certain kinds of order and control, and thus the role that questions of power, access, infrastructures and regulations play in shaping its asymmetric and stratified impact.

The placing of violence outside of the social forms or, to put it with Clastres (2010 [1980]: 254), its understanding as 'the non-essence, the non-being of the society', is a powerful conceptual matrix that still grounds Western political thinking (see also Arendt, 1970). Otherwise very different political theories such as Rousseau's, Hobbes', Locke's or Bentham's are equally grounded on the idea of a civilising process that, by means of some form of institutional monopoly of force (be it a Leviathan, general will or law), is meant to gradually expunge (direct, physical) violence from the *socius* (e.g. Weber, 1930 [1905]; Elias, 2012 [1939]). Following Springer, this very logic can be observed today in the way in which, 'in orienting itself as a "civilizing" project, neoliberalism as discourse actively manufactures the misrecognition of its violences', positioning itself 'as the sole providence of nonviolence' (2009: 32). Critical thinking has challenged both the assumption of violence as external to society and its reductionist framing as merely direct, physical, and visible. First, by showing that violence is in fact co-substantial with the very surfacing of social formations, rationality and politico-legal institutions (Benjamin, 1986 [1921]; Derrida, 1990; Esposito, 1998). Second, by addressing the systemic working of violence via the notion of *structural* violence: namely, the violence produced by the economic,

financial, legal, political structures – as well as physical infrastructures (Graham and Marvin, 2001; Rodgers and O'Neill, 2012). A violence, that is, which belongs to the impersonal functioning of the system and is therefore 'silent' (Watts, 1983) and 'invisible' (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, 2004: 4; Galtung, 1969; Uvin, 2003[AQ4]; Farmer, 2004). Third, by exploring the role of the discourses that surround and feed violence, via the notion of *cultural* violence: namely, the symbolic dimension that legitimises the effective and affective impact of direct or structural violence (Galtung 1990: 291; Whitehead, 2004), and thus naturalises it vis-à-vis the asymmetric configurations of rules and structures (Bourdieu, 1991). Žižek (2008: 2) systematised these conceptions by distinguishing between 'subjective violence', viz. the direct and physical violence that 'is seen as a perturbation of the "normal", peaceful state of things', and 'objective violence', viz. the structural and cultural violence which is 'inherent to this "normal" state of things. Objective violence, in other words, implicitly sustains the zero-level standard against which we perceive something as subjectively violent' (p. 2), as the normative background with respect to which direct, subjective and physical violence is perceived as such, and given meaning and significance accordingly.

Violence 'can never be seen outside its own structure, which operates at multiple levels – historical, rhetorical, and practical' (Lawrence and Karim, 2007: 8), and it is out of the interplay among these dimensions that violence is (re)produced. Hence the need to develop a properly geographic, indeed *urban,* perspective on violence, by 'addressing how violence shapes space, understood in its broad political and processual sense, and how space shapes violence beyond the instrumental way of analysing spatial patterns to help "explain" violence' (Springer and Le Billon, 2016: 1). However, mainstream definitions of urban violence in media and politics, but also in the academic discourse (as we shall see in the next section), are either redundant (they do not signal a qualitative difference vis-à-vis other definitions of violence) or reductive (violence is reduced to its direct, clearly identifiable and statistically measurable 'manifestations') (cf. Moser, 2004).

III The problem with defining urban violence

How did we get to the conclusion that that an agreed, universal or even satisfactory – for analytical and normative purposes – understanding of urban violence is absent from the academic discourse? We started from the works of Muggah (2012) and Saborio (2014/2015; forthcoming), to the best of our knowledge the only authors to discuss this issue systematically. In particular, we started from the 72 texts reviewed by Saborio in his PhD thesis (2014/2015: 15–27)[2] and used scientometric methods to improve the sistematicity of the review. We analysed the bibliographic information about the 317 texts on 'urban violence' found in Scopus,[3] to i) get a comprehensive picture of the relevant literature, ii) check and iii) integrate Saborio's list with 14 additional texts (see Appendix A for details on scientometric methodology). We have limited the scientometric analysis

to texts *explicitly* using the expression 'urban violence', as an attempt to circumscribe the set of works that *may have tried* to define and/or theorise urban violence. Figure 1 and Appendix B provide general data about this literature, showing: first, a vast range of disciplinary and thematic areas; second, the most representative authors in this field; and, third, that much of this research is carried out in Latin American universities. Figure 2 shows the results of the text analysis of the abstracts, and particularly the vast number of perspectives from which urban violence has been addressed. Our final list, made up of 86 texts (Appendix C), once compared with the results of the scientometric analysis, shows that, albeit exploratory, our literature review is systematic and representative of the range of central topics, authors/affiliations, languages (more notably Portuguese, besides the *lingua franca* English) and contexts of study (particularly Latin American and Brazil) in this field.

Figure 1. Sankey diagram of main authors, keywords and journals in articles about urban violence in Scopus (our elaboration; tool: ScienceScape).
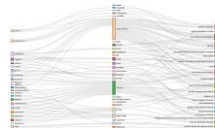
Figure 2. Text analysis of abstracts of articles about urban violence in Scopus (our elaboration; tool: KH Coder).
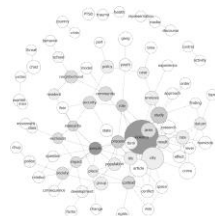
Muggah's (2012) conclusion on the lack of an 'agreed definition' on urban violence is reflected by both Saborio's (2014/2015; forthcoming) and our qualitative review. Lourenço (2012: 153) observes that urban violence is usually framed in two ways: sociologically, by focusing on social actors and relations, and anthropologically, by focusing on cultural definitions of violence. This results in 'merely descriptive or reductive' definitions.4 Our review confirms and complexifies this observation. Only a handful of authors do provide explicit *definitions* of 'urban violence', which we can organise in four typologies:

1.   In its most simple definition, coming from the field of psychiatry, urban violence is framed as 'a complex spectrum of experiences', an understanding which is, however, limited to forms of physical violence, thereby downplaying the urban dimension itself (e.g. Flacks et al., 2014: 33).
2.   The second set of definitions is informed by a legalist and positivist approach to criminology which, although including (violent) crime plus (here the difference from the former) deviant behaviour, tends to downplay non-criminal dimensions of violence (e.g. Lourenço, 2012: 154).
3.   A third, more expanded type of definition, which we found in the field of humanitarian consultancy, encompasses additional types of violence, including psychological damage and material deprivation, in this way moving beyond the legalist reductionism, while still remaining focused on the mere 'use of force', and thus downplaying structural violence (e.g. Harroff-Tavel, 2012: 32).
4.   A last set of definitions adds to (violent) crime the dimension of (media) representation, in diverse ethnographic works that focus on the 'accumulation' of violence and the way in which violence becomes an object of media (mis)representation: however, this is done by downplaying non-criminal and non-direct forms of violence (e.g. Misse, 2008, 2011; Misse and Grillo, 2014; Silva, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2011).

Not only do these four typologies show that urban violence means quite different things to different authors and in different disciplines. What emerges is a set of definitions that hardly help to ground a theorisation of urban violence in its multi-faceted components. The problem is not solved by works that do not explicitly define urban violence. In general, the vast majority of works focuses on the criminal and/or conflictual dimensions of urban violence, considering structural dimensions (when they are considered) as contextual characterisations. A remarkable example is Body-Gendrot's 'quest for meaning' (1995) about the reasons why cities are considered dangerous places. Here, structural determinants, such as the economic crisis, are considered 'external dynamics' (1995: 529) in opposition to, and as causes of, 'processes of decivilisation' in (certain) urban areas (1995: 531). Such an approach has prevented, for instance, the construction of links between the literature about urban violence and that about police violence. These latter studies, particularly in the USA (e.g. Schneider, 2014; Camp and Heatherton, 2016), both acknowledged the centrality of the urban in the way police violence is materialised and looked into its structural determinants – 'why have the police been endowed with the arbitrary capacity to regulate the lives of the racialized poor in US cities?' (Camp and Heatherton, 2016: 2) – yet without unfolding a conceptualisation of police violence as (a form of) urban violence.

The definitions and further works by Misse and Silva do open up a theorisation of urban violence in between its social reality and representation, but without articulating it with non-criminal forms of violence. This is surprising vis-à-vis the argument, developed elsewhere by Silva (2014), on the cultural violence that would stem from scholarly discussions over urban areas represented as violent. Although the dimension of representation provides a necessary path to the theorisation of urban violence, reducing

the latter to its representations ultimately fails to account for what is not represented (i.e. those actions not considered as 'violence' or 'crime', including most forms of institutional and structural violence). As we show below by reworking Galtung's notion of 'cultural violence' (1990), representation is important, provided its role in materially constituting the imaginary of the everyday reality of the city (its 'atmosphere of fear') is taken into account. This is neglected, for instance, in Silva's understanding (2004) of urban violence as something that breaks urban routines, that is, a non-routine event. First, this does not take into account the role of invisible forms of violence in shaping the very routine in which 'manifestations' of violence are perceived as such; second, it neglects that violence *is* routine for many individuals and groups.

A handful of works (Moser and McIlwaine, 2004; Sassen, 2010; Silva, 2014), and particularly the editorials to Moser, (2004;) and Moser and McIlwaine, (2014), and the articles in two special issues of *Environment and Urbanization*, explore the intersection of criminal, institutional and structural violence. While these works specifically make reference to the urban context, they do not explore what is peculiarly urban in 'urban violence'. For instance, in her 'guide to the literature of urban violence', Winton (2004: 179) suggests 'that the connections between the structures, levels and actors involved in violence are as important as the manifestations of violence itself', and argues how this 'relates back to the wider issue of the relationship between violence and development'. In this way, however, violence is framed through the general and generic category of 'development', drastically minimising the relevance of the urban dimension – to which we shall now turn.

IV The 'urban' in urban violence

If we take a look at virtually any dictionary, defining the 'urban' seems an easy task: 'urban' relates to the 'city' (or 'town'), spatially and socio-culturally. This relation, however, far from being self-evident, does not help much in understanding the contemporary *processes of urbanisation* and their socio-economic consequences. Against the limits evidenced in the relevant literature, we argue that the problem of defining 'urban violence' is intertwined with the problem of defining the 'urban' in the first place. Questioning what is specifically *urban* in urban violence may thus help us taking steps toward a theoretical advance with respect to its understanding as *violence in the city*. Moving beyond the phenomenological *event* of urban violence, we now turn our attention to what is simultaneously the *space* (the urban) and the *process* (urbanisation) out of which it emerges as such.

To begin with, what is the 'urban' of urban violence in the relevant literature? Let us take as an example Moser's influential 'introductory roadmap' to urban violence and insecurity (2004: 4). In the absence of an explicit definition, and in order to infer what

Moser means by urban violence, let us consider the forms of violence included in her taxonomy of 'categories, types and manifestations of violence in urban areas' (2004: 5), namely: political, institutional, economic, economic/social and social. The list covers many typologies of actions that are not peculiar to urban space – from 'guerrilla conflict' to 'lynching of suspected criminals', from 'kidnapping' to 'physical or psychological male-female abuse' – and it is thus not very clear what makes those manifestations 'urban violence' in the first place. Ten years later, Moser and McIlwane (2014: 331, 334) remark that, in the light of 'fundamental changes' and the ongoing increase in urban violence, it is necessary to broaden the agenda by exploring 'the symbiotic relationship between urban conflict and violence'. While we agree that 'cities are inherently conflictual spaces', and recognise the relevance of conceptual tools such as conflict-to-violence transient 'tipping points' and 'violence chains' (Moser and Rodgers, 2012: 1), more than simply an a-historical violent quality of cities we are interested in exploring the historically and geographically specific violence of urbanisation.[5]

Our point, to be sure, is not to limit 'urban violence' to forms of violence that are exclusive to urban space – this would leave out many forms of violence necessary to understand violence 'in the city'. But we have been searching for discussions about what is *specifically urban* in the manifestations of violence happening in urban spaces – without success. If the urban is generically defined in opposition/relation to the rural, comparative studies of violence in and outside urban areas may help, but are almost absent. A rare exception is the comparative study by Lee (2011) about homicide among 'urban Blacks' and 'rural Whites' in the USA. Lee finds a common linkage among the two contexts in the 'stateless environments', respectively due to the socio-economic problems of cities and the isolation of rural areas. Unfortunately, Lee refrains from further exploring these linkages, leaving the rural/urban distinction unquestioned, and ends up by suggesting that the 'urban' is intrinsically violent because of long-term social disintegration – 'a nearly total collapse of the social institutional infrastructure that plagues the most disadvantaged communities' (Lee, 2011: 332) – again insisting on the path indicated by Wirth (1938; see above), and then mainstreamed.

The conflation of urban and violence is also visible in some works on Latin America (Auyero et al., 2014; Auyero and Berti, 2015) where urban violence refers to the growth and concentration in urban areas of 'new' forms of violence, and the social stratification of the phenomenon of violence. Here the 'origin' of violence is located in 'the actions and inactions of the state but also in the economy', and is explored at the 'urban margins', where the authors observe how violence appears to increase as the result of the collusion and 'connections between state actors and perpetrators of violence', affecting disproportionately the urban poor (Auyero et al., 2014: 108; see also Moncada, 2013). Yet, the urban still remains a significant *context* of wider processes producing violence, rather than the actual *process*.

The works here discussed exemplify two limits of the relevant literature. First, the label 'urban' tends to be merely a physical container, synonymous with city as the geographic location where manifestations of violence take place (see, e.g., for Brazil: Zaluar, 2004; Cunha, 2012; Landim and Siqueira, 2013), often with regard to specific urban areas such as slums and 'peripheries' (see, e.g., Moser and McIlwane, 2004; Silva, 2010; Feltran, 2014). Second, when the label 'urban' takes on a social dimension, it is mostly contingent to the explanation of specific forms of violence. As such, the study of urban violence is carried out under a conceptual framework that could as well be adopted under another label (e.g. social violence, communal/intra-communal violence), and with the goal, at best, of finding the 'variables' that correlate with violence in the different socio-geographic contexts. The most prominent example of these limits is the literature on US 'inner city' violence (e.g. Shishadeh and Flynn, 1996; Morenoff et al., 2001; Harpaz-Rotem et al., 2007; Jacobs and Wight, 2010; Doucet and Lee, 2015).

The problem of the 'urban' in works about urban violence can be summed up with Feltran (2014: 301):

> The representation of 'urban violence' is fundamentally construed in time [...] through an arbitrary process of association of distinct concepts and phenomena, which end up constructing a single dispositive, which becomes reified – through various mechanisms – and, hence, 'reality'.

Within the 'constructed reality' of urban violence, the urban is naturalised as a fact, and urban space as the unquestioned place of the manifestations of violence. Incidentally, Feltran's use of the term 'arbitrary' may be misleading. The construction of urban violence, though obviously depending on power relations (namely: the power to frame the very notion of urban violence as opposed to those who are framed by it; see Saborio, forthcoming; Auyero et al., 2014), is also more profoundly dependent on longstanding constructions of what a 'city without violence' should look like or, in other words, on the *imaginary of security* that has surfaced together with the modern urban form – and thus in conjunction with the process of urbanisation (see below). While Feltran is right in observing that urban violence is not a 'native' category of the city (2014: 301), of the places and actors to which it is associated, at the same time we maintain that it is co-essential to urbanisation. In other words, although violence has been part of cities since their foundations, insofar as being deeply ingrained with the particular social and political nature of urban life, as the likes of Marx, Tönnies, Simmel, Tarde and other classic urban theorists have argued extensively, we maintain that the concept of urban violence is best understood as a precise historical category emerging out of the modern process of (capitalist) urbanisation. It is thus to the tight relation between urban and urbanisation that we turn.

V The 'urbanisation' in urban violence

The term urbanisation (*urbanización*) was first coined by Ildefons Cerdá about 150 years ago. In the midst of the urban crisis in the age of industrial revolution, Cerdá saw the *city* as a historically contingent political form which had become insalubrious, corrupt and anachronistic. To him, the way out was to have done with the 'city' itself, and focus instead on what he saw as the transhistorical, 'natural, immanent fact of human cohabitation'

(1867): urbanisation.[6] Urban politics was to be understood accordingly as an apolitical question of management based on circulation (*vialidad*). As the city was to become the productive machine of capital, the circulation of people, money and goods needed to be functionally smooth, as well as protected from any technical or political (e.g. protest or dissent) disruption (Adams, 2014). Notwithstanding it's a-historical connotation, Cerdà's notion of *urbanización* expressed *in nuce* the urban form of capital, one that would only gain full ontological reality in a given historical and geographic contingency, namely: when the urban would expand into *urbanisation,* a global process of networks and flows – and particularly of the intersection of the primary (production and trade) and secondary (the built environment) circuits of capital, as per Harvey's spatialisation of the theory of accumulation (1978) – of which the single city is but a node (Cunningham, 2008). This was the panorama theorised by Lefebvre when describing the fragmentation, homogenisation and hierarchisation of the urban space produced by capital, in the direction of what he termed a 'planetarisation of the urban' (1974; 2014 [1989]).

The idea of the urban overcoming the spatial condition of the city and taking on a planetary scale is at the core of Brenner's 'theses on urbanisation', which propose to overcome the static understanding of the urban as a bounded, coherent and discrete unit, by looking at its simultaneous concentration into ever-denser agglomerations, as well as prolongations into other 'places, territories, and scales' (2013: 95). This thesis, further developed by Brenner with Schmid in a series of hotly debated works, calls for understanding the urban as a geographically and historically contingent *process*: 'planetary' urbanisation (2013). To some extent the thesis follows quite neatly, if not very originally, the path of critical reflections on capitalist urbanisation differently traced by the likes of Lefebvre, Castells, Harvey and Soja. Its seemingly grand claims and generalisations, together with a tendency to champion political economy as *the* privileged lens to understand the urban, drew several critiques (e.g. Shaw, 2015; Walker, 2015; McLean, 2018). Admittedly, we agree with some of the said critiques, and especially with those that have advocated the need to fully integrate, rather than simply annex, recent tendencies on affective, relational and more-than-human urbanism (cf. Pavoni, 2018: 45–55). Still, we do believe that the planetary urbanisation thesis has particular value from the point of view of its critique of the 'urban age' thesis. The latter, trumpeted by international institutions, has become in academic, political and journalistic realms an 'all-pervasive metanarrative' through which the urban discourse is implicitly or explicitly framed (Brenner and Schmid, 2013: 4). Accordingly, urbanisation is painted as a dramatic movement of people from the rural to the urban, a dichotomy that is conveniently naturalised so as to allow for 'grasping' the process via quantitative statistics. Interestingly, the discourse on urban violence seems to be oriented by a similarly biased metanarrative: that is, the conceptualisation of violence as a natural occurrence of specific and bounded places (i.e. cities), observable via precise statistics (quintessentially:

murders), whereby a hierarchy of 'violent' cities around the globe is drawn.[7] In other words, as violence *in* the city is assumed to be a natural consequence of the condition of urban co-habitation, the present increase of violence is considered to be a natural outcome of urban growth. This trope, already present in the writing of early urban theorists (see above), is still alive and kicking as of today (cf. Rodgers, 2010).[8] Conversely, Brenner and Schmid's argument as regards urban theory directly resonates with Tyner and Inwood's call for not assuming violence as a transhistorical and transgeographical concept, and rather exploring it as 'produced by, and producing, sociospatially contingent modes of production' (2014: 771). We propose to join these arguments for a processual understanding of both violence (e.g. Lawrence and Karim, 2007: 11) and the urban (as urbanisation), in order to craft an understanding of urban violence able to move beyond static and city-centric biases.

Incidentally, this is to be done without simply 'emphasizing the putatively unique properties of "southern" megacities' (Brenner and Schmid, 2015: 4), the context of choice for studies on urban violence. While a superficial knowledge of global crime statistics would see this as unsurprising, this risks reducing urban violence to a problem specific to 'failed', 'feral' (Norton, 2003; Kilcullen, 2013) or 'fragile' (Savage and Muggah, 2012; Muggah, 2014) cities of the South, thus overlooking its dependence on a wider process of urbanisation and global relations of uneven development and (post-)colonisation. While from a statistical and place-based approach there may be less violence *within* 'northern' cities, looking at the process of urbanisation may show the extent to which they do participate actively in the production of urban violence through the multiple scales through which the global process of capitalist urbanisation is actualised. In fact we may read the very discourse of 'ferality', with its attempt at repositioning violence as a problem of uncontrolled urbanisation in the South, as a symptom of the surfacing anxiety of the global risk society, insofar as assuming 'the organization of violence [...] as a problematic of government amidst the dislocations created by "planetary urbanization"' (Valayden, 2016: 8).

We are aware that capitalist urbanisation should not be fetishised: it may be an increasingly planetary process yet it is far from being a homogenous one, since it is always actualised in and through concrete and contingent spatio-historical relations, that is, 'through complex processes of instantiation, where the singularities of place and history are experimentally refigured into unsettled articulations with larger surrounds' (Simone, 2016: 8; see also Tsing, 2012). It is therefore a bifocal lens we need, pointed simultaneously at the planetary dimension of the violent process of urbanisation and the socio-spatial configuration it presupposes, and at the material and affective relations (atmospheres) in and through which this form is concretely actualised on the urban space. This approach may provide us with a framework under which to study simultaneously the process through which urban violence proliferates and the specific forms in which it

comes to be perceived, experienced and lived in the urban. In the next section, we suggest that those relations are (re)produced under the framework of security logics and focus on the affective configurations of fear as a key lens through which the co-essential relation between security, violence and the urban can be unfolded.

VI Urban violence amid atmospheres of fear

The discussion on urban violence seems to be oriented by a common quest: the attempt to make violence visible, either through the inventory of its physical manifestations, the examination of its structural instantiations, or the deconstruction of its discursive representations. In the last section we maintained that, whether urban violence is to be an effective concept, such dimensions (and their interspersion) should be framed dynamically vis-à-vis urbanisation as a planetary process. How is such interspersion concretely actualised into the urban? 'What is', as Simone asks, '*between* the peculiar, idiosyncratic features of cities and urban regions and urbanization at a planetary scale?' (2016: 8). How does the violence of capitalist urbanisation take place in, shaping and being shaped by, the material and affective reality of everyday urban experiences? These are the questions this section addresses.

Body-Gendrot (1995: 525) observes that urban violence must be explored at 'the interplay between representations and the reality that people experience in certain urban environments'. We second this suggestion, provided it be interpreted to its radical extent, by means of overcoming the ontological distinction between representation and reality, words and worlds. This is perhaps the most precious insight brought to urban theory by the late 'turns' in humanities (e.g. spatial, relational, affective, material, post-human), unfolding a dense ecology of structures, representations and bodies that 'get' and 'hold' together into the socio-material, normative and affective configurations through which the urban is 'tuned' (e.g. Amin and Thrift, 2002; Amin, 2007; Anderson and McFarlane, 2011; Pavoni, 2018). These insights provide a further challenge to the 'urban age' thesis and its reductionist characterisation of the urban as a mere question of (human) inhabitation, by opening up the field to a whole array of other entities, practices and relations that constitute the urban, and thus the possibility and reality of urban violence.

This inspiration allows for complexifying Galtung's linear stratification of violence – 'a causal flow from cultural via structural to direct violence' (1990: 295) – by exploring the way in which representations and narratives of violence are embedded and sedimented into the materiality of the urban. For this purpose, the notion of atmosphere appears as particularly appropriate. Assumed as surfacing out of the 'coming together of people, buildings, technologies and various forms of non-human life in particular geographical settings' (Conradson and Latham, 2007: 238), atmospheres make explicit how space is co-produced at the intersection between structures, representations and

experience (cf. Lefebvre, 1974; Sloterdijk, 2004). Atmospheric thinking helps paying attention to the emergent (contingent) and stratified (historical) configurations of affects, emotions and feelings, as well as to the way they are acted upon for political, economic or securitarian purposes (e.g. Anderson, 2009; Thibaud, 2011; Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2015).[9] Against Brenner and colleagues' somehow hasty argument (2011: 233), a focus on these affective assemblages does not imply reducing the urban to an ahistorical and undifferentiated surface, by 'displac[ing] the investigation of capitalist urban development'. In fact, it allows for fine-tuning this very investigation, by engaging with planetary, abstract, as well as 'more-than-human processes and relations while also remaining attentive to how these processes and relations are potentially sensed in moving bodies' (McCormack, 2008: 414). To explain how this concept may be mobilised vis-à-vis urban violence, it is to security that we shall turn.

'No representation of violence exists apart from its rhetorical opposite or sublimated counterpart' (Lawrence and Karim, 2007: 10). In other words: no manifestation of *urban* violence exists apart from its sublimated *urban* counterpart, namely, an urban space *purified* from violence. Not simply a dialectical opposition, this historically-situated relation may be traced to the very surfacing of capitalist urbanisation. As Foucault highlighted, the advent of the modern (capitalist) urban form is tied to 'the question of the spatial, juridical, administrative, and economic opening up of the town: resituating the town in a space of circulation' (2009 [2004]: 13). Since the free market requires a simultaneously free and *secure* circulation, then it is vital that the 'inherent dangers of this circulation be cancelled out' (2009 [2004]: 65): not only are security and freedom wrapped together at the very core of the project of liberalism (cf. Neocleous, 2008); more precisely, *security surfaces as a peculiar urban problem in the age of capitalist urbanisation*, in the form of a post-political neutralisation of violence aimed at shaping the urban into a space of security.

Regardless of the pragmatic realism that often characterises security strategies, in fact, the contemporary discourse of security is crafted as an effort in 'communicating' safety by fostering the 'spectacular' promise of absolute security (Boyle and Haggerty, 2009~~3~~[AQ5]). Both in the promises to 'eradicate terrorism' (François Hollande) 'from the face of the earth' (Donald Trump) that regularly follow terrorist attacks, and in more prosaic 'zero tolerance' statements, security is projected into a spatio-temporal totality, a future in which violence is 'chased everywhere' (Vladimir Putin) and the utopia of 'absolute security' supposedly becomes reality.[10] While security has obviously directly and structurally violent dimensions, as countless denunciations, testimonies and reports daily remind, it is in the symbolic sphere, as Sützl suggests, that security is at its most pervasive (2009). By definition security *requires* securing for itself the legitimate use of violence in order to function – security, to put it with Agamben (2001), is granted a permanent status of exception from the very politico-legal order it is meant to protect (see also Neocleous,

2008). For this to be possible, security must be constantly legitimised and justified by its alleged opposite, that is, insecurity, and its sparring partners, that is, violence and the fear of violence (Wark, 2005). This is inherently contradictory, however. As Anderson explains, 'we can never be done with securing because this is dependent on invoking the future in a way that disrupts and opens up the here and now' (2010: 229).

Once the 'eradication of violence' is posited as the goal, a normality is projected onto the social with respect to which any variation is singled out, in a self-fulfilling circularity that finds no end (Lianos and Douglas, 2000):

- *Logically,* because whereas fear is present, risk is future: as Massumi (2005: 35) explains, 'a threat is only a threat if it retains an indeterminacy. If it has a form, it is not a substantial form, but a time form: a futurity.' (The) risk (of violence) is an ever-present potential, whose very potentiality has to be constantly defused and neutralised and yet, because of its radically de-bounded character, constantly re-produces insecurity in the present (Beck, 2002);
- *Phenomenologically*, as the 'disembedded geographies' (Rodgers, 2004) of cities such as Johannesburg, Managua or Porto Alegre show, because any attempt to eradicate violence from the insulated comforts of gated suburbs, shopping malls and other armoured bubbles only reinforces the perception of the outside as menacing and insecure (Klauser, 2010; Pavoni, 2011; Zeiderman et al., 2015; Tulumello, 2017: ch. 4);
- *Structurally*, because the quest for immunising space from (the fear of) violence intersects with the socio-economical asymmetries of the urban, that is, it is unavoidably bound to exclude (and thus generate further violence against) those unable to afford entering such a 'comfort-animated artificial continent' (Sloterdijk, 2013: 195).

It is not the impossibility of actually eliminating violence *in the future* we are interested to highlight here, however, but the material and affective violence this very projection produces *in the present*. The spectacle of security,[11] to paraphrase Debord, is not merely an ideology to be deconstructed, but a 'Weltanschauung that has been actualized, translated into the material realm – a world view transformed into a material force' (1994 [1967]: § 1.5): namely, the atmosphere of fear which in turn enacts (and justifies) violence in the here and now. That fear has 'saturated' urban policy discourse (Sandercock, 2002: 15) is unquestionable. While as Bannister and Fyfe (2001: 810) argue, 'the history and geography of the city can be read as a series of interventions in urban space designed to address a range of fears and anxieties'; this is particularly the case in the so-called information age, in which the speed and scale of the circulation of representations and discourses around such fears and anxieties is dramatically augmented. In this context, as many suggest (e.g. Allen, 2006; Adey, 2014; Pavoni, 2018), it is the very atmosphere of the urban that security increasingly seeks to *secure*, in the attempt to depurate the city from any 'perturbation'.[12] If, according to the famous Foucauldian quip, the 'birth of biopolitics' implied that every aspect of life would become the concern of government (from the sovereign who 'lets live and makes die' to the government that 'makes live and lets die'), it is through an all-encompassing, and

increasingly atmospheric, discourse of security that this integration is performed (e.g. Graham, 2012: 149; Battistelli, 2013).[13] It is in this sense that we may draw a link between the socio-historical interspersion between violence, security and urbanisation and its material and affective actualisation in the city – a link that the notion of comfort aptly encapsulates.

With Sloterdijk (2013), comfort emerges as a key category of urban politics once it becomes increasingly crucial to organise urban life into technological, normative, affective and physical interiors, that is, safe, commodified and entertaining spaces, relations and practices, from which risk and uncertainty are expunged. In this context, questions of security, entertainment and comfort converge (Thrift, 2011; Brighenti and Pavoni, 2017). Within comfort societies, be they partitioned via explicit militarisation (e.g. Graham, 2011) or 'soft' aesthetics (e.g. Thörn, 2011), violence is rhetorically opposed to a phenomenological right to be comfortable, which is in turn framed in reference to such states as 'peace of mind' and 'absence of fear', to be achieved through various (discursive, technological, legal…) means.[14] Consequently, the categories within which 'manifestations' of urban violence may be included expand, justifying the (direct and structural) mechanisms that are put in place to repress them. This includes all those features that Mitchener-Nissen (2014: 76) terms 'harms that are not crimes' (i.e. fear of crime, feelings of insecurity). In the UK anti-social behaviour legislation, for instance, 'it is not the offensiveness of the conduct which causes "harassment, alarm or distress" that is the problem, even where the conduct concerned is offensive, but rather it is the underlying threat to others' sense of security' (Ramsay, 2008: 9).[15] That is, the extent to which this *produces* insecurity, and hence fear. Let us come back to Lourenço: 'the feeling of insecurity is essentially urban' (2012: 159). Granted, the last may be taken as yet another urban version of 'spatial fetishism' (Katz, 2007; Springer, 2011): namely, the assumption that the (supposedly universal) condition of urban inhabitation is naturally conducive (because of anonymity, impersonality, anomie, conflict…) to insecurity. This same idea, however, takes on a different nature if we reframe it through a socio-historical perspective: viz. with reference to the above exposed genealogical intertwining between the way violence is (re)produced, made visible, and governed in the contemporary city.

On a first level, the contemporary rise of fear in the urban may be read as the surfacing of a more general 'ontological insecurity' linked to the increasing (existential, economic, environmental) precariousness produced by the uneven dislocations of capitalist urbanisation (e.g. Lees et al., 2015). On a deeper level, however, we argue that this is tied to the specific articulation that the violence-security nexus assumes in the contemporary urban context. In this sense, the (widespread, growing) feelings of insecurity, rather than being merely valued as 'rational' or 'irrational' vis-à-vis actual risks of victimisation, may be read as the expression of those very atmospheres of fear that are produced, on the one hand, by the structural inequalities of capitalist urbanisation and, on the other, by the

permanent, if delusional, (neoliberal) effort toward securitisation. The effort in confining or neutralising (direct) violence leads to the proliferation of structural and cultural violence, which violently materialises in the city in the form of pervasive atmospheres of fear. This suggests that violence may be said to be present in the urban even when non-actual, as an atmospheric potential, that is, that always threatens to actualise asymmetrically along rifts of race, gender, ethnicity and so on (e.g. Bissell, 2010; Massumi interviewed in Evans, 2017). It is evident how this is far more than a matter of subjective perception, and rather needs to be framed within a wider evolution of the physical and affective aesthetic of the urban in the context of capitalist urbanisation (cf. Protevi, 2009), as a result of which the urban everyday life is reshaped into socio-spatial configurations in which the violence of repression and exclusion is surreptitiously made possible, or not, into impalpable and yet absolutely material atmospheres of fear.

VII Conclusion: Three steps toward a theory of urban violence

Acknowledging that the literature about urban violence tends to take both/either urban and/or violence for granted, this article has suggested that a deeper discussion about the 'urban' can provide paths to better understand why urban violence occurs in the way it does. In line with the idea that violence shapes space and space shapes violence (cf. Springer and Le Billon, 2016), we have raised the question about the kind of violence that is specific to the peculiar spatial formation that we know as the urban, by exploring the violence-security nexus from the perspective of the production of atmospheres of fear. Beyond a theoretical endeavour, this is also a normative one if, for instance, we seek to understand what fosters urban violence and how violence (and harm!) could be reduced accordingly. In conclusion, let us recap the three conceptual shifts emerging from our discussion, which we consider as many necessary steps to theorise and define urban violence.

First: from violence in the city to violence in/of/through an age of (increasingly planetary) capitalist urbanisation. By shifting the attention from the city to (planetary) urbanisation – and its variable and dynamic sociospatial dimensions – the urban is no longer understood as a spatial container but as the process constitutive of urban violence. Put simply, 'urban violence' thus appears as a precise historical category emerging out of the process of capitalist urbanisation. This shift is especially relevant to explore the connections between the urban, on the one side, and structural forms and roots of violence, on the other. For instance, by providing a framework to study *the relations between* forms of violence happening in urban settings and forms of violence that are the product of (capitalist) urbanisation (e.g. the relations between concentrations of criminal violence in particular urban settings and uneven spatial-economic relations).

Second: beyond the dichotomous thinking about the violence-security nexus. We have discussed how it is the very (neoliberal) machine of security, and its policy/politics, to be productive of urban violence. By overcoming the violence-security dichotomy we may convincingly problematise the possibility to build universal understandings of – and 'solutions' to – urban violence, pointing instead to the necessity to understand the latter vis-à-vis its contingent relation to varying urban conditions and different interpretations of urban life.[16] Moreover, this calls for an integration of political economic understandings and affective exploration: thence the following shift.

Third: from manifestations of violence in the city to the 'threshold' (of visibility) beyond which a city is understood, and depicted, as violent – i.e. the generation of atmospheres of fear. This shift adds up a further understanding of the urban as the background out of which violence becomes manifest – an endeavour that takes more and more significance in an age of proliferation and fractalisation (here we think also of the multiplication of scales boosted by social media) of representations of security/insecurity. We have shown how the (political, media, imaginary) construction of urban violence is the distorted mirror of an ever-present idea of a 'city without violence', a peculiar imaginary of security that has emerged in modern times. In other words, the necessity to rework a definition of urban violence chimes with the need to disarticulate it from the sense of security to which it is overlapped. While achieving security is not equivalent to eradicating violence – it is also and perhaps first of all a narrative, symbolic and atmospheric endeavour – at the same time reducing violence has to do with more than addressing its direct instantiations. It may have to do first with disconnecting its equivalence with insecurity and fear. To do so requires to understand the extent to which violence is engrained within the urban, and thus to unfold a complex enough understanding of the urban itself, one that would neither imply the minimisation of violence nor the resignation to its inevitability, but rather the rejection of problematic assumptions (e.g. violence as an exogenous anomaly; violence as fully measurable and rational, and thus manageable by acting on costs-benefit calculations) and teleological projections. It is the very striving for a violence-free society, in other words, that appears to be constitutive to more violence (although often in the structural and symbolic, rather than direct, form), in the same way as it is the striving for absolute security that appears to be conducive to more insecurity, and fear. 'To break the cycle of violence would require more than a policy shift or a reliance on more effective policing and security measures', as Lawrence and Karim rightly observe, and this may entail 'accepting its instrinsicality and responding to its energy rather than trying to remove it' (2007: 12).

On a normative perspective, to conclude, if urban violence is inextricably intertwined with the bundle of power, practices and representations of the actually-existing (neoliberal) ideology of security, and if we are to take seriously the 'seemingly universal and timeless' desire for security (Harrington, 2017: 76), then embracing uncertainty, and

– as troubling as this endeavour may be – accepting violence as an inevitable (if problematic) component of urban life ultimately appears as a necessary step.

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Notes

1. Though revisited and updated, this line of thinking still informs more recent works developed at the Chicago School of Sociology, where urban violence is measured against neighbourhoods' 'collective efficacy' and social control (cf. Morenoff et al., 2001) – underlying is the idea that only the small scale 'community' can develop social ties strong enough to defend itself from violence.

2. We are very grateful to Sebastian Saborio for having shared the unpublished list with us, which itself updated Muggah's (2012) list.

3. We preferred Scopus over Web of Science (WoS) or ProQuest for its wider coverage, including with regard to works in languages other than English. All indexes have a number of limitations, including the domination of the English language and the virtual absence of books – see Tulumello and Falanga (2015) for a discussion about WoS, which fits here. Suffice it to say that the scientometric work did not replace the qualitative review, but was rather a help in orienting – by providing a panoramic view of sources considered high quality by the academic community – what is inevitably subject to personal experiences, such as every literature review.

4. This and following translations are ours.

5. For instance, Moser and McIlwane (2014: 336) emphasise the relation between the 'rescaling' of cities and forms of violence (e.g. organised crime), failing to note, however, that not simply are the latter rescaled as a result of the rescaling of the

former, but that violence results from the process of rescaling (urbanisation) in the first place.

6. 'Civilization cannot be attributed to the artificiality of political form, but rather it emerges in the natural, immanent fact of human cohabitation' (<u>Adams, 2014</u>: 18; see also <u>Aureli, 2011</u>).

7. When seeking to understand 'urban violence [as] the combination of the different forms of violence that characterise a given city as violent', as Saborio (2014/2015: 27; see also <u>Saborio, forthcoming</u>) promisingly suggests, therefore, it is important to take into account the implicit framework according to which such 'forms' are selected, highlighted and concatenated in constructing such 'characterisations'.

8. For instance, Muggah dismissed in a recent TED talk the correlation between urban density and violence as empirically untenable, only to suggest a correlation between the speed of urbanisation ('turbo-urbanisation') and violence, hardly a significant shift in perspective. See <u>www.ted.com/talks/robert_muggah_how_to_protect_fast_growing_cities_from_failing</u> (accessed 30 August 2018).

9. For two recaps see <u>Bille and colleagues (2015)</u> and <u>Adey and colleagues (2013)</u>.

10. Retrieved from: <u>www.wsj.com/articles/frances-hollande-extends-state-of-emergency-for-three-months-1447690309</u>; <u>www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/berlin-attack-germany-donald-trump-isis-terrorism-blame-latest-news-updates-lorry-a7485936.html</u>; <u>www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/vladimir-putin/11588182/Fifteen-years-of-Vladimir-Putin-in-quotes.html</u> (accessed 30 August 2018).

11. For a discussion on violence and spectacle in Rio de Janeiro's favelas, see <u>Larkin (2015)</u>.

12. Conceição defines public safety (*segurança pública*) as the situation in which 'everyone enjoys their rights and practices their activities without perturbation from others' (<u>2008</u>: 17).

13. See, for instance, <u>Battistelli (2013</u>: §2) and his observation on the shift, in academic and public arenas, from 'public safety' (*sicurezza pubblica*) – whose core goals are 'people's individual safety and the protection of property' – to 'urban security' (*sicurezza urbana*), which adds 'the quality of life and the full enjoyment of urban space'. The transition toward urban security is particularly evident in Southern Europe (cf. <u>Recasens et al., 2013</u>). In Anglophone contexts, this transition tends to be either less relevant (in the US, public safety remains central) or less linear (in the UK, community safety is the prevalent concept).

14. See, for instance, the recent debate around 'safe space' policy in the UK (cf. <u>Dunt, 2015</u>).

15. See the UK Crime and Disorder Act 1998 §1(1).

16. E.g. in European cities public space is considered a right, and the militarisation thereof tends to be considered (state) violence, more than in US cities.

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NB: This list only includes those works we directly referenced in the main text. For the full list of works consulted for the qualitative literature review, see Appendix C.

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Appendix A. Scientometric methods and instructions to visualise <u>Figures 1</u> and <u>2</u>

We downloaded the dataset from Scopus on 19 October 2016, interrogating the fields 'title', 'keyword' and 'abstract' with the string 'urban violence'. We filtered the results for the subject area 'social sciences and humanities'. The query resulted in a dataset made up of 318 records.

We then cleaned-up the dataset on Open Refine (http://openrefine.org/), where we also spotted a duplicated record, which we removed. The final dataset is composed of 317 records. Of these records, 187 contain author keywords and 290 contain abstracts.

We then produced a Sankey diagram (<u>Figure 1</u>) with the tool ScienceScape developed by Médialab SciencePo (http://tools.medialab.sciences-po.fr/sciencescape/). The diagram shows most common authors, keywords and journals (higher bars stand for more recurrent terms) and their co-occurrence in the same record (the lines connecting the bars).

For the text analysis of abstracts, we created a text file where each paragraph is an abstract. The text file is composed of 290 paragraphs and c.54,000 words. On KH Coder (a text-analysis tool developed by Koichi Higuchi; http://khc.sourceforge.net/en/), we produced a co-occurrence network (<u>Figure 2</u>), a representation of words occurring in the same abstract. The network shows recurrent words (nodes) and their co-occurrence in the same abstract (connections). The bigger the node, the more frequent the word; the darker the node, more the connections it has (darker words co-occur with several among the frequently occurring words); the nearer two nodes, more often the words co-occur in the same abstract. [GQ5]

Appendix B. List of main authors, affiliations and countries of affiliation in articles about urban violence in Scopus (our elaboration)

Author	#	Affiliation	#	Country (affiliation)	#
Body-Gendrot S	6	Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro	10	USA	100
Andreoli SB	3	Universidade de Sao Paulo - USP	8	Brazil	59
Bressan RA		Universite Paris Sorbonne - Paris IV	6	UK	40
Silva LAM		University of Manchester	5	France	21
Figueira I		Louisiana State University		Germany	9
Mari JJ		Universidade Federal de Sao Paulo		South Africa	8
Mello MF		Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais		Colombia	7
Mendlowicz MV		Rutgers University - Newark Campus	4	Netherlands	5
Rodgers D		Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro		Switzerland	
Shihadeh ES		University of Texas at Austin		Argentina	4
Auyero J	2	Indiana University		Nigeria	
Berti MF		Queen Mary, University of London		Portugal	
Cameron L		Zentrum Moderner Orient	3	Sweden	
Ceballo R		Universidade Federal Fluminense		Canada	3
Coelho MC		Ohio State University		Chile	
Fiszman A		Loyola University of Chicago		Norway	
Freitag U		UC Irvine		Turkey	
Fuccaro N		Harvard University		Denmark	2
Griffiths E		Brown University		Ecuador	
Hoelscher K		Drexel University		Finland	
Jacobs BA		Universidade Federal do Ceará		Italy	
Jaguaribe B		University of California, San Francisco		Kenya	
Koff H		Fundacao Oswaldo Cruz		Luxembourg	
Kynoch G		University of California, Los Angeles		Mexico	
Lacerda ALT		Queen's University Belfast		Venezuela	
Lafi N		SOAS University of London			
Lee MR		[AQ6]			
Marans S					
Marques-Portella C					

Author	#	Affiliation	#	Country (affiliation)	#
McIlwaine C					
McKnight M					
Misse M					
Moncada E					
Moser CON					
Muggah R					
O'Dowd L					
Pieterse E					
Rendón MG					
Simon IM					
Tadié J					
Volchan E					
Wilding P					
Wright R					

Appendix C. List of articles for the literature review (based on the list used by Saborio [2014/2015], integrated and updated)

1	Adorno S (2002) Exclusão socioeconômica e violência urbana. *Sociologías* 4(8): 84–135.	
2	Agostini G, Chianese F, French W and Sandhu A (2010) Understanding the processes of urban violence. An analytical framework. Prepared for: Crisis States Research Centre, Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics. Available at: https://www.eisf.eu/library/understanding-the-process-of-urban-violence-an-analytical-framework/ (accessed 30 August 2018).	
3	Almendra D (2014) As UPPs, as elites e a imprensa: Militarização e consumo no processo de 'pacificação' de favelas do Rio de Janeiro. *Revista Paranaense de Desenvolvimento* 126: 61–89.	
4	Auyero J and Berti MF (2015) *In Harm's Way. The Dynamics of Urban Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.	our integration
5	Auyero J, Lara AB and Berti MF (2014) Violence and the state at the urban margins. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 43(1): 94–116.	our integration

6	Body-Gendrot S (1995) Urban violence: A quest for meaning. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 21(4): 525–536.	
7	Briceño-León R (2002) La nueva violencia urbana de América Latina. *Sociologías* 4(8): 34–51.	
8	Briceño-León R (ed) (2005) *Violencia, Sociedad y Justicia en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: CLASCO.	
9	Burgos MB (2005) Cidade, território e cidadania. *DADOS – Revista de Ciências Sociais* 48(1): 189–222.	
10	Burke P (1999) O 'processo civilizador' vencerá o poder das novas armas? Violência urbana e civilização. *Braudel Papers* 12: 3–12.	
11	Concha-Eastman A (2002) Urban violence in Latin America and the Caribbean. Dimensions, explanations, actions. In: Rotker S and Goldman K (eds) *Citizens of Fear. Urban Violence in Latin America*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, pp. 37–54.	
12	Cunha CV (2012) A cidade para os civilizados: Significados da ordem pública em contextos de violência urbana. *DILEMAS: Revista de Estudos de Conflito e Controle Social* 5(2): 211–232.	
13	Cunha CV (2015) O medo do retorno do medo: Um ponto de inflexão no programa das UPPs. *DILEMAS: Revista de Estudos de Conflito e Controle Social* 8(1): 41–62.	
14	Davis DE (ed) (2012) Urban resilience in situation of chronic violence. Final Report. May 2012. MIT Center for International Studies. Available at: https://cis.mit.edu/programs/urban-resilience-situations-chronic-violence (accessed 30 August 2018).	
15	Davis DE and Tirman J (eds) (2012) A toolkit for urban resilience in situation of chronic violence. Report, MIT Center for International Studies. Available at: https://cis.mit.edu/programs/urban-resilience-situations-chronic-violence (accessed 30 August 2018).	
16	Davis DE and Teresa GR (2013) Rescaling security strategies. State tactics and citizen responses to violence in Mexico City. In: Lippert RK and Walby K (eds) *Policing Cities. Urban Securitization and Regulation in a Twenty-first Century World*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 113–129.	
17	Doucet JM and Lee MR (2015) Civic communities and urban violence. *Social Science Research* 52: 303–316.	our integration
18	Feltran GD (2014) Crime e periferia. In: De Lima RS, Ratton JL and Azevedo RDG (eds) *Crime, Polícia e Justiça no Brasil*. São Paulo: Contexto Editora, pp. 299–307.	

19	Fernandes FL (2013) Youth gang members in Rio de Janeiro. The face of a 'Lost Generation' in an age of fear and mistrust. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32(2): 210–223.	
20	Flacks MK, Malta SM, Almeida PP, Bueno OFA, Pupo MC, Andreoli SB, Mello MF, Lacerda ALT, Mari JJ and Bressan RA (2014) Attentional and executive functions are differentially affected by post-traumatic stress disorder and trauma. *Journal of Psychiatric Research* 48: 32–39.	our integration
21	Freire J (2014) 'Violência urbana' e 'cidadania' na cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Tensões e disputas em torno das 'justas atribuições' do Estado. *DILEMAS: Revista de Estudios de Conflictos e Controle Social* 7(1): 73–94.	
22	Goldstein DM (2003) *Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence, and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*. Berkeley: University of California Press.	
23	Gullo AAS (1998) Violência urbana, um problema social. *Tempo Social* 10(1): 105–119.	
24	Harpaz-Rotem I, Murphy RA, Berkowitz S, Marans S and Rosenheck RA (2007) Clinical epidemiology of urban violence. Responding to children exposed to violence in ten communities. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 22(11): 1479–1490.	our integration
25	Harroff-Tavel M (2012) Humanitarian response towards urban violence. In: Apraxine P, Duquenne A, Fetta S and Helly D (eds) *Urban Violence and Humanitarian Challenges. Joint Report*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies, pp. 32–37.	
26	Hoelscher K and Nussio E (2016) Understanding unlikely successes in urban violence reduction. *Urban Studies* 53(11): 2397–2416.	updated
27	Huggins MK (2000) Urban violence and police privatization in Brazil. Blended invisibility. *Social Justice* 41(4): 113–134.	
28	Jacobs BA and Wight R (2010) Bounded rationality, retaliation, and the spread of urban violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 25(10): 1739–1766.	our integration
29	Koonings K (2012) Definition and trends of urban violence. In: Apraxine P, Duquenne A, Fetta S and Helly D (eds) *Urban Violence and Humanitarian Challenges. Joint Report*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies, pp. 13–16.	
30	Landim L and Siqueira R (2013) *Trajetos de Violência, da Segurança Pública e da Sociedade Civil na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*. Brasília: IPEA.	updated
31	Lee MR (2011) Reconsidering culture and homicide. *Homicide Studies* 15(4): 319–340.	our integration
32	Leite MP (2005) Violência, insegurança e cidadania: reflexões a partir do Rio de Janeiro. In: Carvalho FL (ed) *Observatório da Cidadania 2005. Rugidos e Sussurros*. Rio de Janeiro: Ibase, pp. 66–70.	

33	Lourenço N (2012) Città, violenza urbana e sentimento di insicurezza. *Rivista di Criminologia, Vittimologia e Sicurezza* 6(3): 131–148.	our integration
34	Luz MP, Coutinho ESF, Berger W, Mendlowicz MV, Vilete LMP, Mello MF, Quintana MI, Bressan RA, Andreoli SB, Mari JJ and Figueira I (2016) Conditional risk for posttraumatic stress disorder in an epidemiological study of a Brazilian urban population. *Journal of Psychiatric Research* 72: 51–57.	our integration
35	Macaulay F (2012) Deepening the Federative Pact? The Dilma government's approach to crime, justice and policing. *Critical Sociology* 38(6): 823–834.	
36	MacDonald JM (2002) The effectiveness of community policing in reducing urban violence. *Crime and Delinquency* 48(4): 592–618.	
37	Mears DP and Bhati AS (2006) No community is an island: The effects of resource deprivation on urban violence in spatially and socially proximate communities. *Criminology* 44(3): 509–548.	
38	Miagusko E (2016) Esperando a UPP. Circulação, violência e mercado político na Baixada Fluminense. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 91: 1–15.	updated
39	Misse M (2002) Rio como um Bazar. A conversão da ilegalidade em mercadoria política. *Insight Inteligência* 3(5): 12–16.	
40	Misse M (2008) Sobre a acumulação social da violência no Rio de Janeiro. *Civitas – Revista de Ciências Sociais* 8(3): 371–385.	
41	Misse M (2011) *Crime e Violência no Brasil Contemporâneo: Estudos de Sociologia do Crime e da Violência Urbana*. Rio de Janeiro: Lumen Juris.	
42	Misse M and Grillo CC (2014) Río de Janeiro. Sufrir la violencia, decir la paz. In: Jaramillo AM and Perea CM (eds) *Ciudades en la Encrucijada: Violencia y Poder Criminal en Río de Janeiro, Medellín, Bogotá y Ciudad Juárez*. Medellín: Corporación Región, pp. 49–116.	
43	Moncada E (2013) Business and the politics of urban violence in Colombia. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48(3): 308–330.	
44	Moncada E (2013) The politics of urban violence: Challenges to development in the Global South. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48(3): 217–239.	
45	Moser CN (2004) Urban violence and insecurity: An introductory roadmap. *Environment and Urbanization* 16(2): 3–16.	
46	Moser CN and McIlwaine C (2004) *Encounters with Violence in Latin America. Urban Poor Perceptions from Colombia and Guatemala*. New York: Routledge.	
47	Moser CN and McIlwaine C (2005) Latin American urban violence as a development concern towards a framework for violence reduction. *World Development* 34(1): 89–112.	

48	Moser CN and McIlwaine C (2014) Editorial: New frontiers in twenty-first century urban conflict and violence. *Environment and Urbanization* 26(2): 331−344.	our integration
49	Morenoff JD, Sampson RJ and Raudenbush SW (2001) Neighborhood inequality, collective efficacy, and the spatial dynamics of urban violence. *Criminology* 39(3): 517–558.	
50	Muggah R (2014) Deconstructing the fragile city. *Environment and Urbanization* 26(2): 1–14.	
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