



HEALTH PERCEPTION

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*A research on the impact
of development projects*

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Have fun in reading this master thesis!

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Picture on front page: Retrieved from internet on September 19, 2012 from www.roundearthmedia.org

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Abbreviations

CDC	Centres for Disease Control
DIFD	Department for International Development
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
EDS	Expertise pour le Développement du Sahel
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICCO	Inter Church Organization for Development cooperation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDEF	Instituto Nicaragüense de Evangelismo a Fondo
INIDE	Instituto Nacional de Información de Desarrollo
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PADev	Participatory Assessment of Development
UN HABITAT	United Nations agency for human settlements
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter 1 – Introduction



Picture: Retrieved from internet on September 24, 2012 from www.flickr.com

We live in the age of the city. The city is everything to us – it consumes us, and for that reason, we glorify it (Okome, 2002).

The earth has urbanized even faster than originally predicted by the Club of Rome in its notoriously Malthusian 1972 report Limits of Growth. Cities will account for virtually all-future world population growth, which expect to peak at about 10 billion in 2050 (Davis, 2004, p. 2). You do not need a lot of imagination to predict potential dangers of this exploding growth of the cities. Together with the fact that the population growth in the developed nations will shrink and even decline raise the awareness that future growth will be concentrated in the countries with a lack of prosperity and wealth. 95 % of this final build out of humanity will occur in the urban areas of developing countries, whose populations will double to nearly 4 billion over the next generation (Davis, 2004, p. 3).

UN HABITAT (2003), a United Nations agency focusing on the habitat of the poor, are accentuating the various and disastrous effects of the rapid and unregulated urbanization processes in cities in developing countries. Since 2007, the number of people living in cities outpaced the number of people living in rural areas. UN HABITAT (2003) is concerned with the fact of rapid growth of slum areas in urban settings. In those areas are people living without sufficient conditions as improved sanitation, access to improved water, sufficient living area, security of tenure and housing durability. The concerns are also in relation to the lack of participation of communities in decision-making processes and implementation of activities. It has to do with the lack of ability to be a determinant in improving their lives. Another important aspect of slums, a little bit ignored by UN HABITAT, is the high rate of violence and crime related to inhabitants in slums.

He let his mind drift as he stared at the city, half slum, half paradise. How could a place be so ugly and violent, yet beautiful at the same time (Abani, 2004, p. 7)?

Crime is in fact so prevalent in Central America that in many instances levels of violence are comparable to- or in some cases higher than – during the decade of war that affected most of the region during the 1980s (Rodgers, 2005, p. 2). People are living in a continuous threat of violence and crime, which keeps their lives into fear and insecurity. In urban areas of Latin America, violence has become increasingly ubiquitous as an ‘everyday’, ‘common’, or ‘endemic phenomenon that permeates daily life, especially poor populations (Moser & Mcilwaine, 2006, p. 89). Probably one of the most forgotten aspects in the battle against poverty is this threat on the capabilities and strategies of poor people in their livelihood. They cannot protect themselves with walls around their houses, like the rich can. They cannot move to another area with a saver living area, constrained by a lack of economic capital. The economic impact of violence, as well as its associated linkages to poverty, inequality, and exclusion, has only recently been recognized as a development concern (Moser & Mcilwaine, 2006, p. 90).

Especially for young people is the threat of violence on their livelihood strategies – as a victim and a potential solution out of poverty – enormous. Youth gangs are widespread throughout the whole of Latin America, and particularly virulent in Central America where they are widely seen as something of a ‘social pathology’ (Rodgers, 2005, p.2). Nicaragua is one of the countries with high rates of youth gangs, ‘pandillas’; occurring in neighbourhoods with a critical mass of youth and lack of prosperity. The emergence of youth gangs in contemporary urban Nicaragua is a manifestation in the context of insecurity, lack of order, and the concomitant difficulty of coherently strategizing sustainable livelihoods (Rodgers, 2005, p. 8). The poor youth in Nicaragua forced to adopt strategies, which enable them to survive but not to improve their welfare, due to a lack of choice with respect to alternative coping strategies (Rakodi, 2002a, p. 6). Youth in the slums are trying to survive instead of trying to build a sustainable life. For many of the young people, in most cases male, youth gangs are a potential way out of poverty.

Governments, aid and relief organizations, churches and individuals initiate development projects to improve the livelihoods of the ‘young poor’. They are motivated, with different reasons, to create sustainable livelihoods and to improve the well-being for those who needed. One of those organizations is Woord & Daad, a Dutch development organization, which will substantially contribute towards poverty reduction and enhance people’s ability to bring about sustainable transformation in their lives (Woord & Daad, 2009, p. 3). Their vision has its roots in the Christian principles and is a guide for how interventions and relations will take place. The organization itself does not initiate development initiatives in the developing countries, but tries to enhance it by collaborating with partner organizations around the world.

INDEF (Nicaraguan Institute for evangelism in depth) in Nicaragua is one of the partner organizations of Woord & Daad. The organization focuses on evangelism and on the formation of churches. There were also attempts to help poor and vulnerable students to get a scholarship. Later in 2005, with the cooperation of Woord & Daad, education programs initiated to help the ‘poor youth’ in the local neighbourhoods. In developing and improving the development initiatives through the years, one of the key determinants is how initiatives should evaluate. This was and is not only a challenge for INDEF and Woord & Daad, but also for the whole development sector. The question raise whether beneficiaries can be own determinants of their development or that governments, churches and western development organizations can determine how ‘the poor’ should develop and improve their livelihoods.

The extent of participation of local communities in evaluating projects is subject of an interesting debate lately. The conventional method of result-based evaluation is more or less mainstream; it does have a quantitative character and is constituted in ‘the North’. The perception of the local communities is in most cases less important. The University of Amsterdam (in cooperation with Woord & Daad) developed a more participatory and holistic

approach of evaluation, called PAdEv (Participatory Assessment of Development). This method aims to measure the effects and changes of development interventions implemented within the local community. The members of this assessment want to improve the empowerment of the 'poor people' in development initiatives.

The researched local community is the neighbourhood Venezuela in Managua (Nicaragua). This neighbourhood is a just another neighbourhood in Managua, one of many with high rates of violence, poor living conditions and a bulge of youth. For Woord & Daad is the neighbourhood Venezuela a relevant research context because of the development projects initiated in the last years. The perception on the impact of development projects by youth will highlight which aspects are important in their lives. This will help Woord & Daad and other organizations who are working in the urban context with youth, to understand the complexity of the changes in the lives of the young urban people living in slum. This results in the following central question:

How do young urban slum dwellers in Managua perceive the impact of local development projects on livelihoods and violence?

Chapter two describes the central question, sub questions and the relevance of the research in detail. This research framework delineates the structure of this research. The theoretical framework – **chapter three** – emphasizes the relevant theories and concepts of this research as the livelihood approach, the urban context, violence and participation of local communities. Not only the theoretical underpinnings are relevant to describe but the methodological steps are important as well. **Chapter four** focuses on the methodology of this research. **Chapter five** describes the context of the neighbourhood and who the participated youth are in this research. In this chapter will be discussed whether the neighbourhood is a slum.

The perception on the changes in their livelihoods and in the manifestation of violence in their livelihoods is described in **chapter six**. The perception of the youth fit in the processes, changes and movements on the meso- and macro-level. The changes in the neighbourhood may occur because of shocks and events on the higher level. The direction of the changes may give an answer on the question whether this neighbourhood is a 'slum of hope' or that it is a 'slum of despair'. This terminology is part of on-going discussion whether slums are an example of social disorganization, the breakdown of traditional society (Brodrecht, 2010, p. 2) and that their culture reproduces poverty over generations (Lewis, 1965) or that slums are supportive communities with opportunities and chances for their dwellers (e.g. Brodrecht, 2010, Mangin, 1967). **Chapter seven** describes the role and the impact of development projects. The conclusion – **chapter eight** - will give an answer on the central question and describes the role of development agencies in this neighbourhood. **Chapter nine** contains recommendations.

Chapter 2 – Research framework



Picture: Retrieved from internet on September 24, 2012 from www.projectdirectcoffee.com

2.1 Research objective

This research wants to gain better understanding of the perception of young urban slum dwellers¹ in Managua (Nicaragua) on the impact of local development projects on urban violence and the livelihoods in the last 10 years. In order of gaining these insights this research makes use of the PADev methodology to show how the young urban slum dweller perceives the major changes in the livelihood context in relation to development initiatives in the research area and how these affect the possibilities to create sustainable livelihoods. The PADev methodology will be a basis to gain insights in how local development projects and/or the major changes in the last 10 years have an impact on the extent of violence. Moreover, time-line interviews are going to gain insights in the lives of the youngsters. Questionnaires form the basis of describing who the young urban slum dwellers are. The research will help INDEF (a local NGO in Nicaragua) and Woord & Daad (an international NGO in the Netherlands) to understand the perception of young people on different (risk) factors affecting the livelihoods in an urban slum.

In short, the research objective to assess (the)...:

1. ...who the young urban slum dwellers are
2. ...perception on major changes in the livelihood context in the last 10 years
3. ...recall of local development projects in last 10 years
4. ...perception on the manifestation of violence in last 10 years
5. ...perception on the major causes of change in the livelihood context
6. ...perception of the major causes of change in the manifestation of violence
7. ...perception on the impact of development projects in the lives of the young urban slum dweller

2.2 Research questions

There are seven sub questions to answer the research question:

How do young urban slum dwellers in Managua perceive the impact of local development projects on livelihoods and violence?

In this research are (1) 'young urban slum dwellers' understood as youth, or young people, who are aged between the 15-24 years and who are living in an urban slum in Managua (using the definition of UN Habitat, 2003). The PADev method is used to assess the (2) 'impact' of the (3) 'local development projects', which are understood as projects which are initiated in the neighbourhood Venezuela in Managua by different development agencies. The (4) 'time frame' of the research is the last 10 years. Another important concept is the (5) 'Livelihood', this comprehends the context that constitutes a means of living of the youngsters and consists of six domains. The last concept is (6) 'violence', this is explained as *"an intentional use of force or power with a predetermined end by which one or more persons produce physical, mental (psychological), or sexual injury, injure the freedom of*

¹ 'Young urban slum dwellers' and 'youngsters' are used interchangeable in the research.

movement, or cause the death of another person or persons (including him or herself) (Concha-Eastman, 2002, in Berkman, 2007, p. 6).

1. *Who are the young urban slum dwellers who participated in this research?*

The youth who participate in the research respond as well to a questionnaire where they give information about several domains of their livelihoods. This information forms the context in developing a picture of young urban slum dwellers who participated in this research; this is will be done in chapter five.

2. *What does the young urban slum dweller perceive as major changes in the livelihood context in the last ten years?*

The information is gathered by the first exercise in the focus group. The participants are asked how they perceive the different changes in the livelihood domains and to what extent these changes are positive or negative. This will help to gain insights in how the youngsters perceive the changes in the context of 'his or her neighbourhood'. Not only 'local development projects' have an impact on the livelihood of the young urban slum dwellers, but wider changes affect their lives as well. This question gives insight in which changes are related to the 'local development projects' and which changes have other roots.

3. *What do the young urban slum dwellers perceive as major changes in the manifestation of violence in the last ten years?*

The third exercise of the focus group meetings, developed around this topic, provide a structure to assess the changes in the manifestation of violence. Youngsters will emphasize several changes in the manifestation of violence in chapter six.

4. *Which development projects are initiated in the last ten years?*

A different meeting is organized to recall the 'local development projects'. Participants are asked which development initiatives they can recall. This help to understand the development context of the research area. The outcomes are serving other exercises. The available leaders/officials of the neighbourhood recall the development projects, which chapter six describes.

5. *What do the young urban slum dwellers perceive as major causes of change in the livelihood context?*

The second exercise of the focus group meetings, developed around this topic, provide a structure to assess the causes behind the changes in the livelihood contexts. Chapter six and chapter seven describe these causes.

6. *What do the young urban slum dwellers perceive as major causes of change in the manifestation of violence?*

The focus group meetings and the time-line interviews provide a structure to assess the major causes of changes in the manifestation of violence. The youngsters perceive what they consider as causal factors. Chapter six and seven describe these causes.

7. What do the young urban slum dwellers perceive as the impact of development projects?

The focus group meetings provide a structure for the youngsters to assess the impact of development projects. The time-line interviews provide a structure in developing extra insights. Chapter seven describes the impact of development projects.

2.3 Relevance of research

2.3.1 The participatory versus quantification method paradigm

Impact assessment methodologies are currently at a crossroad. On the one hand, the underlying agendas of pro-poor development and ‘improving practice’ necessarily require participation by poor women and men in deciding priorities and identifying strategies. On the other hand, the sheer numbers of people involved the potential conflicts of interest and consequently difficulties of decision-making require rigorous quantification and analysis in order minimize domination by vocal stakes (Mayoux & Chambers, 2005).

In the current impact assessment paradigm, dominated by quantitative surveys, many people perceive participatory methods as a fashionable and ‘politically correct’ frill to the serious task of ‘expert’ survey and (more rarely) qualitative research. As a result, participatory methods have received insufficient investment of training, time and resources (Mayoux & Chambers, 2005). This research will contribute to the discussion whether participatory methods are of use and in which way. It will add knowledge to the scientific discussion and will develop new information. The use of the PADev methodology in the urban context is a scoop.

2.3.2 Slums as a new paradigm of human settlements

As the arrival of the new millennium turns a new page of history, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the world is returning to some of its fundamental, unresolved questions: the issues of equity, sustainability, poverty and social justice, among others. Despite growing awareness of the progress in the global urban transition and the accompanying disproportionate growth of the proportion of poor urban residents, relatively little research has been paid to the young slum dwellers that populate the planet (UN HABITAT, 2003). Factors in the need for attention are poverty, negative depiction of overall urbanization, urban poor health and environmental conditions and uniqueness of development dynamics, resources and issues, in slums.

Relatively poor knowledge of local and global forces shaping development and producing/reproducing urban poverty, the complexity of the accompanying phenomena and the uncertainty of urban decision-making processes, call for a better understanding of inter- and intra-city differentials in poverty and inequality (UN HABITAT, 2003). This means a need for better understanding of the changes in the livelihoods of slums. It may add new insights to the debate of 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair'.

Another reason for this study is the growing prevalence of urban violence in cities in Central America, especially from youth gangs. The purpose of this study is to contribute to a better understanding of the manifestation of violence as a threat to development in urban Central America. It aims to unravel the complexity behind the causes of violence.

Chapter 3 Theoretical framework



Picture: Author's fieldwork (2011)

3.1 Urban slum context

3.1.1 What is urban?

The 21st century is the Century of the City. Half of the world's population already lives in urban areas and by the middle of this century; most regions of the developing world will be predominantly urban (UN HABITAT, 2008, p. xi). The fact is that cities are growing in number, sizes and volumes. The accelerating speed of globalization and capitalism in the 20th century triggered many urbanization processes and influence the spatially and socially organization in the coming decades. These processes change the urban context and change the 'meaning of life' within the urban context. Currently an estimated one third of all urban residents are poor (e.g. Baker, 2008; Ravallion, Chen, and Sangraula, 2007).

Cities probably are one of the most complex features of the human creation. To define a city as a place with a population more than ... thousand lacks the complexity of what constitutes and give meaning to the urban area. Pacione (2008) distinguishes two different concepts in defining the city; urban as a quality and urban as an entity. The latter consists of the population size, which refers to the fact that urban places have generally larger populations than rural places. The diversity in defining which number of inhabitants' forms a city reflects the social context of different countries. Some countries have an economic base in defining what constitutes a city; for example working in service sectors may be sign of an urban inhabitant. Administrative criteria are common in determining a city or rural place. It makes it hard, especially in the 'unorganized' third-world cities, to decide where the city stops/begins. Wirth (1938) emphasizes the 'heterogeneity' of the urban people as an important characteristic in defining 'the urban'.

The previous described criteria are not the only ones, which constitute an urban area as an entity. The 'sense of place' gives meaning to the perception of people on a certain city. Understanding the subjective interpretations of 'the urban' is important, because meanings inform us about the places to which they refer and about the social context of the people who articulate them (Pacione, 2008, p. 21). It is important to keep in mind that cities and the communities within are not uniform entities. Massey (1994) state that place, communities or cities do not have unique single identities, but that they are full of internal conflicts. Conflicts about what have been the past, what should be its present development and conflicts about what could be the future.

Castells (1998) states that in every city connected to the global markets there are internally disconnecting local populations that are either functionally unnecessary or socially disruptive. He calls these 'black holes of social exclusion', which can be labelled as the fourth world. These 'disconnected' people in poor neighbourhoods may live alongside the 'connected' people in gated communities (Amin & Graham, 1999). It makes a city a place, which brings together and superimposes diverse connections and disconnections.

3.1.2 Urban issues and problems

Latin American and Caribbean cities are among the most unequal in the world. Urban inequalities in this highly unequal region are not only increasing, but are becoming more entrenched, which suggests that failures in wealth distribution are largely the result of structural or systemic flaws (UN HABITAT, 2008, p. xiii). The number of people in Latin American cities that may sense some form of exclusion is devastating. Governments are not being able to manage the urbanization processes to create equal opportunities for the whole population. The ‘disconnected’ people in cities lack access to improved sanitation, improved water system or lack investments in the infrastructure. Well-known examples are the favelas in Rio de Janeiro where the poor are living in the informal communities excluded from the formal part of the city.

Friedmann (1992) has made a framework to understand the complex power relations between different communities and groups. He observed that in capitalist societies power has accumulated along the axis linking the state with the corporate economy, leaving no space for the political community and civil society to organize power relations. This is a common picture in many Third World cities, where exclusion from economic and political power is what many urban inhabitants have to face (Pacione, 2008, p. 589). City governments often are preoccupied with the economic interests of national and international companies, ignoring the interests of the urban poor.

Many of these poor are lacking decent and durable housing opportunities. A common characteristic of Third World governments is the failure of housing programs to provide sufficient housing, which leaves the poor masses to illegal squatter settlements or slums. The absence of these governments in the real estate business causes extortion and overexploitation by companies and individuals in rental housing (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1989).

3.1.3 What is a slum?

There is no common agreed definition on what slum is and that makes it hard to determine when a slum is a slum or a ‘normal neighbourhood’. Caldeira (1996) considers a slum as:

...a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city. (p.2)

Slums are very complex to conceptualize according to one parameter. *Slums are a relative concept* and the definition of a slum in one city can be different in another city – even in the same country. The transition of the slums is also too fast to set criteria for a long period. *Local variations* among slums are too wide to define universally applicable criteria (UN HABITAT, 2003, p. 46). There is however a general agreement on that in the majority of the slums the people lives and work outside the law. They are not able to access most of the formal institutions of society, and lacking a legal address, they are often unable to access

social services such as subsidized health care or education, which the more affluent can use (UN HABITAT, 2003, p. 46).

Slums can be legal settlements, which have become substandard due to inadequate maintenance by the owners (Pacione, 2008, p. 518). UN HABITAT (2003) characterizes the neighbourhood with one or more deficiencies as a slum; inadequate water and sanitation supplying, lack of security of tenure, lack of durable housing or the lack of sufficient living space. Davis (2007) states that he miss the social component in this definition of the UN HABITAT; it eschews the more difficult-to-measure “social dimensions”. Insecurity and fear are intangible aspects which are hard to define, but are important to consider in defining a slum.

Slums are a typical prevalence of the developing countries. Only 6 % of the urban populations in developed countries are slum dweller, in contrast with 78, 2 % of the urban populations in the least developed countries (Davis, 2007, p. 23). In total is one-third of the total urban population around the world a slum dweller. In Nicaragua was in 1990 almost 90 % of the urban population inhabitants of a slum according to the definition of the UN HABITAT, this staggering amount decreased to 45, 5 % in 2007 (Indexmundi, 2012).

Clearly, not all poor urban people are living in slum neighbourhoods; they can be located anywhere in cities and still lack one or more elements of adequate housing. The lack of basic services in cities has various social and economic dimensions that relate to the physical structure of the environments in which people live as well as to the socio-economic conditions of families. For example, even in a neighbourhood with an electricity infrastructure live excluded people, because they cannot afford anymore the monthly bill. Conversely, not all those who live in slums are poor – many people who have grown out of income poverty choose to stay living in slums for various reasons, ranging from the lack of affordable housing in better parts of the city to proximity to family, work and social networks. No single generalization fits slum neighbourhoods; these are as ‘heterogeneous’ (Wirth, 1938) and diverse as cities themselves (UN HABITAT, 2008). It is too easy to say that slums are poor and the poor are the populations of the slums.

3.1.4 Slum debate of direction of change – slum of hope or slum of despair

There are two different groups of slums, according to UN HABITAT (2003) in defining the differences in characteristics of slums. On the one hand, there are *Slums of hope*, which are ‘progressing’ settlements, characterized by new, normally self-built structures, usually illegal (e.g. squatters) that are in, or have recently been through, a process of development, consolidation and improvement. On the other hand, there are *Slums of despair*, which are ‘declining’ neighbourhoods, in which environmental conditions and domestic services are undergoing a process of degeneration.

Slums of hope are according to Amin and Thrift (2002) ‘full of unexpected interactions and so continuously in movement that all kinds of small and large spatialities continue to provide

resources for political invention as they generate new improvisations and force new forms of ingenuity'. This is an urbanism of hope, rather than despair. Mangin (1967) emphasized the positive characteristics of slums; the lack of law enforcement may cause self-help solutions; the lack of regulations may allow dwellers to build at their own pace and to their own desires and slum dwellers may not participate in existing organizations but are creating own community organizations and safety nets themselves (Altamirano, 1988).

The urbanism of despair can be captured by the 'culture of poverty' which suggested that the norms and behaviours of the poor can be distinguished as a subculture of larger society and characterized by a distinct way of life, including an atypical worldview and low aspirations (e.g. Lewis, 1968; Moynihan, 1965). This culture supposed to perpetuate itself from generation to generation. Lewis (1965) emphasized the cyclical reproduction of poverty, criminality and stagnation in slums as indications of 'despair'. He outlined the organizational and collective inactivity of slum dwellers as key characteristics of the culture of poverty.

3.2 Development projects context

"All that is valuable in human society depends upon the opportunity for development accorded the individual" Einstein

3.2.1 Development

These words spoken by Einstein delineate the essential impact of development and its impact on the potential beneficiaries. The large extents of literature that are written on the different aspects of development show the relevance and the heterogeneity of the concept. There is ambiguity on what kind of aspects will be key determinants in development. The WRR (2011), a Dutch scientific council for government policy, defines development as

...a deliberate acceleration of modernization, interpreted as the synchronized fourfold transition of economy, government, political system, and society. Modernization is envisaged as what has been achieved in the West since the nineteenth century: the creation of a well-developed and productive economic system embedded in international trade relations, a government apparatus that is able to provide or help provide essential services in the fields of education, healthcare, housing, and security, a political system that ensures collective decision-making processes resulting in citizens feeling connected to the outcome and each other, and a society which is sufficiently open and offers space for various individual and collective ambitions. (p. 61)

Not everyone will agree with this notion of development, but it is the most common agreed definition. Development initiatives from Northern agencies are attempts to improve the transition process of individuals, neighbourhoods and even countries towards modernity. Different development agencies as governments, churches, aid and relief organizations, or even individuals initiate development projects.

3.2.2 Civil society

Aid and relief organizations (or Non-governmental Organizations) are the centre of 'global civil society'. Keane (2001) describes global civil society as a vast, interconnected, and multi-layered social space that comprises many hundreds of self-directing or non-governmental institutions and ways of life. These cross border networks constitute 'chains of interactions linking the local, regional and planetary orders'. These new social spaces built up through networks, coalitions, partnerships and social movements (Taylor, 2004, p. 266). They are not only global, but the different networks and organizations are in the same time linked with the national level by laws, subsidies and other regulations. In this research is the global network of development organizations seen as the way global civil society is acting, putted by Chandhoke's (2002, p. 38) words: 'NGOs/development organizations play a larger-than-life role in global civil society. As other scholars do agree NGO's/development organizations are the obvious foundations for describing the geography of global civil society (Taylor, 2004 & Chandhoke, 2002).

The NGO network, as part of global civil society, explains the initiation of development projects by civil society. It will help to understand the background of the discussion between participatory interventions and result-based interventions. This part will show the value and the need of participatory methods. Participatory methodologies can complement quantitative research, they are useful not only to identify how people perceive and understand the complexity of daily violence in 'their communities' but also to 'make sense' of it from a policy perspective (McIlwaine & Moser, 2006, p. 91). First, a brief summary on the NGO context will give valuable insights in the background of participatory methods.

Civil society organizations moved the attention in 1980s and 1990s to the social conditions of the poor in the rural areas but also in the urban centres. In the urban context, improving rather than replacing the poor neighbourhoods became the common goal of public and private intervention. Instead of the top-down reform of urban poverty advocated by the 1950s generation, the new wisdom of the late 1970s and early 1980s mandated that the NGOs became an "enabler" of the poor (Davis, 2007, p. 75).

Governments began to support NGOs financially in a growing number. By accepting government funding and in quickly becoming dependent on it in programs, projects, and bureaucracies, Northern agencies began to turn screws on Southern counterparts to show conclusive 'results' (Pickard, 2007, p. 579). A consequence of the paradigm shift, at the end of the 20th century, and the newly imposed emphasis on quantifiable indicators was that some Northern agencies concluded that Southern counterparts lacked the basic skills to address basic poverty (Pickard, 2007, p. 580). The paradigm shift parallels with the 'input' relations from the 1950s and 1960s. Development projects too often aim to serve the expectations of back-donors, not designed to reach the expectations of the beneficiaries.

The need to please the back-funders is a form of managerialism. The managerial practices and knowledges in NGO networks affect and influence the way Northern and Southern

development agencies work together. Managerialism of a distinctly northern type – marked by concepts like accountability, transparency, participation, and efficiency , as well as practices like double-entry bookkeeping, strategic planning, Logical framework analysis, project evaluation, and organizational self-assessment – has been shown to be pervasive in NGOs operations (Roberts, 2005, p. 1849).

A major claim of NGOs is to ‘listen to the poor’ and to learn from them. Globally, it is not the voices, ideas of knowledge, which carry up from users to donors, but management information. Most Southern NGOs find it very hard to get their priorities on the agenda (Townsend & Townsend, 2004, p. 276). The big problem is that development agencies, globally, base much of their legitimacy on ‘listening’, ‘participation’, the ‘local’ and the ‘appropriate’, but require techniques that tend to exclude these desirable goals. It is not that local knowledge is superior, but that there is a signal failure to share and exchange knowledge so as to make the best use of resources, to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number (Townsend & Townsend, 2004, p. 276). Mitlin (2001), writing about Latin America, describes how, on the one hand, NGOs “pre-empt community level capacity-building as they take over decision-making and negotiating roles,” while, on the other hand, they are constrained by “the difficulties of managing donor finance, with its emphasis on short term project funds, on financial accountabilities and on tangible outputs” (Davis, 2007, p. 77).

3.2.3 Participation in decision-making

The question raise whether beneficiaries can be own determinants of their development or that governments, churches and northern development agencies can determine how ‘the poor’ should develop and improve their livelihoods. The extent of participation of local communities in evaluating projects is subject of an interesting debate lately. As the large recent literature shows, impact evaluation is very difficult, and the involvement of beneficiaries even more so, but both are of the first importance (Townsend & Townsend, 2004, p. 280). In the current impact assessment paradigm dominated by quantitative surveys, participatory methods have generally continued to be seen as a fashionable and ‘politically correct’ frill to the serious task of ‘expert’ survey and (more rarely) qualitative research (Mayoux & Chambers, 2005).

Not everyone agrees that participation and partnership will trigger equal relationships in development cooperation. Davis (2007) states that “for all the glowing rhetoric about democratization, self-help, social capital, and the strengthening of civil society, the actual power relation in this new NGO universe resemble nothing so much as traditional clientelism.” It is a farce to think that Southern organizations are equal towards their Northern counterparts in decision-making and development planning.

Over the past 50 years, experiences have highlighted critical issues for development agencies, who promote participation in development programs. The first is the lack of a universally accepted conceptual framework. It is not possible to develop such a methodology

because of the differences in specific contexts. In the urban context in Latin America, a participatory framework is very different from participation methodologies in rural parts in Sub Saharan Africa. There is not something like the 'objective truth' (Rifkin & Kangere, 2002, p. 46). A second problem for program planners concerns the assumptions about participation as a panacea to development. The evidence of a direct causal relationship, that participation triggers more equity and empowerment, is very scarce and hard to make. The third and most critical issue is the way in which planners deal with power and control. Involving local people decision-making in projects and programs will decrease the power and control over the management of the developments programs that will be initiated (Rifkin & Kangere, 2002, p. 46).

In the 1980s and 1990s however with the increasing number of development research institutes and departments, academic impact studies became common. Many of these were extremely critical of the limited impact of many development interventions (Chambers & Mayoux, 2005, p. 273). Impact assessment, monitoring and evaluation are now established parts of development activity. Impact assessment started to become an established part of development planning in the 1950s as a predictive methodology to assess the likely economic, environmental or social impacts of proposed development programs in order to approve, adjust or reject them. These were tasks done by external experts drawing largely on variants of cost-benefit analysis (Chambers & Mayoux, 2005, p. 273).

Many research institutes and development agencies have developed in the 1990s participatory approaches to give the poor 'voice' in the development projects and to re-emphasize the balance between result based development evaluation and more qualitative based methods of evaluation. Participatory approaches facilitated higher levels of participation in which local people maintain higher levels of participation in which local people maintain significant control over the development process (Mitlin & Thompson, 1995, p. 235). These approaches had to facilitate the integration of local communities into decision-making process and planning processes about the development of 'their communities'. The participatory methods often used as explanatory role to the survey findings and still these are not an integrated part of the general impact assessment framework. Participatory methods however, have several advantages in comparison with the result-based and quantitative methods.

The first advantage of participation of a local community in impact assessment methodologies is the use in research and of sensitive issues like violence and power relations. These would have been difficult through questionnaires of the quantitative methods (Chambers, & Mayoux, 2005, p. 279). The motivation and the deeper implications will stay uncovered by quantitative methodologies, which are more rigid and focused on generalization. Second is that participatory methods can empower local communities through cooperation in decision-making in the development processes. The people from the local communities should be the central aim of development projects. In the process of

participation, the degree of understanding of the local situation is of key value, which may determine if the beneficiaries have been empowered, or not.

A third characteristic of participation is that it may include the perception of the most disadvantaged or disconnected; the illiterates who are not able to respond on the questionnaires. The participatory methods are using tools, which make it possible to record those perceptions. Local communities discuss their perception on different topics in focus groups. In addition, a fourth advantage of participation is involvement by a local population and, at times, additional stakeholders in the creation, content and conduct of a program or policy designed to change their lives. Built on a belief that citizens can be trusted to shape their own future, participatory development uses local decision making and capacities to steer and define the nature of an intervention (Jennings, 2000, p. 1).

3.2.4 Limits of participation

Participation from local communities does not have only advantages, the advantages can be pitfalls in the same time. A key challenge is always documentation – how much and what of the discussion is to be recorded. It can be hard or seems not relevant to record the different perceptions from the participants in group discussions. There can be a bias in the outcomes of the research, in the sense that the most powerful opinions have priority or higher value. Another commonly identified challenge for participatory approaches is the inherent tension between the local research contexts and the intention to standardize to enhance the validity of aggregation across different communities or exercises, and particularly increase comparability of findings within and between national contexts (Chambers, & Mayoux, 2005, p. 279).

A third potential major challenge of participatory approaches is the lack of sampling. In reality, it is often hard to randomize the participants and the easiest available people of the communities become the participants (Chambers, & Mayoux, 2005, p. 283). It is essential that participation include the perception of most vulnerable groups. People participate for a diversity of reasons; critical questions should unravel the motivations. Who benefits from the participation and whose views receive priority?

3.2.5 Youth participation

Nearly 50% of the developing world population is youth and children. There are 1.2 billion 15 to 24 year olds in the world and one billion live in developing countries (UN, 2008). These statistics indicate that it is highly relevant to prioritize the view of the younger people. They are the potential workforce in the future; on these people will the future economy be build. Nevertheless, the needs of young people often are addressed inadequately. Especially in developing countries, government institutions and business agencies exclude young people from education, jobs and decision-making processes and therefore are vulnerable in turning to violence, crime and youth gangs, as for example in Central America. Maguire (2007) explains in the following statement why participation of young people may be relevant:

They are both tomorrow's leaders, parents, professionals and workers and today's assets. Properly supported and given the right opportunities, girls and boys, young women and young men can play a significant part in lifting themselves, their families and communities out of poverty. Too often, however, youth are considered only or mainly as a problem to be contained; a threat to peace and security. (DFID/Maguire, 2007)

It can be an opportunity for NGOs and governments to incorporate the perception of the youth in thinking of new development plans and programs. Participation of the youth should give valuable insights in the lives of the young people. For young people in the urban context is a diversity of aspects in their livelihood relevant to build sustainable lives. For development agencies, it is essential to know what these aspects are and how these livelihoods look like.

3.3 Livelihood context

3.3.1 Livelihood introduction

Context makes an urban livelihood distinctive. Both urban and rural contexts are dynamic and multifaceted, but the urban is more complex. Urban areas provide a greater number and variety of services. In urban areas, cash transactions are more common; poor urban people are more dependent on cash incomes and often they lack access to the common property resources, such as water and fuel, which are available in rural areas. They exist in inferior residential and working environments and, because of the fragmented and diverse social environment of urban areas, are less likely to have support from social networks (i.e. Mitlin, 2003; Rakodi, 2002b, p. 37). This part on the livelihood approach will provide insights in how livelihood can be analysed, how people use their assets in the urban context and how they are vulnerable and how this influences their strategies. Rakodi (2002) made a framework to explore the urban livelihood; how capitals, strategies and capabilities can change.

According to the World Bank (2012), almost 12 % of the Nicaraguan people had an income less than \$ 1, 25 per day. It shows the degree of poverty in a region, country or around the world. This conventional method is a tool to analyse the amount of people living beneath the poverty line. Conventional PLs are widely used because it is generally accepted that 'inadequate command over commodities is the most important dimension of poverty, and a key determinant of other aspects of welfare, such as health, longevity and self-esteem' (Rakodi, 2002a, p. 4).

Earlier research on the definitions of poverty used in the perception of the poor, shows that poverty is not defined solely in terms of low incomes. They use broader concepts of deprivation and insecurity (e.g. Rakodi, 2002a; Mitlin, 2003; Odhiambo & Manda, 2003; Van Vuuren, 2003). To understand these broader concepts of deprivation and insecurity, it is necessary to analyse the contexts that together constitute the vulnerability of individuals,

households and communities. Many researchers and policy makers paid attention to the livelihoods of ‘poor’ people in low- and middle- income countries to analyse more factors than only income. Poor people, often, rely on more than just one single income generating activity (Rakodi, 2002a, p. 3). Chambers and Conway (1992) have a livelihood defined as comprising ‘...the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living’.

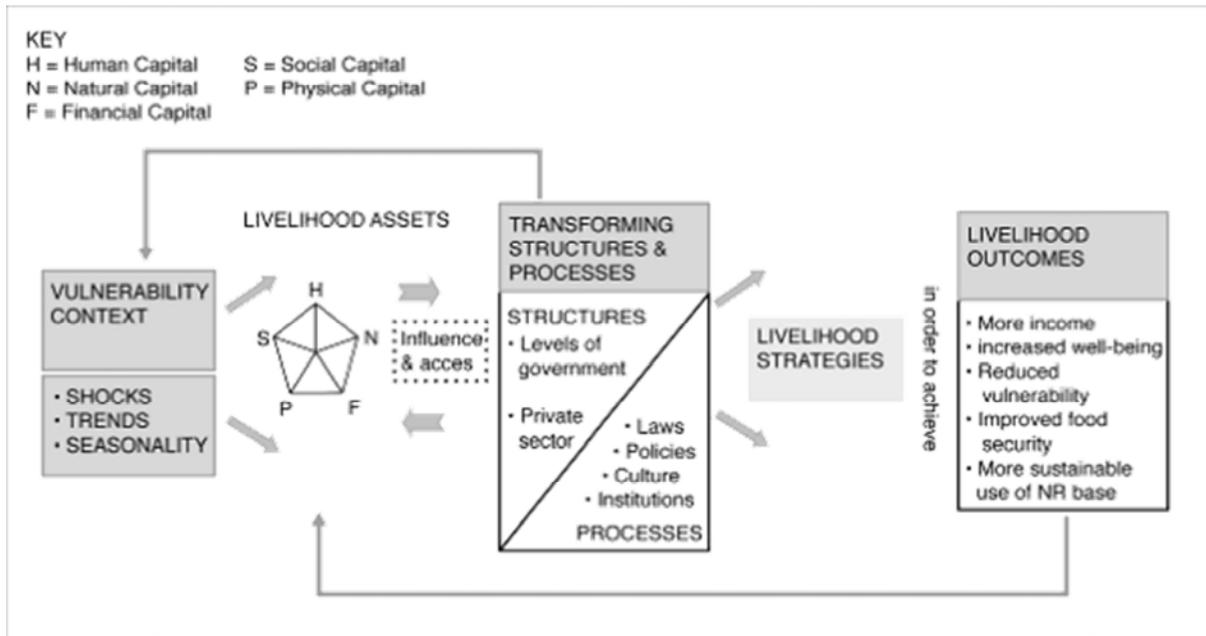
There is a need to recognize that those who are poor may not have cash or other savings, but that they do have other material or non-material assets – their health, their labour, their knowledge and skills, their friends and family, and the natural resources around them (Rakodi, 2002a, p. 10). The combination of these assets determines how they will choose their strategies and activities. The use of the term ‘strategies’ may give agency to the poor people instead of regarding them merely as passive victims, not able to influence their own lives. However, many poor are not able to build a ‘sustainable live, they are only trying to survive. They lack assets and they are unable to choose alternative strategies to create a combination of assets (De Haan, 2000, p. 348). Livelihood of people is sustainable *when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base* (Carney, 1998, p. 4).

Many researchers (e.g., Scoones, 1998, Carney 1998, Bebbington, 1999, Rakodi, 2002) conceptualize the different resources –the basic material and social, tangible, and intangible assets— which people use in constructing their livelihoods, along different forms of capitals:

Human capital² relate to the availability of the quantity (the number of household members and time available to engage in income-earning activities) and quality (levels of education and skills and the health status of household members) of labour resources to people. Social and political capital has to do with the social resources on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods. Networks, groups, relationships of trust and reciprocity and access to wider institutions of society are the basis of how people create social and political capital. Physical capital is the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, and communications) and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods. Financial or economic capital is relied to the financial resources (savings, credit, remittances and pensions) available to people which provide them with different livelihood options. Natural capital gives people direct access to land, water and other environmental resources and the ability to transform these ‘stocks’ into ‘flows’ (Rakodi, 2002a, p. 11). See figure 3.1 for how the capitals fit in the livelihoods according to the DFID (2001). This livelihoods framework is a way to analyse the assets of participant, but also to connect the context and processes with these assets.

² While some scholars prefer to use the same tern, the words “capital” and “asset” will be used interchangeably in this research, except when citing others.

Figure 3.1: The livelihoods framework



Source: DFID (2007)

Not every researcher who uses the livelihoods framework will add cultural capital to the assets. This research perceives cultural capital as a valuable addition to the diverse capitals. Cultural capital is the last of the six capitals conceptualized. Residence appears to be associated with the maintenance of a range of cultural practices that are valued for their meaningfulness: participation in fiestas, in volley ball games on the communities' court etc. (Bebbington, 1999, p.2034). In that sense, it does have an impact on the choices and opportunities of the people.

Not only the assets- building up the livelihood strategies - constitute the impoverishment or the improved well-being of people, but also the context is important in understanding the livelihoods. The access to these assets changes by time and therefore it is highly relevant to capture those dynamics determining the changing access. Carney (1998) suggests that studying and analysing trends, shocks and culture will help to understand the sources of vulnerability. Moser (1996) sees vulnerability as

...the insecurity of the well-being of individuals, households or communities in the face of a changing environment. These changes can be ecological, economic and social or political. Because people move into and out of poverty, the concept of vulnerability better captures processes of change than more static measures of poverty. (p.2)

The political context may also influence the livelihood strategies of people. Processes and institutions have a significant impact on the access of people to different assets (De Haas,

2000, p. 346). The institutions are public (for example governmental and legislative) and private (NGOs for example). Processes are what influence or transform how organizations and individuals interact and may be formal or informal (Rakodi, 2002a, p. 15).

3.3.2 Urban versus rural livelihood

Livelihoods in urban areas have other characteristics than livelihoods in the rural areas. The contextual factors affect the ability of individuals, households and communities to transform assets into income. Access is one of the key aspects in the urban area. The ability to build up assets as knowledge and skills depends on access to social and economic infrastructure, which in turn depends on physical distance from, basic information about rights of access to and the ability to meet the costs of the services concerned (Meikle, 2002, p. 44). People in urban areas often do not own the facilities and the services; governments or companies provide these services.

As explained before contextual factors are a key determinant in influencing the well-being of poor people. The vulnerability context in urban areas is different with the rural one. The legal status of poor people can influence the access to and the availability of assets as labour, voting and shelter. In a country as Nicaragua, the informal economy reaches values around 70 % of the total GDP (IMF, 2008, p. 14). The informal workers are susceptible to unemployment because they merely lack labour rights and they work in unprotected circumstances, which harm their health and mental condition. Many poor urban residents lack tenure security since they live on illegally occupied land or informal rental houses. Available living space, which is often very scarce in urban areas, influences the prices of land and houses. Only residents with certain capital may be able to buy a sustainable living area. Poor households forced, because of their low incomes, to make a trade-off between the quality and location of where they live (Meikle, 2002). In order to live in a preferred location with access to livelihood-generating assets at prices they can afford, they are obliged to live in cheap, high density, environmentally poor locations (Meikle, 2002, p. 40).

Some of the poor people lack formal registration and may therefore be excluded from any kind of decision-making and vulnerable to harassment in some occasions (Meikle, 2002, p. 48). The lack of formal rights may also influence the access to and the availability of services and infrastructure. They cannot open a bank account and have illegal connections to forms of physical infrastructure, tapping electricity and water off the system, which make them vulnerable to sudden withdrawal from key services. Another important contextual factor is the dependence on the cash economy. Contrary to the rural economy is most of the urban economy related to cash. Poor residents may be vulnerable to any changes in market prices and subsidies. One of the observed patterns in urban areas is the high rate of informal loans, which makes the poor people vulnerable to debt. Rural inhabitants are vulnerable to a lack of natural capital with the danger of natural disasters; urban habitants are more vulnerable to changes in the physical and social environment. Illness may influence and undermine the assets as labour. Violence and criminality characterize the social context in cities; these

problems may erode the sense of community and community participation. Cultural context is a factor in excluding people from equal changes in livelihood opportunities; masculinity may result in exclusion of women from social networks (Meikle, 2002, p. 49).

3.3.3 Urban livelihood framework

The livelihoods framework supposed to provide an analytical starting point for understanding urban poverty and deprivation, by identifying the main factors, which affect livelihoods and the relationships between them (Rakodi, 2002, p. 292). The framework may give comprehensive insights in factors determining the lives of the poor. The emphasis on the combination of assets, as well as institutional processes and the vulnerability context may lead to multiple entry points for development interventions, which captures the livelihood framework. Rather than focusing solely on conventional interventions (transfer of technologies, skills etc.), the sustainable livelihoods approach emphasizes getting the institutional and organizational setting right, with emphasis on both formal and informal mechanisms (Scoones, 1998, p. 14).

Bebbington (1999) argues that a livelihood framework is necessary to bridge the materialist approach (e.g., World Bank, IMF etc.) and the more hermeneutic and actor-centred approach (e.g. Chambers, Scoones etc.) to highlight both sides of the approaches. Not only the income and consume indicators are relevant but also a wide number of axes of difference are relevant, including contrasts of asset ownership, income levels, gender, age, religious affiliation, caste, social or political status and so on. In relation to the analysis framework, these may refer to differences in basic livelihood resources (or access to different forms of 'capital') or to broader contextual factors (Scoones, 1998, p. 11).

The livelihoods framework will give voice to the poor, without losing the contextual factors out of sight. It is a people-centred approach; people can participate and be responsive. The framework is from a holistic perspective; it zooms in on the micro- but also on the meso- and macro-level. This framework can lead to a different kind of actions for a community and/or organization. First, the outcomes may lead to focused actions, which target directly at the needs of the poor people. Second, it may enable actions that support policies and improve the context for poverty reduction and last it might lead to inclusive actions that are broad based and improve opportunities and services generally (Rakodi, 2002a, p. 19).

A key in analysing the livelihoods of the urban dwellers is an identification of the livelihood capitals and the combination of those in the economic, social, political and cultural context. Understanding, in a dynamic and historical context, how different livelihood resources sequence and combine in the pursuit of different livelihood strategies is therefore critical (Scoones, 1998, p. 9).

3.3.4 Limits of research on livelihood

A key concern is that livelihood framework itself is distributional neutral and therefore its use should accompanied by an explicit commit to prioritizing the needs of the poor.

Otherwise, it may serve the priorities of Northern agencies more than the beneficiaries themselves may. There is a real risk that this livelihood approach will remain the territory of donors and their consultants, or projects and programs, which have donor support. The danger is that still the views of the experts receive priority instead of the views of the local communities. To overcome this, it is essential to make sure that the local community and local NGOs are involved from the start, when discussing if and how it should be implemented (Krantz, 2001, p. 24). The 'everyday language' of the local communities needs to fit in the complexity of the framework.

The anthropologist Mosse (1994) has argued that the livelihood approach is not a suitable method in 'sensible' contexts because it is inevitably a 'public event' where people are usually reluctant to discuss sensitive matters such as power and influence in the own community. Besides, such participatory exercises often involve the very community leaders who form part of the local elite (Mosse, 1994). It is one thing to ensure the perception of both gender groups in principle, nevertheless to make it possible for women to express their genuine perceptions, interests, and needs in relation to specific livelihood issues in practice. Even the otherwise quite advanced participatory techniques such as the livelihood approach are frequently unable to involve women to the extent necessary to get a satisfactory picture and representation of their situation.

A constraint of the livelihood approach can be that they tend to take the household as the basic unit of analysis. In fact, the very concept of livelihood tends to direct attention to the household as the decision-making unit since it is at this level that various economic activities combine into particular livelihood strategies (Krantz, 2001, p. 24). Young people are often choosing own strategies instead of the 'household strategies'. Researchers should be careful in choosing the unit of analysis and it may change per subject in analysing the livelihood of a local community and young slum dwellers. One of the topics where young urban slum dwellers have to deal with, in their livelihood, is violence. The next section will describe this in more detail about violence.

3.4 Manifestation Violence

International institutions recognized violence only recently as a threat to the development of vulnerable neighbourhoods. This theoretical framework relates the manifestation and occurrence of violence with the development of the young slum dwellers. The theoretical framework provides also insights how violence and the livelihood relate to each other. Violence affects people's wellbeing in terms of their livelihood security, and the functioning of local social institutions (e.g. Moser & Bronkhorst, 1999; Mcilwaine & Moser, 2006, p. 90). Identifying how the vulnerable cope with both short-term shocks and longer-term exigencies through mobilizing their assets also assists in analysing the effects of violence and insecurity on people's well-being. The more assets people have, the less vulnerable and secure they feel in the face of violence, while the more assets are eroded, the greater their insecurity and perceive susceptibility to violence (Moser, 1998).

3.4.1 Definitions of violence

Violence is often explained as “an intentional use of force or power with a predetermined end by which one or more persons produce physical, mental (psychological), or sexual injury, injure the freedom of movement, or cause the death of another person or persons (including him or herself) (Concha-Eastman, 2002, in Berkman, 2007, p. 6). In this definition hides the complexity of the concept violence and using this definition would make the impact of violence very abstract. Several scholars have attempted to extend the definition because of the complexity, multi-dimensions and chaotic extent of violence. Communities perceive and value the (ab) use of power relations differently within the context of the regional or national cultures. Forms of violence can become ‘routinized’ in a local community, which were unacceptable in the past (Moser & McIlwaine, 2006, p. 93).

3.4.2 Vulnerability towards violence

Poor people in Central and Latin America live in circumstances, which may marginalize their changes. It has an impact on the access to the livelihood assets, mentioned before. The ‘urban poor’ live in crowded spaces, lack access to basic services and may lack privacy in their daily activities. The urban slums, in many cases, provide not enough opportunities – economic and/or social – to be able to build a sustainable livelihood. Young people move to other neighbourhoods to search for new changes and opportunities. Often, these young men and women engage in acts, violent or non-violent, that make sense to them given their limited options and their awareness of the obstacles presented to them (Berkman, 2007, p. 17). They are frustrated because of the lack of access and the limited opportunities they have to any form of capital; lack of proper education, lack of job prospects and obstacles in social mobility (World Bank, 2011). The attraction towards the ‘easy money’ of criminal activities is very high and invites young people to activities outside the formal sector (Goldstein, 2003).

The sense of being excluded from equal opportunities and access to any form of capital makes the transition process of ‘young urban poor’ even harder. They are finishing their education and entering the labour market; they are in a process of leaving their own families and support systems; and they are beginning to form and provide for their own families. Youths who must deal with social exclusion may find this transition even more difficult. Violence generally tends to have severe consequences on the lives of street children and youth gang members (Berkman, 2007, p. 16).

The manifestation of violence, which the young people- as victim or perpetrator- may confront with in their daily life, influences many assets of the livelihood. The reasons behind the occurrence of violence are diverse, complex and multidimensional. Research by Moser and McIlwaine (2000) showed that reasons for joining youth gangs had to do with the tension between the younger and the older generations – who sometimes blame society’s problems on the younger generations. Many Central American youth cite domestic violence and mistreatment at home as reason behind joining a gang. The institutional and political context

is an important factor in responding and preventing violence. Corrupt and inadequate trained police officers may have a negative impact on the manifestation of violence. Lack of efficient functioning judicial institutions may give the nation a fear of who to trust (Berkman, 2007, p. 18).

The high levels of violence in Central America entrenched a 'culture of violence'; as a result, even the most banal of everyday conflicts are resolved through violent means (Cock, 2000 in World Bank, 2011). Many countries in Central America react on the challenge – of responding to the high rates of violence – with 'mano dura'³ policies. These policies imprison youth for the offense of having a tattoo, many young men and women with little or no history of violence and crime locked up in the same areas as those with brutal criminal records (Berkman, 2007, p. 19). This inadequate way of responding, may influence the livelihood strategies of young people. Many youths who enter jail with little criminal experience leave the institution with knowledge gleaned from hardened criminals and pose a greater threat to society than they did by sporting body art.

The prevalent and intense abuse and fear generated by the relationship between societies and socially excluded Latin American youth colours the way youth gang members interact with their communities and make use of their surroundings. Youths who sleep outside of homes, with no protection from weather or enemies, must attempt to find places of refuge away from intolerant police forces, violent vigilante groups, or other predators (Padilha, 2002). This continuing fear of violence affects the young urban people in every aspect of their life. They may be geographically constrained in their livelihood opportunities in fear of police, enemies and rivalling youth gangs.

Most Latin American youth grow up with violence. Violence in Central America - and Nicaragua in particular- have grown to immense proportions. Crime is in fact so prevalent in Central America that in many instances levels of violence are comparable to – or in some cases higher than – during the decade of war that affected most of the region during the 1980s (Rodgers, 2005, p. 1). Especially, there are high rates of violence in the slum neighbourhoods where the lack of police capability and capacity lead to a replacement of authority in the form of (youth) gangs. Dwellers within the local community are afraid of their own neighbours, mostly the young ones.

3.4.3 Classification of violence

A categorization of violence is by the identification of the primary motivation of the violent act. In research towards violence as a development threat, Moser & McIlwaine (2006) distinguish a fourfold classification of the manifestation of violence. A part of the violent acts is because of social reasons; the will to attain or keep social power and control. These can be gender-based, group or community based. Especially in the masculine culture of Latin America is gender based violence a well-known manifestation. Youth gangs from different

³ 'Mano dura' means 'tough on crime' or 'a crackdown on crime'.

neighbourhoods can fight each other to protect their territory and maintain power in their community.

Material gain is a motive for the manifestation of violence. Acts of street crime as robbery, kidnapping and drugs related activities belong to this group. Institutional motivated violence relates to the government institutions as the police and judiciary. People in slum neighbourhood often sense a feeling of unequal or violent treatment by state forces. The last group in the categorization is the manifestation of violence by political motivations. Many countries in Latin America faced political violence, driven by the will to win or hold political power, includes guerrillas, paramilitary conflict, and political assassination. Although closely linked to conflict and war, political violence also occurs during peacetime (Moser & McIlwaine, 2006, p. 93).

The fourfold classification of violence is to categorize the diverse manifestations of different forms of violence. Beyond the motives leading to an act of violence are the causal factors that may explain why someone chooses to rob a bank to gain money instead of applying for a job by the same bank to get some money. Violence is complex not only because of the different categories, but also because of the multiple causes. Evidence from research shows that individuals are not equally violent, that communities vary in their levels of violent conflict, and that violence tolerance levels differ across societies. Circumstances relating to the individual, the family, the community, and the broader national context combine to play a role in violence perpetration or victimization (Moser & Shrader, 1999, p. 6). There are four levels distinguished, which explain the violence causality: the individual level, interpersonal level, institutional level and the structural level.

On the individual level are individual development and personal history shaping how a person respond on interpersonal and institutional stressors. The interpersonal level is the immediate context in which violence takes place. It has to do with the relations and interactions between individuals. Formal and informal institutions and associated social capital in workplaces and communities form the institutional level. The interpersonal relations embed in social networks and identity groups. The most abstract level of causality is the structural level. The economic, political, social structure including opinions, beliefs and cultural norms that permeate society are of relevance in the extent of violence (Moser & Shrader, 1999, p. 7).

3.4.4 Limits on research on violence

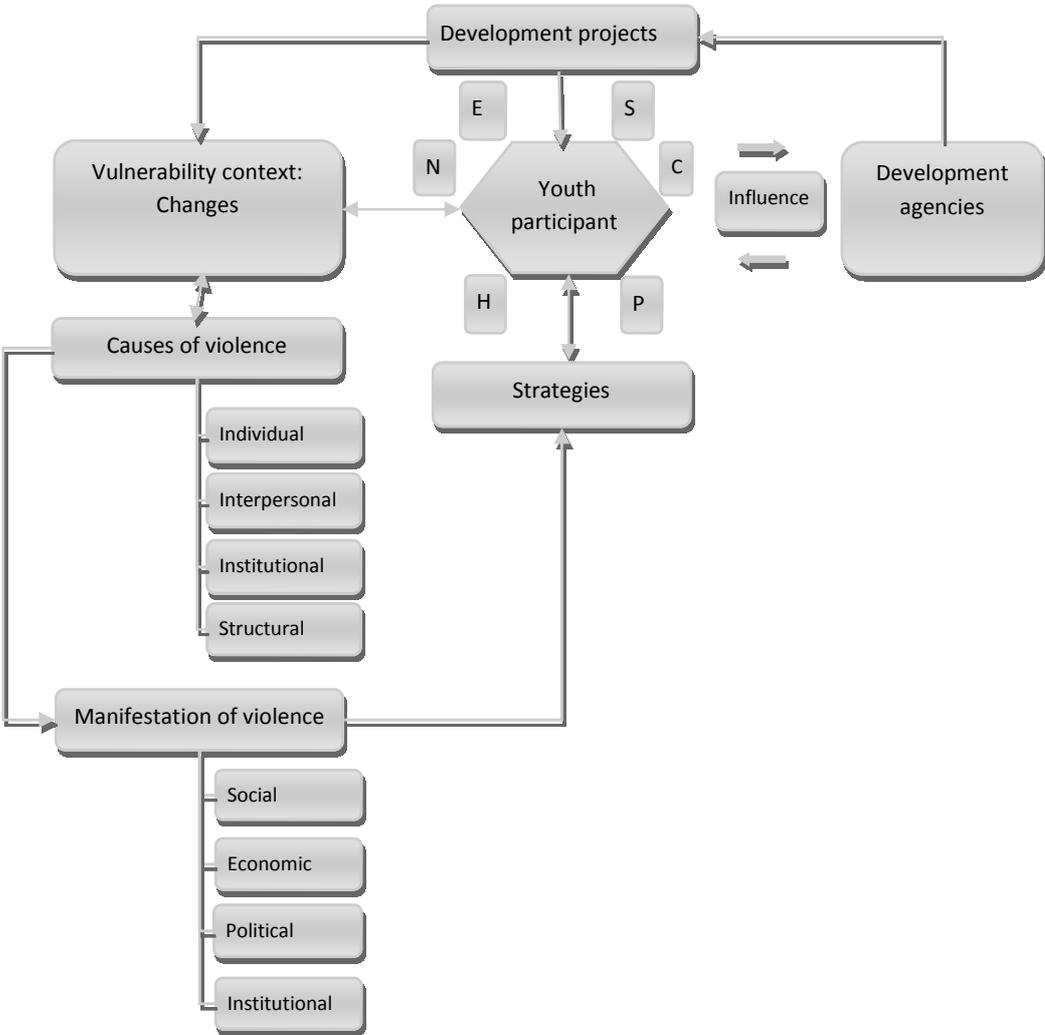
More research on the impact of violence on the lives of the youth is necessary; however, research within communities with high levels of violence may be difficult. There are many limits towards research on violence. First, there are security risks for the researchers and the participants in violent communities; some may not like the conversations or the topics of the research and react violent. There is a danger of filtering policy messages out of the participants; the consequence is that messages and information will disappear. This kind of research is not a replacement for the ethnographic research required to uncover 'the

multiple layering of violence’. Research in Colombia and Guatemala witnessed a ‘culture of silence’, which can be a barrier influencing the data (Mcilwaine & Moser, 2006, p. 91).

3.5 Conceptual design

This conceptual model is the theoretical underpinning of the research. The structure inspired by the urban livelihood framework of Rakodi (2002) and DFID (2001). Not every aspect from these two frameworks is necessary in answering the central question. For this research the impact of development projects on the livelihood context and the manifestations of violence are highly relevant. In figure 3.2 is conceptualised that development agencies form with development projects form only a part of the livelihood of the young urban slum dweller; the vulnerability influences as well the availability of assets in their lives. In this research, violence is a part of the vulnerability context because the focus of the research is on the community level and not on the individual lives of the young urban slum dwellers.

Figure 3.2: Conceptual model



Source: Author’s design (2012)



Chapter 4 – Methodology

Picture: Author's fieldwork (2012)

4.1 Research methods

4.1.1 Case study

The research used the method of a case study to develop elaborate insights in the lives of the young urban slum dwellers. As Tellis (1997) explains, through a case study, a researcher is able to go beyond the quantitative statistical results and understand the behavioural conditions through the actor's perspective. By including both quantitative and qualitative data, case study helped to explain both the process and outcome of a phenomenon through complete observation, reconstruction and analysis of the cases under investigation.

The perception – on the impact of development projects on the livelihood strategies- of young urban people was multi-dimensional and is difficult to generalize. The case study method allowed understanding of such a complex issues and was especially suitable in issues as poverty and violence (Zainal, 2007, p. 2).

Case study method enables a researcher to examine the data within a specific context. In this study, the researcher selected a small geographical area with only a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study. The choice of depth versus breadth was because of two reasons. First, the knowledge produced by depth study will lead to more outcomes that are valuable for INDEF (the development organization in the neighbourhood) and second, there was a limited possibility to use a large-scale approach due to the available time and money resources of the researcher.

The research unit was not an area where a theory fits exactly, it was impossible to determine - with for example a desk research - on forehand how the young slum dwellers perceive the changes and development projects in their livelihoods and how relations are. Case studies, in their true essence, explore and case study as a research method investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships. Yin (1984) defines the case study research method "*as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.*" (p. 23)

The researcher chose to adopt the single-case design. A single case study does have the advantage of a detailed and contextual analysis of data in a real-life environment. However, the drawback of a single-case design was the inability to provide a generalizing conclusion, in particular when the events are rare (Zainal, 2007, p. 3). One way to prevent from this disadvantage was by triangulating the research study with other methods in order to confirm the validity of the process (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2005, p. 166).

4.1.2 Triangulation

The emphasis of this research was on triangulation. The researcher chose for the PADev focus groups to construct insights in how young urban slum dwellers perceive the major changes, the development projects in relation to the livelihood strategies. The outcomes of

the focus groups gave valuable information of the group perception about the development context of the last ten years. Another way to provide information is the method of questionnaires and every participant of the focus groups and the interviews filled in a questionnaire. Via those forms, participants wrote down their characteristics and answered questions on different relations. The third way of knowledge gathering was via interviews. The researcher asked participants of the focus groups and questionnaires if they would be available for an in-depth interview.

4.1.3 PADev focus groups

To assess and making sense of changes that occur and have occurred is an activity which can be defined as subjective and value-driven, not only for people from the local communities but also for scientists. Already in 1928, William Thomas has developed a statement that proposes that ‘if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences’. Postmodern scholars within the social sciences are sharing this assumption and have gradually abandoned the positivist assumption of objectivity in the process of knowledge creation (Dietz, et al., 2009). The movements in the social sciences influenced the discussion in how to define the value of knowledge within the development sector. Is the perception on the reality of the development experts which counts?

The Participatory Assessment of Development (PADev) has its roots in the paradigm between different impact assessment methodologies. In critique on the ‘mainstream’ impact assessment, the PADev research team developed a more participatory method, which focuses on the view ‘from below’ and zooms in on the complexity of the different relations within a local community. In 2007, the University of Amsterdam launched the five year research project in cooperation with the University for Development Studies in Tamale, Ghana, and Expertise pour le Développement du Sahel (EDS) in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Three Dutch development organizations – the inter-church organization for development cooperation (ICCO), Woord & Daad and Prisma funded the research project (Bymolt, 2010, p. 7).

Dietz et al. (2009) emphasize that the starting point for development evaluations should be how the recipients of development assistance experience change, rather than the set perspectives of the evaluators. The participatory development assessment (PDA) methodology is to involve recipients in evaluations. Critique on the dominant methodologies is that they do not focus on the needs of the beneficiaries, but more on the expectations and the demands of the sponsors in the North.

The PADev research team (2012) describes the following shortcomings of the current and most dominant methodologies of evaluation:

- ✓ They focus on too short a period
- ✓ They are nearly always sponsor-driven
- ✓ They are too narrowly focused on input and output

- ✓ Projects are evaluated in isolation of wider developments in the region
- ✓ The opinions of the supposed beneficiaries are largely neglected

Most development agencies evaluate development projects by zooming in on the results of the agency, how their actions affected the supposed beneficiaries. They try to assess the causal relationships between ‘their initiative’ and the changes in the lives of the participating people. The PADev research team (2012) sees development evaluation as a valuable opportunity to assess development in a holistic way, to relate different development projects with other changes, which affect the local community. The PADev method first studies changes in a region over a specified period, and then tries to find out which interventions contributed to which. It gives the NGOs in a particular area valuable information how their impact is related to changes and other initiatives and which projects have been most successful.

Focus group meetings with local communities form the basis of the PADev method. The youngsters from all the layers of the local community, rich to poor and educated to illiterates, can participate. The original set up of the focus groups were in Northern Ghana and Southern Burkina Faso. Inspired by the first results of the focus groups, many organizations and researchers developed the method in another context or setting.

The research population live in the neighbourhood ‘Venezuela’, ‘La URSS’ or ‘Primero de Mayo’ in Managua. The neighbourhood is part of the development network of INDEF and situated in the urban context; this development organization has been initiating development projects in the neighbourhood since 2007.

Gerson Bonilla, development worker in the neighbourhood, invited the leaders of the neighbourhood. The researcher made the list of leaders he wanted to invite and because Gerson Bonilla has established relations with the people in the neighbourhood was it a well-considered choice to let him invite the participants. The responsible police officer for the neighbourhood could not come to the focus group. The translator did not show up as well because his brother was in jail. Participants of the focus group were:

Amalia Acuña – chief community comity

Gerson Bonilla – development worker in the neighbourhood

Josué Villegas – director of primary/secondary school

Milton Falgardo – member of youth political group in the neighbourhood

The meeting was in the centrally located Reformed Church, this is a common place for the leaders to meet. Gerson Bonilla assisted because his knowledge of the exercise and the method. The leaders made a list of development projects in the neighbourhood to use those in the second and third workshop for the youth participants. The researcher chose for this method to let the youth participants have more time to assess the changes and the impact

of development projects. The length of the exercises made it difficult to concentrate, the hot and dense climate decreased the ability of the youngsters, therefore it was wise to shorten the exercises in this way.

The second focus group meeting was on Friday June 1, for the male participants. The researcher invited – with the help of Gerson Bonilla – ten male participants in the age of 15-24 year from the neighbourhood. Nine youngsters showed up at the community centre in the neighbourhood. This location is chosen because of the neutrality of the place, the facilities and the relatively privacy. The female participants participated in the third focus group on Saturday June 2. It was on the same location as the second focus group. Ten participants showed up to participate. Initially, some did not attend, yet with the help of Gerson Bonilla they came.

4.1.4 Questionnaires

This research made use of questionnaires. Every person who participated in the research had to respond to a questionnaire as well. A structure for quantification and anonymity were extra values of questionnaires. The aim was to get insights in the livelihood and in the backgrounds of the persons who participate. The different domains of the livelihood theory and violence formed the topics of the questions, see appendix B.

4.1.5 Time-line Interviews

Part of triangulation was the time-line interview method. One of the strengths of time-line interviews was the strong emphasis on holism; lives considered as completely, the public and private as inter-related. Lives are contextual and should be studied and understood this way according to several scholars (Callewaert, 2007; Goodson and Sikes, 2001). The time-line method increases the possibility of seeing events and perceptions of these events within contexts of wider life experiences (Adriansen, 2012). The participants were able to tell their story, as they perceived it, within the wider contexts.

The researcher selected the participants who answered to be a victim/perpetrator of violence and their direct experience with development initiatives. Most of the youth who participated in the interviews had the status of being youth-at-risk, because of their experience with violence, living in one-parent families and without a job or study. It was hard for the participants to assess the impact of development projects in their local context in the last ten year in the focus groups. Because direct questions on relations between development projects and change did not work in the focus groups, the questions in the time-line interviews were more on the important changes and moments in the lives of the participants.

The researcher asked first to the most important events in the lives of the participants. By asking about important events first, we can take time to explore when, how these events unfolded, how, and if they are related and affect each other (Adriansen, 2012). The time-line paper was build up with a horizontal line beginning in the year of birth and ending in 2012.

The most important events were in the space under the line. First, the respondents had to put down their time in the neighbourhood, their time in primary/secondary school, the marital status of themselves and their parents, work experience, group activities, church, gang membership and other relevant periods in their lives. For most respondents it was difficult to remember events and periods in detail but with help of visualising on paper they were able to remember it better. The respondents were in that sense 'constructing their story' instead of answering the structured questions in a 'conventional interview'.

To create a trustful atmosphere the researcher has chosen to interview without a tape recorder. The use of tape recorder for qualitative interviews is an issue in itself (see e.g. Kvale, 1996) and may disturb the conversation with the respondent. The researcher asked the respondents on which location they would sit together. Some respondents choose to meet in the church and one respondent wanted to sit outside on the street. One important condition of the researcher of the interview location was the privacy of the place. In most cases there were no other people present in the same room.

As in other qualitative interviews, ethics are important in timeline interviews. What may happen – possibly due to the interviewee's feeling of ownership and the explorative nature of the interview – is that the interview becomes very personal (Adriansen, 2012). The researcher chose to interview the female respondents with a female assistant to create a trustful atmosphere and to avoid uncomfortable situations. One interview paused temporarily because of emotions of the female respondent. The second part of the interview was four days later because the respondent wanted to tell her story. As Goodson and Sikes (2001) have mentioned, the researcher should manage to exercise caution, be emotionally sensitive and intelligent. The researcher is responsible for stopping or diverting the interview, if the interviewee approaches issues, which are too sensitive.

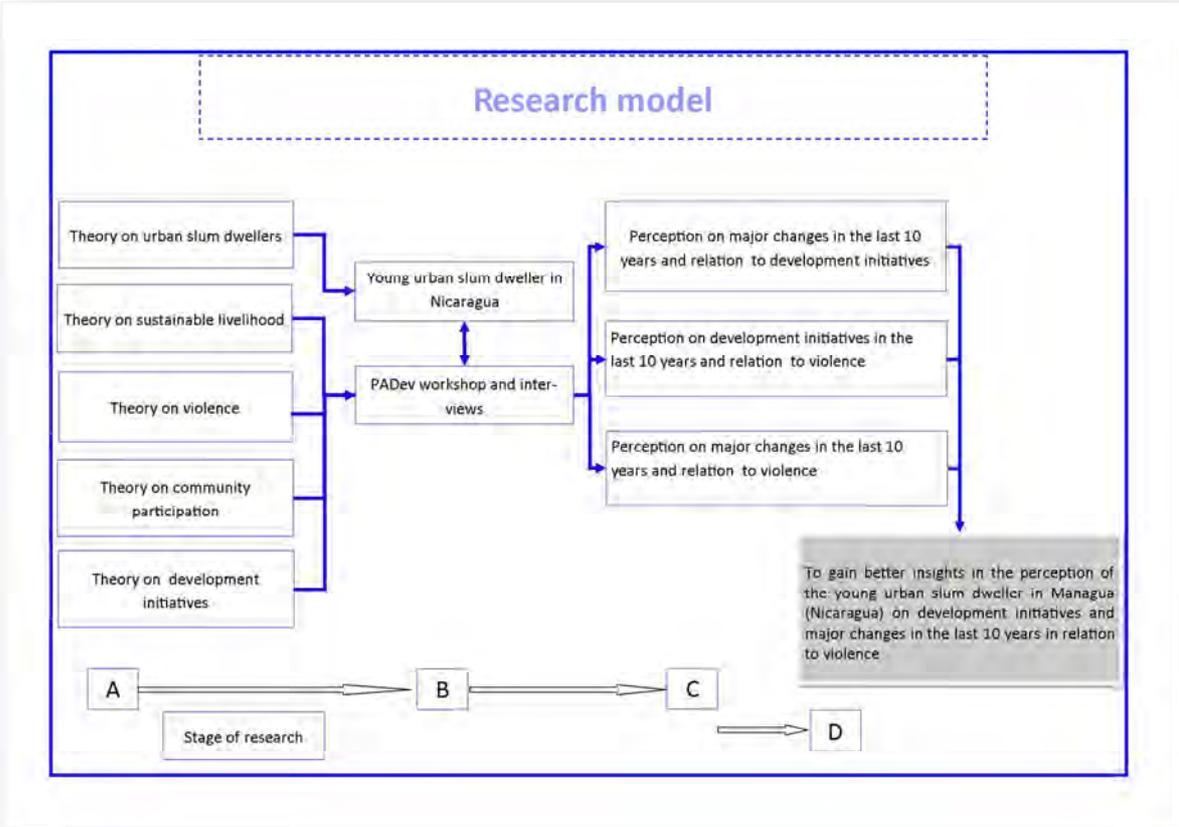
It is easy to claim that interviewees take ownership, it is difficult to make this visible; see for the method appendix d. Adriansen (2012) gives as an indicator that the interviewee often will ask to get a copy of the paper with the timeline illustrating the life story. In this research, one respondent wanted to have 'his paper'. Some respondents were grateful to participate in the interview because they saw their life in a new perspective. Two respondents were not proud of 'their results' of the time-line interview because of the negativity of their story..

Time-line interviews are not different from other qualitative interviews when it comes to problems and shortcomings. There are still struggles to know to what extent the life story represents the lived life. In addition, it is important to remember that the timeline interview is a snapshot in time. The interviewees will have new futures, which may change their interpretation of the event and changes in their lives (Adriansen, 2012)

4.2 Research framework

The research method already explained in the part about triangulation in 4.1.2 and visualised in figure 4.1. The research model was to visualize the different stages of the research. The first stage of the research (A) was to contextualize the different theories about the most important concepts within the research. The second stage (B) contained the concept version of the theoretical framework. The researcher collected the information of the focus groups, questionnaires and time-line interviews in the period in Nicaragua. The analysis of the information was in stage (C), the chapters 5, 6 & 7 are the results of this analysis. The final stage of the research (D) was to write the conclusion in chapter 8 & 9.

Figure 4.1: The research model (2012)



Source: author’s design (2012)

4.3 Data collection

4.3.1 Unit of analysis

The research area is in Nicaragua, one of the poorest countries in Central America, and is focused on the capital city of the country; Managua. Together with INDEF is decided which neighbourhood in Managua is researched. The unit of analysis is the neighbourhood Venezuela. The researcher chose for one neighbourhood as unit of analysis to zoom into detail with the triangulation method.

4.3.2 Position of researcher

An independent attitude of the researcher will be of major relevance. However in some cases is knowledge of and familiarity with the research group of major relevance. The researcher can in such cases gain access to groups, which are difficult in communication. Youngsters are such an example. The researcher had the knowledge to communicate with young urban dwellers in Nicaragua through a soccer project from February to June 2011.

4.3.3 Research assistants

INDEF made one person available who assisted and helped the researcher to translate. She was an employee of INDEF and spoke both English and Spanish. She participated in the research as note-taker in the focus groups. She translated the interviews with the officials/leaders of the neighbourhood. She assisted during the time-line interviews with female respondents. Because of her knowledge of the local situation, she was valuable in understanding the answers of the participants/respondents. The youth in the neighbourhood were not familiar with Dora Serrato because she is living in another city in Nicaragua.

Woord & Daad made one person available who assisted during the focus group. This person participated as facilitator, instructor, and guided the researcher through the phase of preparation. Kees van der Geest participated in the PADev research team and spoke fluent Spanish.

4.3.4 Key informants

Henk Minderhoud: Since 1995 does he work in the urban region of Nicaragua. He worked together with INDEF and Woord & Daad and now aligned to a community-based organization in Masaya.

Gerson Bonilla: He is working in the neighbourhood Venezuela for more than ten years. He has many connections with the leaders, youth and officials in and around the neighbourhood. He helped the researcher to understand the local context.

4.3.5 Sampling of participants/respondents

In this research, different methods of sampling are used. The sampling type mostly attributed to qualitative research is non-probability sampling, or purposive sampling methods (Carvalho & White, 1997). The researcher used purposive sampling for the selection of the respondents of the time-line interviews. The participants were purposely selected according to criteria as age (15-24 year), participation in projects of INDEF (five participants not/ five participants yes) and the location of the house (Venezuela/La URSS/ Primero de Mayo). "Sampling is purposive when a person is sampled with a purpose in mind, usually you would have one or more specific predefined groups" (Trochim, 2006).

The selection of people for the questionnaires was according to their ability to attend the activities throughout the day. This is a form of accidental sampling; “Sampling is accidental when a person is sampled by accident because she or he happens to be available” (Carvalho & White, 1997, p. 6). The researcher stayed on the streets to collect questionnaires with youth in the age of 15-24 year. He stayed on the streets (in the late afternoon and begin of the evening) to meet the youth who are working and are going to school. The researcher went to the secondary school in the neighbourhood to collect questionnaires for two evenings.

4.5 Ethics

According to Scheyvens et. al (2003) the researcher has to guarantee three critical ethical concepts. First, the researcher has to ensure informed consent and freedom of participation. A second criterion is privacy, including ideas of confidentiality and anonymity. As third has the researcher to avoid conflicts of interests (Scheyvens et al., 2003 p. 142).

In doing research, it is important to act in a sensitive and respectful manner (Scheyvens et al., 2003, p. 139). In this case, the researcher informed the respondents and the participants about the intentions for the research and that he do not want to do harm. The researcher also explained to respondents/participants what the purpose of the research was and guaranteed them that it could be anonymous. As this is one of the priorities of a researcher to build up trust and guarantee anonymity (See, appendix C) and confidentiality (Bilger & van Liempt, 2009, pp. 122-123). In addition, it is necessary to respect one’s choice when someone does not want to participate. The respondents have to participate without pressure (Scheyvens et al., 2003, p. 142). In the research almost everyone wanted to participate, only one male refused to respond a questionnaire. In the time-line interviews seemed that some participants did not tell the truth about sensitive issues as jail, violence and drugs. The researcher has to ask by him or herself how far the researcher will go to collect information (Bulmer & Warwick, 1993). The researcher did not confront the respondents with these contradictions to ensure the build-up trust between the researcher and the respondent.

4.6 Limitations of this research

There are several limitations of this research because the researcher is from another culture and background. It can be that concepts, definition and social interaction are differently interpreted unless the sensitive attitude of the researcher towards these differences.

The first limitation of the research was the language barrier. The researcher speaks Spanish, to communicate with the youth on the streets was no problem but for the interviews with the leaders/officials is chosen to make use of a translator. The researcher wanted to be sure to understand everything in detail. Nevertheless, with translation information gets lost in interpreting and translating from Spanish to English. The advantage of the translator was that she knew the local context and understood the ‘slang’ of the youth in communication.

Second limitation was the period of the organized activities. The original PADev exercises were in a 3-day setting, the focus group meetings in this research were in a 1-day setting to limit the exercises and improve the ability of the youth in participation. Because of the limited time, one personal interview changed into a digital interview.

A third constraint was the perception of the youth in the neighbourhood about the researcher. The youth in the neighbourhood were expecting that the researcher would play soccer with them and participate in religious activities. It was because the researcher stayed for a short period in the neighbourhood before with coaching a soccer team. After the first weeks, it became clear for the youth what the purpose of the visit was. Inviting people for interviews was easier with the already existing relationship.

A fourth limitation is that the researcher had connections with the Evangelical Church / Reformed Church in the neighbourhood because the place of residence was at the local pastor's house and this house is on the same terrain as the church and school. There is a 'Reformed Church bias' in the sense that many respondents in the time-line interviews in this research are part of a development program of the Reformed Church. The advantage of staying in the 'central place' of the neighbourhood was that the researcher was able to build up relations of trust with youth visiting the school/church, which was necessary for the time-line interviews. This would not be possible without staying there.



Chapter 5: (The context of) the young urban slum dweller

Picture: Author's fieldwork in 2011

5.1 Introduction

The perception of the young urban slum dweller is the central aspect of this research. It is however, interesting and relevant to give attention to the background and the (vulnerability) context of the young urban slum dwellers. It is beyond the scope of the research to extend the expressiveness of the perception of the youngsters to higher levels; only when possible there will be an attempt. This chapter describes the assets of the young urban slum dwellers within the (vulnerability) context. This chapter will give the reader insights in the livelihoods of the youngsters. First, there is an introduction about Nicaragua and Managua.

5.2 Nicaragua; an introduction

Nicaragua located in the Central American region and bordered by Honduras to the north and Costa Rica to the south. With 148,000 km² of total surface area, Nicaragua is the largest country in Central America. Due to its location, Nicaragua is highly vulnerable to natural phenomena such as earthquakes, hurricanes and volcanic eruptions (UN HABITAT, 2005, p 29). Especially western Nicaragua -, a region where two major tectonic plates collide, has faced many natural disasters. Although periodic volcanic eruptions have caused agricultural damage, earthquakes have been by far more destructive to the crowded urban areas. Hundreds of shocks occur each year, some of which cause severe damage (Merril, 1993).

Figure 5.1: Map of Nicaragua



Source: CDC, (2012)

For the past two centuries, the specific and geographical features have made Nicaragua also a country of strategic military and commercial importance, not least because of its potential as the site of an inter-oceanic canal. Geographically, the country has three main regions: the rural Atlantic region, occupying half of the country's territory; the rural central mountainous region; and the urban lower Pacific Coast. Nicaragua has a diversity of different cultural and ethnic groups, particular on the eastern side of the country, where there are four different

ethnic groups: indigenous peoples (Miskitos, Mayagnas and Ramas), Creoles, Garifunas and Mestizos (UN HABITAT, 2005, P. 29). Beyond the Atlantic Coast region, most people are mestizos. The Pacific and central areas of what is today Nicaraguan territory were colonies of the European power Spain from the 16th century onwards, shortly after the visit of Columbus to the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua.

The present territory of Nicaragua is not as such since the end of the 19th century. Indeed, from the 17th century the Atlantic Coast region was a British protectorate, and received special autonomy. When at the end of the 19th century the Nicaraguan central government took control of this territory, the region lost its autonomy. Even today, some inhabitants on the Atlantic Coast still share the opinion that this region not belongs to the central government in Managua (UN HABITAT, 2005, p. 29).

For much of its history Nicaragua has been a pawn of outside powers, especially the United States. During the 19th century, it received unceasing attention from avaricious adventurers, many of whom sought to build a canal between the two oceans, and it endured the brief but ignominious presence of Wiliam Walker. The pattern would continue into the 20th century (Skidmore & Smith, 2000, p. 373). The power holders in the history of Nicaragua seldom focused on the needs and the prosperity of the Nicaraguan people. In the 20th century, the United States acted many times as a stimulator of wars and fights, because of self-interest. The damage of those rivalries is still visible and the economic rates of the second-poorest country in the Western hemisphere are saddening. The natural disasters and continuous political and economic instability are influencing this situation.

In the 1960s and 1970s, military regimes were the rule and democracy the exception in Latin America. Starting in the 1980s, democracies gradually replaced the dictatorships (UN HABITAT, 2005, p. 3). In Nicaragua, the Somoza family was an example of such a dictatorial regime. They ruled from 1936 until the revolution in 1979. Somoza built his network with support of the United States and favoured the National Guard and the landed elite of the country. They annexed a great share of the cultivatable land as private property. Like other Latin American countries, Nicaragua inherited a situation of deep inequality in land distribution from colonial times, featuring a social, political and economic structure marked by the dominance of the *hacienda* (UN HABITAT, 2005, p. 29). Land reforms, part of the Alliance of progress in the 1960s and 1970s, promoted by the United States had the negative effect of concentrating land ownership again into even fewer hands. The complete absence of representative institutions meant that opposition to Somoza could take only one form: armed resistance. In 1979, after a period of fights and revolution, the Somoza regime collapsed and the political power changed to the Sandinistas (Skidmore & Smith, 2000, p. 376).

The new government inherited a country in ruins, with a stagnant economy and a debt of about US\$1.6 billion. An estimated 50,000 Nicaraguans were dead, 120,000 exiled in neighbouring countries, and 600,000 people were homeless. Food and fuel supplies were

exhausted and international relief organizations were trying to deal with disease caused by lack of health supplies. Yet the attitude of the vast majority of Nicaraguans toward the revolution was decidedly hopeful. Most Nicaraguans saw the Sandinista victory as an opportunity to create a system, free of the political, social, and economic inequalities of the almost universally hated Somoza regime (Merril, 1993).

The decade following the revolution was characterised by a semi-centralized economy with the Sandinistas foremost focusing on the needs of the poor. The enduring conflicts between the Liberals –backed up by the United States – and the Sandinistas had a devastating effect on the stability of the country. In the 1990s, the country turned radically to a market economy, with the help of the Washington Institutions. The following years were a continuous battle for all of the Nicaraguan governments to infiltrate the world markets and to improve the living conditions of the most vulnerable in the country. Managua as the capital city and inhabiting almost one-fifth of the population of the country is the most important factor in catching up with the world markets.

5.3 Managua; an introduction

Managua once was famous as an attractive colonial city, nowadays, famous for its title as one of the ugliest capitals around the world. There are no historical buildings and monuments, no elegant shopping streets or boulevards. Managua es Nicaragua (Managua is Nicaragua) and la ciudad del caos (the city of chaos) are slogans that are typifying Managua. Almost a quarter of the Nicaraguans do live in Managua, so the city makes up a great part of the total population. Founded in 1852, Managua's early population growth fuelled by local coffee production. The capital city's population reached approximately 35,000 people in 1906, and by 1950, the population totalled 110,000 (Hartmann, 2010, p. 29). In 2010, the city had approximately 1,200,000 inhabitants, showing enormous growth rates in the 20th century. The percentage of Nicaraguans living in urban areas increased from 35.2% in 1950 to 54.7% in 2000 (United Nations 2008). In addition, these rates only intensified during the 1970s and 1980s due to civil unrest in Nicaragua's countryside. Still, urbanization is rather low when compared to other Latin American countries— in the average Latin American country is 75% living in urban areas (Hartmann, 2010, p. 29).

The earthquake in 1972 destroyed almost every building in the city. Rebuilding of the city, due to the dictatorial regime of Somoza, did not take place in an organized way and little reconstruction actually took place. Massey (1986) typified Managua as

...Around the hollow centre the built up area sprouts haphazardly, and motorway-style ring roads from the Somoza era curve between shantytowns and wastelands. As to housing, there are middle-class suburbs of bungalows with gardens, there are working-class barrios of small but solid single-story houses, and there are 'spontaneous settlements'. (p.1)

situate around the sewage canal in 'La URSS', are belonging to the group with the lowest quality (Inifom, 2008).

The first foundations of the neighbourhood trace back to 1965 with the construction of the first dwellings. Different families moved into the neighbourhood, but there were three families, which became central and important in the area. They sold houses to other families who are living now in this neighbourhood. These processes were part of the context in the 1960s and 1970s, when the ruling dictatorial regime of Somoza did not have policies to regulate ownership of private property.

Figure 5.3: The neighbourhood in 2012



Source: Author's design, (2012)

Following the revolution and change of governments, the attention towards private investments and ownership changed as well and became it more regulated and controlled. The Sandinista government started to give security of tenure to people in the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood grew gradually with the immigration of families from other neighbourhoods and from rural areas to free and available plots. In the 1970s and 1980s, many people came from rural areas to escape the enduring violence and to search for a better life. Especially in the mountains in the North fights between the Sandinistas and the Contras were so regularly and intense that they caused large-scale migration to Managua.

The section 'La URSS' is younger than 'Venezuela'. The foundations of this section are in the 1980s. According to Ramon Rojas – development worker and living for thirty years in 'La URSS' –the area was an abandoned property; no man's land. For the first settlers the initial period after the revolution was a relatively good time. The developments on the national

level with the ruling Sandinista government made it possible that they could squat a plot to build a dwelling.

Available living space in Managua was not such a problem as in other cities in developing countries. The city was able to absorb new inhabitants in neighbourhoods where plots were still available. Amalia Acuña did an interesting observation about the change in the availability of living space: *“With the foundations of the neighbourhood, there was only one family per house, but nowadays the sons and daughters with their families are living as well in the same place. The available space of the territory is used more intensive than before.”* In this way, the population numbers of the neighbourhoods still are on the rise even without having empty plots available and with the knowledge that families are smaller than before.

5.5 The young urban slum dweller

In order to describe the outcomes of youth perception, there is a need to contextualize the characteristics of the participated young urban slum dwellers. Without knowing the context, the possibility of generalizing the outcomes of the research is more difficult than with illustrating the backgrounds and general characteristics of the youngsters.

There are five persons above the 47 persons, who responded the questionnaires, who participated in the workshops and the timeline interviews but who were not able to fill in a questionnaire through practical issues as not having time. Therefore, in reality, 52 unique persons participated in the research, but the characteristics represent just 47 persons. A slightly higher number of men participated in the research than women. In total are 48% women and 52% men, see table 5.1. In Managua is the division just the opposite as observed here in the research; Managua does have a population build-up of 49% men and 51% women (Inifom, 2012, p. 17). It will not implicate that the neighbourhood do have another composition than the general neighbourhoods in Managua but rather it does say something about the research method and probably about the participation of women.

Table 5.1: Characteristics of participated youth in research

Indicators	Number
Total	47(52)
Women	22(25)
Men	25(27)
‘Venezuela’	24
‘La URSS’	20
‘Primero de Mayo’	3
Average age	18
Average living years	14,6
Average persons per household	7
Average persons with work in the house	2,9
Member of youth gang (past and/or in present)	11

Source: Author’s fieldwork, (2012)

The livelihoods of young urban slum dwellers are as complex and diverse as livelihoods from other people. There is not something as the 'uniform identity' of the youngsters but there are aspects, which seem to fit for the majority of the youngsters. This part describes the assets of the young urban slum dwellers in their livelihoods and whether these assets are strength in their livelihoods or that some assets are vulnerable for threats and shocks. The six livelihood domains (e.g. Rakodi, 2002; Scoones, 1998; Bebbington, 1999), are central in this section to describe the livelihoods of the youngsters.

5.5.1 Social capital

The availability of social capital in using it as a valuable asset depends on several aspects. Several scholars (e.g. Coleman, 1991; Bourdieu, 1993; Putnam, 2002; Fuyukama, 1995) perceive social capital as a valuable instrument in livelihood strategies. Other scholars (Fine, 2001; Fine, 2002; Daly & Silver, 2008; Edwards et al. 2003) do have serious and fundamental complaints about the use of capital as valuable asset. It is beyond the scope of this section to discuss both positions in detail but there will be a contribution to the discussion when possible.

When a person or a family frequently moves to other neighbourhoods, the social relations that constitute social capital can break down by each move to another place (Edwards, 2003, p. 6). Not every participated young urban slum dweller is born in the same neighbourhood as he or she lives in now. Four youngsters are living only for one or two years in the neighbourhood. In one situation, the male respondent moved into the house of his aunt to live with this family. In three other occasions, a relationship with somebody already living in the neighbourhood was the reason that a person moved from somewhere else to the neighbourhood. From the eleven youngsters responding in the time-line interviews are only two still living in the house where they were born. It is beyond the scope of this research to delineate the relation between these movements and the availability of social capital but it is very interesting to research it more in detail in another research.

The family contexts of the young urban slum dwellers often are very complex and multi-layered. In conversations, some youngsters explained that they are living with their family, but as well with grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews and cousins. Divorce or separation of the parents, stepfathers and movements of the parents to other neighbourhoods and even countries is a common phenomenon in the livelihoods of the youngsters. Coleman (1991) and Bourdieu (1993) emphasized the role of families as central aspect of social capital and that people derive their social capital from their membership of a group, such as family or a peer group. The changes within families do not per se erode the social capital of the young urban slum dwellers but may force them to build social relations with another group as for example a youth gang. However, according to Haynes (2009) the rather general notion of social capital, even when assessing the dark side of such ties, does not provide instrument in detecting these dynamics or identifying ways to tackle the threat they pose in a controlled and strategic way.

More than half (58%) of the parents of the youngsters is separated or divorced and around one third (38%) of them have parents who are living together or are married, see table 5.2. Comparing the outcomes of the young urban slum dwellers with the general statistics of Managua is visible that only 14,6% of the persons above the age of 15 are divorced or separated and that 51,5 % is living together or married (INIDE, 2008).⁴ According to INIDE (2008), the percentages of separation or divorce are the highest in Managua. There is an obvious distinction between the rural areas – 7, 6 % of the people with divorce or separation – and the urban areas – 13, 2 % of the people with divorce or separation.

Table 5.2: Marriage status in the neighbourhood in 2012

Marriage status of the parents	Number
Living together	8(17%)
Married	10(21%)
Separated	22(47%)
Divorced	4(9%)
Widowed	3(6%)
Total	47(100%)

Source: Author’s fieldwork (2012)

The young urban slum dweller can build up social relations – and use them as valuable asset of social capital – with a membership of a group. Putnam (1993) identifies groups and networks, features of social organisations, as ‘norms and trust, which facilitate action and co-operation for mutual benefit’. Despite, the young urban slum dwellers do not fully exploit the potential of this feature of social capital. Around the 60% of the youngsters is not a member from any kind of group or network. Most of the young urban slum dweller who are member, are participating in a sport team or part of a youth group in the church. Only three youngsters are member of a political group, which can be (in potential) a way to create networks and social relations with people from other neighbourhoods and with officials and leaders. The lack of connections and relations seems to be a main concern of the young urban dwellers when they assessed the difficulty in finding a job. Haynes (2009) states that neither these relations nor its effects have accurate measurements in comparable ways, which make social capital ‘overplayed’ (Crow, 2002 in Edwards, 2003).

5.5.2 Human capital

The availability of human capital in the livelihoods of the youngsters is build up with the number of family members and time available for income earning activities. The education level of the young urban slum dweller and his or her family is as well important in

⁴ It is not possible to compare these statistics because there is no information about how many people are still single in the neighbourhood. It gives an indication that there is a difference between the participants’ parents and the general characteristics of Managua.

determining the strength of the asset of human capital. Often ignored by younger people but the health situation may influence the capability and time available to work or study.

The average of people per household of the young urban slum dweller is seven persons, see table 5.1. The typical family is build-up with two brothers and 1, 6 sisters, so with the respondent included there are in general 4, 6 children per household. When 100% of the parents are living together and every brother/sister is still living at home, than this will be 6, 6 persons per household. The youngsters do have 20 children, which make the overall composition of seven persons per average household. In theory, this composition would be logic, but in practice, it would not stand. Only 38% of the parents are married or living together, so the general number per household would be expected fewer than seven. The fact that the number of people per household is higher than expected by the general number may indicate that there are several households living with more people than only, brothers, sisters, a child and parents. The compositions of the households sometimes are very complex in this neighbourhood. It is possible that a grandfather or mother is living in the same house or that a spouse of the young urban slum dweller or a brother/sister is living as well in the household.

Not everybody in the family household is able to work. The younger children still are going to school, many of the mothers (40%) are housemother and grandparents are above the working age. The average number of people who held a job was 2, 7 persons per household. In most cases brothers, sisters, parents, aunts and uncles are the persons who are working. Half of the participated youth still are going to the secondary school; only one person is going to the university. 21% of the youngsters are working, with six participants assisting teachers in school, three are working in the construction business and one is teacher, see table 5.3. There are questions about the quality of the jobs because – except for the young urban slum dweller who is a teacher – the jobs are without any long-term perspective.

Table 5.3: Occupation of the young urban slum dwellers

Occupation	Number
None	11(24%)
Study	24(51%)
Work	10(21%)
Other	2(4%)
Total	47(100%)

Source: Author’s fieldwork, (2012)

Around 24% of the youngsters is not working or studying. This is the same percentage as the national average. According to a recent World Bank report, a full 25% of Nicaraguan youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years living in urban areas neither work nor study (Dye, 2004, p. 9). These young urban slum dwellers are not able to use education or recent work

experience as a valuable asset in their livelihood strategies. For them is the quest for work experience or relevant education a threshold in finding a job.

Table 5.4: Education level of young urban slum dwellers

Age	Gender	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
15-19	Men	7(14, 9%)	12(25, 5%)		19(40, 4%)
	Women	3(6, 4%)	15(31, 9%)		18(38, 3%)
20-24	Men		4(8, 5%)	2(4, 2%)	6(12, 7%)
	Women		4(8, 5%)		4(8, 5%)
Total		10(21, 3%)	35(74, 4%)	2(4, 2%)	47(100%)

Source: Author’s fieldwork, (2012)

The level of education can be an important variable in determining the value of the assets of the young urban slum dweller in developing his or her strategies in the livelihood. Table 5.4 describes the education level of the youngsters. Table 5.5 describes a comparison with the highest accomplished level of education between two age groups in Managua. There is a clear difference between these results and the levels reached by the young urban slum dwellers. On average, more of the youngsters have accomplished a grade in total than the average youth in Managua. However, the percentage of participated youth who accomplished a grade at tertiary level is lower than the general score among the youth in Managua. It is especially striking that no female young urban slum dweller accomplished a grade at tertiary level, see table 5.4.

Table 5.5: Education level in Managua

Level	15-19 year	20-24 year
None	9,7	11,4
Primary	43,3	35,3
Secondary	44,8	39,9
Tertiary	2,1	13,1
Total	100	100

Source: INIDE, (2008)

5.5.3 Economic capital

The availability of economic capital in the livelihoods of the youngsters depends on the access to and the availability of financial resources. The question is how the young urban slum dwellers can use this asset in the livelihood strategy. Access to a bank account, receiving remittances or the possibility of receiving micro credit may accumulate the economic capital of the young urban slum dweller.

A 21 % of the households of the youngsters receive remittances, mostly from family members living in Costa Rica or the United States. Remittances provide in Nicaragua a substantial and growing resource flow, which is distributed to some 20 per cent of the population, largely women, in all parts of the country. It is estimated that as many as one

million Nicaraguans, of the current population of 5, 2 million, have emigrated, primarily to the United States and Costa Rica (IOM, 2004). The money comes with no strings attached, and even though spent largely on consumption, the economic impact of remittances is felt far more widely than the pool of direct recipients (Jennings & Clarke, 2005, p. 688).

The money transfer from migrants through economic remittances is assumed to support the receiving communities. “Including the unrecorded flows, the true size of remittances is larger than the flows of foreign direct investment flows and more than twice as large as official aid received by developing countries” (Castles & Miller, 2009). The long-term development benefits attributed to remittances are multi-layered and subtle, they are the result of continues processes within the wider local communities of receiving families.

Whether the flows of remittances lead towards sustainable economic and social development is dependent on the behavior of the migrants. There are negative effects through household-based enrichment such as emerging inequality within a community between the ones who get and who do not, and the rising price in land and other resources (Castles & Miller, 2009). It is beyond the scope of the research to research the link between a sustainable livelihood and receiving remittances.

A 34 % of the households of the youngsters do have access to bank accounts. The lack (of access) to those resources may influence the opportunities of the young urban slum dwellers. Two-third of the households of the youngsters misses the opportunity to accumulate and secure capital earned by jobs or other income earning activities. When the economic and financial resources are bundled in a few elite hands, than a big share of the population is not able to profit from these resources. This may increase the inequality between the people with access and the people without access, even within the neighbourhood.

5.5.4 Physical capital

The availability of physical capital in the livelihoods of the youngsters may enable their ability to pursue for example human or economic capital. Physical capital is build-up of the basic infrastructure as shelter, energy, transport and communication. UN HABITAT (2003) defines slums according to the aspects of the physical domain. Box 5.1 describes this definition. Almost every young urban slum dweller perceives that they have access to utilities as electricity (97, 7%), the water system (97, 7%) and that they have a toilet (93, 6%). This indicates that the neighbourhood not is a slum according to these three characteristics. The quality of these utilities are not questioned, only the accessibility. It is however the question whether every household of the young urban slum dweller does have legal access to electricity and it can be that they share the toilet with other households. Three out of four youngsters state that they or their parents have security of tenure; that they have legal papers of their house. However, Gerson Bonilla – development worker in the neighbourhood – estimate that only around the 40 % of the houses do have security of tenure but that in the end of this year around the 80% of the neighbourhood will have legal papers.

The youngsters did not know exactly the situation of their household or had heard about the attempts for applying security of tenure. Another reason for this discrepancy could be that their property is a victim of the complexity of illegal and legal regulations in the real estate business. Security of tenure is one of the main concerns of shelter-based policies, and if security increase, neighbourhoods are likely to improve. Davis (2007) poses questions on the improvement of a slum through legalizing. He thinks that slum dwellers will become vulnerable to real-estate enterprises. Research of UN HABITAT (2003) shows that tenure is not divided into formal and informal but that it is more nuanced and closer to a continuum from fully secure to highly insecure. It may also be that the landowner is secure but the users can be very insecure, at risk of pushed out at hours' notice, sometimes even violently (UN HABITAT, 2003, p. 60).

Box 5.1: Slum characteristics

As described in the theoretical framework can slums be legal settlements which have become substandard due to inadequate maintenance by the owners (Pacione, 2008, p. 518). UN HABITAT (2003) characterizes a slum as with one or more deficiencies in the utilities as inadequate water and sanitation supplying, lack of security of tenure, lack of durable housing or the lack of sufficient living space. Davis (2007) states that he miss the social component in this definition of the UN HABITAT; it eschews the more difficult-to-measure "social dimensions". Insecurity and fear are intangible aspects which are hard to define, but are important to consider in defining a slum.

Only 36, 2% of the young urban slum dwellers stated that they live in a durable construction. According to the definition of UN HABITAT (2003), at least more than half of the population in a neighbourhood need to lack one or more of the five aspects in the definition of a slum. Thus, the neighbourhood of the research is a slum according to UN HABITAT. Davis (2007) does question this definition seriously. The intangible aspects, which are hard to define exactly, are in his opinion as well important in determining a slum. This research aims to extend the working definition of UN HABITAT (2003) and tries to assess the intangible aspects as well.

5.5.5 Cultural capital

The availability of cultural capital in the livelihoods of the youngsters may determine their choices and opportunities. In a religious country as Nicaragua, around 97% of the Nicaraguan people are member of a religious denomination, seems the church to have an important role in the livelihoods of the people. This research questioned only membership of a church and no other forms of cultural capital because of their complexity and the lack of relevance for this research.

The Latin American continent has well-known Christian roots, which trace back to the domination of Spain in the sixteenth century. A 91 % of the youngsters belong to a denomination. This will not imply that a similar percentage attends church ceremonies on Sundays. Many young urban slum dwellers are not actively participating in church gatherings. In Nicaragua 73% of the people belong to the Catholic Church and around 15%

belongs to an Evangelical church (Nations encyclopedia, 2012). It looks that in this research the Evangelical Church is more popular than the Catholic Church, see table 5.6. The next chapter will provide an explanation why the youngsters are different in their membership a church.

Table 5.6: Denomination of churches in the neighbourhood in 2012

Church	Number
None	4(9%)
Catholic	9(19%)
Evangelic	32(68%)
Mormon	1(2%)
Jehovah	0
Other	1(2%)
Total	47(100%)

Source: Author’s fieldwork, (2012)

5.5.6 Natural capital

The availability of natural capital may provide the young urban slum dwellers access to natural resources as land, water and livestock. These natural resources however are not relevant in the context of this urban slum. The urban livelihood is, in general, cash dependent and not strongly aligned to the production and availability of natural capital (e.g. Rakodi, 2002; Bebbington, 1999; Scoones, 1998). It appears that youngsters lack access to forms of natural capital because of the lack of sufficient space in the urban area and available economic capital.

5.5.7 Manifestation of violence

The manifestations of violence in the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers affect the availability of assets, and the ability to use them in their livelihoods. Violence occurs in their livelihoods as perpetrator, victim or both. Violence may affect the livelihood of the youngsters because people as family or friends use violence. A 44, 6% of the young urban slum dwellers responded that they have used violence in their livelihood. After providing the list with characteristics (see appendix c) of what violence can be, 79, 9% of the youngsters responded that they have used violence, at least once, in their livelihoods. Most of them were not aware that fights between individuals or groups are violence.

Initially, 48, 9% of the young urban slum dwellers stated that they were, at least once, a victim of violence. After showing them the same list with characteristics of violence as before, 68, 1% stated that they were a victim as well. A big share of the youngsters is familiar with violence as perpetrator or as a victim and only 12, 7% of the young urban slum dwellers never used or faced violence in their livelihoods. These percentages do not implicate anything about the quantity and intensity of violence. Nonetheless, it looks reasonable to

regard violence as a serious threat in the livelihoods of the young urban dwellers, even without knowing the intensity of the manifestations.

Most of the violence manifested in the neighbourhood belongs to the socially motivated acts. Group and individual fights and domestic violence often manifest by the will to keep or gain social power. An 80, 8% of the youngsters used some form of social violence in their lives. There is a group of youngsters (17%), who used violence ‘regularly’; they used violence, motivated by social reasons, 21 times or more in their livelihoods. Most of them fought, in a group or individual, to solve their problems in the neighbourhood, in school or between youth gangs.

A 23, 4% of the youngsters stated that they have used violence, motivated by economic reasons, in their livelihoods. The reasons behind this form of violence can be the trafficking of drugs or robberies. Two young urban slum dwellers (4%) explained that they robbed people regularly to earn money to make a living. There seems a link between the use of economically motivated violence and the use of weapons. From the group youngsters who state that they used violence, motivated by economic reasons, has 63, 6% used a weapon. From the group who used violence motivated by social reasons is that 28, 9%. It appears to be that ‘economically motivated’ perpetrators are more serious offenders than the perpetrators motivated by social reasons. This should however, be researched in more detail.

A big share of the youngsters does have connections with people who have used violence. 83% of the youngsters do have friends who have used violence and 70, 2% of the young urban slum dwellers do have family members who have used violence. It looks that they are part of a context where violence is something ‘from everyday’. The male youngsters in the focus groups perceived violence ‘as something that it is part of the human life and always will exist’.

Table 5.7: Young urban slum dwellers in a youth gang

Youth gang	Number of persons	Average number of years
Los Chacales	6	4,1
Los Bellos	2	2,5
Villa Candil	2	4,5
Los Chaquis	1	1
Total	11	3,6

Source: Author’s fieldwork, (2012)

Eleven youngsters (23, 4%) in this research are or were member of a youth gang. Table 5.7, present the various youth gangs. One person, member of the youth gang ‘Los Chaquis’ is a woman. According to Gerson Bonilla, youth gangs form around 13% of the youth population in the neighbourhood. This research represents thus relatively more the perception of youth

gang members. Youth gangs often are associated with violence and the outcomes of this research seems to fit in this picture. Ten out of eleven youth gang members used violence motivated by social and economic reasons. 72, 7% of the youth gang members used a weapon in their lives.

5.6 Conclusion

This research is about the perception of the young urban slum dwellers in the neighbourhood and not about the perception of the youth in Managua, Nicaragua or Latin America. This section attempted to place to the livelihoods of the youngsters in the (vulnerability) context. The young urban slum dweller in this research is a person who lives in the different sections of the neighbourhood; Venezuela, La URSS or Primero de Mayo, which constitutes the research context. They are in the age of the 15-24 year. However, no single, uniform identity fits in characterizing the background of the youth.

The majority of the young urban slum dwellers in this research is Evangelical (70%), completed one or more levels in the secondary school (75%) but did not go the university or another form of higher education(4,2%). In the daily life, one of the four urban slum dwellers is without a job or a study. From more than half of the young urban slum dwellers parents are divorced or separated. Around two-third of the youngsters is single. More than half of the female young urban slum dwellers have one or more children. In this research, 23% of the youngsters are/were member of a youth gang.

The neighbourhood is an urban slum according to the most common definitions. Nevertheless, this research illustrates that there are questions. Slums are a relative concept and the rapidly of changes and processes within slums make it even harder to determine when a neighbourhood is a slum or not. The research neighbourhood is part in most urban basic services and most households are able to make use of these services. It looks that the majority of the young urban slum dwellers lack durable shelter and security of tenure. The direction of the changes indicates that in the near future the majority of the households will have security of tenure and a durable shelter. In the perception of the UN HABITAT will this be 'mission accomplished'. In the perception of the young urban slum dweller will this probable be different; many assets make them still vulnerable, even in a durable shelter with access to the basic services.

The young urban slum dweller appears to lack connections and social relations, which are necessary to create social capital; the low degree of memberships of groups may illustrate this. Separation within families is eroding the build-up social capital of the youngsters. The availability of human capital appears to be a point of concern; the lack of higher educated people and the lack of qualitative good and durable jobs within the network of the young urban slum dwellers affect the ability to use education or work experience as a valuable asset. Most youngsters and their households are not able to accumulate economic capital in the form of access to bank accounts and the delivery of remittances.

The high rates of manifestations of violence in the livelihoods of the majority of the young urban slum dwellers and the perception of violence as 'just a part of life', entrench a 'culture of violence'. The (potential) depriving impact of violence makes it reasonable to discuss whether violence should be a part of the slum definition or not. In this research neighbourhood, and probably in more urban slum neighbourhoods seems adding an intangible aspect as violence necessary to fully understand the impact of the manifestation of violence in the lives of youngsters.



Chapter 6 – Changes in the livelihoods and manifestation of violence

Picture: Retrieved from internet on September 24, 2012 from www.flickr.com

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the major changes within the livelihood context of the young urban slum dwellers along the six domains of the livelihood framework. It emphasizes the major changes in the manifestations of violence as well. The youngsters assessed the major changes in neighbourhood in the last ten years during two days of focus group meeting. The researcher used the PADev methodology. The green shaded areas in the tables indicate a (very) positive change.

6.2 Changes in the physical domain

The young urban slum dwellers assessed the major changes in the domain of physical capital. Table 6.1 illustrates these changes and their causes categorized by the different sub-domains of physical capital. The overall picture is that the youngsters are very positive about the changes in the physical domain.

Table 6.1: Major changes in the physical domain of the neighbourhood

Sector	Changes perceived by women / men	Effect of change	Cause of change
Roads & Bridges	1. The quality of the roads is better 2. The construction of sidewalks. 3. There are fewer accidents than before. 1. New ditches and pavements	1. ++ 2. ++ 3. ++ 1. +	1. Because of the bad quality of the streets, the community applied for help and received it from the government 1. Help of organizations
Transport	1. Nowadays there motor and cycle taxi's 2. There are new busses with access for persons with a disability 1. Better busses nowadays 2. More traffic	1. ++ 2. ++ 1. + 2. --	1. This is cheaper and easy to use 2. The old buses were in bad conditions 1. Better conditions of the busses. 2. The use of motors for robberies and an increased amount of accidents with busses
Sanitation	1. There were not a lot of latrines, now there are more 2. There are more odour refreshments	1. + 2. +	1. It was very dangerous and more hygiene was necessary
Constructio ns	1. Material of the houses is in better conditions. 2. The neighbourhoods are prettier than before 1. Better houses (more concrete materials than before) and more help with the roofs. 2. Substantial security of the construction	1. ++ 2. ++ 1. +	1. The help of the government + organizations with materials and manpower 1. Help of the government
Electricity	1. Nowadays are the prices for electricity higher than before. 1. Good services 2. Higher prices than before	1. - 1. + 2. -	1. People use electricity illegally and don't pay for it. 1. Private companies and more investments
Telecomm unication	1. More facilities of telecommunication with computers and telephone lines/ mobiles.	1. ++	1. The advancement of the technology and the quest for more and better communication

Source: Authors fieldwork, (2012)

The quality of sanitation is better than ten years ago and the youngsters perceived the situation before as dangerous. They mentioned the health problems linked to the poor quality of the sanitation facilities. The increase in latrines can indicate a growth in awareness about the importance of good sanitation. It seems that development agencies provided aid and materials. Davis concludes that the most extreme health differentials are no longer between urban and rural areas, but between the urban middle classes and the urban poor (Davis, 2007, p. 146). There are huge disparities within the urban area. The neighbourhoods where the rich reside have better access to water and sanitation than the neighbourhoods where the poor live. ECLAC (2009) found a significant relation between capita consumption and the provision of water and sanitation infrastructure, which relate positively to the likelihood of having adequate access to water.

More than one million people – two thirds of them pedestrians, cyclists and passengers – die in road accidents in the Third World each year (Davis, 2007, p. 132). People who will never own a car in their life are at the greatest risk according to a World Health Organization (WHO) researcher. The young urban slum dwellers observed an increase in traffic during the last ten years, which had a negative effect with many more accidents, especially with busses of the public transport network. Because of the increase in traffic, the government is investing in the quality of infrastructure. The youngsters are feeling safer because of the sidewalks, which protect them against the increased traffic of cars and motors.

The increasing investments by the government in the infrastructure of the neighbourhood do fit in the picture of the transition phase of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood does have the characteristics of a *consolidated slum settlement* where development has been through the start of an informal settlement, (see section 5.3), in which land has been informally subdivided and sold or leased to households who built their own dwellings. Some of the land used in this way is deemed unsafe or unfit for planned residential development, such as the land close to the sewage canal in 'La URSS'. Over time, the initial settlement has been grudgingly recognized, tolerated and even accepted. Whether legal or not, the continued presence gives it a *de facto* right to exist and to develop (UN HABITAT, 2003, p. 87). It is in the interest of city municipalities that *consolidated slum settlements* should be absorbed within the formal housing stock and improved in order to maintain the land values of the areas that surround them. This may be the reason why the government is assisting in applying for security of tenure of people in the neighbourhood.

6.3 Changes in the human domain

Good health has a positive, statistically significant effect on economic growth and contributes to other development objectives (Morales, 2006, p. 22). This is evident in the context of Nicaragua's young urban slum dwellers, for whom the need to create opportunities is extremely urgent. Table 6.2 illustrates the major changes, assessed by the youngsters in the human domain.

Table 6.2: Major changes in the human domain of the neighbourhood

Sector	Changes perceived by women / men	Effect of change	Cause of change
Health	1. The attention is not good nowadays, disarray of the medics 1. Nowadays there is improved technology and equipment in the hospitals 2. Better conditions	1. - 1. ++ 2. ++	Many doctors are not well educated. 1. The government triggered the advancement in technology and equipment.
Education	1. The access is easier of education, because it is free. 2. The quality of education is not good 1. There are more scholarships than before 2. Alphabetization of the adults	1. ++ 2. - 1. + + 2. +	2. The teachers are not professionals 1. More opportunities to get a higher degree
Knowledge	1. More help from organizations and opportunities to work.	1. +	
Hygiene	1. The roads are dirtier than before. 2. There are not a lot of diseases nowadays. 1. Fewer diseases and dead people than before. 2. More knowledge of people about hygiene nowadays. 3. More cleaning of the streets and the ditches	1. -- 2. + 1. + 2. + 3. +	1. The people do not concern and are not caring about it. 2/3. The government and community initiated a process of social education about cleaning and structuring the house/neighbourhood

Source: Author's fieldwork, (2012)

The complaints about the level of education fit in the overall picture of the status of education in Nicaragua. Nicaragua has the second lowest level of education in Central America. Both access and quality are very low, compared to other Latin American countries regardless of constitutional reform. The education system is marked by insufficient coverage, poor quality, little accountability and insufficient budget. In urban areas the access is better than in the rural areas, but quality and relevance are low (Woord & Daad, 2010). The young urban slum dwellers perceived the change in access towards education as a very positive change and linked it to the fact that education in most cases is free for everybody. Male youngsters perceived an increase in the availability of scholarships, which gives them the opportunity to study on a higher level. However, Woord & Daad (2010) observes that there are many small private non-regulated institutions which offer courses, but without improved opportunities on the labour market because of the lack of recognition by the formal private sector, due to poor quality and relevance of those institutions.

Literacy and education levels among the Nicaraguan population are relatively low. In 2001, about 81 % of the Nicaraguan people enrolled in primary education, and only 48 % reached fifth grade. Some 36 % of the Nicaraguan population has enrolled in secondary level and 31

in tertiary education (UNDP, 2003 p. 272). The pupil-teacher ratio is the highest for Latin America. Moreover, many teachers lack good training, which especially affects the neighbourhoods of the poor. Due to the low level of education, high dropout rates and late enrolment are visible. The students often lack motivation going to school and financial constraints are a barrier, which explains the low attendance rates in schools (Woord & Daad, 2010). People often choose to invest their assets in income-generating activities instead of education.

The positive changes in the accessibility improved education to some extent. Ramon Rojas, a development worker in the neighbourhood, observes that the change in the availability of education came with the new government, i.e. the Sandinista government, in 2007. Nowadays education is genuinely free and there are many possibilities for adults as well. Before 2007, education was free, but one had to pay for several extras as books, cleaning the school etc. Amalia Acuña, chief of community committee, states that the youth have more opportunities to study after secondary school in comparison with ten years ago. Not only the access to the primary and the secondary school are improved, but to the universities as well. Sometimes when the students do have money, they do not have to pay anything. The students do not have to worry about money and they are able to study due to government support.

The prevalence of daily stress to challenge dangers as dirty environments, bad sanitation conditions and air pollution in the lives of the young urban slum dweller may explain their perception on the mental health status. A very negative change according to the female participants is that the environment is more contained than before and this causes problems with hygiene. This can be dangerous for the people in the neighbourhood. Research in Brazil has shown that the living area has a significant effect on the mental health of the population. Izutsu et al, (2006) found that slum adolescents show lower self-reported quality of life than non-slum adolescents do.

6.4 Changes in the economic domain

Changes in the availability of economic resources are highly relevant in the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers in being able to create economic capital. In this section, the youngsters assess the major changes in the different assets of the economic domain, (see table 6.4). The young urban slum dwellers were in general negative about the changes in economic capital and especially in the availability of work.

The youngsters are very negative about the changes in the availability of work. Male and female participants explained that it is more difficult to get a job nowadays. Because of the difficulty of finding a job, many people migrate to Costa Rica or the United States. It is very well possible that there is not a negative change per se but that the youth perceive it so. Because they are looking for jobs nowadays while ten years ago, they were still in the school age. The frustrations may have to do with a lack of sufficient education skills and the high number of people looking for a job. The result is that many of the young urban slum dwellers in the neighbourhood are not studying or working.

Table 6.3: Major changes in economic domain in the neighbourhood

Sector	Changes perceived by women / men	Effect of change	Cause of change
Paid jobs	1. There are not sufficient jobs, before there were more. Nowadays there is exploitation of the salaries. 2. Nowadays, you can get only a job when you have connections. 3. Applying request more entry requirements than before. 1. It is more difficult to have a job than before. 2. Growth of work	1. - - 2. - - 3. - 1. - - 2. +	1. They do not want to give an opportunity to people without work experience. 1. Lack of work experience. New jobs are only for friends
Access to credit, bank	1. There are institutions or banks that borrow money but there are only a few. 1. Considerable confidence for borrowing money. 2. More people are interested	1. + 2. -	1. A growth of the use of official identity cards.
Emigration & Remittances	1. There are more people migrating to Costa Rica 2. The remittances are less than before. 1. There is more migration	1. + 2. - 1. -	1. Difficult to find work in Nicaragua. 2. The prices of products are higher than before. 1. Less availability of work in Nicaragua
Informal economy	1. More micro-companies of families		

Source: Author's fieldwork, (2012)

According a 2008 World Bank report, a full 25% of Nicaraguan youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years living in urban areas neither work or study. In comparison with other Latin American countries is Nicaragua performing similar many countries in Latin America have high rates of youth with non-employment as well (UN HABITAT, 2008, p. 88). The high rate of non-employment of young people in Nicaragua and other developing countries is reason for concern; the lack of decent, sustainable jobs promotes a sense of displacement in the general youth population and often leads to crime, under-development, and a cycle of poverty. Frustrations accompanying long-term unemployment among groups of urban young men may feed political and ideological unrest and provoke violence.

The official unemployment rate in Nicaragua (in 2011 8 %) was in line with the average figure for Latin American countries, but the real problem is underemployment in the informal sector where most of the Nicaraguans earn their money. It is hard to estimate the exact rates of underemployment, since this sector lacks any form of official recording. Most of the

youngsters depend heavily on their income earned in the informal economy. The young urban slum dwellers perceived that to them the informal sector was the same as the formal sector; they just want a job, whether it is formal or informal.

In relation to the 'poverty trap',⁵ the changes of the neighbourhood are a micro example of the economic and social processes within Nicaragua. The question of whether slums are networks of social and economic mobility or 'poverty traps' is still not answered. The networks within the slums may serve two different functions: help for 'getting by' (social support) and help for 'getting ahead' (social advantage). Both may be, but are not necessarily, active in the same location (UN HABITAT, 2003, p. 103). There may be people in the neighbourhood moving out of poverty by 'getting ahead' and who profit from job opportunities in the formal sector and there may be people which are still 'getting by' and still struggling with temporary jobs in the informal sector.

Globalization and capitalism may facilitate social and economic mobility by expanding job opportunities as in the 'Zona Franca' and widening the opportunity networks of low-income urban residents. However, globalization and information technology can also help to create 'black holes of misery and despair' and 'truly fundamental social cleavages of the information age' that divide those with access to information and power from those without (e.g. UN HABITAT, 2003; Pacione, 2008; Friedmann, 1992; Castells, 2011). The youngsters in the focus group meetings perceived their position as cleaved from the ones with good connections and education levels.

6.5 Changes in the socio-political domain

The young urban slum dwellers see a very positive change in the assistance from outside towards their neighbourhood, (see table 6.4). The government and development organizations are more engaged than before and willing to improve the lives of the people in the neighbourhood. Because of the outside assistance, the neighbourhood has been able through a committee to organize and coordinate activities. The youngsters differed in their opinion in the way the police are operating in the neighbourhood compared with ten years ago. Male participants were positive about the existence of the police while the female questioned the integrity of the police force.

It seems that the people in the neighbourhood are able to develop wider social relations and that they are able to represent the 'voice of the poor' in organizing and connecting with development agencies. That the neighbourhood is changing from an isolated slum towards a neighbourhood that is more and more incorporated in the wider social relations of the city/national government. It is a neighbourhood, which is able to work together with development agencies in the neighbourhood, with active engagement in cooperating. The growing awareness and improved activity of the neighbourhood embed in the processes on the higher political levels.

⁵ There is a worrying gap between a slow rate of economic growth and concomitant social development and an acceleration of changes in the international capitalistic system (linked to the diverse facets of globalization), as well as in nature and the environment.

Table 6.4: Major changes in the socio-political domain in the neighbourhood

Sector	Changes perceived by women / men	Effect of change	Cause of change
Development organizations	1. Before there were not a lot of helping organizations, now there are more NGOs, which are willing to help. 1. More organizations and help in the neighbourhood than before	1. ++ 1. +	1. These organizations worry about the needs of others. 1. Growth of necessities
Relations between the families	1. Nowadays, there is more respect from children to their parents. 2. Increase of domestic violence in the cities and murder of women. 1. The relations are varied and did not change with before	1. + 2. --	1. Influence of the technology and domestic violence. 2. The spite, a lack of respect and communication
Police	1. Abuse of the authority of the police, they think they can do everything. 1. Considerable security and less amount of drugs dealing	1. - 1. +	1. Before they had better payment, now they are corrupt. 1. More existence in the neighbourhood
illegal houses	1. Nowadays are there more legal houses. 2. There is more fraud nowadays with selling the houses	1. + 2. --	1. The people receive help of the government with legalizing their houses. 2. It is because there is a lack of honesty.
Structures of the leaders	1. Nowadays, we work with the CPC, before they were not organized.	1. ++	1. The people receive coordination and help from the government

Source: Author's fieldwork, (2012)

The regional and municipal government in Nicaragua is undergoing a number of positive changes. Intent on forging decentralization, foreign cooperation has slowly helped to strengthen subnational units by building local planning and management capacities, fomenting greater transparency, and involving communities in investing priorities (Dye, 2004, p. 19). These changes and developments on the governmental levels are an opportunity for the neighbourhood committee to build-up social relations and connections. The local community can be- still in potential- a powerful instrument in representing the 'voice of the poor'.

It is difficult, as the young urban slum dwellers assessed, for people in the neighbourhood to fight against corruption in the real estate business but as well against government officials as the police. Nicaragua has still a long way to go in key areas as the effectiveness of the government, corruption control and rule of law, to match the not very robust levels of a region, Latin America. The regions deficits in democratic performance in comparison with more developed areas in the world are well-known (Dye, 2004, p. 20).

The perception of the youngsters differed on how the relations between and within families are changed. The perceptions on this asset seem to be different between the gender groups. The decrease in respect and communication may indicate that strength of the social relations within and between the families is different with ten years ago, at least in the perception of the female young urban slum dwellers.

6.6 Changes in the cultural domain

In this section, the youngsters assess the major changes in the assets of the cultural domain in their livelihoods (table 6 illustrates this). Changes in cultural capital can have effect on the strategies within the livelihood of the youth in an urban slum.

Table 6.5: Major changes in the cultural domain in the neighbourhood

Sector	Changes perceived by women / men	Effect of change	Cause of change
Food	1. Nowadays, we cannot eat very nice; we only have rice and beans. 1. More facilities to cook and to live than before.	1. - 1. ++	1. The prices have been increased
Language	1. Nowadays there are more people speaking English	1. ++	1. There are scholarships to study another language
Religion	1. More people are evangelic and less catholic. 1. More a concentration of the evangelical churches, before were more people catholic	1. ++	1. Receive considerable help and assistance, economic and spiritual. 1. More values and principles evangelical
Parties	1. Before it was safer to go to the parties. 1. Parties are nowadays with the whole community and they organize now parties in the streets	1. - 1. ++	1. Considerable concentration of youth gangs/drugs and alcohol users. 1. Government and community initiated this collectively
Relations between ethnic groups	1. There are no ethnic groups in this neighbourhood		

Appropriate behaviour	1. They were more educated before than nowadays. 1. Before, there was more violence and now less violence 2. Before, there was more dealing of drugs than now 3. better relations	1. - 1.+ 2. + 3. +	1. Loss of habits (values) 1. Control by the police and more surveillance, less robberies and disputes 2. Facilities of working together
Music	1. Type of music is more international. 2. There is no validation of national music	1. + 2. -	1. There is no help for singers from this country
Clothes	1. Before the clothes were more formal than nowadays	1. + (more respect) 2. - (considerable risks)	1. Fashion 2. Lack of dignity

Source: Author's fieldwork, (2012)

Global influences are visible in this neighbourhood with the increase of people who are speaking English and the increase in listening to international music. These processes are going faster with the use of computers and the availability of internet in the neighbourhood. The changes of food have to do with socio-economic status of the young urban dwellers, whose are not able to buy varied meals depending on the same forms of food.

The change in the area of religion, according to the young urban slum dwellers, is striking, especially considering that at the national level the majority of Nicaraguans is Catholic. In the neighbourhood, though, approximately 70% of the youngsters are nowadays Evangelic, while 15% of the people in Nicaragua are member of an Evangelical Church. Only 19% of the young urban slum dwellers are member of the Catholic Church while 73% of Nicaraguan people are. The Catholic Church does have a special status in Nicaragua although the country does have freedom of religion. The male participants perceived a difference in the concentration of the churches in the neighbourhood, which are more numerous than before.

The youngsters stated that the Evangelical Churches are very active in helping the neighbourhood. It seems as well that there is a need of values and principles in the neighbourhood and the Evangelical Churches are providing more help with achieving those values than the Catholic Churches. Merrill (1993) observed the incline of the Evangelical Churches as well. He further observes that Nicaraguans in the lower classes tend to be deeply religious but not especially observant. Many limit their practice of the sacraments to baptism and funeral rites. Yet they have a strong belief in divine power over human affairs, which is reflected in the use of phrases such as "God willing" or "if it is God's desire" in discussions of future events (Merrill, 1993).

The Evangelical Church is growing, in not only the neighbourhood but also region wide. Evangelical churches grew at such a speed in the second part of the twentieth century that Stoll (1990) the question posed: "Is Latin America turning protestant?" With variations, one can say that the Latin American Evangelical Church is highly practising and fast growing, by

predominantly lower class, and organized in nationally created denominations. Evangelism is associated disproportionately with the poor and less educated people (Freston, 2008). Although the picture of the neighbourhood fits in the Latin America picture of poor people associated to the Evangelical Church but it explains not directly why people are changing in the last ten years.

There are several possible reasons why the Evangelical Churches became more popular in the neighbourhood. The decentralized structures of the Latin American evangelical churches, the multiple leaders competing for followers through charisma, and their emphasis on conversion proved to be distinct advantages (Stoll, 1990). A school of thought emphasizes the ability of Evangelical Churches to transcend social exclusion by establishing new forms of community. These learn new forms of discipline, and stabilizing their family situations (Willems, 1967). This appears to be the case in the neighbourhood according to the young urban slum dwellers; they assessed the growing power of the Evangelical Churches in establishing values in the local community and the important role of the religious leaders within the neighbourhood.

6.7 Major changes in the manifestation of violence

Table 6.6 illustrates the different aspects assessed by the youngsters. Youth gangs for example not directly are a manifestation of violence but in practise strongly aligned. The young urban slum dwellers assessed the major changes in the manifestation of violence in the last ten years as well. It is important to state that the classification used in this research not is static because violence can manifest in a combination of the different types of violence.

The youngsters did not agree on the changes in the manifestation of violence. The male young urban slum dwellers were very positive and perceived that there is a decrease in several aspects of violence, while the female youngsters perceive the overall changes as more negative. They agreed that there are less fights and youth gangs nowadays in the neighbourhood. Female youngsters perceived drugs as an important factor in the manifestation of violence. It is interesting why the youth gangs lost their attractively to the youth while other manifestations of violence still are a big problem in the neighbourhood.

The young urban slum dwellers agreed that youth gangs are less active nowadays than in the last years and that violence of the youth gangs in the streets is less than before. They were positive about the decline in fights between the different gangs, especially because the problems were worse before. The youngsters explained that in the last ten years the situation in the neighbourhood was very dangerous, because of the youth gangs. Respondent L. (24) explained that they fought many times with other youth gangs of surrounding neighbourhoods. They used weapons of every sort. An import reason to fight was to protect the territory against others. De Jong (2012) sees these fights as form of identification with a group, which leads on the social level to groups processes in which we-them relations will emerge between group members and outsiders. Individuals are

identifying themselves faster and stronger with a group when there are conflicts and fights with outsiders – in this case surrounding youth gangs (Turner, 1987).

Table 6.6: Major changes in the manifestation of violence in the neighbourhood

Sector	Changes perceived by women / men	Effect of change	Cause of change
Economic (robberies)	1. There are more robberies now than ten years ago with motors and cars 1. More robberies with cars and motors but less robberies in total than before	1. - - 1. +/-	1. A reason is that people need money for consuming drugs 1. Growing availability of motors/cars and reintegration of youth-at-risk in society through development programs
Economic (drugs trafficking)	1. More trafficking of drugs than before 1. The police dismantled points of drugs dealing and decreased the trafficking of drugs	1. - - 1. +	1. The people are using and consuming more than before 1. The police are working more in the neighbourhood than before
Social (domestic violence)	1. More abuse nowadays within the families, before more from outside the family 1. Domestic violence is decreased	1. - - 1. +	1. It is because people are using and consuming more drugs 2. Machismo 3. Bad examples from fathers and mothers 1. because judges protect women and children
Social (individual/group fights)	1. There are fewer fights than before 1. The conflicts between the youth gangs are decreased	1. + 1. ++	1. There is more surveillance of the police in the neighbourhood 1. The youth have better relations with each other
Institutional (Police)	1. There is more surveillance of the police in the neighbourhood; they will come faster to moment of urgency 2. The police abuse's her authority 1. The police uses less violence than before but are still corrupt	1. + 1. +/-	1. They have more capacity than before
Youth gang violence	1. Fewer youth gangs than before 1. Decrease in number of youth gang members	1. ++ 1. +	1. The (ex-) youth gang members are now occupied with work and family 1. Members have work now/ Youth are more responsible than before/ Youth gangs are less organized/ Bad examples of jail and dead
Use of drugs	More boys are using drugs than before	1.- -	
Alcohol	More people are drinking	1.- -	

	alcohol		
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Source: Author's fieldwork (2012)

The change in the trafficking and the consuming of drugs are not just a problem of the neighbourhood. Globalization processes in the latest decades have decreased the distance in time and space for the trafficking in drugs as well. The negative consequences of globalization are the increased international trafficking in drugs, arms and people. These networks have moved into Nicaragua as well, because of the growing importance as transit route of most of the drugs from Latin America to the United States. Along with the vulnerable and weak economy and the incapability of governmental institutions to respond to these developments, this may have severe consequences for stability in Nicaragua and for neighbourhoods as the research unit. The internal consumption of cocaine and crack is growing rapidly. The resources available for fighting these scourges are extremely scarce, and the police force has but one officer per 700 inhabitants, half that of other countries in Central America (Dye, 2004, p. 7).

The female young urban slum dwellers assessed three different aspects of the increased manifestations of domestic violence; increased consuming of drugs, 'machismo' and the dysfunctional examples of parents. Drugs are a factor of influence. Respondent M. (19) explained how drugs and alcohol could have a negative impact: *"When my brothers drink alcohol or use drugs they are very violent and dangerous."* Not only in the neighbourhood but in whole Nicaragua is the use and consuming of drugs increased in the last ten years (Policia Nacional, 2012). Hotaling & Surgarman (1986), Lindman et al (1992) and Roberts (1988) perceived the use of drugs as well as a causal factor of domestic violence. Demetrios et al (1999) found a relation between the use of drugs (not specified which drugs) with an increased risk of domestic violence. The female youngsters assessed another causal factor in the increase of domestic violence in that parents are dysfunctional examples for their children. These parents fail in their function to educate and to be an example for their children.

Another causal factor is 'machismo'; the female young urban slum dwellers related this with domestic violence. Gerson Bonilla perceived 'machismo' as well as one of the principal factors of a gender related problem as domestic violence. 'Machismo' means a strong sense of masculine pride: an exaggerated masculinity (Heiser, 2012). A research from Kaufman Kantor et al (1994) in the United States indicates that on the aggregate Hispanic men are no more violent than Anglos-- there are no significant differences in the two groups. It is thus not that 'machismo' of Nicaraguan men per se can be a determinant of domestic violence (Mederos, 2012). Culture however, can affect the amount of violence in a society – for instance, by endorsing violence as a normal method to resolve conflicts and by teaching young people to adopt norms and values that support violent behaviour (WHO, 2002). This relate to 'machismo' as strongly focused on the family as Latin American ideal does

(Kaufman Kantor et al (1994). When family relations and patterns are changing, male supremacy may be threatened and male in the neighbourhood (and wider in Nicaragua and Latin America) may react with violence to re-establish the 'male supremacy' or 'power dynamics' (Flake & Forste, 2006).

6.8 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to discover the perception of the young urban slum dweller about the major changes in the livelihoods and in the vulnerability context. The complexity and diversity of the changes together with the difference in the 'sense of place' between the youngsters make exhaustive conclusions hard to make. They assessed that the neighbourhood developed well in the physical domain. Young urban slum dwellers are in general positive about the increased access and availability of education and health facilities, except for concerns about the 'human contribution'. Youngster perceived the changes from predominantly Catholic to Evangelic as very positive. In their perception are the youth gangs less active than before which decreased the manifestations of violence.

The development in the availability of work however, is negative and a major concern. The young urban slum dweller perceived the lack of experience and the lack of connections as factors, which are important in finding a job. There is a negative change in the consumption of drugs and alcohol, which does have a negative impact on the livelihood of the female youngsters.

The physical domain in the livelihood of the majority of the young urban dwellers is becoming more a strength in which they can spend time to build up and develop their assets in other domains as to improve their educational level, 'social networks' and the accumulation of economic capital. The minority however is still struggling to accumulate physical capital, which keeps them even further away of developing 'sustainable' livelihood strategies.

There appears to be an 'ambiguity' in the perception of the youngsters about the change in the availability of connections. On the one hand, they feel more 'excluded' because of the lack of connections in finding jobs. On the other hand, the young urban slum dwellers are very positive about the mobility of people in the neighbourhood to establish connections with the development agencies. Further research should emphasize the advantage of the 'ambiguity' of connections. The social networks and relations of the relatively recent established connections with the development agencies can in potential flow over to the 'excluded young urban slum dwellers'.

Livelihoods of the youngsters and the major changes are part of the regional, national and even global processes and movements, which can have an impact on the vulnerability context. Many problems within the neighbourhood, as the trafficking and consuming of drugs, the 'culture of violence', incapable and corrupt police forces and the lack of sufficient jobs are entrenched in the wider historical events and processes as conflicts, wars, political

and economic crises and the growth of drugs industry. Globalization processes and capitalism look even to increase the gap between poor and rich. A micro context as the neighbourhood can be a place of economic mobility and a 'poverty trap' in the same time. It depends on the 'sense of place' and the livelihood strategies of the youngsters what it shall be.



Chapter 7 – Impact of development projects

Picture: Author's fieldwork period in 2011

7.1 Introduction

Central aspect of this research is the impact of development projects on the livelihoods and on the manifestations of violence. The young urban slum dwellers perceived it as very difficult to assess the underlying causal factors behind the changes in the livelihoods and the manifestations of violence. More often, they described and explained what the projects aimed to achieve instead of perceiving the impact of the interventions. Nonetheless, they assessed that several development project have had an impact. The first section emphasizes on the different agencies and projects to give an idea of the development context. The other parts describe the diverse impacts of development projects.

7.2 Initiated development projects in the neighbourhood

It is necessary to describe the initiation of development projects to understand the impact of development projects in the timespan of ten years. This should help to understand the development context of the research area and the outcomes will serve the part where the young urban slum dweller assess the impact of development projects on the changes in the livelihoods and manifestation of violence.

Three development agencies especially were active in the perception of the youngsters in the neighbourhood in the last ten years. The Sandinista government is the most active development agency who initiated development projects. The Evangelical Church is another active development agency and the neighbourhood or community committee appears to be important as well in initiating of and cooperating in development projects. More development agencies were 'active' as well but in the perception of the young urban slum dwellers of less importance, see table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Development projects initiated in the neighbourhood

G = Government; S = Donor (bi/multi-lateral); N = Non-religious NGO; C = Church-

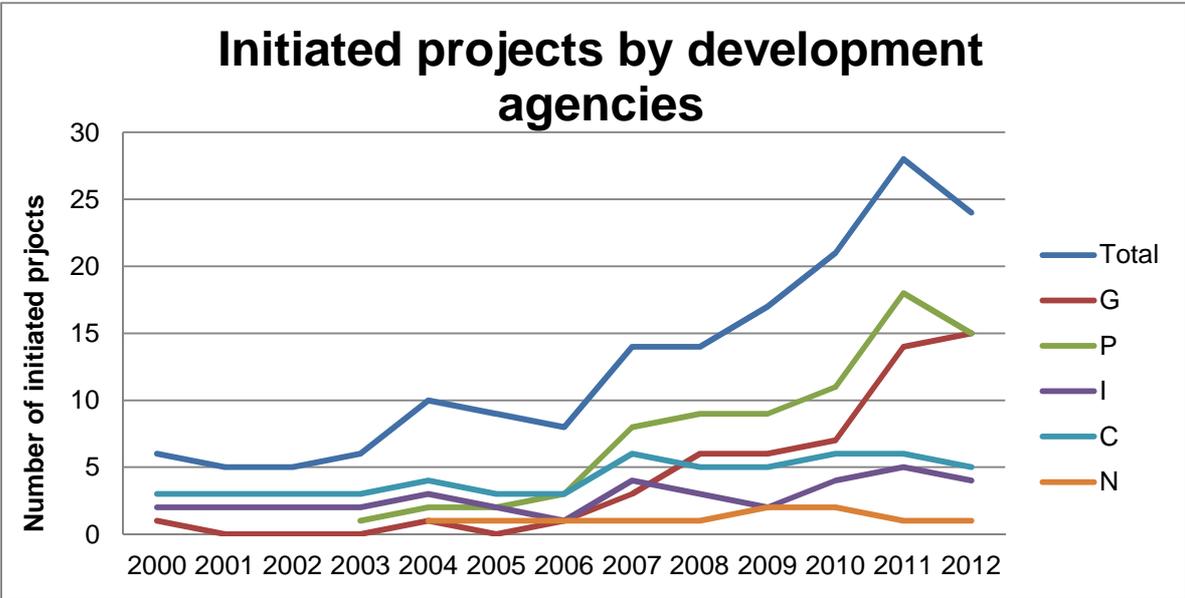
Sector	C	G	P	I	N	O	G+P	G+S	G+P +I	G+P +E	C+ P	C+I	C+I+ P	I+P	Tota l	In %
Infrastructure	-	2	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	10	23
Education	1	2	-	1	-	-	3	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	10	23
Social	-	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	7	17
Economy	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	7
Health	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	12
Religion	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	14
Environment	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	5
Total	3	4	2	7	2	1	13	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	43	100
In %	7	10	5	16	5	2	30	5	2	2	2	2	10	2	100	

based NGO; P = Community/Own initiative/Association/Private; I = Church

Source: Author's fieldwork, (2012)

In the last five years, there are more development projects initiated than before. An explanation can be that in the recall the recent development projects come most easily in mind. The Sandinista government seem to be another factor in the growth of initiated development projects in the last five years, see figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Development agencies in the neighbourhood



G = Government; S = Donor (bi/multi-lateral); N = Non-religious NGO; C = Church-based NGO; P = Community/Own initiative/Association/Private; I = Church

Source: Author’s fieldwork, (2012)

Since 2006, the Sandinistas are the ruling party in Nicaragua and the neighbourhood does have a known history of sympathy with the Sandinistas, as Gerson Bonilla and Amalia Acuña have emphasized. According to Henk Minderhoud, development worker in Masaya (Nicaragua), these linkages can be of vital importance in applying for help and projects.

7.3 (very) negative impact of development projects

The impact of development agencies is not always positive or contributing to sustainable development. The ideas and plans on paper can be very promising but the implementation is vulnerable for complications and changes. Several development agencies have had a negative role in the livelihoods of the youngsters. Their development projects may have a positive impact in the livelihoods but have, in the perceptions of the young urban slum dwellers, in the same time negative consequences as well.

There is a negative change in the education domain according to the female youngsters in the sense that the teachers are not professionals. This has a negative impact on the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers. The youngsters were in general positive about the increased access to education because of the initiatives of the Sandinista government, but they are negative about the realization of education. Several young urban slum dwellers

dropped out of school before graduating and this erodes the availability of knowledge and skills in the livelihoods. The reasons in dropping out of school have to do with the poor realization of the quality of education. Research finds out that pupil-teacher ratio, the quality of teachers, and school size all influence the dropout probability of students in the expected direction (Tyler & Lofstrom, 2009, p. 84). Respondent D. (23) dropped out of school because of the bad communication with the teachers. Respondents G. (17) and E. (24) stated that they were not motivated to keep going to school because of the lack of relevance.

The lack of control within the school can make it an environment of violence and this has a negative impact on the livelihoods of the youngsters. The female respondents explained during the focus group meetings that some teachers ask money to protect the students against abuse and when they refused to pay, there were consequences. Manifestations of violence by teachers create unsafe environments. Respondent E. (19): *“I went to the primary school Nicarao from 1999 until 2004. This was not a very nice time. The teachers punished the students physically sometimes”*.

The lack of control can also provide a context of violence between the students, which has severe implications as well in the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers. Respondent G. (17):

After I succeeded my primary school, I went to the secondary school in 2005. I tried for three years to pass the first year and in 2008, I quitted going to school. I had to stop, because of a fight with another girl. I see this as one of the most negative moments in my life.”

Respondent S. (18):

I had to do the first year of the secondary school twice and after the third year I quitted going to school, because of a fight with a another person. Because we could not stand each other, we fought and therefore we had to stop with school. I cannot go to the other school close to the neighbourhood there are enemies as well.

The youngsters perceived that the health situation is improved. Nonetheless, they perceived that the treatment of doctors is very bad sometimes. This has a negative impact on their livelihoods. These doctors lack education and skills, in their perception, to treat them accurately. Female young urban slum dwellers perceived the abuse of their power during consultations as very negative. The treatment of the doctors can be a threshold for the youngsters to go the hospital and the medical clinics, which makes them vulnerable for weaker mental and physical conditions.

The consequences of the initiatives of private companies were as (very) negative in the perception. The young urban slum dwellers were positive about the implementation of the electricity network by the government, which had a positive impact on their livelihoods in making life easier. Nonetheless, the growing prices of electricity are a point of concern in the

perception of the youngsters. They perceive the prices for electricity as too high for most of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood. In their perception, the people who use electricity illegally are the causal factor behind the increase in prices. It appears to be a vicious circle for the households in the neighbourhood; the households who cannot pay the electricity bill will use it illegally, contributing to an increase in prices, which may cause that other households cannot afford it as well.

The young urban slum dwellers perceive that there is an increase in the fraud in the real estate business. They state that a lack of honesty is the causal factor behind the increasing fraud. It affects the households negatively because fraud can be a threat to the build-up capital of the dwellings, which are becoming vulnerable to confiscation. The private companies speculating with dwellings cause an increase in the prices of the dwellings, which may youngsters force to move to somewhere else or to squat illegal plots.

Private companies are a causal factor in the lack of available jobs according to the young urban slum dwellers. In their perception, the private companies do not give opportunities to youth who do not have work experience and who lack the essential connections. This has a very negative impact on the livelihoods of the youngsters. They feel excluded from the 'connected networks' where jobs are available. Several young urban slum dwellers lack an identity card, which is a reason for companies to exclude them from work opportunities. Respondent S. (18) state that he cannot work because he does not have the financial resources to apply for an identity card. The consequence is that some youngsters choose for different livelihood strategies.

Drugs traffickers can, in a perverse kind of way, be a factor in improving a livelihood; by providing in socio-economic needs. The impact of drugs traffickers is very negative in the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers and in the manifestations of violence. Some of the youngsters participated in the trafficking of drugs to make a living. Respondent L. (24) stated:

I saw that it was an easy way to make money and I observed that others were active as well. One of the reasons was that I was very poor and I did not have money. I did not know that it was very dangerous and forbidden to deal in drugs, at that time. I bought the drugs with friends in other neighbourhoods and sold it in the neighbourhood.

Respondent F. (19) was part of a drugs network as well because his family was already active in trafficking drugs. Respondent E. (24) emphasized that the consuming of drugs influenced the trafficking of drugs: *"We smoked marihuana and crack with the friends and when we bought the stuff at the market, we bought some extra to sell it to others."*

The female youngsters perceived the impact of the initiatives of the police as negative. They perceived it as negative because of the abuse of the power and the corrupt manifestations of the police officers. A decrease in income is the causal factor behind this negative change

according to the female young urban slum dwellers. The abuse of power by the police leads sometimes to inappropriate violence against youth in the neighbourhood.

7.4 Diverse impact of development projects

The gender groups perceive some changes in the livelihoods differently. Especially in the realm of the manifestation of violence, several changes are the opposite. The impact of development projects is in some cases the opposite as well. It is striking how and why the gender groups differ in their perceptions.

The perceptions by gender groups are different on the impact of the police in the struggle against the trafficking and the abuse of drugs. Male young urban slum dwellers perceived the impact of the police as positive, while the female youngsters perceived that unless more surveillance of the police drugs trafficking has grown as well in the neighbourhood. They perceive that the police should intensify their activity in dismantling drugs networks. The lack of impact of the police causes a growth in the abuse of drugs, according to the female young urban slum dwellers. For them drugs consumers are a threat in the livelihoods, outside on the streets but inside in the house as well.

Male youngsters emphasized that the police are more active than before in addressing the problem of drugs trafficking. The police tried to cut off the supplying of drugs for the youth in the neighbourhood in the last ten years. To some extent, they successfully intervened in the neighbourhood with closing numerous trafficking points; from more than ten to three trafficking points. Nevertheless, the supplying chains still exists for the youth in the neighbourhood in the perception of the female urban slum dwellers. The responsible police officer observes a new pattern. There are now people from other neighbourhood coming to La URRS during the nights, they are trafficking the drugs every time in different places by using motorized vehicles. She states that the problem of drugs trafficking is bigger in La URRS than Venezuela.

Perceptions are different as well on the impact of development agencies in the manifestations of domestic violence. The young urban slum dwellers did not agree on the direction of the changes in the manifestations of domestic violence in the last ten years. The female youngsters agreed that domestic violence had increased in the last years, the male young urban slum dwellers in contrary assessed that this manifestation of violence just decreased. The interviewed leaders and officials agreed that domestic violence in the neighbourhood was on the same level in comparison with ten years ago. It is interesting why there is such diversity in the perceptions of the leaders/officials, female and male participants.

Male youngsters assessed that in their perception the manifestation of domestic violence decreased because of the improvement in the functioning of the governmental institutions. There is now a governmental institution to protect the women and the children. They perceive that this caused a decrease in domestic violence because the consequences are

heavier than before. The impact of the new institution to protect women and children may indicate the improved activity of the government but in the perception of the female young urban slum dwellers, this is not sufficient.

The female youngsters assessed three different aspects of the increased manifestations of domestic violence; increased consuming of drugs, 'machismo' and the dysfunctional examples of parents. They did not mention development agencies as positive or negative factor in the increase in domestic violence. The problem of domestic violence surpasses the neighbourhood level and appears to be a nation's wide problem. It is for development agencies a very sensitive subject because of the 'invisibility' of domestic violence and the difficulty to intervene. It is however, highly relevant and necessary to emphasize on this issue, especially because the female young urban slum dwellers perceive the impact of the change as very negative.

The gender groups perceive the change in the manifestations of parties in the neighbourhood differently. Male youngsters perceived a positive impact from the government and the community while the female dwellers perceived a negative impact because of the manifestations of youth gangs and drugs consumers. They state that there is negative change in the sense that it is not safe to go to the organized parties in the streets nowadays. The threat of violence makes the parties unsafe environments for the female young urban slum dwellers. Contradictory, the male youngsters are very positive about the change and the impact of the government in organizing parties in the streets. They perceive that because of cooperation between the Sandinista government and the community more parties are organized. It is very good possible that the male young urban slum dwellers feel safe because they are in general 'the perpetrators' while the female youngsters are 'the victims' of violence.

7.5 (very) positive impact of development projects

The expectation is that the achievement of development agencies is to contribute positively to the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers. As described before not every development project automatically triggers positive impact. This part emphasizes on which assets in the livelihoods influenced in the positive way by development projects and which development projects have had a positive impact on the manifestations of violence.

The Evangelical Church appears to be a positive contributor to change in the livelihoods of the youngsters. The majority of the young urban slum dwellers perceive the church as an important place for help and for learning values. The youngsters assessed that the Evangelical church is more popular than the Catholic Church now. The Evangelical Church in this neighbourhood is a symbol of trust and seems to be an asset in the livelihood strategies of the young slum dwellers in the form of patron-client relationships by organizing development project as 'Rachab' and 'Luz que Resplandece'.

Young urban slum dwellers look to use the pastor as 'patron' who can help them in developing social networks. The patron-client relationship according to Scott (2009), is confined especially to the Latin American areas and consists of

...an ex- change relationship between roles-may be de- fined as a special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both, for a person of lower status (client) who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including personal services, to the patron. (p.92)

For the youngsters these relationships are essential in building networks and relations.

This manifestation of the patron-client relationship can be a threat as an opportunity as well in the same time in the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers. The risk is that the youngsters depend heavily on the help of the different development agencies and especially in help from the Evangelical Church. It appeared to be that in the development projects of the Evangelical Church there are client-patron relationships established which built on dependency but as well on mutual trust and friendship, which seem to be essential in the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers. When the dependency and the difference in power and status decrease, the inequality between the patron and the client would decrease as well, this looks necessary in empowerment of the youngsters. The face-to-face relationships and the personal bonds are aspects, which are a potential for development agencies in initiating development projects.

One male young urban slum dweller assessed that the Evangelical Church had a positive impact in his livelihood strategy. Respondent M. (21) stated that the pastor in the Evangelical Church taught him and helped him to understand why drugs are dangerous and negative in his development. The pastor prevented him in this way to choose for a livelihood strategy based on the consuming of drugs. The female youngsters perceived that the role of the Evangelical Church in prevention is important and that the church should increase the programs in working with children who are at risk of becoming violent or consuming drugs.

The construction projects of the Evangelical church affected several young urban slum dwellers positively. Respondent L. (24) stated that the men of the Evangelical Church he worked with in the construction projects were of major influence; they mentored him and talked with him about his life and the consequences of consuming drugs. Respondent D. (23) emphasized the motivational role of the people from the church:

They (the Evangelical Church and Nicaragua Nuestra) gave me confidence that I could change and helped me step by step. They gave me an opportunity to do other things than only hanging in the streets; together with the psychological help I was able to open my mind.

The youngsters perceive that youth gangs are decreased which has a very positive impact on the livelihoods and on the manifestations of violence. They state that because of development projects as 'Luz que Resplandece' the youth gang members of different youth gangs in the neighbourhood learned to work together. These youth had the opportunity to

work in the construction projects of the Evangelical Church. Because of the increased communication between the different youth gangs, the fights decreased and the streets became safer in the perceptions of the young urban slum dwellers.

It is the question how sustainable this decrease in youth gang activity in the neighbourhood is. In the literature, the relationship between employment, especially youth employment, and violence outcomes is inconclusive. It is perhaps more likely that the relationship between unemployment and violence is mediated by other factors related to the stress of earning a livelihood (World Bank, 2011, p. 22). Moreover, in general the jobs which are created by the development agencies as the Evangelical Church are short-term and in the construction sector. Most jobs in this sector are of low educational level and with low wages. The Evangelical Church for example is offering construction jobs when there are construction projects; this is in general not more than one or two short periods per year. The youngsters do not have a chance to get a contract for a long time. The jobs are in most cases especially for male, leaving the female youth without the opportunity to find work.

The young urban slum dwellers perceive the increased surveillance of the police as one of the causes that there are a fewer fights in the neighbourhood than ten years ago. The police engage, more than before, with the neighbourhood and they are organizing more activities and learning moments to establish a relation with the youth-at-risk nowadays in the perception of the youngsters. This positive change relates to the improvement on the institutional level in which in the government institutions are able to influence the conditions in which violence manifest. It looks in this case that the relations of trust are growing in the positive way between the police and the people in the neighbourhood. As described before, the female youngsters do still have questions about the (ab) use of power by the police which makes that the young urban slum dweller do not agree on the impact of the police in their livelihoods.

Amalia Acuña is not very positive about the decrease in youth gangs. She states that the number of members of youth gangs decreased in the last ten years, but that does not mean that these youth gangs are a decreased problem as well in her opinion. There is an increase in the use of drugs by them. The police observed that the younger children are taking the examples from their brothers and even parents when they behaved violent. So this is a problem that never stops. Even the police are trying to stop the violence of youth gangs, the children will still follow these examples of their brothers, fathers, friends and youth from other neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood faces less violence from youth gangs now than before, but the police emphasize as well the risk of a change in the negative way.

The Sandinista government seems to have a positive impact on several assets in the livelihoods of the youngsters. In the perception of the young urban slum dwellers, the Sandinista government is an active agent in initiating development projects. They helped the urban slum dwellers in the neighbourhood with the improvement of dwellings in providing financial and material help. For the youngsters these projects are very positive because the

dwelling in this neighbourhood are becoming more durable. There are doubts about the impact because the condition of the majority of the dwellings is still not durable, see section 5.5.4.

The female youngsters stated that the initiation of rehabilitation centre from the government does have a positive impact in the neighbourhood. They observed that the persons who went to such a clinic behave better than before. Respondent F. (19) stayed for six months in a rehabilitation centre to recover from his time of consuming drugs. He stated that he changed positively in this period and that his time in this centre is one of the causes of his step-out of the youth gang, drugs trafficking and consuming and his move to a rural area in the North of the country. It is however questionable how durable and holistic the treatment of these centres are. According to an implementation guide of United Nations (2003) rehab programs should embrace information, education, public awareness, early intervention, counselling, treatment, rehabilitation, relapse prevention, aftercare and social reintegration. It doubtful however, that the centres in Nicaragua are reaching these demands.

The Sandinista government have improved the infrastructure of the neighbourhood with building roads and sewage canals. In this sense, the government is actively engaging in consolidating this 'urban slum' into the infrastructural system of the city. The young urban slum dwellers perceived this impact as very positive because the situation is safer in the neighbourhood now. The construction of sidewalks caused a decrease in accidents (see section 6.2). The construction of the sewage canal had a positive impact as well because of the improved hygiene in the neighbourhood. There are now less (deadly) diseases than before.

Free access to the different levels of education is very positive and the Sandinista government causes this change. The youngsters are very positive because of the increased opportunities to get a higher degree without having the financial resources. Other development agencies as INDEF and Quincho Barrilete caused a positive change as well. Scholarships from INDEF caused an improvement in opportunities to follow higher education. It seems however, that only a few young urban slum dwellers are able or are willing to follow university studies, see 5.5.2. Quincho Barrilete caused a positive impact with the programs of alphabetization for adults. Youngsters perceived that the Foundation Nicaragua Nuestra caused a positive impact because they organized focus group meetings with informing about the consequences of drugs and violence.

The growth in the organizational capacity of the neighbourhood committee is very positive. The neighbourhood committee is cooperating in several development projects in the neighbourhood. They are more active in initiating projects in diverse domains in the last 5 years, see figure 7.1. With the help of the government, the committee institutionalized and they now are an official committee to represent the people in the neighbourhood. The committee is active in applying for projects by the government institutions and they

participate in projects with ensuring that help will come to the right persons and households. The improved activity of the community committee seems to increase the ability of working together with (inter)national development agencies.

The young urban slum dwellers perceived that the neighbourhood committee is very active in addressing the necessities of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. It looks that, in the perception of the youngsters, the committee is able to include and connect the neighbourhood out of exclusion into the connections and the networks of the government. The improved activity may indicate that the people in the neighbourhood are able to organize themselves, better than before.

7.6 Conclusions and reflections

It looks that the young urban slum dwellers do not have a single unique identity and do have another 'sense of place'. They differ in their opinion and are full of internal conflicts about the past and present development in the neighbourhood. Especially gender appears to be an important determinant in the perceptions on the impact of development projects. The perceptions differ because of the point of view. For example, the perceptions on the impact of development projects on the manifestations of domestic violence are differently because of the position as perpetrator or as victim.

The improved capacity of the neighbourhood community and the increased number of development projects may indicate that the neighbourhood is connecting with the 'chains of interaction' of global civil society. The intensified cooperation with the government have improved the power relations of the neighbourhood committee, which can be used in patron-client relationships with the youngsters. The development agencies however lacked the ability to help the young urban slum dwellers out of the 'black holes of social exclusion' into the networks of the corporate economy with available jobs.

The manifestations of violence are a risk factor in the livelihoods of the youngsters with marginal impact of development agencies. Especially the insecurity in the well-being of the female young urban slum dwellers has grown in the face of increasing domestic violence and the increase of drugs consuming and trafficking. The lack of efficient functioning judicial institutions gave the youngsters a fear to trust the activities of the police. The decrease of youth gangs is an exception with a positive impact from the government and the Evangelical Church.

The young urban slum dwellers emphasized the importance of the 'human contribution' in determining the impact of development projects, i.e. the treatment and actions of development agents. This have had negative implications with the 'poor' treatment of doctors and the under developed level of teachers as most important indications. The positive 'human contribution' was in the role of the pastor as 'patron' in developing relationships of trust and knowledge with the youngsters.

The role of the Evangelical Church is very positive in different domains. Development and religion look connected in this neighbourhood. Young urban slum dwellers are in the need of education in appropriate behaviour and find an answer in the values and the principles of the Evangelical Church. This Church seems to have a powerful network of development agencies behind them, which gave them the ability to organize development projects and improve the livelihoods of the youngsters. The increased prominence of the Evangelical Church in a 'poor' neighbourhood fits in the Latin-American picture of the popularity of the Evangelical Church among poor people.



Chapter 8 – Conclusions

Picture: Retrieved from internet on September 23, 2012 from www.planetdoom.blogspot.com

8.1 Important findings

This single case study on 'just another' slum in Managua developed insights concerning the triangulation research methods, and how young urban slum dwellers perceived the impact of development projects, the changes in the livelihoods and the manifestation of violence. Section 3.3 explained the livelihood concept in detail. The research focused on the role of development agencies in the livelihoods (i.e. the composition of six capitals, vulnerability context, political and institutional context etc.) of youngsters. The research emphasized the impact of development projects on the manifestation of violence (i.e. motivated by social, economic, political or institutional reasons) as well. However, the complexity of concepts as 'livelihood' and 'violence' make it difficult to observe causal relations, which make exhaustive conclusions difficult.

Moreover, the young urban slum dwellers do not have a single unique identity and do have a different 'sense of place'. They differed in their opinion and they were full of internal conflicts about the past and present development in the neighbourhood. For example, the perceptions on the impact of development projects on the manifestation of domestic violence were differently because of their position as predominantly observant, perpetrator or as victim.

The findings in the research are relevant because the youngsters defined themselves, as 'real' and these findings are real in their consequence. The improvements in the physical domain looked aligned to the activities of the Sandinista government, which make the majority of the households less vulnerable than before. The more prominent role of the Evangelical Church in development projects was striking. It appeared to be that this church is able to fulfil an educational role in developing values and principles in the perception of the youngsters by organizing youth groups, construction projects', 'Rachab' and 'Luz que Resplandece'. Another positive factor was the empowerment of the neighbourhood organization. They were better equipped to connect with developmental agencies and were more active in addressing the needs of the young urban slum dwellers in participating in development projects.

Despite the improvements in the education system, the youngsters were still vulnerable for shocks (i.e. transition phase, violence in school or conflicts) in their livelihoods. The majority was still not able to accumulate economic capital and one of the major concerns is a lack of connections and social networks, which may help in providing new jobs. The young urban slum dwellers were positive about the initiatives of the Evangelical church, the local NGO INDEF, supported by Woord & Daad and the government in providing jobs but still felt 'excluded' because of their inability to find a job. There seemed to be a 'culture of violence' in the neighbourhood, which had a negative impact on the livelihoods of the youngsters. Drugs especially had a negative impact on their livelihoods. The development agencies were not able to address this problem adequately. Female young urban slum dwellers also

perceived addressing domestic violence by these organizations as not effective. Male youngsters, however, were more positive about the role of development agencies.

8.2 The urban context

The temporary shocks and changes in livelihood contexts of young urban slum dwellers (i.e. change of governments, decrease in availability of jobs and manifestation of youth gangs etc.) were embedded in processes of the wider (urban) context. Managua is built on the 'ruins' of the Somoza regime and later regimes were even more unwilling to the necessities of the poor. People accused the governments of being guilty of favouring the rich. Only in the last decade, the government attempted to intervene and provide basic services in poor neighbourhoods after years of ignoring and the exclusion. The latest development projects of the Sandinista government are positively welcomed. However, the neighbourhood is literally constructed on 'ruins' and still has a long way to go to become an urban middle class neighbourhood.

Most definitions of a slum area contain the 'exclusion' of slum dwellers on the physical infrastructure of the city. Because of the projects of the Sandinista government in cooperation with the neighbourhood organization, the physical needs of the majority of households were fewer than before and most basic utilities have been provided. This research suggested that the majority of the youngsters connect to the physical infrastructure, which transcends them potentially out of being a slum dweller.

The researcher questioned the common definition of a slum, because this definition includes only the tangible aspects of a slum (see section 3.1.3) and not the intangible aspects, such as sense of safety. Violence appeared to affect the majority of the young urban slum dwellers and for them violence developed as a threat in their livelihoods. Development agencies should not underestimate the impact of violence in the livelihoods of youngsters. The (potential) deprivation impact of violence makes it an important reason to discuss whether violence should be a part of the slum definition or not. Adding the sense of safety is necessary to understand the impact of the manifestation of violence in the livelihoods of young urban slum dwellers in a better way.

8.3 The development context

The majority looked still 'disconnected' from the economic and social networks, which were essential in their livelihood strategies. In this way, globalization processes and capitalism found their way to the neighbourhood in improvement through 'connection' and impoverishment through 'exclusion'. Yet, national and international development agencies found their way into the neighbourhood in the last years. It became a part of the 'chains of interaction' linking the local, regional and planetary orders. The growing connections with development agencies and the improved activity of the neighbourhood committee may indicate civil society is empowered giving more power to the community. This has a positive impact on the youngsters who felt 'excluded' in the sense that civil society may address their needs and provide networks and 'chains of interaction'.

The client-patron relationships in the neighbourhood are potential solutions and threaten in the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers. To overcome the negative aspects it was an advantage that development agencies and especially the pastor from the Evangelical Church have created relationships of trust and knowledge with the youngsters. These relationships can be a solution in the way that the lack of connections of the young urban slum dwellers might be resolved by more improved client-patron relationships. They can be a threat in the same time. Youngsters can become dependent on the help from individuals or organizations in a context with corrupt and incapable government institutions and in a weak economy, which seems to fail in catching up with the world markets.

8.4 Impact of development projects on the livelihood

The neighbourhood was a part in a web of multidimensional political, social and economic processes, which influenced the livelihoods of the youth. The livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers depended on many more livelihood assets than income only. The impact of development projects was evident in almost every domain in their life according to the youngsters. Development agencies have had, in different degrees, a positive or negative impact on their livelihood assets. It depended on the livelihood strategies of the young urban slum dwellers how they responded on the development initiatives. Using 'strategy' gave them agency, which can be an explaining factor in why some youngsters were able to make use of the available opportunities while others failed in grasping opportunities to improve their livelihoods.

It looked that especially in the physical domain, the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers were improved but in the same time, the majority of dwellings are still not durable. Development projects have improved access to education and health assets but there were still concerns about the 'human contribution'; i.e. the treatment and quality of potential development agents as doctors, teachers and police officers. The youngsters were positive about the relatively new established connections with development agencies while they were negative about the lack of connections in finding jobs. It made it reasonable to state that even in a micro context, as the neighbourhood the capability of using assets was different for every young urban slum dweller.

The impact of development projects on the assets in the livelihoods was influencing the ability to choose 'sustainable livelihood strategies' but the changes in the vulnerability context had an impact as well on the (in) security of the well-being of the young urban slum dwellers. The initiatives of the government and the neighbourhood committee to assist in applying for legal papers decreased the vulnerability of living on illegal plots. One of the major achievements of the development agencies was the declined activity of youth gangs. This positive change decreased the vulnerability towards manifestations of youth gang related violence in the neighbourhood.

For the future elections might be a causal factor in changes in the activity and capability of government institutions to link with slum youth. A future change towards a liberal

government would have severe implications on the number and quality of development projects because the linkage of the neighbourhood to the current Sandinista government. Corrupt and abusive police forces were still major concerns of the youngsters but they were positive as well about the intensified presence in the neighbourhood. It appeared to be that the police was more active in the neighbourhood, which has to do with the increased capability of the neighbourhood committee to address the problems and needs in the neighbourhood.

8.5 Impact of development projects on the manifestation of violence

A decrease in the activity of youth gangs was noted which partly was because of the increased initiatives of the different development agencies (i.e. increased police surveillance, 'Luz que Resplandece', Nicaragua Nuestra). The lower degree of youth gang related violence (i.e. territorial fights and the creation of 'fearful atmospheres') on the streets improved the security of many young urban slum dwellers. They are better able to develop livelihood strategies without the restriction to respond on the continue threat of violence, at least from this kind of violence.

The 'culture of violence', which entrenched in the neighbourhood, needs to be reversed into a culture where violence is seen as an inappropriate method to solve conflicts. This is especially difficult in Nicaragua with a long and well-known history of violence in conflicts and wars. The government and other development agencies were trying to reverse this culture with educational activities but it seemed paradoxical to follow corrupt and sometimes abusive and violent examples as the police forces and judicial institutions sometimes were.

The impact of development projects on drugs trafficking drugs abuse looked marginal. The on-going struggle between the police forces and the drugs traffickers showed the persistence of the problem. Development agencies should initiate and promote positive 'need to belong' groups in providing a way out of hanging around and drugs abuse. The structural answers are on the national and even the Latin American level. A more holistic approach of the Latin American countries would avoid a displacement of the problem and would cut off the supplying chains in the drugs network.

The perception on the impact of development projects appeared to be marginal on the manifestations of domestic violence, which looks a major problem. The causal factors as 'machismo', drugs and dysfunctional families have their roots in processes on the national and Latin American level. Many slums in the Latin American continent are associated with these kinds of problems. The solution is complicated because of the 'invisibility', but the problem is too big to ignore, especially because of the severe implications on the livelihoods of the (female) youngsters.

The lack of efficient functioning judicial institutions influenced the livelihoods strategies of the young urban slum dwellers because they created distrust in the capability of the

government to intervene when necessary. There were, however, indications of a positive change. The Sandinista government and the police were trying to create relations of trust to connect with the youngsters, which may resolve the sense of 'social exclusion' and the anxiety against the government.

8.6 Reflections on the used research methods

A major question of this research was who benefitted from the outside development efforts? Moreover, whose reality counted? Did the study include the perception of the most disadvantaged and disconnected young urban slum dwellers or were the easiest available persons participating in the research? This research tried to contribute to the discussion whether the PAdDev (Participatory Assessment of Development) method is of use in an urban context. The explorative extend of this research made visible a variety of pitfalls, limitations and advantages.

First advantage of this participatory method was the 'holistic extent' of evaluating projects in a wider context. The livelihoods of the youngsters were in a changing vulnerability, political and institutional context. The focus of this method was on the several domains, which have proven to be distinctive in the development of a person. This method was not sponsor-driven; the perceptions of the young urban slum dwellers were without a dependency bias of perceiving only the positive aspects of development projects to guarantee the neighbourhood of future projects.

A second advantage was the participation of women in the focus group meetings. The female youngsters were able to express themselves, because of the different gender groups. The strength of the research was that in a male dominated culture the female young urban slum dwellers were able to give their perceptions.

A third advantage was the ability of this participatory method to perceive the beneficiaries as 'active agents' who were able to perceive their 'own development'. The method in itself was neutrally which gave them space to assess what is important and what not.

A fourth positive aspect was that this method had the ability to empower the local community; it improved the degree of understanding the local situation. Especially young men perceived the focus groups as valuable in understanding their own situation. They were grateful about the opportunity to reflect and to place their own livelihoods in the context of wider developments. The researcher presented the outcomes for the participated young urban slum dwellers and the community leaders at the end of the fieldwork period. They were satisfied about the outcomes of the research and the leaders learned some new things about the livelihoods of the youngsters, as the high degree of school-dropouts and the high degree of Evangelical youth.

There were diverse thresholds, which made this participatory method difficult to implement. A first limitation was the time constraint for the organizing agencies but as well for the participating persons. The organizational agencies have to be aware that the livelihood

method not will fit in every context; profound preparations were necessary to discover and unravel the situation of the local community. For urban persons, especially for younger ones, was participating in focus groups a time consuming activity. In cash depend livelihoods of urban slum dwellers might this constraint be a determinant in the availability of participants. It turned out to be that youth who participated not were working nor were studying. There was an 'occupation bias', i.e. youth who were occupied with full-time work or study did not participate.

A second limitation of participatory research in an urban slum was the disturbing environment. During focus group days the discussions often were disturbed by noisy cars and busses, barking dogs, yelling sales man and children or by diverse radios with loud volumes. It made it difficult to concentrate and to grasp every detail of what the participants said. It was difficult in the time-line interviews to find a balance between finding a place without the disturbance of other persons and in creating an atmosphere of trust. The church as location turned out to be a combination of both in the perception of the youth; however, the interference of other persons disturbed some interviews, which negatively affected the openness of the respondents.

A third constraint was that for many youngsters the topics discussed in the focus groups looked very difficult and complex to grasp. Reflections about the past were difficult, especially when it not directly affected their livelihoods. It was a challenge for the young urban slum dweller to assess the impact of development projects; repetition should help these exercises to become self-evident in their livelihoods.

Fourth limitation was the 'power relation' during the focus group meetings and in the adaption of the perceptions in the development projects of the diverse agencies. The local power dynamics were visualised in the group discussions; some participants were better able to express themselves or were dominant in the discussions. To prevent the 'power bias' the facilitators used the 'stick method' and encouraged the youth to express themselves, however, in practice around the three or four participants were dominant while the others were silent. It appeared to be unavoidable that the 'reality' of the most dominant young urban slum dwellers was prioritized, especially because some more quiet persons were unable to give their opinion and some persons even left the focus groups prematurely.

For development agencies, it is a challenge to incorporate the perceptions of the youngsters in the 'on-going' development projects. Most Northern development agencies depend on the managerial criteria of the donors in decision-making. The major claim of listening to the beneficiaries should lead to the readapting of development projects, otherwise the development agencies can become determinants how the young urban slum dwellers should prioritize their livelihood strategies.

On several subjects, a 'culture of silence' seemed to exist during the focus group meetings and in the questionnaires. Several youngsters hesitated to speak about the manifestation of

violence in their livelihood. The majority of the young urban slum dwellers emphasized the sense of ownership and trust in participating in time-line interviews. It appeared to be that on 'sensible subjects' the time-line method is a valuable addition to 'public events' as PADev focus groups. The next section delineates the recommendations for development agencies in working with youth in urban slum contexts.

Chapter 9 – Recommendations

9.1 Recommendations for further research

The scope of this explorative research is limited to the neighbourhood level of an urban slum in Managua. In this section, the aim is to elaborate the issues and subjects which were beyond the scope of this research and which may be relevant for further research.

First, there is a need to study other urban slums and the perception of the young urban slum dweller. These research projects should be conducted in Managua, Nicaragua or even Latin America to be able to make comparisons. This step will be very informational for governmental institutions, city governments and development organizations. This kind of research is necessary for neighbourhood committees to understand what the youngsters perceive as important in relation to development projects.

Second, it was beyond the scope of the research to study the impact of migration in detail but it can be very relevant to focus on the diverse aspects of migration and their impact on the neighbourhood and on the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers. The researcher observed the 'temporarily' migration of 'criminal' youngsters to escape the surveillance of the police. This kind of migration may have a destructive impact on the neighbourhoods of re-location; these may function as the sewage system of the city where all the criminals end up.

Thirdly, it is highly relevant to research the role of the Evangelical Church in this neighbourhood. The change in this neighbourhood seems to fit in the overall picture of Nicaragua. Nevertheless, the question why the Evangelical Church is better able to address the problems of the poor than the Catholic Church do is still unanswered.

9.2 Recommendations for INDEF and Woord & Daad

This research was to explore the perception of young urban slum dwellers in the context where INDEF (and indirectly Woord & Daad) are active. The aim of this section was to make a recommendation of different aspects which are relevant in the livelihoods of the youngsters and which may be important in other contexts as well. These recommendations can be of valuable for other development organizations who are working with young urban slum dwellers.

First, youngsters seem to need 'patrons' or 'mentors' who can be a positive role model and can help them to develop a livelihood strategy. They can build a relationship of trust and knowledge with these positive role models. They can be seen as a protective factor where peer groups and families often fail to be a positive example.

Secondly, the development agencies should initiate and develop positive peer groups in where the young urban slum dwellers are stimulated to act in a sustainable way. They can organize recreational activities as creative workshops, sport trainings or tournament and other activities, which focus on aspects as skills, talent and cooperation. When these activities are on a long term, the youngsters may learn more about valuable life skills and may incorporate them in their livelihood strategies. The young urban slum dwellers may

discover in this way their talents and gifts may develop a sense of 'proudness'. Youth do have a 'need to belong' to a group for social interaction as well. Development organizations may focus on this fundamental aspect of the human being not as a development threat but as a development opportunity. Positive peer group as soccer teams, dance groups, church clubs and political formations can have a positive impact on the youth.

Third, the development agencies should focus to empower the capacity of the neighbourhood committee. When the capacity of the community is stronger, they are able to be active agents of their own development. The development agencies should assist these committees to organize themselves; they should assist the advocacy in creating networks on higher levels and in the diversification of the political relations. The increase in the number of leaders should decrease the dependency on only a few persons and should improve the continuity of the neighbourhood committee. Development agencies can empower the committees as well by negotiating in conflicts and educating how to solve conflicts.

A fourth recommendation is that development agencies need to develop a 'holistic point of view' from where they can initiate development projects. The livelihoods of the youngsters are, in the diverse and interrelated assets of the six domains, holistic as well. To decrease the vulnerability towards manifestations of violence the development agencies should emphasize that the areas, which the young urban slum dwellers perceive as important, are interrelated to other domains in their livelihoods. For example, development projects in the education system can have more value when the focus is on aspects as family situation, youth gang membership and network of relations.

Fifth, Development organizations should (re-)emphasize the role of families, according to youngsters, in the development of young urban people. Families can be strength but as well a threat in the livelihoods of the young urban slum dwellers when the families are breaking up or are without any organization.

A sixth recommendation is that development projects should focus to prevent school drop-out in the age of 10-15 year. The young urban slum dweller needs to be aware of the relevance of education and the government (and development organizations) should transform methods that make education relevant in the daily life of the youngsters. Education is coming from a low level in Nicaragua and it is a good thing that the access has been increased but in the lives of the young urban slum dweller is it still a highly relevant problem, because shocks, threats and changes in other domains are influencing the possibility of becoming educated.

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Appendices

Appendix a: Interviews with leaders and officials

Interview with Gerson, Ramon and Amalia Acuña

I like to explain the purpose of this interview in general. My research is a part of my master study human geography in the Netherlands. This research is my master thesis. I am studying how the young people in the neighbourhoods Venezuela and La URRS think about the changes in the neighbourhood between 2002 and 2012. These changes can be in education, the availability of work, changes in the health situation. I want to know how development projects have impacted a difference in the situation in the neighbourhood the last 10 years. A part of my research is how the changes in violence the life's of the young people have influenced.

Can you first explain something in short about the growth of the neighbourhood?

Year of foundation / Recognition of the government / Growth of population

Changes in the neighbourhoods Venezuela and URRS in the last 10 year (2002-2012)

- How do you think about the changes in education level and possibilities for the young people? What are the reasons?
- How do you think about the changes in the availability of work for the people in the neighbourhoods? What are the reasons?
- What is your opinion about the change in the way people interact with each other in the neighbourhoods? What are the reasons?
- How do you think the family situations y relations in the neighbourhoods do have changed? What are the reasons?
- What is your opinion about the change in activity and existence of aid/relief organizations? What are the reasons?
- Which factors are of major influence for the changes in the neighbourhoods? What are the reasons

Changes in violence in the neighbourhoods Venezuela and URRS in the last 10 year (2002-2012)

- How do you think about the change in the existence of youth gangs in the neighbourhoods ? What are the reasons?
- What is your opinion about the change in the extent of drugs dealing and using? What are the reasons?
- How do you think about the changes in the extent of intra-familiar violence? What are the reasons?
- How do you think about the changes in the extent of violence in the streets? What are the reasons?
- What should be major solutions to solve the violence problem? What are the reasons?

Thank you for your time! When you like to know the results I can email you my final product

Entrevista - Fundación Nicaragua Nuestra

1. ¿Usted puede explicar algo sobre su trabajo con las pandillas?
 2. ¿Que son los fundaciones de la existencia de las pandillas en Managua?
 3. ¿Que cambio ha visto en la existencia y actividades de las pandillas en Managua?
 4. ¿Que pueden ser razones importantes por la existencia de las pandillas en Nicaragua (en un nivel macro)?
 5. ¿Qué pueden ser razones de la juventud para ser un miembro de pandilla (en un nivel de barrio)?
 6. ¿Qué son los problemas de la existencia de las pandillas en Managua?
 7. ¿Ha visto una relación entre trafico de drogas y las actividades de pandillas y como?
 8. ¿Qué formas de violencia están común en las pandillas en Managua?
 9. ¿Puede decir algo sobre cuales anos de violencia de las pandillas eran más fuertes?
 10. ¿Qué son soluciones importantes para solucionar los problemas con las pandillas en Managua?
-

Estudiante
 Trabajo
 Otra

14. ¿Ha hecho otros trabajos antes?
 ¿Qué?
 ¿Periodo?

15. ¿Cuánto personas en su hogar tiene trabajo? (+ su trabajo)

16. Su padre:
 Edad
 Su trabajo

17. Su madre
 Edad
 Su trabajo

Cultura

18. ¿Está religioso?
 Ninguna
 Católica
 Evangélica
 Morava
 Testigos de Jehová
 Otra

19. ¿Está miembro de siguiente grupos?
 Deportes
 Política
 Otra

20. ¿Puede hablar otros idiomas? ¿Si o no? ¿Cuanto?

Su situación

21. ¿Tiene un teléfono o móvil? ¿Si o no?
 22. ¿Su hogar tiene acceso a electricidad? ¿Si o no?
 23. ¿Su hogar tiene una computadora? ¿Si o no?
 24. ¿Su hogar tiene acceso a internet? ¿Si o no?
 25. ¿Su hogar tiene un servicio? ¿Si o no?
 26. ¿Su hogar tiene acceso a red de abastecimiento de agua? ¿Si o no?
 27. ¿Su casa esta una construcción sólido? ¿Si o no?
 28. ¿Tiene seguridad de tenencia? ¿Si o no?
 29. ¿Tiene una estado legal? ¿Si o no?

Económico

30. ¿Reciben su hogar dinero de emigrantes? ¿Si o no?
31. ¿Cuánto personas en su hogar tienen una cuenta de bancaria?
32. ¿Cómo es su prosperidad en comparación con las personas en el barrio
Venezuela/URSS/1DEMAYO?

- Yo soy muy pobre
- Yo soy pobre
- Yo soy ni pobre / ni próspero
- Yo soy próspero
- Yo soy muy próspero

33. ¿Cuáles cosas afectan su prosperidad?

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.

Violencia

34. ¿Está o ha estado miembro de pandilla?

¿Cuáles? ¿Periodo?

.....

35. ¿Tiene amigos(as) que están miembros de pandillas? ¿Si o no?

¿Cuántos personas?

36. ¿Tiene familia que están miembros de pandillas? ¿Si o no?

¿Cuántos personas?

37. ¿Ha usado violencia? ¿Si o no?

¿Por cuánto veces?

	Social		Económico		Institucional		Político
1-5		1-5		1-5		1-5	
6-20		6-20		6-20		6-20	
21 o mas		21 o mas		21 o mas		21 o mas	

38. ¿Tiene amigos(as) que han usado violencia? ¿Si o no?

¿Cuánto personas?

39. ¿Tiene familia que han usado violencia? ¿Si o no?

¿Cuánto personas?

40. ¿Ha estado una victima de la violencia? ¿Si o no?

	Social		Económico		Institucional		Político
1-5		1-5		1-5		1-5	
6-20		6-20		6-20		6-20	
21 o mas		21 o mas		21 o mas		21 o mas	

Appendix c: Interview list

Male youth

	Name (age)	Neighbourhood	Date	Place of interview
1.	L. (24)	Venezuela	5-6-12	Church
2.	D. (23)	Venezuela	7-6-12	Church
3.	E. (24)	Venezuela	10-6-12	Church
4.	S. (18)	Venezuela	12-6-12	Church
5.	M (21)	La URSS	14-6-12	Church
6.	F. (19)	Venezuela	20-6-12	Church/Street

Female youth

7.	L. (15)	Venezuela	8-6-12	Church
8.	G.(19)	La URSS	14-6-12	Church
9.	A. (16)	La URSS	21-6-12	Church
10.	M. (19)	La URSS	21-6-12	Church
11.	E. (19)	La URSS	21-6-12	Church

Officials

	Name	Organization	Date	Place of interview
1.	Mariel	Police	8-6-12	Church
2.	Amalia Acuña	Chief of community comity	8-6-12	Church
3.	Gerson Bonilla	Development worker (INDEF)	8-6-12	Church
4.	Jenny Leiva	Foundation Nicaragua Nuestra	12-6-12	Digital
5.	Ramon Rojas	Development worker in La URSS	15-6-12	House in La URSS
6.	H. Minderhoud	Ex-director INDEF	28-6-12	House in Masaya

Appendix d: Time-line interviews

Exercise to draw the livelihood of the young urban slum dweller on a paper. The researcher explains the purpose and the method of this time-line interview. He ensures the respondents that the outcomes will be confidential and anonymous. The duration of the interviews is between one and two hours. The respondents are agents of their own livelihoods; therefore they cannot give right or wrong answers.

First, the periods are asked:

- Location where you lived
- School
- Work
- Personal status
- Personal status of your parents
- Membership of youth gang
- Membership of sport team
- Membership of church
- Membership of other....
- Prison
-

Second, important moments are asked:

Figure: Example of a time-line interview (2012)

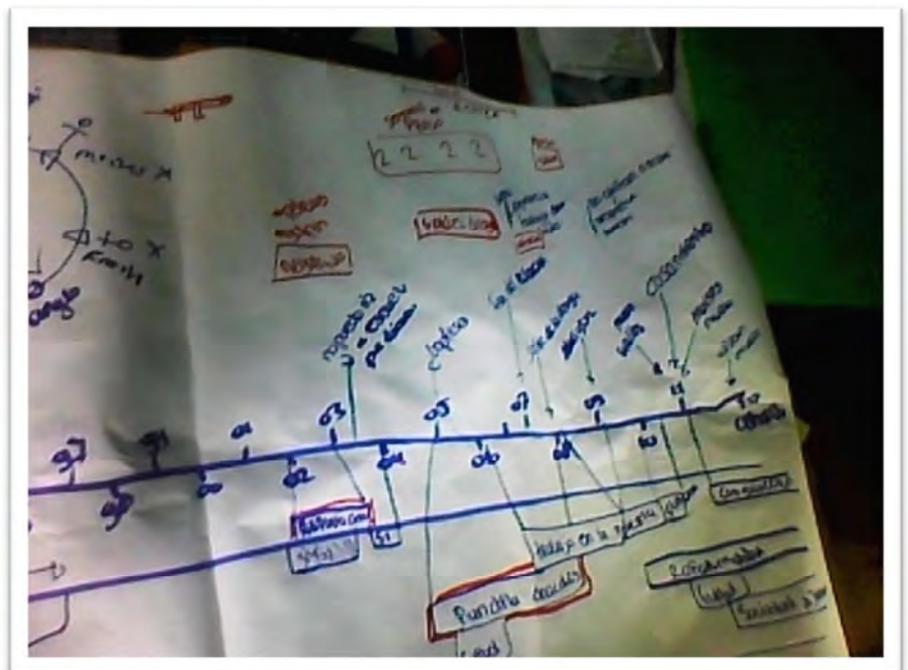
- Start or end of a period
- Birth/Dead
- Wedding/Divorce
- School drop-out

Third, moments of violence:

- As perpetrator
- As victim
- Sorts of violence

Fourth, clarifying everything

- Shocks
- Changes
- Inconsistencies
-



Source: Author's fieldwork (2012)